The relative clause spectrum: the view from Maasai and Malagasy
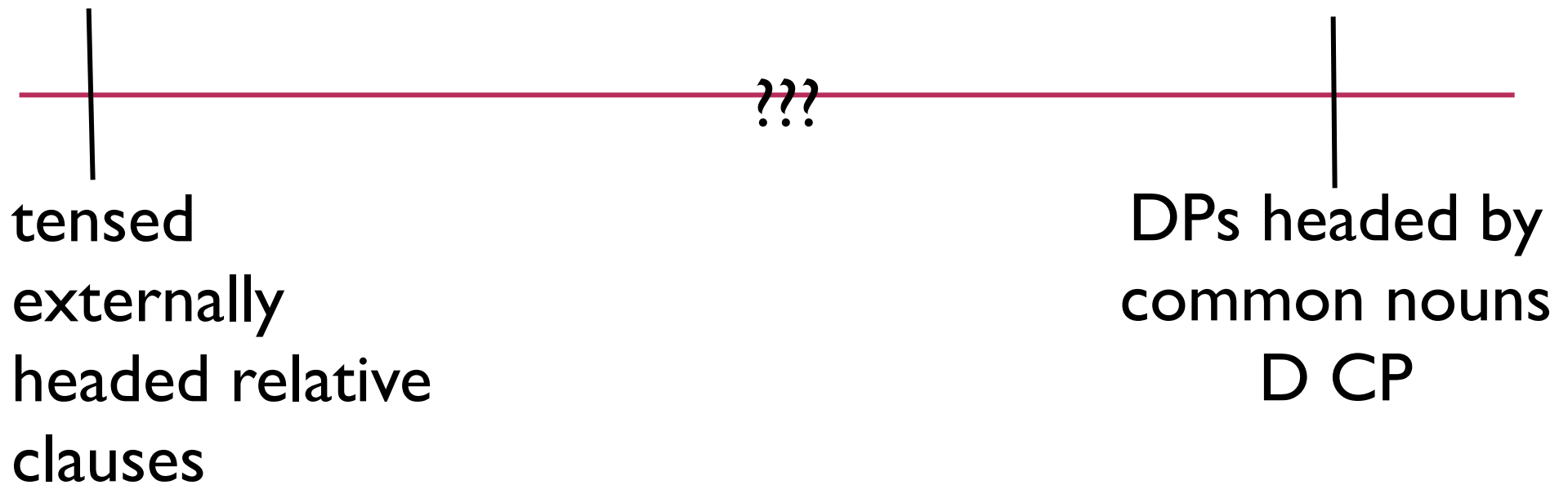
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GIST 5 Relativizing Strategies,
Gent
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pff, postscript: this pdf does not show the animations. If you'd like a keynote file, let me know

abstract:
Noun phra
below>

In previous
2006), I sh
headed by
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Relative clauses: the two extremes and what lies in between

tensed externally headed relative clauses	DPs headed by common nouns D CP

??? (on the line between the two extremes)

- Maasai (Koopman, 2003, 2005) common noun DPs: not D NP but relative clause D CP (this is the lower bound of relative clause spectrum. What lies in between?? Nominalizations (case study of Malagasy, drawing heavily on Nthelitheos 2006)

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Maasai

Oldía ildiaín
dog / dogs (citation form, acc)

look like some kind of relative: it is a relative!
--> link to (reduced) relative clauses (nairobi, ol tukai) Emon
Bach (1968), Rich Campbell (1996)

Structure of the noun; and DP order:

o.   l   ...   dia   (pron.poss)   Num A (DPposs)
ms.sg.ms...   dog(MS). NUM.CASE

