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ヴュー

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ー日本語文法編ー』
連体修飾の意味とシンタクスーその1ー
　　　　　　　　　　　ーその2ー
　　　　　　　　　　　ーその3ー
　　　　　　　　　　　ーその4ー

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 synntactic 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)
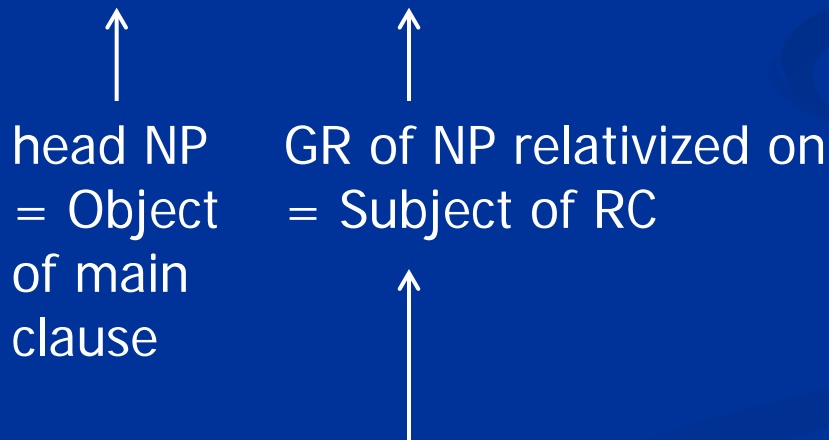
Relativization and grammatical relations

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 [Ø came to my house yesterday]]

head NP
= Object
of main
clause

GR of NP relativized on
= Subject of RC

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 [Ø gave the boy the book]] (was my father)

Relativization on deirect object (DO)

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

Relativization on indirect object (IO)

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

Relativization on oblique object (OBL)

The man gave a book to <u>the boy</u>.

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

Relativization on Adjunct

Mary studied with <u>her friends</u>.

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

Relativization on genitive (GEN)

<u>The man's</u> book has just been published.

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

Relativization on object of comparison (OCOMP)

The man is taller than <u>the woman.</u>

The woman [whom [the man is taller than Ø]] (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   Ø] aho
        PST-AF.MID-hit DEF dog   PST-with stick   1SG
'I saw the man [who Ø 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   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].'

(REL on P/OBJ?)

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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   Ø ilay lehilahi] aho
        PST-AF.MID-hit   DEF   dog   DEF man   1SG
 'I saw the stick [with which the man hit the dog Ø.'   (REL on ADJCT)

When there is a syntactic restriction on a particular phenomenon in terms 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 Ø hit Bill.

John came and Bill hit him.   *John came and Bill hit Ø.

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

John came and Ø 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   (PF)
 PST-hit-PF-DEF   man   PST-with   stick   DEF   dog   "Patient focus"
 'The man hit the dog with a stick'

   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?)

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
  'The man hit the dog with the stick'.   focus"

n-a-hita   ilay   hazokely   (izay)
PST-AF-see   DEF   stick   REL
          [n-i-kapoh-an-ilay   lehilahy ilay   alika Ø] aho
            PST-AF.MID-hit-CF-DEF   man   the   dog   1SG
 'I saw the stick with which the man hit the dog.'

                                                (REL on Instrument/SU?)

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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.

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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   Passive sentences
John his Bill.   *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 proper-
ties has been determined for a given L, subjects of non-basic
sentences will be defined to be those NPs, if any, which pre-
sent 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 <u>to the extent that</u> 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 <u>the</u> 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 $\underline{x}$ is <u>semantically more basic than</u> a syntactic structure $\underline{y}$ if, and only if, the meaning of $\underline{y}$ depends on that of $\underline{x}$. That is, to understand the meaning of $\underline{y}$ it is necessary to understand the meaning of $\underline{x}$.

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., <u>John is a linguist</u> is clearly semantically more basic than <u>Fred</u>

Active/Passive

John his Bill.   Bill was hit by John.

Active (ergative)/Antipassive
Dyribal
a. ŋuma   yabu-ŋu   bur-n.   (Active)
   father.ABS   mother-ERG see-PAST
    'Mother saw father.'
b. yabu   bural-ŋa-ɲu   ŋuma–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.'

 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

Case marking and agreement patterns in Warlpiri (Hale 1969)

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

b. njuntu-luḷu   ka-npa-tju   ɲatju   njanji
   2SG-ERG   PRES-2SG-1SG   1SG.ABS   see-NONPAST
     'You see me.'

c. ɲatju-luḷu   ka-ɳa-ɲku   njuntu   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 proper-
ties has been determined for a given L, subjects of non-basic
sentences will be defined to be those NPs, if any, which pre-
sent 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) Controling 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   Ø   ng=bulaklak   sa=babae]
     TOP=man=LK AF:PRFV-present   GEN=flower   DAT=woman
     'the man [who [Ø presented the woman with a flowe]]'

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

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

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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   Ø 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 Ø]
    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   Ø 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 Ø] 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 Ø.hit=3SG by person male   that
   'That man hit Ali.'

b'. loq Ali [si   Ø 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 Ø] batur=meq
     person   male   REL Ali hit=3SG   friend=2SG
     'The man who hit Ali is your friend.'

