A. The Verb–Marking strategy

1. Indonesian (Sundic, Western Malayo–Polynesian; Indonesia)
   a) orang mem–bangun rumah itu
      man ACT–build house that
      ‘The man built the house.’
   b) orang [yang mem–bangun rumah itu]
      person REL ACT–build house that
      ‘the person who built my house’
   c) rumah itu di–bangun Pak Dani
      house that PASS–build Mr Dani
      ‘The house was built by Mr Dani.’
   d) rumah [yang di–bangun Pak Dani]
      house REL PASS–build Mr Dani
      ‘the house that was built by Mr Dani’
      ‘the house that Mr Dani built’
   e) *rumah [yang Pak Dani mem–bangun]
      house REL Mr Dani ACT–build
      ‘the house that Mr Dani built’

2. Malagasy (Barito, Western Malayo–Polynesian; Madagascar)
   a) nividy ny vary ny vehivavy
      bought.ACT the rice the woman
      ‘The woman bought the rice.’
   b) novidin’ ny vehivavy ny vary
      bought.PASS the woman the rice
      ‘The rice was bought by the woman.’
   c) nividianan’ ny vehivavy ny vary ny ankizy
      bought.CIRC the woman the rice the children
      ‘The children were bought rice by the woman.’
   d) ny vehivavy [izay nividy ny vary]
      the woman REL buy.ACT the rice
      ‘the woman who bought the rice’
   e) ny vary [izay novidin’ ny vehivavy]
      the rice REL buy.PASS the woman
      ‘the rice that was bought by the woman’
      ‘the rice that the woman bought’
   f) ny ankizy [izay nividianan’ ny vehivavy ny vary]
      the children REL bought.CIRC the woman the rice
      ‘the children that were bought rice by the woman’
      ‘the children for whom the woman bought rice’

3. Tagalog (Meso–Philippine, Western Malayo–Polynesian; Philippines; Schachter 1977)
   a) b<um>ili ang babae ng baro.
      <AF> bought FOC woman PAT dress
      ‘The woman bought a dress.’
   b) b<in>ili ng babae ang baro.
      <PF> bought a woman FOC dress
      ‘The dress was bought by a / the woman.’
      ‘A / the woman bought the dress.’
   c) babae–[ng b<um>ili ng baro]
      woman–LKR <AF> bought PAT dress
'the woman who bought a dress'
d) baro-[ng b<in>ili ng babae] dress-LKR <PF>bought a woman
‘the dress that was bought by a / the woman’
‘the dress that a / the woman bought’

4. Seediq (Atayalic; Taiwan; Holmer 1996)
a) mn–apa laqi ka seediq AF.PST–carry child KA person
‘The person carried a child.’
b) n–apa na seediq ka laqi PF.PST–carry AG person KA child
‘The child was carried by the person.’
c) seediq [mn–apa laqi]
person AF.PST–carry child
‘the person who carried a child’
d) laqi [n–apa na ka seediq]
child PF.PST–carry AG KA person
‘the child that was carried by the person / that the person carried’

5. (i) only the subject / focus / pivot can be relativized;
(ii) the language has a rich voice / focus system that permits non-subjects to be presented as subjects.

6. English (Germanic; England, USA, etc.)
a) The girl cut the bread with the knife.
b) the girl [that cut the bread with the knife]
c) the bread [that the girl cut with the knife]
d) the knife [with which the girl cut the bread]

7. Japanese (Japanese–Ryukyuan; Japan)
a) sensei ga kami o hasami de kit–ta
   teacher NOM paper ACC scissors INS cut–PST
   ‘The teacher cut the paper with the scissors.’
b) [kami o hasami de kit–ta] sensei
   paper ACC scissors INS cut–PST teacher
   ‘the teacher who cut the paper with the scissors’
c) [sensei ga hasami de kit–ta] kami
   teacher NOM scissors INS cut–PST paper
   ‘the paper that the teacher cut with the scissors’
d) [sensei ga kami o kit–ta] hasami
   teacher NOM paper ACC cut–PST scissors
   ‘the scissors with which the teacher cut the paper’