atoms: case (tone), number (tone and segmental), gender, asymmetric agreements, gaps in
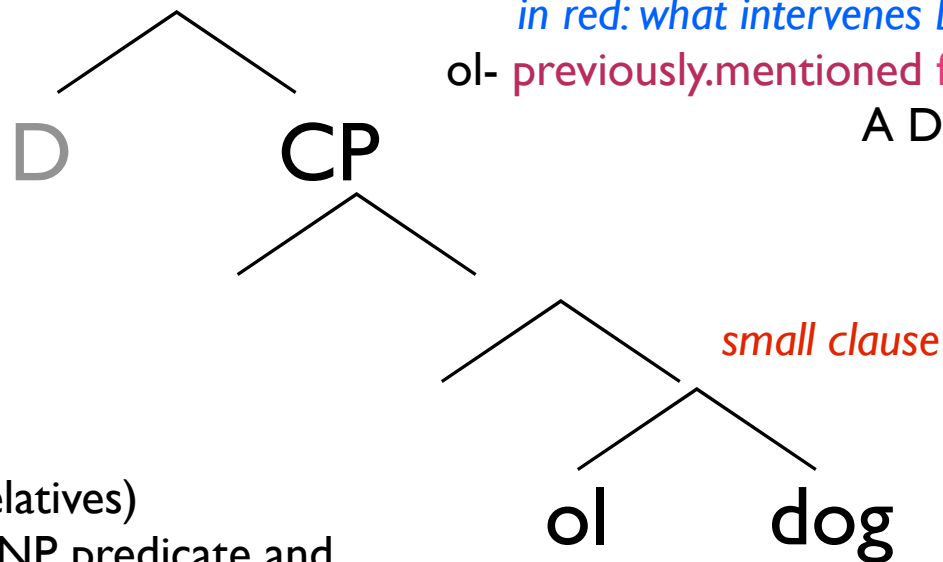attested agreements, independent occurrence o and l;
discontinuous ol and N;
derive these from the atoms and structure
phrasal movements (Koopman (2003, 2005), no difference morphology and syntax
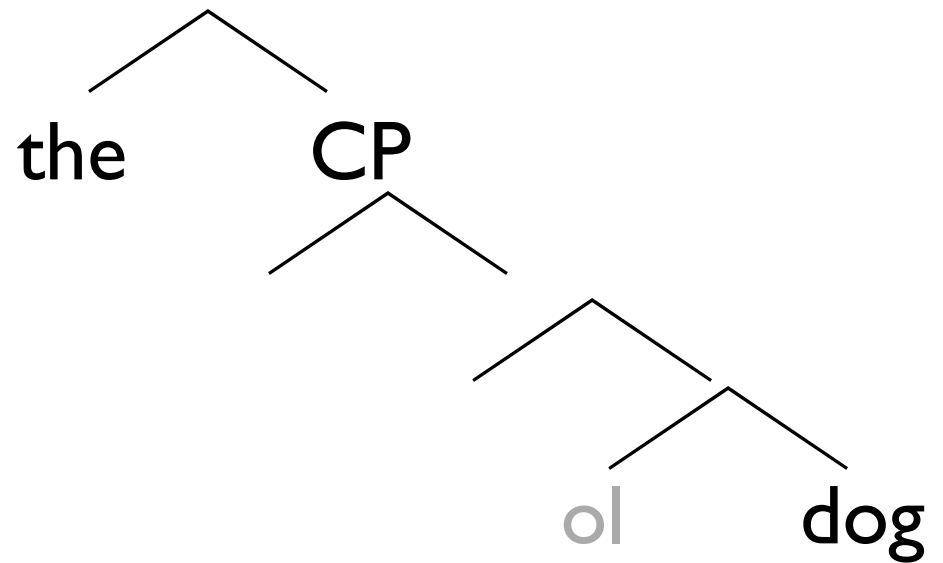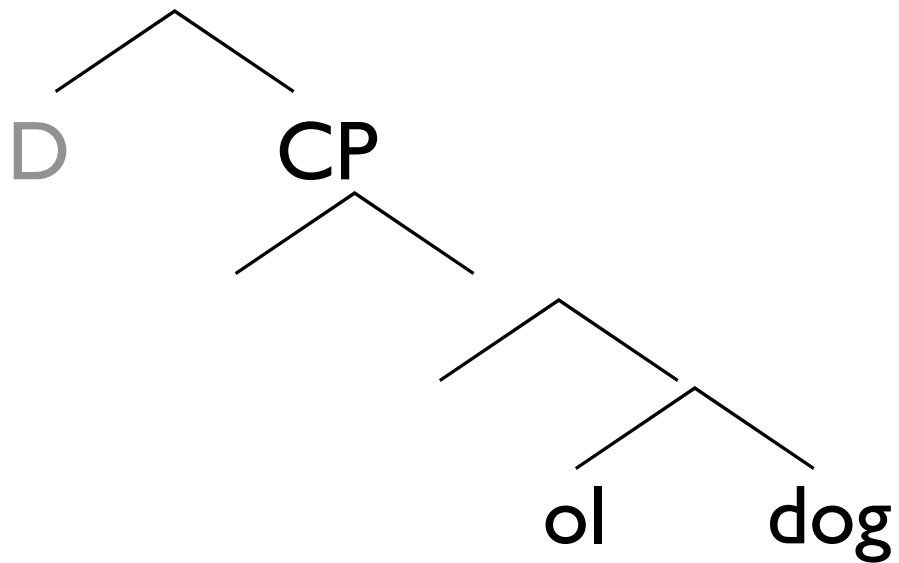
DPs with common nouns in Maasai:
D CP not D NP

