A Relative Clause Analysis of Event Existential Constructions in Aklanon[1]

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In Aklanon (AKL), an understudied Western Visayan language, the robust correlation between Philippine-type voice and nominal case seems to break down in 'event existential constructions' ('EECs'). In this talk I show that this discrepancy is only apparent and dissolves under the proposed analysis wherein the existential *maj* selects: (i) a relative clause ('RC') as its complement, and (ii) a topic-marked argument which controls a RC-internal PRO. Because violations of case assignment in EECs are only apparent, the robust generalization that case and voice covary can be maintained in Aklanon generally. This study contributes to a richer understanding of cross-linguistic variation in existential constructions of Philippine languages.

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1. Introduction

- In Aklanon (endonym *Inakeanon* [ʔinakɯaˈnon]), an understudied Central Philippine language (AKL; Western Visayan), Philippine-type 'voice' affixes generally reflect the thematic role of a single discourse-prominent argument (henceforth 'topic').

(1)   *Canonical Aklanon Patient Voice Clause*
        gin-taʔó   ʔit maʔéstra sa ʔuŋáʔ   ro líbro.
        PV.PFV-give   UNM teacher DAT child   TOP book
        'A teacher gave the book to the child.'

- Compare this to the pattern observed in 'Event Existential Constructions' ('EECs').[2]
- Unexpectedly, EECs 'cleave' case and voice apart: the **semantic agent** is invariably topic-marked.

(2)   *Aklanon Patient Voice EEC*
        maj   gin-taʔó   sa ʔuŋáʔ   ro maʔéstra.
        EXIST   PV.PFV-give DAT child   TOP teacher
        'The teacher gave something to the child.' (EEC)

ABBREVIATIONS: 1SG — 1st person singular; APPL — applicative; AV — agent voice; COMP — complementizer; DAT — dative argument; EXIST — existential; INF — infinitival; IV — instrument ('circumstantial') voice; LK — linker; LOC — locative; LV — locative voice; n — negative; OBL — oblique argument; PFV — perfective; POT — potential; PV — patient voice; REAL — realis; RPRT — reportative; STAT — stative; SBJV — subjunctive; TOP — topic argument; UNM — unmarked argument

[2] I follow Aldridge (2011) in using this term.

- In this talk, I will argue that this 'case-cleaving' effect is superficial.

- I propose that (i) the complement of *maj* is a relative clause ('RC') (cf. Law 2010), (ii) the topic-marked argument is an external argument of *maj*, and (iii) the topic-marked argument controls a RC-internal PRO.

2. Background

- Spoken in Aklan on the island of Panay.

- Vitality: 4 (Educational), Speaker Population: ±550,000 (Ethnologue 2021)

- Relatively understudied, apart from some descriptive materials (De La Cruz & Zorc 1968, Salas Reyes et al. 1969)

- Predicate initial with argument scrambling.

- This work is the result of ongoing (remote) elicitation since 2018 with an Aklanon native speaker who also speaks Tagalog and English, and has lived in the US for several decades.
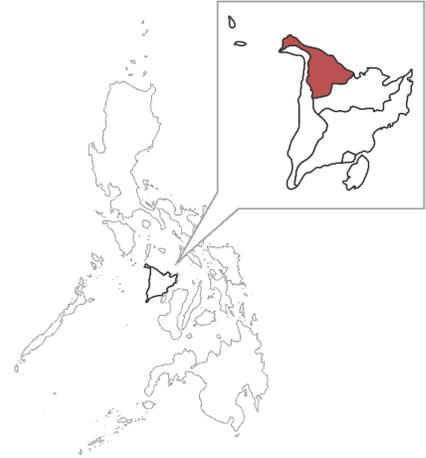

Figure 1. Aklan (in orange)

2.1. Assumptions

- I am assuming a VP-remnant movement operation to derive V1 syntax in Aklanon (Clemens & Polinsky 2017).

- My analysis of EECs is independent of and compatible with major theories of Philippine voice (e.g. Aldridge 2004 i.a., Rackowski & Richards 2005, Chen 2017).

- I adopt the following terminology: topic argument (*ro/si*-marked), unmarked argument (*ʔit~ko/ni*-marked), and dative/locative argument (*sa/kaj*-marked).

Table 1. *Aklanon Case Marking Paradigms for All Voices*

	AV		PV		LV		IV	
External Argument	**ro**	**si**	*ʔit, ko*	*ni*	*ʔit, ko*	*ni*	*ʔit, ko*	*ni*
Internal Argument	*ʔit, ko*	*ni*	**ro**	**si**	*ʔit, ko*	*kaj*	*ʔit, ko*	*ni*
Location/Goal	*sa*	*kaj*	*sa*	*kaj*	**ro**	**si**	*sa*	*kaj*
Instrument	*ʔit, ko*	*ni*	*ʔit, ko*	*ni*	*ʔit, ko*	*ni*	**ro**	**si**

- I will assume that the Aklanon RCs I deal with in this talk are true relatives, not nominalizations, since they retain their argument structure, voice morphology, and their verbs undergo syncope in certain voices (Hsieh 2018).

3. 'Event Existential Constructions' (EECs)

- First described in Tagalog meticulously by Schachter & Otanes (1978:276-280).

- First analyzed in Tagalog by Law (2010) under the name 'impersonal construction,' followed by Aldridge (2011) and Adar (2013).