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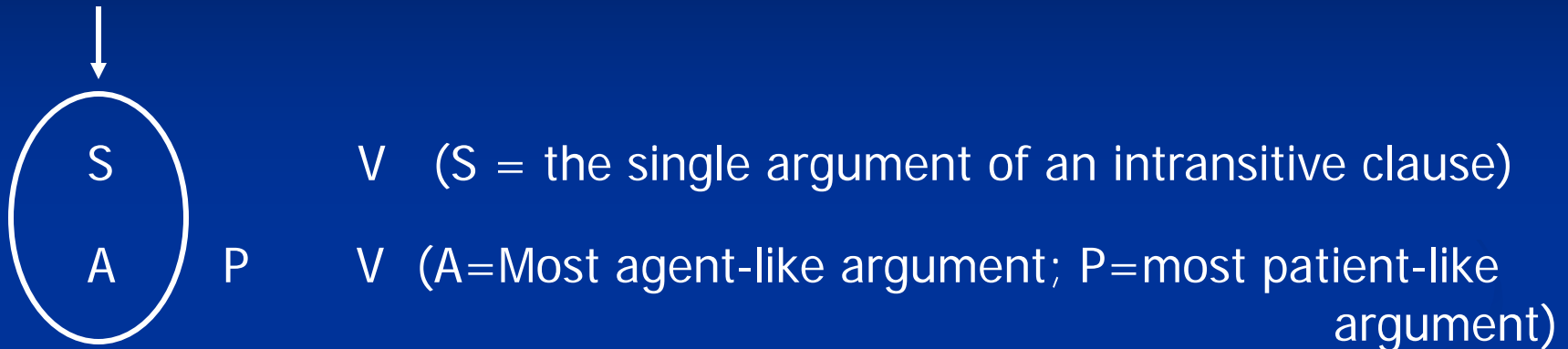
Similar to saying there are no Christians (no Christianity) in Lebanon because 45% of the population is Christian and 55% Moslem.

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)

S   V   (S = the single argument of an intransitive clause)

A   P   V   (A=Most agent-like argument; P=most patient-like argument)

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
P

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

P

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

Generalization:
Subject agrees.

Control

I tried [__ to walk]

I tried [__ to kiss her]

*I tried [she kisses ___]   Gap is P

I tried [___ to be kissed by her]

Gap is S

Gap is A
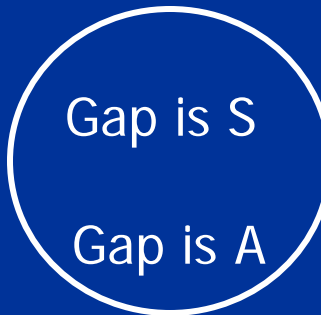
S & A behave alike to the exclusion of P.

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

Subject

Transitive clause: A   P   V   (A=most Agent like, P=most Patient-like argument)

Intransitive clause: S   V   (S = single argument)
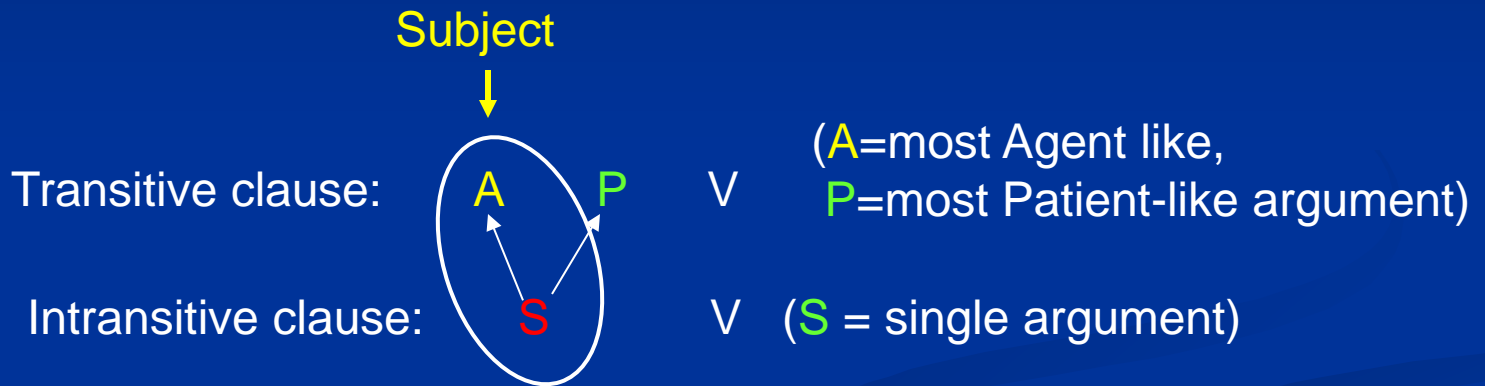
NB: S can be either Agentive *John ran* or Patientive *John died*.
Theoretically S, therefore, can assimilate either to A or P for
the purpose of generalization

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 Ø]. Ø=S=TOP
   want =1SG.GEN=LIN   AF:fall
   'I want to fall down.'

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

c. *Gusto =ko=ng   [interviewh-in   Ø   ni=Gabby]. Ø=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   Ø   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 Ø] (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 Ø ang=aso] (A=SUBJ=Non-TOP relativized)
      'the man who killed the dog'   50

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 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 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	Ø
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 (Ø-)	?

