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4. Ordinary relatives

- a. The relative clause is finite;
- b. The relativized NP within the relative clause is not overtly realized (gapping).
 “However, when the relativized NP is one of the NPs carrying verb agreement (absolutive, ergative, dative), the agreement marker acts like a kind of remote or indirect resumptive morpheme” (ex. 1 and 2);

(1) merkatuan	erosi	dituzun	sagarrak
market.LOC	buy	AUX.REL	apple.DET.PL

“the apples that you bought in the market”

(Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:765)

(2) sagarrak	erosi	dituzun	merkatua
apple.DET.PL	buy	AUX.REL	market.DET

“the market where you bought the apples”

(Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:765)

- c. The subordinator used is the suffix *-(e)n*, which “is a complementizer also used in indirect questions and subjunctive clauses”;
- d. The position of the relative clause with respect to the head is prenominal;
- e. In Basque the subject, the agent and the recipient can always be relativized.

Agent (not subject)

(3) emakume-a-ri	liburu-a	eman	dio-n	gizon-a
woman-DEF-DAT	book-DEF	give	has-REL	man-DEF

“the man who has given the book to the woman”

(Keenan, 2014:14)

Subject

- (4) gizon-a-k emakume-a-ri eman dio-n liburu-a
man-DEF-ERG woman-DEF-DAT give has-REL book-DEF

“the book that the man has given to the woman”

(Keenan, 2014:14)

Recipient

- (7) Gizon-a-k liburu-a eman dio-n emakume-a
man-DEF-ERG book-DEF give has-REL woman-DEF

“The woman that the man has given the book to”

(Keenan, 2014:14)

However, when the head of the relative is an oblique, the situation is more complex. In certain dialect, relativization is possible only for agents, subjects and recipients. In other dialects, instead, relativization may be possible for obliques too, but will usually present certain restrictions. These restrictions can be syntactic, morphological and contextual (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:778). As for syntactic restrictions, subcategorized oblique phrases are more likely to allow relativization than non-subcategorized ones, which sometimes cannot be relativized (see examples 8 and 9).

- (8) Hauek bizi ziren bailarak zortzi etxe zituen
these live were.REL valley.ERG eight house had

“The valley where they lived had eight houses.”

(Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:778)

- (9) *Hauek bizi ziren jendeek diru asko zuten
these live were.REL people.ERG money much had

“The people with whom they lived had a lot of money.”

(Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:778)

As for morphological restrictions, morphologically complex endings are harder to relativize, also because often these are also part of non-subcategorized cases. Finally, as for contextual restrictions, “accessibility to relativization is facilitated when the relative clause carries already known information, or when the pivot-noun

corresponds to some lexical realization of the case joined to the relativized NP” (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:779), like for instance the word “way” plus a modal instrumental NP (see example 10).

- (10) zuk lan egiten zenuen moduak denak harritzen gintuen
 you.ERG work do.IMP AUX.REL way.DET.ERG all astonish.IMP AUX
 “the way you worked astonished all of us”
 (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:779)

Possessors can be relativized only if “the semantic interpretation is transparent” (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:780) (see example 11).

- (11) izena ahantzi dudan gizon batek erran dit
 name forget AUX.REL MAN a.ERG tell AUX
 “a man (whose) name I have forgotten told me”
 (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:780)

5. Relative clause with resumptive pronouns

- a. The relative clause is finite;
- b. The relativized NP within the relative clause is realized through pronoun retention;
- c. The subordinator used is the suffix *-(e)n*, which “is a complementizer also used in indirect questions and subjunctive clauses”;
- d. The position of the relative clause with respect to the head is prenominal;
- e. This strategy does not seem not be very much used, and it seems to be limited to relativized NPs embedded within another NP or clause (see example 12). Besides, it also seems limited to oblique phrases.