- Recall:

(3)   Aklanon Patient Voice EEC
maj   [*gin-taʔó   sa ʔuŋáʔ*]   *ro maʔéstra.*
EXIST   PV.PFV-give   DAT child   TOP teacher
'The teacher gave something to the child.' (EEC)

(4)   Questions for an Analysis to Address
   a. What assigns case to the topic-marked argument (i.e. the agent)?
   b. What is the complement of *maj*?
   c. How is the topic construed as the agent of the embedded verb?

3.1. Previous Analyses (in Tagalog)

- Law (2010) argues that the complement of Tagalog ‹*may*› is a relative clause headed by a null noun (5a) with evidence from pluralization (cf. 5b), as well as adverbs, extraction, and relative clause 'stacking.'

(5)   Tagalog EECs from Law (2010:316-7; glosses modified)
   a. *may/mayroon*[3]   [$_{NP}$ Ø$_{N}$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ *niluto*]]]   *ang guro.*
       EXIST   cooked.PV   TOP teacher
       'The teacher has something that was cooked.' (Law 2010, ex. 45a)

   b. *may/mayroon* dalawa-ng   [$_{NP}$ Ø$_{N}$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ *niluto*]]]   *ang guro.*
       EXIST   two-LK   cooked.PV   TOP teacher
       'The teacher cooked two things.' (Law 2010, ex. 46a)

- Limitations: Law (2010) omits systematic discussion of headed RCs, does not propose a structure for ‹*may*›, and does not derive the fact that the topic-marked argument is interpreted as the agent of the RC (see Law 2010:315, fn. 13).

- Aldridge (2011) argues against Law (2010) because Tagalog apparently allows argument extraction out of EECs.

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[3] Both Law (2010) and Aldridge (2011) treat the existentials ‹*may*› and ‹*mayroon*› as equivalent, but Law (2010:313) notes that they have slightly different syntactic behaviors. For instance, only ‹*mayroon*› allows *wh*-extraction from its complement. The same difference is found in Aklanon *maj* vs. *maj ʔúnaʔ,* where *ʔúnaʔ* is a demonstrative. I leave *maj ʔúnaʔ* for future work and focus my analysis only on the properties of *maj.*

(6) Tagalog (Aldridge 2011:3, ex. 6; gloss modified)
  Sa lalaki *may* [*i-b<in>igay* *na bulaklak* t$_{PP}$] *ang* *babae.*
  DAT man EXIST APPL-<PV.PFV>give LK flower TOP woman
  'To the man, the woman gave a flower.'

  '[. . .] the relative clause analysis must be rejected, because it cannot account for the lack of island effects in extraction from event existentials.' (Aldridge 2011:3).

- Aldridge's proposal: 'I propose that the existential verb in Tagalog embeds a *v*P. The external argument raises to the edge of matrix *v*P.' (Aldridge 2011:7)

(7) TP (Aldridge 2011:8)[4]
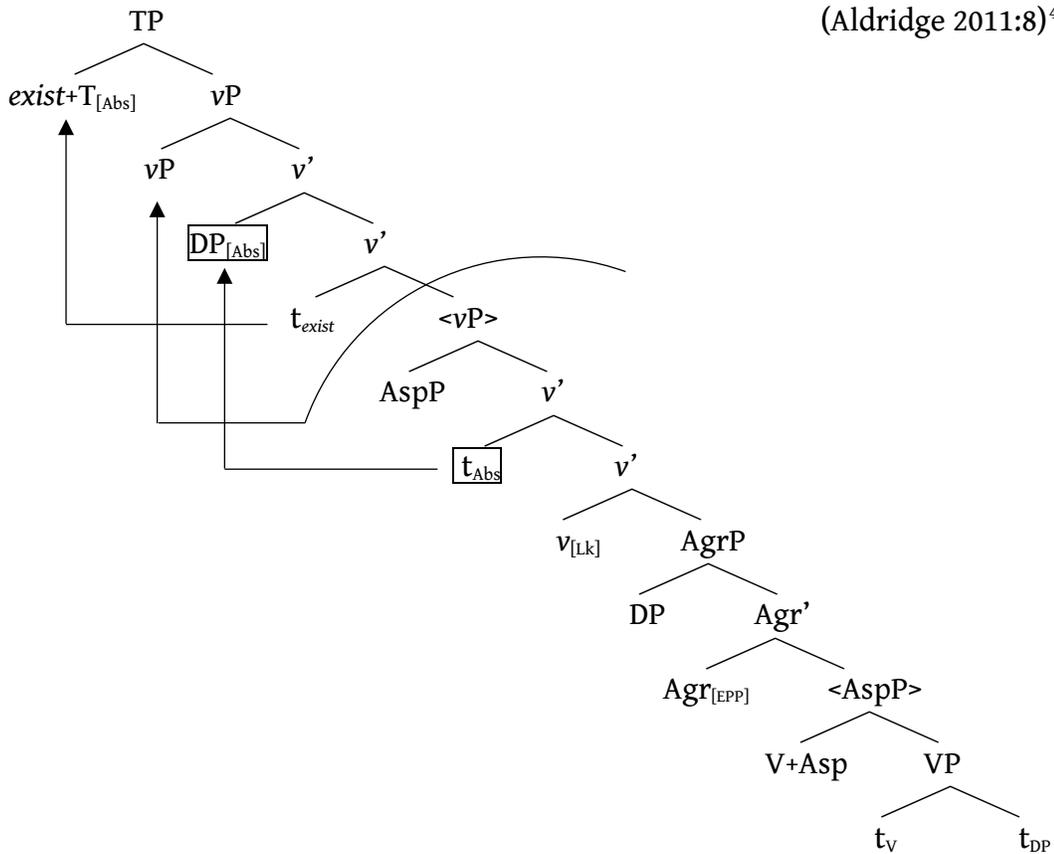
- Limitations: Aldridge's analysis does not address externally headed RCs, nor does it account for Law's (2010) adjunct modification facts.