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; *Si)
    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; *-Si)
   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/Ø 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   Ø.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   Ø.buy
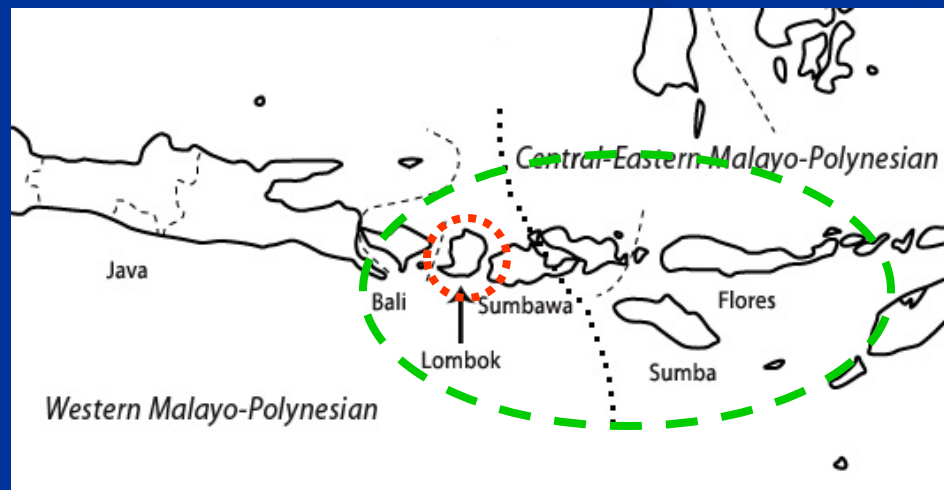   'I bought that house.'

Sasak

Pancor ngeno-ngené Sasak
a. Oku   kenyengka-ng=ku   mbace   buku ini   (N-AF; *<*um*>)
   I   PROG-LIN=1   N.read   book this
   'I am reading this book.'
b. Buku   ini   kenyengka-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.'

THAILAND

CAMBODIA VIETNAM

PHILIPINES

MALAYSIA

Sumatra

Kalimantan

Sulawesi

I N D O N E S I A

Irian Jaya

JAKARTA Java

Yogakarta

AUSTRALIA

Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian

Java

Bali

Sumbawa

Flores

Lombok

Sumba

Western Malayo-Polynesian

Nusa Tenggara

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

Lombok

■ = major cities
● = dialect areas sampled

Gondang

3726 Sembalun Bumbung
G. Rinjani

Narmada   Suralaga
Mataram   Selong
        Bagu   Aik-Anyar
Labuapi
             Puyung   Pancor
Darek   Praya
                  Ganti
         Pujut
Sengkol

Pop 3,166,685 (2010)
Area 4,725 km² (1,824.3 sq mi)

0   100Km

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   kenyengka-ng=ku   mbace   buku ini   (N-AF)
   I   PROG-LIN=1   N.read   book this
   'I am reading this book.'
b. Buku   ini   kenyengka-ng=ku   bace   (Ø-PF)
   book   this   PROG-LIN=1   Ø.read
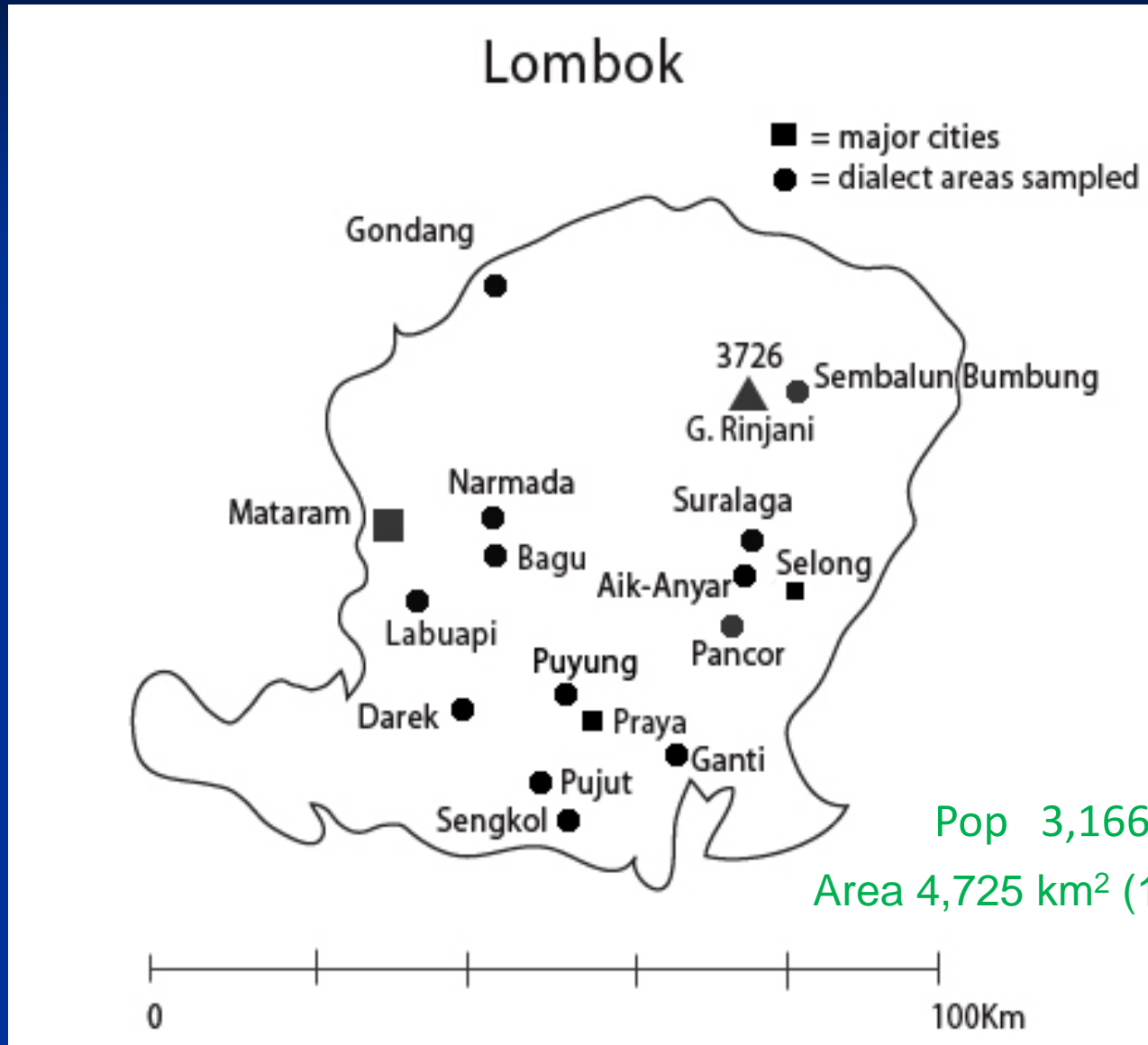   'I am reading this book.'