in red: what intervenes between ol and NP(dog):
ol- previously.mentioned former-dog pos.pron Num
A DPpos

D   CP

small clause

ol   dog

raising analysis (free relatives)
--in (Maasai) both the NP predicate and
its "subject" are pronounced;
--(the subject) the"article" (ol, in..) is always
present (except for 2 neg polarity items:
thing, person) (pred nom, citation, indef,
compound,)
two independent surface constituents,
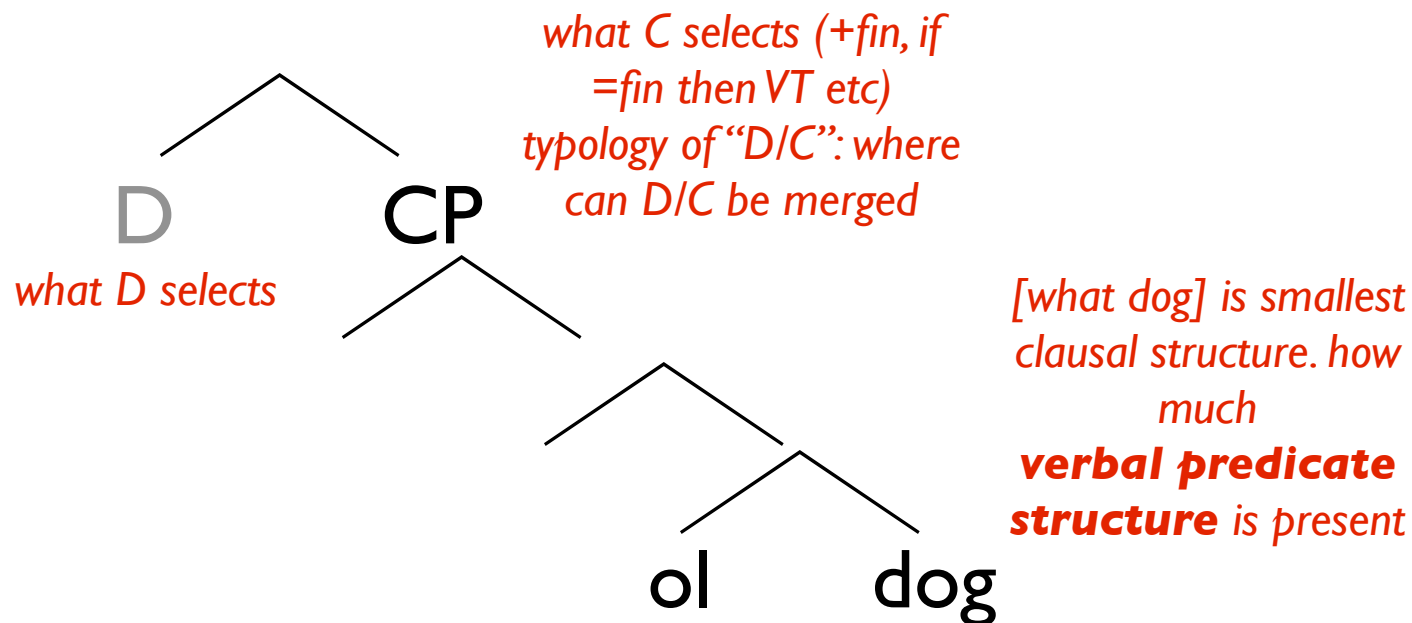(discontinuous consitituent due to internal
merge)

former merges with nominal SC.
former [SC....]
  A NP

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On the difference between Maasai and English DPs: pronounced ol vs silent ol

is this movement to C ever visible in English?
yes, if (silent) ol itself combines with a relative

```
        D    CP                          the    CP

              ol   dog                          ol   dog
```

