

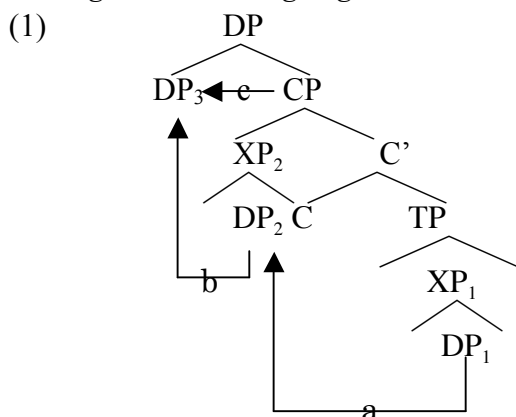
General Theory of Relativization

Shigeo Tonoike

University of Hawaii/Aoyama Gakuin University

February 12

In this talk, I propose, as a general theory of relativization, that relative clauses in all languages are formed by three operations in (1), *Wh*-movement (a), DP extraction (b), and CP adjunction (c) as schematically illustrated below. The order of elements varies parametrically, the one below being that of English-like languages.



Wh-movement (a) moves an XP containing the target DP, or the DP itself, to SpecCP. DP extraction extracts the target DP outside the relative clause, giving rise to a new syntactic object. CP adjunction (c) adjoins the relative clause to the target DP. DP extraction, it is proposed, is part of Nune's Sideward Movement, which comprises of extraction (copying) and merge.

As extensively discussed by Alexiadou, Law, Meinunger and Wilder (2000), there are two major competing proposals for a universal structure of relatives. I will show based on English data that (1) is free from the problems that each of the two alternatives suffers, and that the obstacle that (1) allegedly faces can be overcome easily by an independently needed modification of operator-variable constructions. Furthermore, I will show that a number of other cases that the other two alternatives cannot deal with can be easily handled by (1).

After having established the definite superiority of (1) for English and hence its plausibility as a universal/general theory of relativization, I will show how the schematic analysis accommodates parametric variation among various languages. The proposal in (1) contains four elements that can show variation: from right to left, the target DP/XP position DP_1/XP_1 , the complementizer C, the escape hatch position in SpecCP, DP_2/XP_2 and the extracted DP, DP_2 . Each of these is subject to variation.

In many languages like English, DP_1/XP_1 is not pronounced (null spell-out), whereas the relative head DP_3 is spelled out. But if as in other languages, DP_1/XP_1 is pronounced (spelled out), and DP_3 is not pronounced (or only the D part is pronounced), we get an internally-headed relative clause like the ones found in Lakhota.

Whether C has phonetic realization or not varies across and within languages. English can pronounce it as *that*, but for Japanese C has no phonetic realization (except for its effect on the verbal morphology).

Whether DP_2/XP_2 in SpecCP is pronounced varies, too: in English XP is generally pronounced (Pied-Piping), but DP is reduced to D, a relative pronoun, and can be pronounced but sometimes it can be left unpronounced. Other languages like Japanese do not pronounce XP or DP, often (maybe always) such languages are null pronoun languages.

Whether DP_3 is pronounced or not is correlated with whether DP_1 is pronounced: English pronounces DP_3 and suppresses DP_1 but Lakhota pronounces DP_1 and only the D part of DP_3 .

The adjunction direction of CP varies across languages, too: for English and many other languages, adjunction is to the right, whereas for Japanese, Korean and Chinese and many other languages, it is to the left. This points clearly to two things. Adjunction can be on the right or on the left and there is a parameter to choose between the two.

These choices define a fairly wide range of variation across and within languages and yet they are quite narrowly constrained in the sense that all languages will fall within the range defined by (1).

With a general theory of relativization like (1) in place, we can begin to look for a principled explanation of the descriptive generalization of the

Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977 or of Keenan & Hawkins 1987) by trying to decide which aspect(s) of (1) might play a crucial role in it.

Another interesting implication of (1) relates to its claim that relativization is essentially a movement of D, and that relativization can leave a D in SpecCP as a trace of relativization. The first part may be argued to account for the Tagalog fact that a relativized DP is generally headed by *ang* while the relative clause cannot contain an *ang* phrase if we assume that *ang* is D. The second part opens up a possibility for giving an alternative account to the famous (alleged) complementizer agreement fact in modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic, namely the possibility that the alleged agreeing complementizer is not a complementizer but the trace of D (i.e., relative pronoun) left at each SpecCP position.