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/*mbaca   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.'

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.'

Cf. English agreement

He walks. (S)

He hits us. (A)

S=A≠P

Passive subject

Puyung meno-mené

a. (Aku) wah=k te-empuk isiq Ali   He was hit by John. (P SUBJ of Passive)
     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.'

Cf.

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.'

PF Topic does not cliticize unlike a passive subject

PF Topic does not cliticize unlike a passive subject

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(2) Reflexive-binding

Selong ngeno=ngené

AF

Loq Ali ngarek   diri=na   (A=SUB> REFL)
ART Ali AF.scratch self=3
'Ali scratched himself.'

PF

Diri=na karek=na$_i$ isiq loq   Ali$_i$ (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 scrached 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.'

Antecedent must be a Subject

(3) Bagu meno-mené "relativizer" selection

Ø=A=SUBJECT=TOPIC
a. Dengan mame [saq Ø 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.'

Ø=PATIENT=SUBJECT=TOPIC
b. Dengan nine [saq Ø 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.'

Ø=PATIENT=OBJECT=TOPIC
c. Dengan nine [saq-siq=n gitaq Ø 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 Ø ran away.'   Controllers

Siti empuk Ali, terus Ø pelai=n (Ø=Siti)   A=SUB=TOP
siti hit   Ali, then   run=3

Ali empuk=en siq Siti, terus Ø pelai=n (Ø=Ali, *Siti)   P=OBJ=TOP
Ali hit-3   by Siti then   run=3

Ali te-empuk siq Siti, terus Ø pelai=n (Ø=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 [Ø pelai]   (Ø =S=SUB=TOP)
   Ali N.try   run
   'Ali tried to run.'
a'.   [Ali pelai]
                   'Ali runs.'

b. Ali   nyobaq [Ø ngiduk   Siti]   (Ø =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 [Ø te-iduk   isiq le   Siti]   (Ø=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   Ø]   (Ø=A=SUB=NON-TOP)
    Ali   N.try   3=Ø.kiss   Siti
    'Ali tried to kiss Siti.'
         a'. [na-iduk   Siti siq Ali] (PF)
              3=Ø.kiss   Siti   by   Ali
              'Ali kisses Siti.'

b. *Ali   nyobaq [Siti   ngiduk   Ø]   (Ø=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 [Ø   na-iduk isiq   Siti]   (Ø=P=OBJ=TOP)
   I   N.try   3-Ø.kiss by   Siti
        (lit.) 'Ali tried Siti to kiss (him).'
     c'.   [Ali   na-iduk isiq Siti] (PF)
             Ali   3-Ø.kiss by   Siti
            'Siti kisses Ali.'

"try"-type control: The controlees (Ø) must be SUB=TOP)

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Contrasting pair

☞ b. Ali   nyobaq   [Ø   te-iduk   isiq Siti]   (Ø =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 [Ø   na=iduk   isiq Siti]   (Ø=P=OBJECT=TOPIC)
       Ali   N.try   3=Ø.kiss   by Siti
       (lit.) 'Ali tried Siti to kiss (him).'
   c'.   [Ali na=iduk   isiq Siti] (PF) ⟶ Cannot be a passive
                   3=Ø.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.'

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 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 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.

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) Controling 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 generali-Zations 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)
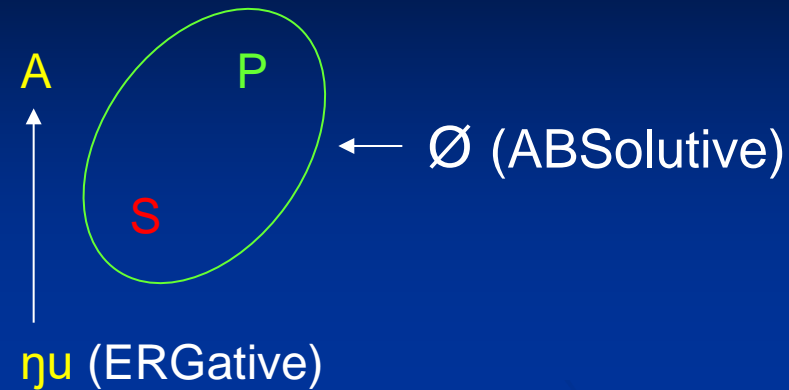   'I saw the woman who hit the man.'

