The Cases Where *That*-relatives are Preferred

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to clarify the reason why there are cases in which *that*-relative pronouns are preferred. According to Ando (2005), if the antecedents are strongly restricted by relative clauses, a *that*-relative is preferred. However, the explanation is not enough because relative clauses do not only contribute to the restrictiveness, but also modifiers, or quantifiers which collocate with antecedents. This paper focuses on the historical development of *that*-relatives, and the characteristics of modifiers, and quantifiers. In addition, the data of antecedents that collocate with *that*-relatives, or *which*-relatives are collected and compared to prove the compatibility between antecedents and *that*-relatives.

1. Introduction

This paper examines the cases in which *that*-relatives are preferred, from the perspective of cognitive linguistics. In contemporary English, there are three types of relative pronouns such as *who*, *which*, and *that*. If the antecedent is a person, *who* is used as a relative pronoun, and if the antecedent is a thing, *which* is used. *That* can be used whether the antecedent is a person or a thing. However, these usage patterns are not necessarily followed.

According to Ando (2005), there are five cases in which *that*-relatives are preferred. All the example sentences in cases (1)-(5) are taken from Ando (2005: 187-188).

- (1) The antecedent is modified by the first, the last, the only, the very, the $+\sim$ est, etc:
 - a. He is the greatest man who/ that has ever lived.
 - b. This is *the best* hotel (**that**) I know.

- c. Bill was the first/ the last boy who/ that arrived.
- d. This is the very thing (that) I want.
- e. He was the only one who/ that noticed it.
- f. But he is *the only* person in this world **who** can tell us exactly what happened in that room.

(Doyle, Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes)

- (2) The antecedent cooccurs with quantifiers, such as all, every(thing), any(thing), some(thing), no(thing), none, little, few, much. etc:
 - a. Is this *all* that's left?
 - b. Is there anything (that) I can do for you?
 - c. He will give everything (that) you want.
 - d. There was little that interested me at the show.
- (3) The interrogative *who* is the antecedent: It's because *that* creates euphony and can avoid repetition of *who*:
 - a. Who that knows him doesn't love him?
 - b. Which is the car that hit you?
- (4) The antecedent includes both "person" and "thing." This case is
 - a. The *cabmen and cabs* (**that**) I saw in London were very amusing.
- (5) The relative pronoun is a complement of the *be*-verb (but it is more usual that the relative pronoun is omitted):
 - a. He's not the man (that) he used to be.
 - b. I'm not the fool (that) you thought me.

That is not omitted if (5) is used as a parenthetic exclamatory sentence

c. Miserable creature **that** I am, who is there to rescue me out of this body doomed to death?

(NEB, Roms. 7: 24)

d. What a mine of useless information that I am!

(Radford 1988)

(Emphasis original)

According to Ando (2005: 187), if relative clauses limit the antecedents strongly, *that*-relative pronouns are preferred. Also stated is that it is usual for relative pronouns as objects to be omitted, and if the antecedent is "person", a *who*-relative pronoun is natural, rather than a *that*-relative pronoun.

Ando (2005: 187) describes *that*-relative pronouns as being used when relative clauses limit their antecedents strongly, but this explanation is not sufficient to cover all the cases. He opines that relative clauses limit their antecedents, but modifiers and quantifiers such as *the only*, *all*, *every*, etc. are also related to the limitation of the antecedents. Therefore, this paper focuses on not only relative clauses, but also on modifiers, and quantifiers referring to Langacker (2008, 2016), and analyzes the reason why *that*-relative pronouns are preferred in the cases based on Langacker (2008, 2016) and Kanasugi (2005). Note that this paper especially focuses on the perspective of restrictiveness, so the cases (1)-(2), and (5) are only analyzed, which are related to restrictiveness. The cases (3)-(4) will not be analyzed because they are not related to restrictiveness, which means that the antecedents are limited to one member, or one area.

What is more, this paper will not stop at looking into the characteristics of *that*-relatives. It will also collect the amount of data on antecedents that co-occur with *that*-relatives, *which*-relatives, or *who*-relatives and then compare them. Compared data will show the compatibility of *that* with the antecedents more accurately. Although many researchers have studied the case in which *that*-relatives are preferred, such data has not ever been collected. Therefore, this paper

will contribute to the study of that-relative pronouns.

The next section will focus on example analyses from the perspectives of the historical development of *that* and characteristics of modifiers, or quantifiers.

2. The data analyses from the perspectives of the history of *that*-relatives and characteristics which modifiers, or quantifiers have

This section will focus on the cases (1)-(2) and (5). Firstly, previous studies by Kanasugi (2005), and Langacker (2008) will be introduced. They research historical developments of *that*-relative pronouns. Their research will help explain the characteristics of *that*-relatives. Then, the analyses of cases (1)-(2) and (5) will be conducted. The analyses include actual examples, and the data of antecedents that co-occur with *that*-relatives, *which*-relatives, or *who*-relatives. These data will show whether antecedents of cases are truly compatible with *that*-relatives or not.