8. Kambera (Central Malayo–Polynesian; Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia; Klamer 1998))
ma– subjects and possessors of the subject
pa– objects, including applicative objects, instruments, comitatives, and locatives
a) ku–ita–yana na tau [na ma–påpu watar]
   1SG.NOM–see–3SG.ACC ART person ART REL.SBJ–pluck corn
   ‘I see the person that plucks corn.’
b) ita–nggu–nya na tau [na na–meti kuru uma–nya]
   see–1SG.GEN–3SG.DAT ART person ART REL.SBJ–die wife–3SG.GEN
   ‘I saw the man whose wife died.’
c) na njara [na pa–kei memang–na–nya]
   ART horse ART REL.OBJ–buy immediately–3SG.GEN–3SG.DAT
   ‘the horse that he immediately bought for her’
d) na huru [na pa–nga–wå–nggu uhu]
   ART spoon ART REL.OBJ–eat–use–1SG.GEN rice
   ‘the spoon with which I eat rice’
e) na uma [na pa-beli-nggu]
   ART house ART REL.OBJ–return–1SG.GEN
   'the house to which I returned'

9. Nias (Sundic, Western Malayo–Polynesian; Sumatra, Indonesia; Brown 2001)
   si= S, A, possessor of S or A, locative
   ni– P, recipient
   a) fofo [si=manuge ba zagö]
      bird REL.SBJ–perch LOC roof.MUT
      ‘the bird which landed on the roof’
   b) asu [si=usu iraono]
      dog REL.SBJ–bite child
      ‘the dog which bit the child’
   c) fofo [s–aitö bu]
      bird REL.SBJ–black feather
      ‘the bird whose feathers are black’
   d) sagö [si=manuge fofo]
      roof REL.SBJ–perch bird
      ‘the roof that the bird landed on’
   e) kefe [ni–be nama Dali khò zi'ila]
      money REL.OBJ–give father.MUT Dali to village.advisor. MUT
      ‘the money that Dali’s father gave to the village advisor’
   f) si'ila [ni–be nama Dali kefe]
      village.advisor REL.OBJ–give father.MUT Dali money
      ‘the village advisor to whom Dali’s father gave the money’

10. Tukang Besi (Sulawesi, Western Malayo–Polynesian; Sulawesi, Indonesia; Donohue 1999)
    –um– subject (incl. subject of passive)
    i– object
    Ø oblique (esp. instrument)
    a) ku–sepa–’e na mia [t<um>opa te La Udi]
       1SG–kick–3OBJ NOM person <SI> slap CORE La Udi
       ‘I kicked the person who was slapping Udi.’
    b) te ia te mia [l–'ita–su]
       CORE 3SG CORE person OP–see–1SG.POSS
       ‘S/he is the person that I am looking at.’
    c) te iso te hao [nongko te osimpu]
       CORE yon CORE rope tie CORE young.coconut
       ‘That is the rope with which someone / I tied the young coconuts.’
    d) no–wila
       3R–go
       ‘He's going.’
    e) na–w<um>ila
       3l–<SI>go
       ‘He will go.’
    f) te kodipo [t<um>o–'ita] no–to'oge
       CORE shark <SI> PASS–see 3R–big
       ‘The shark that was seen was big.’ [expression of agent impossible]
    g) no–to–'ita na kalambe
       3R–PASS–see NOM young.girl
       ‘The young girl was seen.’ [expression of agent impossible]

11. Turkish (Turkic; Turkey)
    Roughly, subject (SBJPRT) versus non–subject (NMZ)
    a) [baliğ–i yi–yen] adam
       fish–ACC eat–SBJPRT man
       ‘the man who ate the fish’
b) [adam–ln ye-diğ–i] balik
   man–GEN eat–NMZ–3SG fish
   ‘the fish that the man ate’

c) [adam–ln git–tiğ–i] okul
   man–GEN go–NMZ–3SG school
   ‘the school to which the man went’