	Maa	English	
predicate inversion	yes	no	(Pred S vs VSO)
"variable"-pronounced	yes	no	
D (CP) pronounced	no	yes	

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D CP expected variability

what C selects (+fin, if =fin then VT etc) typology of "D/C": where can D/C be merged

D CP

what D selects

[what dog] is smallest clausal structure. how much **verbal predicate structure** *is present*

ol   dog

what rel pronouns look like (present/absent)

Merge: how to reach Spec, CP? (locality) A or A' movement? --> A movement

Find yourself a language that shows a lot of the VP structure in its morphology and allows D C to merge with all kinds of complements (if same spell out, reflect same local structure)

Malagasy

based on: *The morphosyntax of nominalizations: A case study*
Ntelitheos, 2006)

a. n. **i.vídy** boky ho an'ny mpianatra ny mpampianatra.
   PST.**AT.buy** books for' D student D teacher
   'The teacher bought books for the student.'

b. no. **vid.in'** ny mpampianatra ho an'ny mpianatra ny boky.
   PST.**buy.TT/LNK**' D teacher for ' D student D books
   'The teacher bought the books for the student.'

c. n. **i.vidian.an**' **ny** mpampianatra ny boky ny mpianatra.
   PST.**AT.buy.CT/LNK**' D teacher D books D student
   'The teacher bought books for the student.'

active= AT actor topic voice:
i-, aN-, [Left periph... [T.AT.V.. O] S]]

non active=
TT theme topic
...[V-TTn S ...] O]

non active= CT circumstantial voice:
builds on AT voice forms [[2 3] I]
(i) [time/manner/location... [V atS-ct]
O]]
(ii) [atV-ct. n. S..(O)....] Obl

internal distribution
external distribution
gaps

---

f-nominalizations
mpampianatra   'teacher'
/pampianatra/
m**f**.AT.m**f**.AT.learn
'who causes there to be learning/someone
who learns'

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f-nominalizations

f-nominalizations
mpampianatra   'teacher'
/pampianatra/
m**f**.AT.**f**.AT.learn
'who causes there to be someone who learns'

  A.   i. f-AT nominalizations
        ii. f/m agent participant nominalizations (agent)
        iii. f-CT nominalizations (obliques, adjuncts)

f- can merge at different heights:
correlates with: different internal and external distribution:
 which follow from: the structural atoms, their merge order,
and *relativization* (internal merge), which looks like A movement

All f- nominalizations can combine with D:
ny [CP(T): use of determiner to form nominalizations..
D CP nominalizations

Malagaus also optionally uses f.a as a subordinator; this builds on top of the structure with a nominative topic (the "pivot".) fa is never selected. CPs with fa are strong islands, and occur in special positions, outside the verbal domain, following nominative topics. CPs without fa occur in the predicate phrase
...... [[(CP)] nom.top fa-CP]

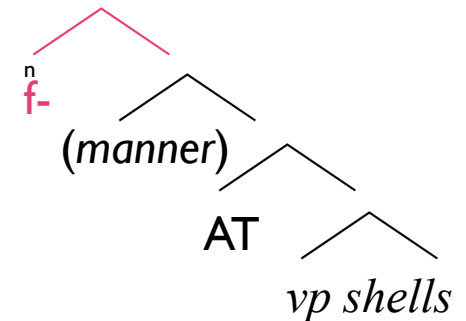# PART I. f.AT.V nominalizations: the smallest of the f-nominalizations.

a. **Instrumental, names tools**

vaky split open **mamaky** to cut **famaky** 'axe' N that cuts

zaitra sewing **manjaitra** to sew **fanjaitra** 'needle' N that sews

little n: where does n cat come from?
promoted, via relativisation

b. **Manner**

leha* (go) **mandeha** 'to go' **fandeha** manner of walking

teny language **miteny** 'to speak' **fiteny** manner of speaking

c. **can contain bare NP themes:**

ala, manala 'to remove' **hidy** lock, **fanalahidy** 'key'; N that removes lock

tarika mitarika 'to pull, lead' **andro** 'day' **fitarikandro** morning star; N that pulls the day

--f-AT nominalizations are [-animate];

--combine with all nominal projections (A, Num, Dem, D);

--cannot correspond to themes for transitive AT predicates;

--must contain AT and transitive VP shells (they are bigger than roots);

--*may not contain: event, definite object, acc, adverbs, scrambling, tense etc*

f attaches to AT verb forms, higher than the root;

but no higher than manner/AT Voice

a. **sasa m.an.asa** wash, trans**.**   **f.an.asa** '**manner of washing (sth.)**'

b.   **m.i.sasa** wash self   **f.i.sasa** 'manner of washing self'

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Analysis: f-AT nominalizations: manner and instruments

--manner, instruments (=subjects), *theme..

