

## Tagalog Relativization as a Lexical Process

Tagalog relativization and related constructions (headless relative clauses, pseudo-clefts, and *wh*-questions) have been analyzed to be syntactic processes: a relative clause is a full clause from which a head noun is extracted, and a focus affix is employed to indicate the semantic role of the gap (*wh*-agreement) (Kroeger 1993, Richards 2000, Aldridge 2002, Himmelmann 2005). With the spirit of Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982), however, this paper proposes an alternative analysis: Tagalog relativization is a lexical process, involving nominalization with a focus affix. In this analysis, what has been considered as a relative clause is a derived noun phrase apposed to its head noun, and a focus affix works as a nominalizer (for example, the actor focus markers *mag-* and *-um-* are agent nominalizers like English *-er*).

|                     |                                           |               |           |                  |                    |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------|------------------|--------------------|
|                     | tao-ng                                    | nagbabasa     | ng=libro  |                  |                    |
|                     | person-LK                                 | is.reading.AF | GEN=book  |                  |                    |
| Syntactic approach: | [NP Head                                  | [CP[IP        | V         | [e]              | Verb complement]]] |
| Lexical approach:   | [NP Head]                                 | [NP           | Derived N | Noun complement] |                    |
|                     | ‘a/the person who is reading a/the book.’ |               |           |                  |                    |

There are several pieces of evidence that verbs in a relative clause, referred to here as “REL verbs”, are syntactically nouns. [A] A REL verb by itself can work as a referential expression (i.e. headless relative clause), taking markers for case, number and/or definiteness, which are basically associated with nouns. See (1). [B] Two successive REL verbs can be inverted as in (2). This type of inversion can be applied to nouns but not to matrix verbs. [C] REL verbs can assign the dative case to a definite patient. This case-marking is available to gerunds (=nouns) but not to matrix verbs (McFarland 1978). See (3). These facts that REL verbs show the syntactic properties of nouns are problematic to the syntactic approach, but easily accounted for once we analyze REL verbs as nouns that are derived by nominalization.

- (1)        *ang=mga=[tumakbo]=ng*        *iyon*        ‘those ones who ran away’  
               NOM=PL=run.AF=LK        that
- (2)    a. *Sino ang=[sinabi mo]=ng [nagluto]?*        ‘Who did you say cooked?’  
               who NOM=said.PF you=LK cooked.AF
- b. *Sino ang [nagluto]=ng [sinabi mo]?*
- (3)    a. *lalaki=ng*        [*pumatay*        *kay=Juan*]        ‘the man who killed Juan’  
               man=LK        killed.AF        DAT=J.
- b. *pag-patay=ko*        *kay=Juan*        ‘my killing of Juan’  
               GRD-kill=my        DAT=J.
- c. \**Pumatay=ako*        *kay=Juan.*        Intended for ‘I killed Juan.’  
               killed.AF=1SG:NOM DAT=J.

Thus, in our lexical approach, Tagalog relativization is built in the lexicon, but not in the syntax (cf. syntactic vs. lexical approaches to noun incorporation): it is created by the morphological process of nominalization and stored as a noun in the lexicon like other morphologically derived nouns. This means that there is neither extraction nor constraint on it in our approach. The well-known Topic-only constraint on extraction has no place here, and *wh*-agreement is reduced to the selection of an appropriate nominalizer in terms of pragmatic adequacy in the same way as the selection of *-er* (agent nominalizer) vs. *-ee* (patient nominalizer) in English.

Subfield: syntax or morphology

Title: Tagalog relativization as a lexical process  
Name of author: Naonori Nagaya  
Affiliation: Rice University