Do S and P form Subject category?   Subjects in other lgs consist of S and A

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Dyirbal (Australia; Dixon 1979)

a. ŋuma   banaga-ɲu
   father.ABS return-PAST
   'Farther returned.'

b. ŋuma   yabu-ŋu   bur-n.
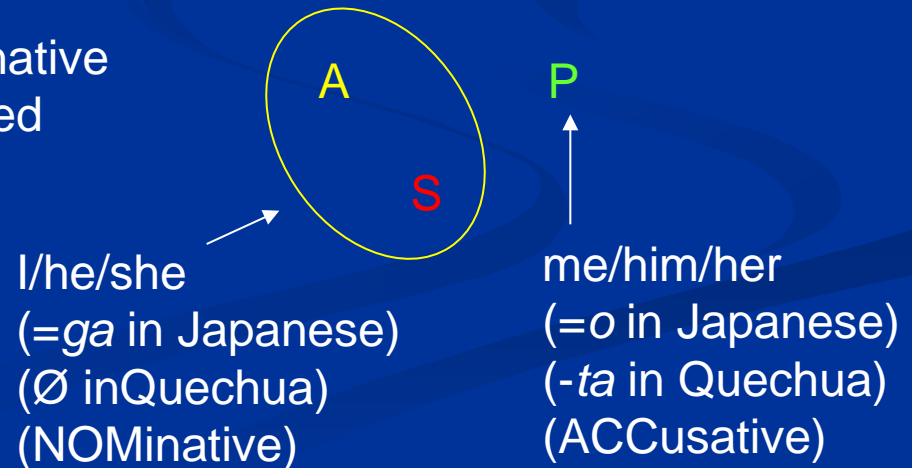   father.ABS mother-ERG see-PAST
   'Mother saw father.'

"(Absolutive-) Ergative pattern/language"

A   P

S

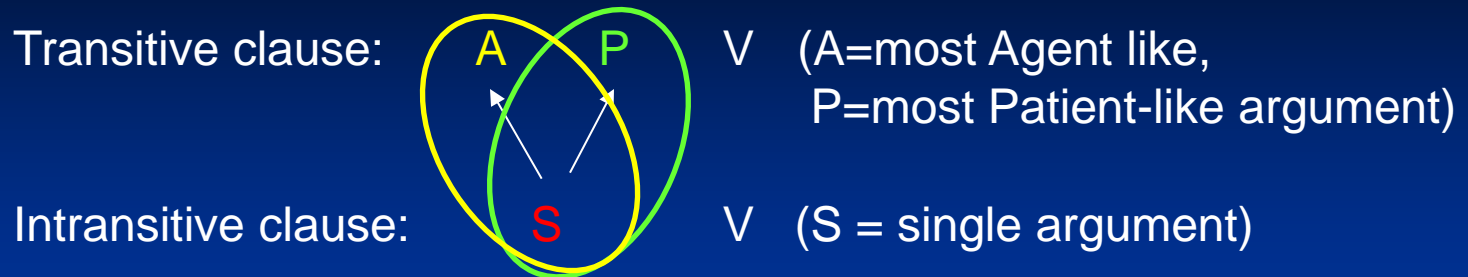← Ø (ABSolutive)

ŋu (ERGative)

"(Nominative-) Accusative Pattern/language"

English/Japanese/Quechua

A   P

S

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

I/he/she
(=ga in Japanese)
(Ø inQuechua)
(NOMinative)

me/him/her
(=o in Japanese)
(-ta in Quechua)
(ACCusative)

S=A≠P and S=P ≠A grouping once again

Transitive clause: A   P   V   (A=most Agent like,
                                        P=most Patient-like argument)

Intransitive clause: S   V   (S = single argument)

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 catetory.

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

Split-intransitivity

He killed her.
A   P

He ran   *Her died.
S_a is treated like A.

He died.
S_p is treated like A.

Eastern Pomo (McLendon 1978:)
a. xá:su:là   wí   ko:kʰóya
   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 Taroo=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
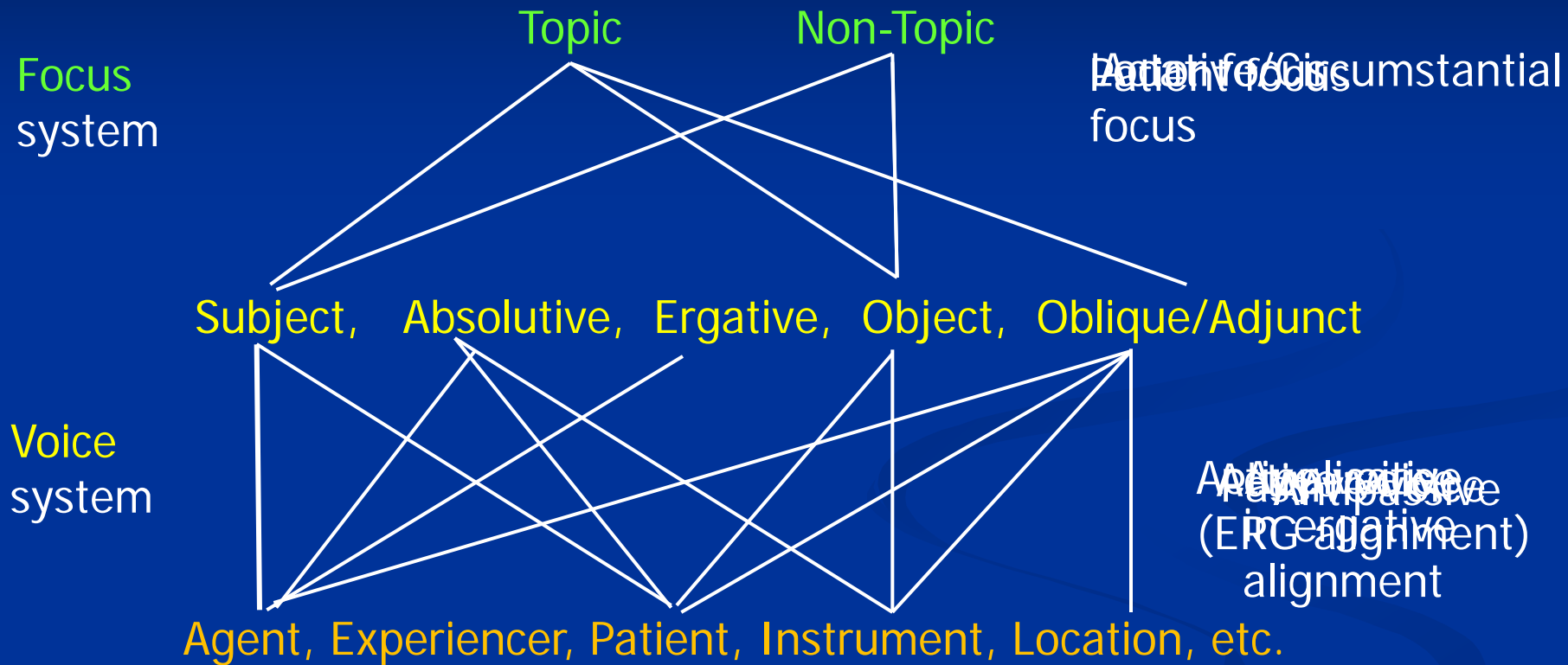   (i.e. more grammaticalized):
   1) They are indispensable (except in exclamatory and existential sentences)