--A movement

--formation of nominal predicate outside cp-relative

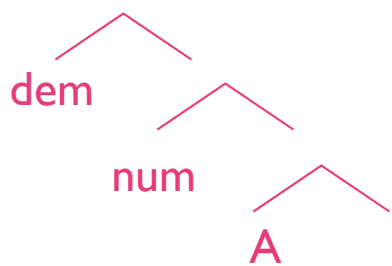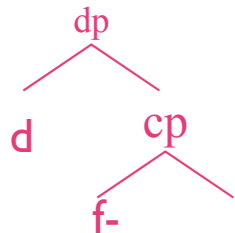why cannot the head be animate? (It can, but requires an extra piece of morphology: correlating: must be agentive: m+f-nominalizations: These ALSO contain acc: Agent...ACC ..f ..

--> if external argument is agent: ACC

formation of small clause

[ol] [NP]

dp
d   cp
f-

D
ny

dem
    num
        A

manner nominalizations

dem
    num
        A
            x   *cp*
                c(-fin)   *manner*
                    f-
                        n
                            AT
                                causer

instrumental nominalizations

cp
    c(-fin)
        f-   *AT*
                    n
                    instr
                        vp shells

PART II. Agent p-nominalization:
mf-extra piece of structure (f--> p): syntactic consequences (accusative objects)

NB written mp but pronounced as /p/

a. soratra 'writing' manoratra mpanoratra 'writer, an author'
b. asa   'work' miasa   mpiasa 'worker, employee'   [+]   *human, accusative*

Result nominals (professions)

a. mpaka sary (photographer) (habitual, no internal arguments with accusative)

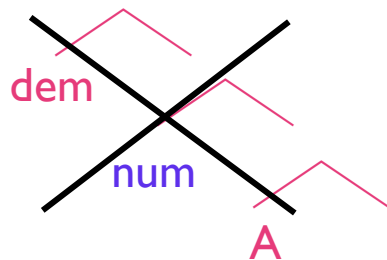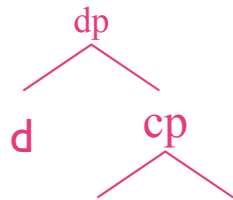*Event nominals: (yes, accusative, scrambling, event modifiers), no adjectives, possessors, numerals)*
a. m. aha. ndro sakafo matetika Rabe
  ASP.ABL.cook food   often   Rabe
   'Rabe cooks food often'
b. ny [**mp.aha.ndro** sakafo matetika] dia Rasoa   MODIFIERS
   D NML.ABL.cook food often TOP Rasoa
   'Rasoa is the frequent cook of food'

c. ny [**mp.aha.ndro** matetika **ny sakafo**] dia   Rasoa   SCRAMBLING
   D   NML.ABL.cook often D food   TOP Rasoa

d. . ny [**mp.amp.i.anatra   azy]**   matekika
     D NML.CAUS.AT.study 3/ACC   11
     'The one who teaches him/her/them…'

Analysis: mf-AT nominalizations: agentive (eventive)