Oblique

- (12) harekin gustora egotea lortzen dudan lehengo neska da
 her.COM well be.NOM.DET succeed.IMP AUX.REL first girl is
 “she is the first girl with whom I succeed in feeling good”
 (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:783)

6. Non-finite relatives

- a. The relative clause in non-finite;
- b. The relativized NP within the relative clause is not overtly realized (gapping);
- c. The subordinators used are the suffixes *-ko* (for adjectival participial relatives and infinitival relatives) and *-[r]ik(a)* or *-ta* for adverbial participial relatives. The suffix *-ko* can also be added to adverbial participles to make them adnominal;
- d. The position of the relative clause with respect to the head is prenominal;
- e. Examples of this kind of relatives have been found for agent, subject and oblique relative heads. It is also important to mention that adjectival relatives (see example 16) feature only in eastern dialects. Besides, as for infinitival relatives, it is not clear if they constitute proper relative clauses or “adnominal complement clauses subcategorized by different classes of nouns” (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:793). “Indeed, the question of determining the exact nature of these adnominal clauses remains to be studied more deeply” (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:795).

Agent (not subject) (adverbial participial relative)

(13)	atzo	ni-∅	ikusitako	gizonak
	yesterday	1SG-ABS	see.PTCP.REL	men
			"the men who saw me yesterday"	
			(Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:792)	

Subject (adverbial participial relative)

(14)	atzo	ni-k	ikusitako	gizonak
	yesterday	1SG-ERG	see.PTCP.REL	men
			"the men who I saw yesterday"	
			(Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:792)	

Oblique (adverbial participial relative)

(15)	zu	jaiotako	herria	
	you	born.PTCP.REL	country	
			"the country where you were born"	
			(Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:792)	

Subject (adjectival participial relative)

- (16) Baionako Ospitalean ikusi etsenplu, ibilmolde miresgarriak
Bayonne.REL hospital.LOC see example behaviour admirable.DET.PL

"the admirable examples and behaviours I saw in the Hospital of Bayonne"

(Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:790)

Agent (infinitival relative)

- (17) trafikoa zaintzeko ertzainak heldu dira
traffic direct.NOM.REL policemen arrive AUX

"policemen to direct the traffic have arrived"

(Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:793)

Oblique (infinitival relative)

- (18) orduan izaten zen - orain ere bai - eta
then be.IMPF AUX now also and
etxeko neska-mutillei jostailuak goxoak ekartzeko eguna
house.REL girl-boys.DAT NOM.REL candy bring.NOM.REL day

"that was then - and it still is - the day to bring toys and candies to the children of the family"

(Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:794)

7. **Bait-relative clauses** (only in eastern dialects)

- a. The relative clause is finite;
- b. The relativized NP within the relative clause is realized through pronoun retention;
- c. The subordinator used is the prefix *bait-*;
- d. The position of the relative clause with respect to the head is postnominal;
- e. It is not clear what kinds of restrictions infinitival relatives feature. However, there is at least one example for agent (see example 19) and for oblique (see example 20).

Agent

(19)	zenbat	deputatu	ez	da	dirudunen	eta	langileen	
	how.many	deputy	not	is	rich.GEN	and	workers.GEN	
	arteko	gerla	berek	sustatu	dutelakotz	baitire	jaun	han di?
	between.REL	war	they	stimulate	AUX.because	<i>bait</i> .are	gentleman	big

"how many deputies exist who are gentlemen, because they have been stimulating the war between workers and wealthy people?"

(Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:817)

Oblique

(20)	bizpahiru	egun	bereziki	hor	iragan	dire,	beldurtzeko	baitzen,
	two.or.three	day	especially	there	pass	AUX	fear.NOM.REL	<i>bait</i> .AUX
	ez	zedin	gehiago	trein	bat	higi	nehorat	
	not	AUX(SUBJ) .COMP	anymore	train	one	move (RAD)	anywhere	

"at this time two or three days passed during which one was afraid that no train could move anywhere anymore"

(Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003:817)

In addition to the above-mentioned ones, there are also other possible strategies, which however are either very rare or archaic, therefore not really worth mentioning.

Bibliography

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