   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.

Topic   Non-Topic

Focus system

Patient focus / Actor focus / Circumstantial focus

Subject,   Absolutive,   Ergative,   Object,   Oblique/Adjunct

Voice system

Accusative alignment / Antipassive / Applicative / Passive (ERG alignment) / Ergative alignment

Agent, Experiencer, Patient, Instrument, Location, etc.

Voice system regulates the correspondence pattern between semantic roles and semenatico-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).

Active/Passive, Active/Antipassive, applicatives, etc. involve change in, or realignment of, Subject, Object, Ergative,Absolutive, and Oblique:

Linking bet. semantic
roles & syntactic relations

Active (A=SUB; P=OBJ)
PASS (A=OBL; P=SUB)

Puyung meno-mené **Sasak**
a. Active: Ali bace   buku=ni   (A=SUB; P=OBJ)
             Ali   read   book=this
             'Ali read this book.'

b. Passive: Buku=ni   te-bace   isiq Ali   (A=Adjunct; P=SUB)
             book=this PASS=read by Ali
             'This book was read by Ali.'

The focus system does not change the correspondence pattern between semantic roles and semantico-syntactic relations; it links semantico-syntactic relations to the pragmatico-syntactic relations of Topic and Non-Topic:

AF (SUB=TOP; OBJ); PF (SUB; OBJ=TOP)

a. Active/AF : Ali bace buku=ni   (A=SUB=TOP; P=OBJ)
John has already read these books.

b. Active/PF : Buku=ni bace isiq Ali   (A=SUB; P=OBJ=TOP)
These books/Them, John has already read.

c. Passive/AF : Buku=ni te-bace isiq Ali   (A=OBL; P=SUB=TOP)
             (Like intransitive AF)
These books have already been read by John.

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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]
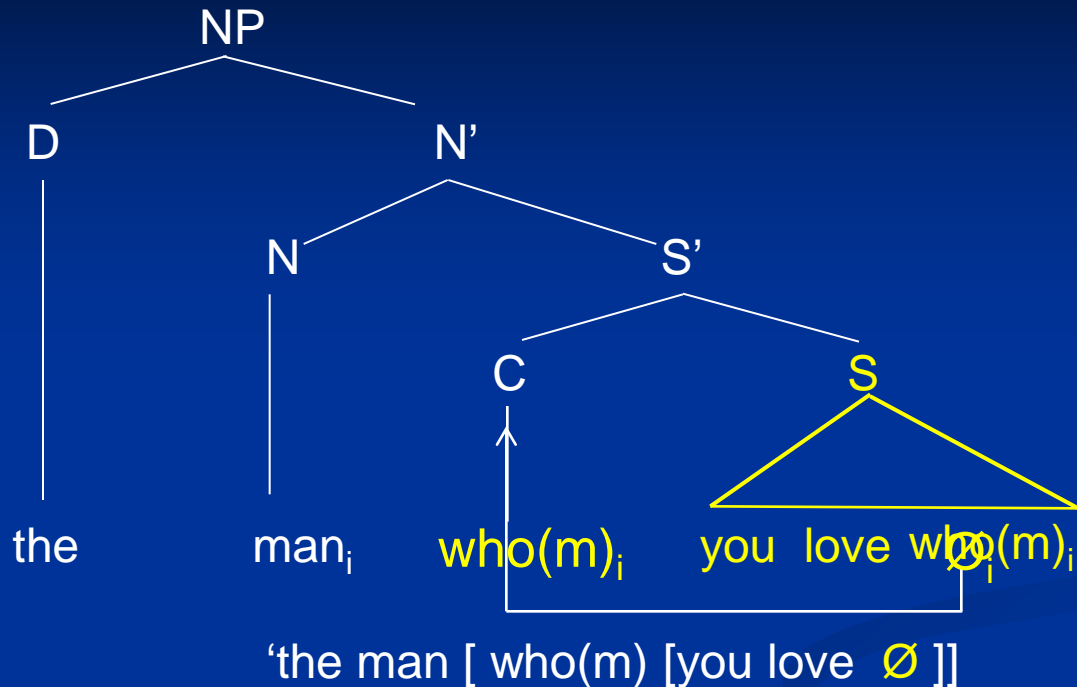
Cf. John got married recently.

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.