- Adar (2013) argues that Tagalog EECs are not actually EECs in the original sense of the term (Côté 1999). He advocates for a Law (2010)-type approach, suggests that EECs might actually be pseudorelatives (Cinque 1992), and appeals to Truswell's Single Event Condition to explain the grammaticality of extraction from EECs (Truswell 2010, 2011).

[4] Movement arrows and boxes are my own addition.

▪ Limitations: Adar (2013) does not propose a mechanism by which the topic is construed as agent of the relative clause.

INTERIM SUMMARY

✓ Law (2010) proposes a relative clause analysis of Tag. EECs, but does not derive how the external argument of ‹*may*› is interpreted as the subject of the relative clause.
✓ Aldridge (2011) argues against Law's (2010) analysis, and proposes that the complement of Tag. ‹*may*› is a *v*P – the topic raises to subject of ‹*may*›.
✓ Adar (2013) argues in favor of a relative-clause analysis and draws on the Single Event Condition to explain the grammaticality of extraction from EECs.

3.2. The Present Analysis

▪ I will argue the following:

    a. The complement of *maj* in Aklanon EECs is a relative clause (a la Law 2010) which can be free or headed, not a *v*P (contra Aldridge 2011).

    b. The topic-marked argument is a base-generated external argument of *maj.*

    c. Case-cleaving arises when a topic-marked argument of *maj* controls a relative clause-internal PRO.

    d. Verb-initial (V1) syntax is derived by VP raising of *maj* and its complement.

(8)   Structure of an Aklanon PV EEC before V1 Movement
        ro maʔéstra$_i$ *maj*   [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ Ø [$_{CP}$ Op$_k$ [$_{vP}$ PRO$_i$ *gin-taʔó* t$_k$ *sa ʔuŋáʔ*]]]].
        TOP teacher   EXIST   PV.PFV-give   DAT child
        'The teacher gave something to the child.'

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                          vP
                 ┌─────────┴─────────┐
              DPᵢ                    v'
          ro maʔestra          ┌─────┴─────┐
          TOP teacher          v          VP
                             maj      ┌────┴────┐
                            EXIST     V         DP
                                    maj    ┌─────┴─────┐
                                   EXIST   D          NP
                                        ┌──────┴──────┐
                                       NP             CP
                                       Ø        ┌─────┴─────┐
                                              Opₖ          AspP
                                                      ┌─────┴─────┐
                                                     Asp          vP
                       control                            ┌────────┴────────┐
                          └──────────────────────►     PROᵢ                v'
                                                                    ┌────────┴────────┐
                                                                    v                VP
                                                                            ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                                                                           VP                   PP
                                                                     ┌──────┴──────┐         sa ʔuŋáʔ
                                                                     V            tₖ         DAT child
                                                                  gin-taʔó
                                                                  PV.PFV-give
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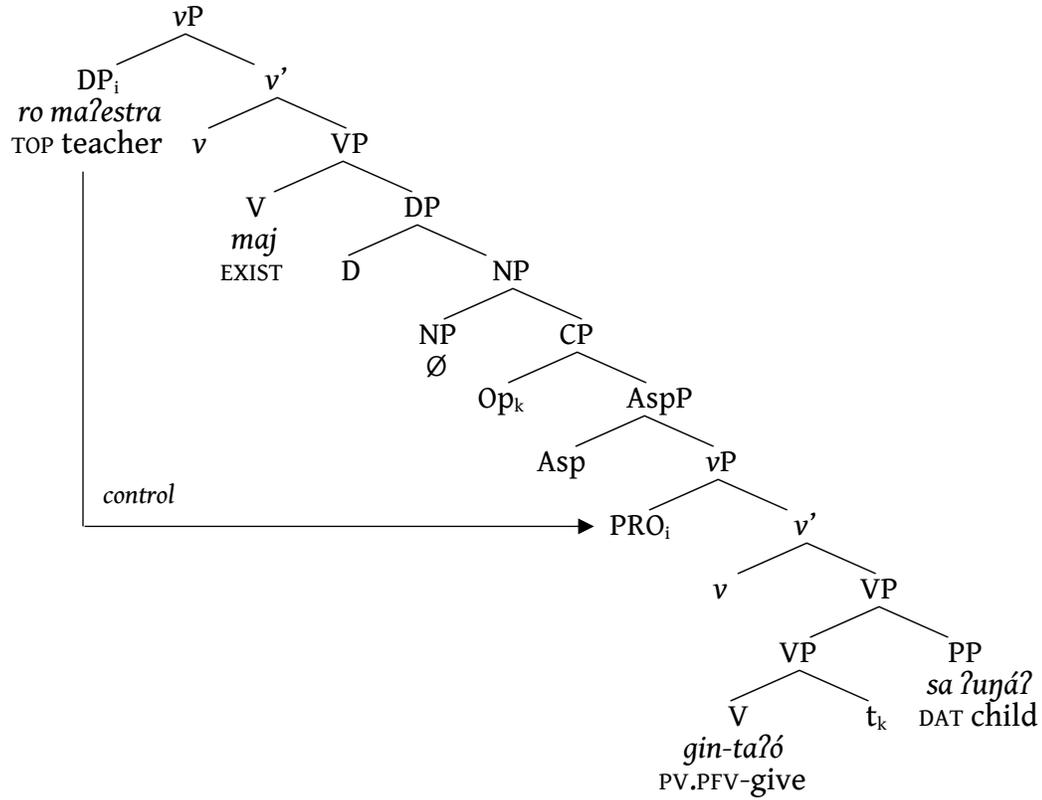
Claim 1: Complement of *maj* is a Relative Clause