12. Lhasa Tibetan (Tibeto–Burman; Tibet; Tournadre 1996)  
   imperfective  perfective  
   S  –mkhan  –pa  
   A  –mkhan  
   P  –yag  –pa  
   Ins  –yag  
   Dat  –sa

a) [dering phebs–mkhan–gi] blama
   today come–REL.S–GEN lama
   ‘the lama who comes today’

b) [stag gsod–mkhan] mi pha=gi red
   tiger kill–REL.A man that be
   ‘That is the man who killed the tiger.’

c) [kho–s bsad–pa] stag
   he–ERG kill–REL.IPV.P tiger
   ‘the tiger which he killed’

d) [tshal gtub–yag–gi] gri
   vegetable cut–REL.INS–GEN knife
   ‘the knife with which one cuts the vegetables’

e) [kho smod–sa–’l] khang=pa
   he stay–REL.OBL–GEN house
   ‘the house where he stays’

13. Dolakha Newari (Tibeto–Burman; Nepal; Genetti 1992)  
   Roughly, subject versus non–subject

a) [indira gândi ta syak–u] mi
   Indira Gandhi DAT kill–REL.S man
   ‘the man who killed Indira Gandhi’

b) [ji–n khoŋ–a] ke†i
   I–ERG see–REL.NS girl
   ‘the girl whom I saw’

14. Ute (Uto–Aztecan; southwestern USA; Anonymous 1980)
   a) ta’wâ–cj ’u [sivâătu–ci pâxâ–ru]
      man–ABS.NOM DEF.AN.M.SG.NOM goat–ABS kill–REL.S.SG
      ‘the man who is killing the goat’

b) sivâătu–cj ’u [ta’wâ–ci ’uwaây pâxâ–nâ]
      goat–ABS.NOM DEF.AN.M.SG.NOM man–ABS.OBL DEF.AN.S.G.OBL kill–REL.NS
      ‘the goat that the man is killing’

15. Quechua (Lefebvre & Muysken 1988)  
   Subject relativization –q, nonsubject relativization –sqa (reals), –na (irreals)

a) [hamu–sha–q] runa ñaña–y–pa wasi–n–ta ri–n
   ‘The man who is coming goes to my sister’s house.’

b) [riku–sqa–y] warma–qa hamu–nqa
   see–REL.NS–1 girl–TOP come–3FUT
   ‘The girl I saw will come.’

16. Macushi (Cariban; Brazil; Abbot 1991)  
   Subject relativization, object relativization, oblique (instrument, locative, temporal) relativization
a) [to' era'ma–i iip'i–san] wan–'pî mutti moropai bode they get–PURP come–S.NMZ be–PST mutti and bode 'The ones who came to get them were Mutti and Bode.'

b) [pena–ron–kon yan–piî–tîpon] mîkîrî long ago–NMZ COLL eat–ITER–A.NMZ he 'He is the one who repeatedly ate the old ones.'

c) seni [a–nyo' n–arima–'pî] sararu this 2–husband P.NMZ–send–PST meat 'This is the meat that your husband sent.'

d) [u–we'na–to'] pata’–se mîrîrî 1–sleep–OBL.NMZ place–POSS that 'That is the place where I sleep.'

17. Apurinã (Arawakan; Brazil; Facundes 2000)

Subject Object Actorless 3 > 1/2
M -kar-u -kut-u -kor-u -ker-u
F -kar-o -kut-o -kor-o -ker-o

a) suto [kuku karota–kar–o] apo–pe
to woman man hurt–REL.–F arrive–PFV
'The woman who hurt the man arrived.'

b) suto [kuku karota–kut–o] apo–pe
to woman man hurt–REL.–O–F arrive–PFV
'The woman whom the man hurt arrived.'

c) kuku [suto karota–kar–u] apo–pe
to man woman hurt–REL.–M arrive–PFV
'The man who hurt the woman arrived.'

d) kuku [suto karota–kut–u] apo–pe
to man woman hurt–REL.–O–M arrive–PFV
'The man whom the woman hurt arrived.'

e) kuku [keta–kor–u] upu|pe
to man shoot–REL.–PASS–M die
'The man who was shot died.'

f) Ø–oka–pê–ka
3M–kill–PFV–PASS
'He was killed.'

g) kuku n–atama–ta.
to man 1SG–see–VBLZ
'I saw the man.'

to man 1SG–see–REL–INV–M arrive–PFV
'The man who saw me has arrived.'