'the man [who(m) [you love Ø]]

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 wh*ich*

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 [Ø came]]

the man [that [I met Ø]]

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 Ø]

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

Thai

chăn chɔ́ɔp kràprooŋ [thîi [Ø khwɛ̌ɛn nay tûu]]
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)

    squliq [n-wah-an=mu   Ø   mita? hira?]

    man   PAST-come-LF=1S.GEN   see   yesterday

    'the man whom **I** came see yesterday'

Japanese

    [Taroo=ga   Ø 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

interrogative pronouns

Spanish

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

qué 'what'
quién 'who'

Bahasa Indonesia

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

apa 'what'
siapa 'who'

Thai

panhǎa [thîi   [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

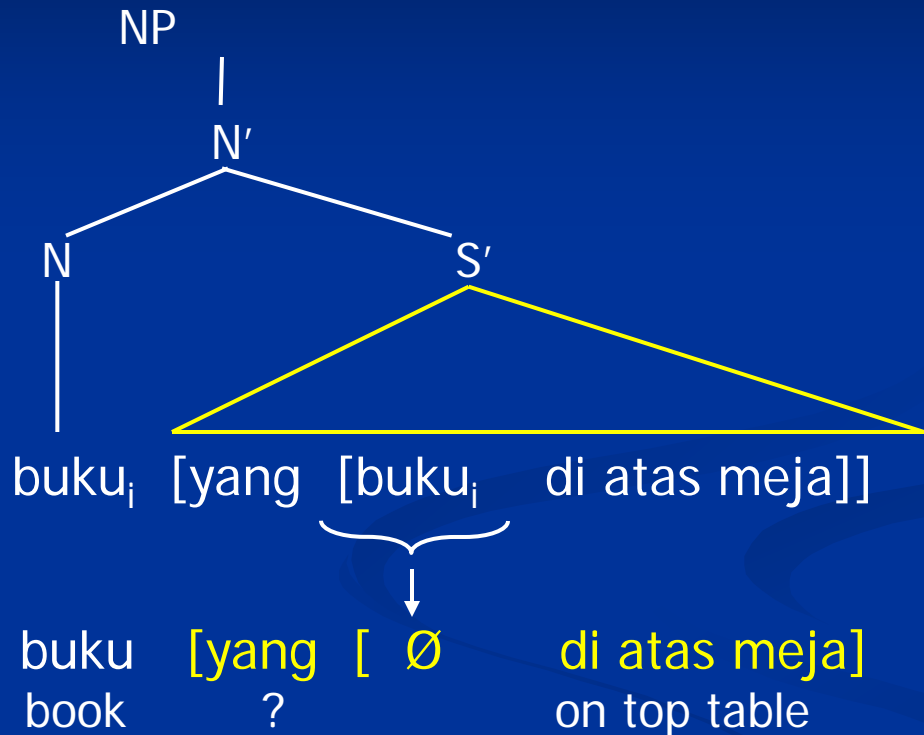shénme 'what'
shuí 'who'

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., Categorial 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

```
                          NP
                          |
                          N′
              N                      S′
              |
           buku_i  [yang  [buku_i    di atas meja]]

                          buku    [yang  [  Ø      di atas meja]
                          book       ?             on top table
```

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 Ø]]

       (b) You should marry [who(m) [you love Ø]]

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 selfesteem, 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 Ø] at least once a year.
(b) We visit [where he lives Ø] at least once a year.

(a) I forgot the time [when he arrived Ø]
(b) I forgot [when he arrived Ø]

(a) We know the reason [why he didn't come Ø]
(b) We know [why he didn't come Ø]

So, what is called a relative clause seems to occur independently outside the RC context. And we see that a gap is seem 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   Ø   yaita]   sakana o   kutta.
    mother NOM   broiled fish   ACC   ate
    '(I) ate the fish that mother broiled'

(b) [okaka ga   Ø   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, indpendent
     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 ellpited …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.   Ø   [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   fis 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.

Mdification-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   [lăaj   khon]
       teacher many CLF.PERSON
       ʹmany teachers'

    b. măa [sìi   tua]
        dog   four CLF.BODY
        ʻfour dogs'

Speaker A: Which skirt do you like?

Speaker B: (chăn chɔ̌ɔp)   [tua   [thîi*   khwɛ̌ɛn nay tûu]]
                  I   like   CLF.BODY NMLZ hang   in   closet
              ʹ (I like) the one hanging in the closet'

             Modification-use
Speaker B′: chăn chɔ̌ɔp kràprooŋ   [tua   [thîi   khwɛ̌ɛn nay tûu]]
             I   like   skirt   CLF.BODY NMLZ hang   in   closet
             ʻI like the skirt which is hanging in the closet.'

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

Cantonese

[nī **dī**] yú   [sām **go**] hohksāang
this CLF fish   three CLF   student
'this fish'   '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.'

[[Gaau 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) *hũʉ*   *õ*   *kãhi-ri-kʉ*   *ãbo-a-ha*   *yʉ*
    hammock   there   hang-PTCPL-hammock   want-PRES-~3   1s
    I want that hammock which is hanging there.

(481) *õ*   *kãhi-ri-kʉ*   *ãbo-a-ha*   *yʉ*
    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   cwãː=mha]   rām=yā(=mha)   macā   khaː
   there stand-CM exist.ND=/NMLZR Ram=GEN(=NMLZ)   child   COP
   'The one standing there is Ram's child.'