▪ This section will focus on arguments that the complement of *maj* is a RC:

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                 vP
          ┌──────┴──────┐
      DP_TOP            v'
                  ┌──────┴──────┐
                  v            VP
                          ┌─────┴─────┐
                          V    ┌──────────────────┐
                         maj   │       DP          │
                        EXIST  │  ┌─────┴─────┐    │
                               │  D          NP    │
                               │         ┌────┴────┐│
                               │         N        CP │
                               │         Ø    ┌───┴───┐
                               │            Opₖ    . . .│
                               └──────────────────┘
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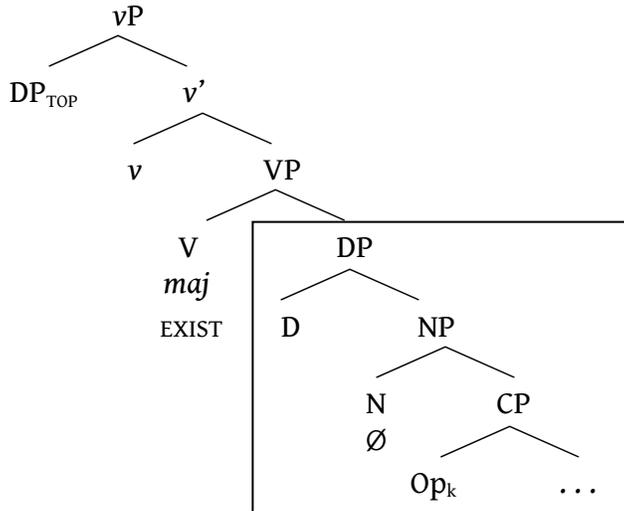
Argument 1: Modifiers to the Relative Clause

▪ If there is a headless relative in Aklanon EECs, it should be accessible to nominal modification, like Law (2010) showed for Tagalog.

- Aklanon plural data replicates Law's (2010) evidence of this:[5]

(9)   Aklanon Pluralized PV EEC

maj	[*maŋa* *gin-taʔó*	*sa ʔuŋáʔ*]	*ro maʔéstra.*
EXIST	PL PV.PFV-give	DAT child	TOP teacher

'The teacher <u>gave things to the child</u>.' (EEC)

- Prenominal modifiers such as *maŋa* receive straightforward treatment on the RC analysis:

(10)   Structure of Pluralized PV EEC before V1 Movement

ro maʔéstra$_i$ maj [$_{DP}$[$_{NP}$[$_{XP}$*maŋa*][$_{NP}$ Ø [$_{CP}$ Op$_k$ [$_C$ *ŋa* [$_{vP}$ PRO$_i$ *gin-taʔó* t$_k$ *sa ʔuŋáʔ*]]]]]].

TOP teacher	EXIST	PL		LK	PV.PFV-give DAT child

'The teacher gave things to the child.'
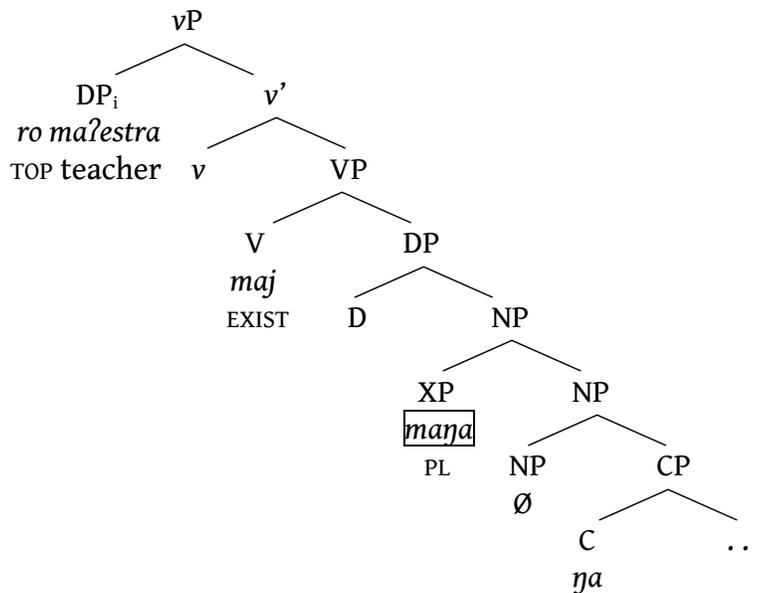
- Postnominal modifiers like PP adjuncts receive similar treatment. Consider:

(11)

gin-bása	*ni Raʔúl*	*ro líbro*	*tuŋód sa Akuyán.*
PV.PFV-read	UNM R.	TOP book	about DAT A.