18. I saw the boy’s book.
19. the boy [whose book I saw —]
20. I bought the book for the boy’s grandmother.
21. the boy [for whose grandmother I bought the book —]
22. the boy [whom I bought the book for —]
23. the boy [whose grandmother I bought the book for —]

24. I think [that John saw the man]
25. The man [whom I think [that John saw —]] won’t return.
26. I think [John saw the man]
27. The man [whom I think [John saw —]] won’t return.
28. I think [that the man has left].
29. *The man [who I think [that — has left]] won’t return.
30. I think [the man has left].
31. The man [who I think — has left] won't return.
32. [John plays the flute] and [Mary sings madrigals].
33. *The audience likes the madrigals [which [John plays the flute] and [Mary sings —]].
34. the book [which/that I criticized —]
35. the fact [that I criticized the book]
36. Gakusei ga hon o kat–ta. student NOM book ACC buy–PST
   'The student bought the book.'
   'the book which the student bought'
38. Gakusei ga kat–ta. student NOM buy–PST
   'The student bought it.'
   'the fact that the student bought the book'
40. [sakana o yak–u] nioi fish ACC grill–PRS smell
   'the smell of grilling fish' [M 159]
41. [yabur–u] kyozin beat–PRS giant
   'the Giants, who will beat [every team]' [interpretation intended in Tokyo paper]
   'the Giants, whom [our home team] will beat' [interpretation intended in paper in home of rival team] [M 86]
42. Sono onna, wa [Ø, Ø] bikoo si–te i–ta. that woman TOP shadow–PRG–PST man by kill–PASS–PST
   'That woman, was killed by the man who was shadowing [her].'
   'That woman, was killed by the man whom [she] was shadowing.' [N 259]
   'A pretty girl, bit a man who tried to kiss [her].'
   '?A pretty girl, bit a man whom [she] tried to kiss.' [N 259]
44. [Inu o kat–te i–ta] kodomo ga sinde simat–ta. dog ACC keep–PRG–PST child NOM die–PST
   'The child that was keeping the dog died.'
45. [Kawaigat–te i–ta] hito ga nakunat–ta. master ACC meet to come–PST
   'The dog that the person who was keeping [it] died ran away.' [H 59, <modified>]
   [judged at least questionable by some linguists]
46. [Tokyo o tabe–ta] tomato Tokyo NOM eat–PST tomato
   'the tomato that ate Tokyo' [M 83]
   [rejected, at least initially, by 10 native speakers interviewed by Matsumoto]
48. [Taroo ga kekkon si-ta] onna no hito wa asoko ni i-mas-u.
   Taro NOM marry woman TOP there LOC be-POL-PRS
   ‘The woman whom Taro married is there.’ [M 98]
   (X to kekkon-suru ‘marry X’, lit. ‘marry with X’)
49. ??[Taroo ga benkyoo si-ta] onna no hito wa asoko ni i-mas-u.
   Taro NOM study woman TOP there LOC be-POL-PRS
   ‘The woman with whom Taro studied is there.’ [M 98]
50. [Taroo ga issyo ni benkyoo si-ta] onna no hito wa asoko ni i-mas-u.
   Taro NOM together study woman TOP there LOC be-POL-PRS
   ‘The woman together with whom Taro studied is there.’ [M 99]
51. Hanako, wa [Ø, izen kari-te i-ta] ie o kat-ta.
   Hanako TOP before rent-PRG-PST house ACC buy-PST