postcript: what is crossed out cannot merge with C/f
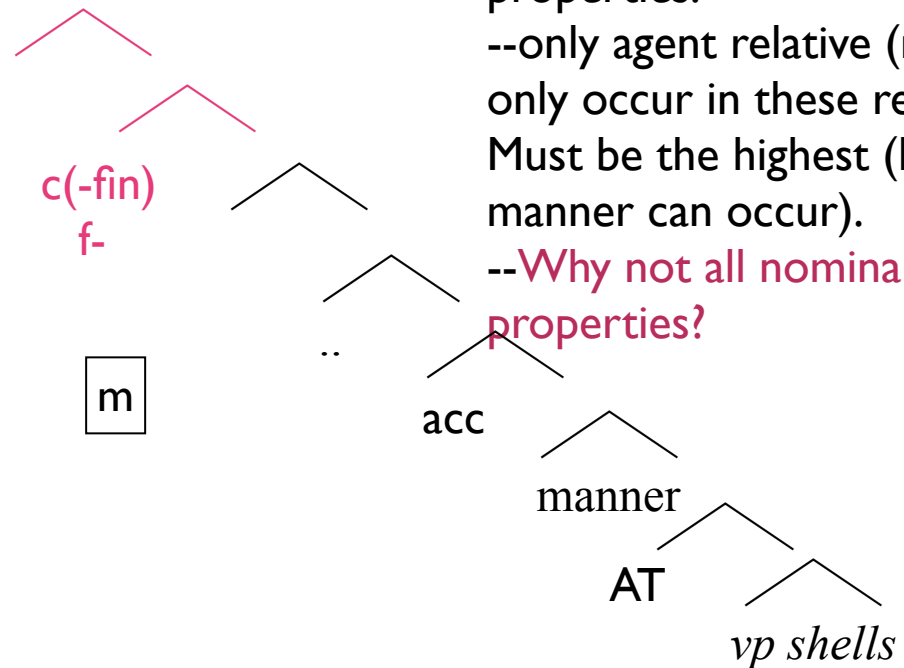This is perhaps because what moves is already a dp

--A movement:
--cannot be theme:
--accusative must be part of the region outside AT; event properties.
--only agent relative (m can only occur in these relatives. Must be the highest (low manner can occur).
--Why not all nominal properties?

~~formation of small clause~~

~~[ol] [NP]~~

dp

d   cp

D
ny

~~dem~~

~~num~~

A

+

human   m
accusative

c(-fin)
f-

..

m

acc

manner

AT

vp shells

If the subject of NP (x, i.e. Masai ol) has merged with the predicate NP below the C(f)., in the verbal spine, merging A/Num with c will never satisfy the semantic properties of A or Num..

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part III. f-CT nominalizations: build on AT voice

(9) f-CT nominals: [[AT-V] -an] Result, instrument, locative, manner

ROOT	GLOSS	CT-FORM	f-NOMINAL	GLOSS
hita	vision	ahitana	fahitana	sight; a vision
foy	abandoned	amoizana	famoizana	rejection, abandonment
asa	work	iasana	fiasana	thing you work with/instrument
ady	fighting	iadiana	fiadiana	weapon
anatra	advice	ianarana	fianarana	school
angona*	(gathering)	angonana	fiangonana	church
kapa	cutting	ikapana	fikapana	way of cutting
lomano	swim	ilomanosana	filomanosana	way of swimming

f-CT nominalizations can contain anything below T: (but no T morphology, no tense adverbs, no episodic readings, not the pivot (nominative topic) nor any of the left periphery.)

--> attach below T (yielding different CT nominalizations).

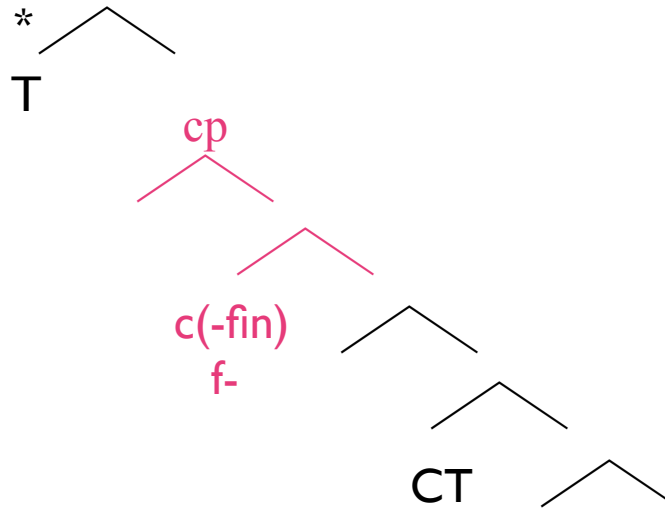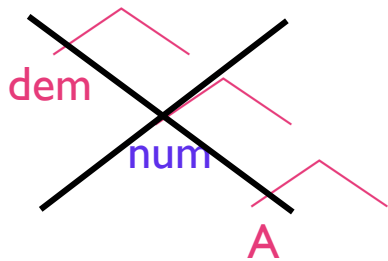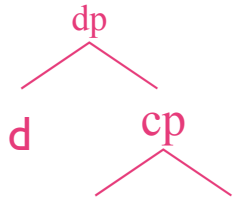this includes: definite objects, scrambling, high adverbs, accusative pronouns, recursive voices, etc..