'Raul read <u>the book about Aklan</u>.'

- As predicted, postnominal PP adjuncts can also modify the RC:

(12)

| *maj*	[*tuŋód sa Akuyán*	*ŋa*	*gin-bása*]	*si Raʔúl.*
EXIST	about DAT A.	LK	PV.PFV-read	TOP R.

'Raul read <u>something about Aklan</u>.' (EEC)

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[5] In fact, like Tagalog (Law 2010), other phrases may also modify the complement of *maj*:

i.

maj	[*dájwa=ŋ*	*gin-uyáhaʔ*]	*si Raʔúl.*
EXIST	two=LK	PV.PFV-cook	TOP R.

'Raul <u>cooked two things</u>.' (EEC)

▪ On the present analysis, this fact also follows straightforwardly:

(13) Structure of (12) before V1 Movement

si Ra?úl$_i$ maj [$_{DP}$[$_{NP}$[$_{NP}$ Ø][$_{PP}$ tuŋód sa Akuɟán]]][$_{CP}$ Op$_k$ [$_C$ ŋa][$_{AspP}$ PRO$_i$ gin-bása t$_k$]]].
TOP R.   EXIST   about DAT A.   LK   PV.PFV-read

'Raul read something about Aklan.'
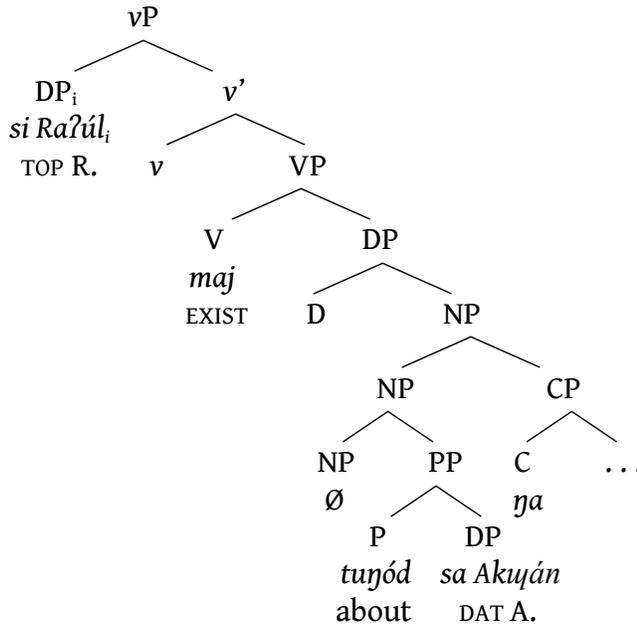
▪ If the complement of *maj* is a *v*P in (12), it is unclear what projection would host the plural modifier or the PP adjunct or how they should be interpreted.

Argument 2: Overt Heads of the RC Possible

▪ Headless RCs in Aklanon are not limited to EECs.

(14) *na?íla? si María   ko gin-ta?ó   ko ?uŋá?   sa ma?éstra.*
STAT.like TOP M.   OBL PV.PFV-give   OBL child   DAT teacher

'Maria likes <u>what the child gave to the teacher</u>.'

▪ It is also possible for the relative in (14) to be headed by an overt noun.

(15) *na?íla?   si María   ko líbro ŋa gin-ta?ó ko ?uŋá? sa ma?éstra.*
STAT.like   TOP M.   OBL book LK PV.PFV-give OBL child DAT teacher

'Maria likes <u>the book</u> that the child gave to the teacher.'

- This predicts that the headless/headed alternation should obtain in EECs as well. It does, in precisely the same way:[6]

(16)   Aklanon PV EEC with Overt Head

maj	[*líbro*	*ŋa*	*gin-taʔó*	*sa*	*ʔuŋáʔ*]	*ro*	*maʔéstra.*
EXIST	book	LK	PV.PFV-give	DAT	child	TOP	teacher

'The teacher gave <u>a/some book</u> to the child.' (EEC)

- The relative clause analysis can account for both headless and headed relatives without any modification.

(17)   Structure of PV EECs with an Overt Head before V1 Movement

ro maʔéstra$_i$ *maj*   [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ *líbro* [$_{CP}$ Op$_k$ [$_c$ *ŋa* [$_{vP}$ PRO$_i$ *gin-taʔó*   t$_k$ *sa* *ʔuŋáʔ*]]]]].