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

Inanimate classifier –guː

a.   ni-guː   saphuː
     two-CLF book
     'two books'

b. [ana   du=gu]   rām=yā(=gu)   gāri khaː
    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   khaː
   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　empfange　den,　[der/die/das　　　　　　　　　Ø　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 empfange den, [den/die/das　　　　　　　　　　du　mir Ø　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 empfange den,　[dem　　　du　Ø den　Brief　gegeben hast]. (間接目的語
　　I　　receive　　ART　IO.NMLZR　you　ART　letter give.PP　have　　準体言）
　　'I recieve the one whom you gave the letter.'

d. Ich empfange den, [dessen　　　Ø 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　empfange　den/die/das　Mann/Frau/Mädchen,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[der/die/das　Ø　　morgen kommt].

Morphology of nominalization

While many languages do not have overt markers (other than positional indications with a gap) distinguishing
Subject/Object nominalizations,

Mandarin Chinese
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)
ßaq-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   [ß-in-ainay   nukʔ   naßakis]
AF-cheap NOM.REF buy<PF.REALIS>buy GEN.REF   old.man
'What the old man bought was cheap.'

c. Locative focus (Locative nominalization)
ɣaɣhapuyan kuʔ   [naniq-an cuʔ   ßuŋaʔ 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 indicats that it is an OBJECT ARGUMENT NOINALIZATION

[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 (-Ø + 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*)

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 NMLZRs in German argument nominalizations

a. Ich empfange den, [der   [Ø morgen   kommt]]. (SUB NMLZ)
    I   receive ART   SUB.NMLZR   tomorrow comes
    'I receive the one who comes tomorrow.'

b. Ich empfange den, [den   [du   mir Ø vorgestellt hast]]. (DO NMLZ)
    I   receive   ART   OBJ.NMLZR you me   introduce have
    'I receive the one whom you introduced to me.'

c. Ich empfange den, [dem   [du   Ø den Brief gegeben hast]]. (IO NMLZ)
    I   receive   ART   IO.NMLZR you   ART letter give.PP   have
    'I recieve the one whom you gave the letter.'

d. Ich empfange den, [dessen   [Ø 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 Ø 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   Noun
[Taroo ga Ø katta]$_{NMLZ}$ [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 →
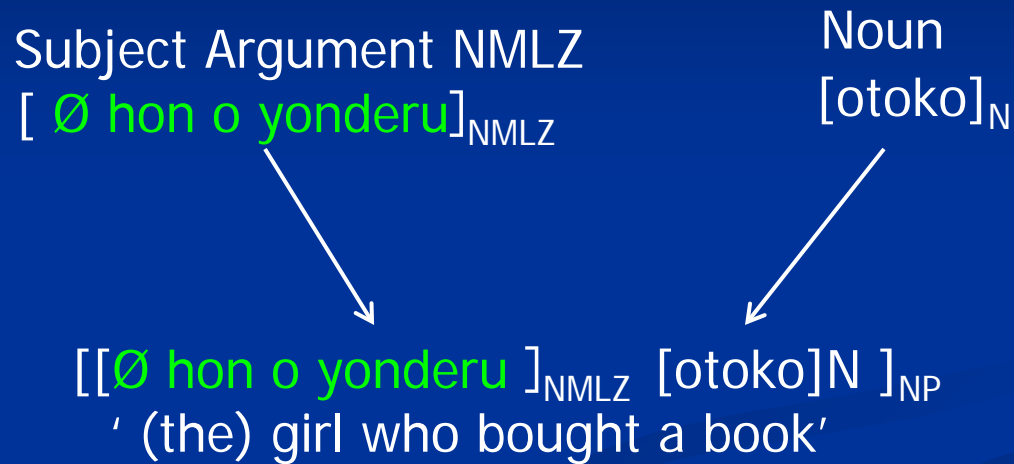
English, Urhobo →
(Niger-Congo)

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

Subject Argument NMLZ
[Ø hon o yonderu]$_{NMLZ}$

Noun
[otoko]$_N$

[[Ø hon o yonderu]$_{NMLZ}$ [otoko]N]$_{NP}$
' (the) girl who bought a book'

Object Argument NMLZ
[Otoko ga Ø yonderu]$_{NMLZ}$

Noun
[hon]$_N$

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

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

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 [Ø gave the boy the book]] (was my father)

Relativization on DO

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

Relativization on (IO)

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

In other languages possibilities appear more limited than English

Malagasy (Austronesian; Madagascar)

	P/OBJ?		ADJCT	A=TOP (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 Ø] aho
     PST-AF.MID-hit DEF dog   PST-with stick   1SG
'I saw the man [who Ø 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   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].'

Relativization on P/OBJ of AF constructions is not possible

If you want to relativize on Patient/OBJ

A=TOP (SU?)

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.'

P=TOP (SU?)   (PF)

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

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   lSG
'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

Malagasy

Welsh, Finnish

Basque, Tamil

N. Frisian, Catalan

German, French

English, Urhobo
(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 commt]_{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-indrama-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-indrama-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)
SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

Malagasy

Welsh, Finnish

Basque, Tamil

N. Frisian, Catalan

German, French

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 Ø] aho
      PST-AF.MID-hit DEF dog PST-with stick   1SG
'I saw the man [who Ø 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   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].' (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 (-Ø + GEN), instrumental *(-s*, etc.)

Yaqui (Uto-Aztecan): subject *(-me)*, Non-subjects *(-ʼu)*, locative (-*ʼapo*)

Kamaiurá (Tupí-Guaraní; Brazil): S(*-maʼe*), 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 mrohology) 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 Ø]]

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

You cannot combine *whom* with Subj Arg NMLZ:

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

This ungrammatical NMLZ is also ungrammatical in modification-use.

Marry a man *[whom [Ø 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.