how you get these readings from relativization? why no temporal readings?

ny f.an.doah.an-dRabe   tsara *(ny) rindrina dia ilay fantsika
D NML.AT.drill.CT/LNK-Rabe well D wall   TOP DEM nail
'The (instrument for) Rabe's drilling the walls well is this nail.'

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Analysis f-CT nominalizations: relativization of obliques

formation of small
clause

[o] [NP]

dp
d cp

cp
D ny cp

dem
num
A

*
T
cp
c(-fin)
f-
CT
+
Asp
Def O
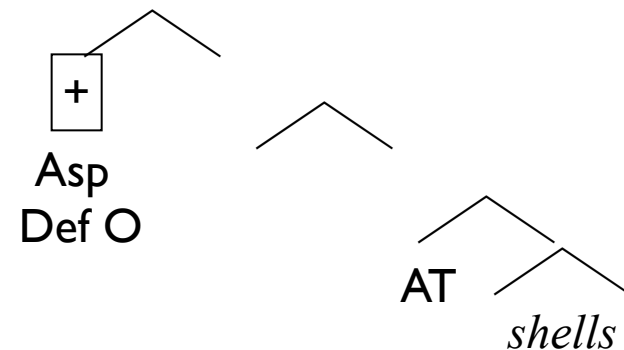AT
shells

-- CT merges high;
obliques should be the only
elements that can merge with C;
--not clear how to put all the
pieces together by merge.
*(f- must attach to AT, CT is merged above AT,
and ends up to the left of CT, CT non-active
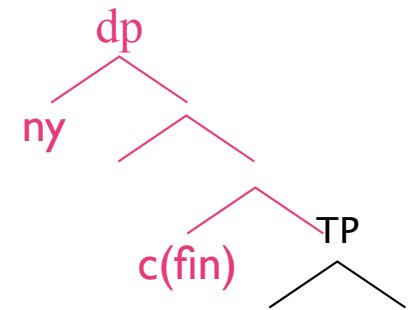voice, come with n edge, to which the subject
raises)*

how to get the readings?
nominalizations are relatives
with silent NPs that are
promoted: these get their
interpretation within the
relative in the usual way.

why no temporal f-nominalizations?
f- nominalizations do not contain T
morphologically (m-,n-/ho-, cannot
contain temp modifiers. (duration is
fine)

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Part IV: free relatives: D (ny) CP

--contain TP;
--(adverbs), episodic readings (Keenan and Polinsky)
--excludes nom topics and all higher elements in left periphery;
--what can relativize: predictable from voice forms. highest accessible element in TP, depending (at least in part on voice forms)
--have the distribution of Def DPs (*not suprisingly!*).

* ny f.i.amben.an' ny miaramila dia ny alarobia
   D NML.AT.watch.CT/LNK' D soldier TOP D Wednesday
   'The soldiers' (time for) watching is Wednesday.'

vs.

ny n.an.orat.an-dRasoa ilay taratasy dia (tamin') ny roa sy dimy
D PST.AT.write.CT/LNK-Rasoa DEM letter TOP (PST.at') D two and five
'The (time when) Rabe wrote this letter was five past two.'

Relative clauses: the two extremes and what lies in between

nominalizations

tensed externally headed
relative clauses

DPs headed by common nouns
D CP

- raising analysis, in conjunction with rich 'cartography', with further details and questions coming into focus: comparative syntax.

- If that- complements of V, DPs are relatives, how does this impact the theory of locality? When are DPs/CPs transparent, and when are they not? What can escape and how to understand this? *External possession, external PP, P-stranding (cf Kayne, 2003, 2005). Why only extraction from subjects of DPs?*

- Given the theoretical premises taken here only one option: this must be derived from structure building, perhaps depending on where D/C enters into the derivation. (cf Koopman and Szabolcsi (2000) on Hungarian *hogy*.)