| TOP teacher | EXIST | book | | LK | | PV.PFV-give | DAT child |

'The teacher gave <u>a/some book</u> to the child.'
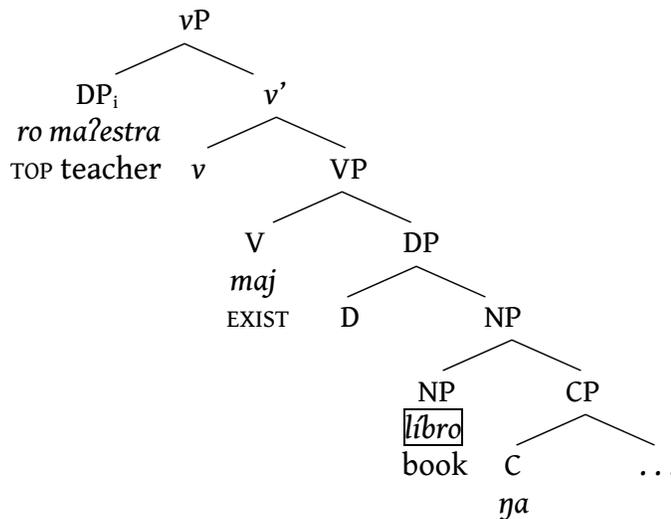
- If the complement of the existential were a *v*P, the headless/headed alternation would be coincidental and unrelated to the broader distribution of RCs in Aklanon.

- Further, it would require that *maj* can take either a *v*P (=headless) or a DP/NP (=headed) as its complement, even though both produce the EEC interpretation.

Argument 3: No Argument Extraction

- Aldridge (2011) uses extraction to argue that Law's (2010) analysis does not hold water.[7]

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[6] In this talk, I leave aside a third configuration, internally headed relatives, although I find evidence for them in a configuration akin to Tagalog (see Aldridge 2003).

[7] Note that Aldridge (2011) does not show whether such island violations are generally grammatical or ungrammatical in Tagalog.

(18)   Tagalog (Aldridge 2011:3, ex. 6; glosses modified)
         Sa lalaki *may* [*i-b\<in\>igay*   *na bulaklak*   t_PP]   *ang*   *babae.*
         DAT man   EXIST APPL-\<PV.PFV\>give   LK flower   TOP   woman
         'To the man, the woman gave a flower.'

- However, Aklanon data does not replicate Aldridge's (2011) Tagalog facts:

(19)   Aklanon Equivalent of (18)
         *sa ʔuŋáʔ_i   *maj*   [*gin-taʔó*   *ŋa*   *líbro*   t_i]   *ro maʔéstra.*
          DAT child   EXIST PV.PFV-give   LK   book   TOP teacher
          Intended: 'To the child, the teacher gave a book.'

- This difference is truly due to extraction, since the unextracted minimal pair is grammatical:

(20)   *maj*   [*gin-taʔó*   *ŋa*   *líbro*   *sa ʔuŋáʔ*]   *ro maʔéstra.*
         EXIST   PV.PFV-give   LK   book   DAT child   TOP teacher
         'The teacher gave a book to the child.' (EEC)

- And this is not due to a general prohibition against dative arguments being fronted, since that too is grammatical (in non-EEC clauses):

(21)   *sa ʔuŋáʔ*   *gin-taʔó*   *ko maʔéstra*   *ro líbro.*
         DAT child   PV.PFV-give   OBL teacher   TOP book
         'To the child, the teacher gave the book.'

- On the RC analysis, the ungrammaticality of (19) follows from the Complex-NP Island.

Argument 4: Extension to Negative Event Existential Constructions

- An advantage of the RC analysis is that it can be extended to negative event existential constructions ('nEECs') somewhat straightforwardly.

- *ʔuwáʔ* is the negative counterpart to *maj*. *ʔuwáʔ* requires an *ʔit*-marked complement (unlike *maj*):[8]

(22)   *ʔuwáʔ*   {*ʔit kwárta*}   {*ʔakó*}.
         nEXIST   UNM money   1SG.TOP
         'I have no money.'

- Now consider nEECs:

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[8] {X}{Y} means either order, XY or YX

(23)   Aklanon PV EEC and nEEC
   a. *maj*   [*gin-taʔó*   *sa maʔéstra*] *ro ʔuŋáʔ.*
       EXIST   PV.PFV-give   DAT teacher   TOP child
       'The child gave something to the teacher.' (EEC)

   b. *ʔuwáʔ ʔit*   [*gin-taʔó*   *sa maʔéstra*] *ro ʔuŋáʔ.*
       nEXIST UNM   PV.PFV-give   DAT teacher   TOP child
       'The child did not give anything to the teacher.' (nEEC)

- The analysis for the nEECs in (b) is that the complement of *ʔuwáʔ* is the case particle plus a RC, just like the positive EEC counterparts.

(24)   Structure of (23b) before V1 Movement
   *ro ʔuŋáʔ*ᵢ *ʔuwáʔ* [DP *ʔit* [NP Ø̲ [CP Opₖ [AspP [vP PROᵢ *gin-taʔó*   tₖ *sa maʔéstra*]]]]].
   TOP child   nEXIST   UNM   PV.PFV-give   DAT teacher
   'The child did not give anything to the teacher.'

- Headed RCs are also possible in nEECs, in which case the head appears in exactly the predicted location (cf. Argument 2: Overt Heads of the Relative Possible):

(25)   *ʔuwáʔ*   *ʔit*   [l̲í̲b̲r̲o̲ *ŋa*   *gin-taʔó*   *sa maʔéstra*] *ro ʔuŋáʔ.*
         nEXIST   UNM   book   LK   PV.PFV-give   DAT teacher   TOP child
         'The child did not give any book to the teacher.' (nEEC)

INTERIM SUMMARY

- ✓ Evidence for the RC comes from prenominal (e.g. plural) and postnominal (e.g. PPs) adjuncts.
- ✓ RCs in EECs pattern together with RCs in other contexts. The RC analysis does not require any additional stipulations to account for the headless/headed alternation.
- ✓ Unlike Tag. (Aldridge 2011), Akl. prohibits argument extraction from EECs. On the RC analysis, this follows from the Complex NP-Island.
- ✓ The RC analysis allows unified treatment of EECs and nEECs.