   ‘Hanako, bought the house which [she] had rented before.’ [N 158]
   Structure Y-wa [Ø ...] ...
52. [Ø, izen kari-te i-ta] ie o Hanako, ga kat-ta.
   before rent-PRG-PST house ACC Hanako NOM buy-PST
   ‘Hanako, bought the house which [she] had rented before.’ [N 159]
   Structure [Ø ...] Y-ga ...
53. Hanako, wa [Ø, gookaku su-ru] to kangae-te i-ru.
   Hanako TOP pass-PRS that think-PRG-PRS
   ‘Hanako, thinks that [she] will pass the exam.’ [N 158]
   Structure Y-wa [Ø ...] ...
54. [Ø, gookaku su-ru] to Hanako, ga kangae-te i-ru.
   pass-PRS that Hanako NOM think-PRG-PRS
   ‘Hanako, thinks that [she] will pass the exam.’ [N 159]
   Structure [Ø ...] Y-ga ...
55. John, wa [watasi ga Ø, sikat-ta] heya de nai-te i-ru.
   John TOP I NOM scold-PST room in cry-PRG-PRS
   ‘John, is crying in the room where I scolded [him].’ [N 251]
56. ??John, wa [Bill ga Ø, sikat-ta] heya de nai-te i-ru.
   John TOP Bill NOM scold-PST room in cry-PRG-PRS
   ‘John, is crying in the room where Bill scolded [him].’ [N 250]
   [‘accepted by some linguists”, but unacceptable for Nariyama]
57. John, wa [Ø, Bill ni sikar-are-ta] heya de nai-te i-ru.
   John TOP Bill by scold-PASS-PST room in cry-PRG-PRS
   ‘John, is crying in the room where [he] was scolded by Bill.’ [N 250]
58. ‘Watasi, wa [Bill ga Ø, sikat-ta] heya de nai-te i-ru.
   I TOP Bill NOM scold-PST room in cry-PRG-PRS
   ‘I, am crying in the room where Bill scolded [me].’ [N 253]
59. Watasi, wa [Ø, Bill ni sikar-are-ta] heya de nai-te i-ru.
   I TOP Bill by scold-PASS-PST room in cry-PRG-PRS
   ‘I, am crying in the room where [I] was scolded by Bill.’
60. Taroo ga Hanako ni mesi o tak-ase-ta.
   Taro NOM Hanako to rice ACC cook-CAUS-PST
   ‘Taro made/let Hanako cook the rice.’
   Taro NOM Hanako ACC rice ACC cook-CAUS-PST
   ‘Taro made/let Hanako cook the rice.’
62. [Taroo ga Hanako ni tak-ase-ta] mesi
   Taro NOM Hanako to cook-CAUS-PST rice
   ‘the rice [that Taro made Hanako cook —]’
63. *[Taroo ga Hanako o tak-ase-ta] mesi
Taro NOM Hanako ACC cook-CAUS-PST rice
‘the rice [that Taro made Hanako cook —]’

64. *Taroo ga Hanako o tak-ase-ta.
Taro NOM Hanako ACC cook-CAUS-PST
‘Taro made Hanako cook it.’

65. Taroo wa Hanako ni hon o kat-te yat-ta.
Taro TOP Hanako to book ACC buy-CVB give-PST
‘Taro bought a book for Hanako.’

66. *Taroo wa kanozyo ni sin-de yat-ta.
Taro TOP girlfriend to die-CVB give-PST
‘Taro bought a book for Hanako.’

67. Kanozyo no koto o kangae-te, Taroo wa sin-de yat-ta.
girlfriend GEN matter ACC think-CVB Taro TOP die-CVB give-PST
‘Thinking about his girlfriend, Taro died for [her].’

68. [Taroo ga sin-de yat-ta] kanozyo
Taro NOM die-CVB give-PST girlfriend
‘the girlfriend [for whom Taro died —]’

69. [torikakom-u] en
enclose-PRS circle
‘the enclosing circle, the circle that encloses the other circle.’

70. [torikakom-are-ru] en
enclose-PASS-PRS circle
‘the enclosed circle, the circle that the other one encloses.’

71. a cake [where you don’t get fat]

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