Claims 2 & 3: Topic is External Argument of *maj* which Controls a PRO

- This section will focus on arguments for the structure of the higher clause and how the topic is construed as agent of the embedded clause:
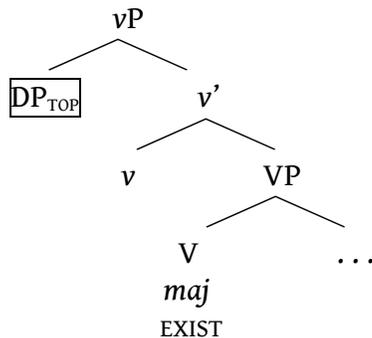
- Because the ungrammaticality of argument extraction rules out raising, I posit obligatory control by the topic into the relative clause instead.[9]

- Control requires: (i) PRO as external argument of the relative clause, which is bound by a (ii) local, (iii) c-commanding (iv) antecedent (see Sichel 2010:248).

- A control analysis explains the ungrammaticality of topics in AV EECs.

Control Explains Ungrammaticality of Topics in AV EECs

- Only PV EECs have been shown thus far. AV EECs pattern differently — they block overt topics:

(26)   Aklanon AV EEC
         maj   nag-taʔó   ʔit líbro   sa ʔuŋáʔ   (*ro maʔéstra).
         EXIST   AV.PFV-give   UNM book   DAT child   TOP teacher
          '{Someone/*the teacher} gave a book to the child.' (EEC)

- On the RC analysis, this is because control cannot obtain between a higher topic and a RC-internal PRO, since in forming an AV RC, the RC operator outcompetes PRO for external argument position:

(27)   *maj* [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ Ø [$_{CP}$ Op$_i$][$_{AspP}$ [$_{vP}$ t$_i$ *nag-taʔó   ʔit líbro   sa ʔuŋáʔ*]]]]
         EXIST   AV.PFV-give   UNM book   DAT child
          '<u>Someone</u> gave a book to the child.' (EEC)

- For the same reason, it is not possible for EECs to have one agent in the higher clause and a different agent in the lower clauses (see Law 2010:315, fn. 13).

A Possible Connection: Polynesian Genitive Relative Constructions[10]

- Control into a relative clause is not theoretically 'classical,' but a similar analysis of Polynesian 'genitive relative constructions' has been proposed (see Herd et al. 2011)

- 'The Polynesian genitive relative is possible in a relative construction headed by an argument bearing a non-external thematic role within the relative clause. In such constructions, the external argument of the relative clause can optionally appear displaced outside of the relative clause, and in this position it appears in genitive case.' (Herd et al. 2011:1254)

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[9] 'Control' in the classical sense, not control-as-raising. See Sichel (2010) for discussion of obligatory vs. non-obligatory control in DPs.

[10] Thank you to Emily Drummond for making me aware of this connection!

(28)　　　Niuean (Cleft/Relative)　　　　　　　　　　(Herd et al. 2011:1255, ex. 7)

　　a.　*Ko e*　*tama*　*fifine*　*fulufuluola*　[*ne*　*lagomatai*　　e　　ia*].
　　　　Ko　　child　girl　　beautiful　　　T/A　　help　　　　ErgP　3s
　　　　'It is the beautiful girl that <u>he</u> helped.'

　　b.　*Ko e*　*tama*　*fifine*　*fulufuluola*　haana [*ne*　　*lagomatai*].
　　　　Ko　　child　girl　　beautiful　　　3s.Gen T/A　　help
　　　　'It is the beautiful girl that <u>he</u> helped.'

- On Herd et al.'s (2011) analysis, the genitive pronoun is DP-internal (located in GenP) and controls a PRO internal to the relative clause (bracketed in above).

- This is relevant due to Herd et al's analysis as control into a RC, but structurally it seems somewhat different from Aklanon EECs, since I propose that the topic originates in a higher clause, outside of the DP projection, and controls into the DP.

- However, a potential avenue for further exploration is alluded to by Adar (2013:7) in discussing work by Kaufman (2011).

- Kaufman (2011) shows evidence that Tagalog ‹*may*› can be reconstructed as an agent voice existential **k<um>a-i* from Proto-Austronesian **ka* EXIST + *<um>* AV + *-i* DET, with support from the fact that ‹*may*› assigns topic case to the possessor (in contrast to the exclamative existential *kay* which assigns oblique case). In contrast, Ilokano and Kimarang existentials always assign genitive case to the possessor.

- Thus, one possible hypothesis in EECs is that the topic-marked argument of *maj* begins as an oblique or genitive possessor, and then ascends to topic due to agent voice morphology on the existential. I leave this to future work, but on this hypothesis, the Polynesian genitive relatives may not look so different from EECs after all.

INTERIM SUMMARY

- ✓ Control predicts that topics are ungrammatical in AV EECs.
- ✓ Polynesian genitive relatives provide a similar case of control into relative clauses, and further work should explore this connection.

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4. Conclusion

- I have proposed an analysis of event existential constructions in Aklanon in which (i) the complement of *maj* is a relative clause which can be free or headed, and that such relative clauses are found generally throughout Aklanon syntax, (ii) the topic-marked argument is a base-generated external argument of *maj*, (iii) the topic-marked argument controls a RC-internal PRO.

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- Evidence for (i) is extensive and comes from extraction restrictions, the availability of null and overt heads, and adjunct modification pre- and post-nominally. This evidence supports an analysis which allows for a null head as well as overt ones.

- Evidence for (ii) and (iii) come from the fact that extraction is banned from Aklanon EECs, so raising cannot obtain, and control explains the ungrammaticality of overt topics in AV EECs.

- The RC analysis extends easily to nEECs and opens up the possibility to explore connections between Polynesian genitive relatives.

- To return to the questions raised at the start:

(29)　　Questions the Analysis Addresses
　　　　a. What assigns case to the topic-marked argument (i.e. the agent)?
　　　　　　 => The existential *maj*
　　　　b. What is the complement of *maj*?
　　　　　　 => A relative clause (free or headed)
　　　　c. How is the topic construed as the agent of the embedded verb?
　　　　　　 => Via control

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5. Appendix: Challenges for the RC Analysis

5.1. Interpretation of Adjuncts

▪ Aldridge (2011) raises two issues about the interpretation of EECs: (i) they introduce the existence of an event (not an individual), (ii) extracted adjuncts are interpreted internal to the EEC.

▪ The second point can be shown in Aklanon, where an adjunct must be interpreted as modifying the RC, not the existential (31).

(30)   *maj*   *gin-taʔó*   <u>*sa bau�áj*</u>   *ro maʔéstra.*
        EXIST   PV.PFV-give   LOC house   TOP teacher
        'The teacher gave something (to someone) <u>in the house</u>.' (EEC)

(31)   <u>*sa bauɲáj*</u>ᵢ   *maj*   *gin-taʔó*   tᵢ   *ro maʔéstra.*
        LOC house   EXIST   PV.PFV-give   TOP teacher
        '<u>In the house</u>, the teacher gave something (to someone).' (EEC)

> => Q: Can I say (31) if the action of giving occurred in the house?
>   Consultant: Yes.

> => Q: Can I say (31) if the thing that was given is located in the house, but the giving action occurred elsewhere?
>   Consultant: No, It doesn't assume where the thing is right now – it is simply saying 'it was at the house (not the school, playground, theatre, etc.) that the teacher gave something.'

▪ Adar (2013) argues that the grammaticality of extraction (in apparent violation of an island constraint) can be related to Truswell's (2010, 2011) Single Event Condition. Future work on Aklanon EECs can explore this potential analysis.

5.2. VP-Remnant Raising and Argument Stranding

▪ A challenge for the RC analysis is to derive word orders with stranding of material internal to the relative clause.

(32)   Aklanon Patient Voice EEC with Argument Stranding
        maj   [*gin-taʔó*]   *ro maʔéstra*   [*sa ʔuŋáʔ*].
        EXIST   PV.PFV-give   TOP teacher   DAT child
        'The teacher gave something to the child.' (EEC)

▪ Similarly, headed EECs permit stranding of the relative clause:

(33)   a. Aklanon Patient Voice EEC without Stranding

maj	[*múuɪtoh*	*ŋa*	*ha-kítaʔ*]		*ro ʔuŋáʔ.*
EXIST	ghost	LK	STAT.POT.PFV-see		TOP child

‘The child saw a ghost.’ (EEC)

          b. Aklanon Patient Voice EEC with Relative Clause Stranding

maj	[*múuɪtoh*]	*ro ʔuŋáʔ*	[*ŋa*	*ha-kítaʔ*].
EXIST	ghost	TOP child	LK	STAT.POT.PFV-see

‘The child saw a ghost.’ (EEC)

- I speculate that this may be due to a VP-remnant raising derivation of V1 syntax.

- This phenomenon is not unique to EECs. I find stranding elsewhere in my Aklanon data:

(34)   a. Control Complement without Argument Stranding

naʔílaʔ	[*ŋa*	*mag-káʔon*	*ʔit uɪáŋkaʔ*]	*si Néli.*
PV.want	LK	AV-eat	UNM jackfruit	TOP N.

‘Nellie would like to eat jackfruit.’

          b. Control Complement with Argument Stranding

naʔílaʔ	[*ŋa*	*mag-káʔon*]	*si Néli*	[*ʔit uɪáŋkaʔ*].
PV.want	LK	AV-eat	TOP N.	UNM jackfruit

‘Nellie would like to eat jackfruit.’

- On this point, Aldridge (2011:12) notes: ‘There is also a precedent for PP stranding [. . .] Tagalog prenominal relative clauses allow stranding of clause-internal material to the right of the head NP. On the basis of the observation that only material which is otherwise eligible to undergo movement can be stranded, Aldridge (2003, [2004]) proposes that stranding is fed by scrambling during the derivation of the relative clause.’

- I also leave this issue for future work.

SECTION SUMMARY

- ✓ Two challenges for the RC analysis come from the facts that locative adjuncts seem to be interpreted only internal to the RC, not to the higher clause. Further, arguments can be stranded separately from the RC.