Let us move on to the introduction of previous studies.

2.1. Previous studies

Various studies have been conducted on the historical development process of *that*. Kanasugi (2005) describes that a *that*-relative pronoun in contemporary English has emerged from *pæt* relatives in Middle English, and *pe* relatives in Old English (p. 212). In addition, it is stated that a *that*-relative pronoun has taken over *indexicality*, or *referentiality* from indeclinable particle *pe*, and these characteristics are related to a definite particle and a relative particle (p. 213). It has also been found that the *definiteness* of a definite particle and *referentiality* inherent in a relative particle are similar, in that both are effective in pointing out an indicated entity (p. 213). This property is involved in cases where a *that*-relative is preferred.

Langacker (2008: 286) also analyzes the commonality between demonstratives and definite articles. According to him, definite articles were born from demonstratives, and the change from demonstratives to definite articles includes grammaticalization. In addition, the grammaticalization involves both phonological and semantic changes. Phonologically, compared to demonstratives, definite articles have become "unaccented, have a neutral vowel, and show a strong tendency to cliticize to the following word (p. 286)." According to Oxford Languages, cliticize means to "attach (an unstressed word) to a preceding or

following word as a clitic." Semantically, definite articles lose the directive force of demonstratives because "there is just one instance of the specified type (p. 286)," and definite articles do not have to single it out actively. This fact may have some relation to why antecedents with *the* as in (1) prefer a *that*-relative pronoun.

Based on the above historical developmental process of *that*-relatives, we would like to move on to the analysis of example sentences. Following the order of the cases (1)-(2), and (5), we will proceed with the analysis. In addition, the analyses are divided into two sections, the analysis of cases (1)-(2), and the analysis of case (5) based on their ways to limit the antecedents. The antecedents of cases (1)-(2) are limited by not only relative clauses but also modifiers, or quantifiers. On the other hand, the antecedents of case (5) are restricted by relative clauses.

Let us move on to the analyses of cases (1)-(2).

2.2. The analyses of antecedents with modifiers, or quantifiers

This section researches the cases in which the antecedents co-occur with modifiers, or quantifiers.

First, we will look at examples of the case (1): The antecedent is modified by the first, the last, the only, the very, the $+\sim$ est, etc.

- (6) a. So tell me about *the first* time *that* you guys saw the girls after the surgery.b. *The last* thing *that* I said to him was "I hate you."
 - c. They keep saying I mustn't tire myself, rest is *the only* thing *that* will cure me.
 - d. I would like them to give back *the very* thing *that* made them rich: their voice, their talent.
 - e. Smoking is the greatest thing that slowly kills you.

(COCA, italics mine)

As can be seen in example (6), all the antecedents take a *that*-relative pronoun, and the antecedents refer to only one thing by adding modifiers such as *the first, the last, the only, the very,* and *the greatest.*

To show compatibility between these antecedents and that-relatives, Table 1

Antecedent	that	which
the first	8771	169
the last	2192	86
the only	16697	271
the very	3120	166
the greatest	474	20

compares the co-occurrence with the antecedents between that and which.

Table 1: Comparison of that and which co-occurring with antecedents

(COCA)

As can be seen in Table 1, *that* is more compatible with those antecedents than *which*. The compatibility of *that* with the antecedents involves both the properties of *that* and the antecedents. First, we can say that the instances referred to by the antecedents are limited by modifiers such as *the first*, *the last*, *the only*, *the very*, and *the greatest* because there is only one thing that can be dictated by the meanings of those words. Moreover, all those modifiers are used with a definite article, *the*. Langacker (2008: 287, emphasis original) claims, "the definite article indicates that **just one eligible candidate is available**." That is, *the* also refers to only one thing. Therefore, those modifiers and the definite article are used together, and they refer to only one thing as their antecedents.

The restrictiveness is a key point to describe the compatibility between those antecedents and *that*-relatives. As for *that*-relatives, they were born from definite articles, and take over the *definiteness* of definite articles as described in 2.1. *Definiteness* "functions to provide access to an indicated entity (Kanasugi 2005: 213)." In addition, definite articles point out "just one instance of the specified type (Langacker 2008: 286)." That is, *that*-relatives have characteristics as definite articles.

In addition, antecedents with *the first, the last, the only, the very*, and *the+~est* describe only one thing like the example (6). Thus, the antecedents with *the first, the last, the only, the very*, and *the+~est* are compatible with a *that-*relative pronoun. As such, the reason why *which* is less likely to be chosen has to do with the origin of *which. Which* has emerged from *wh-*interrogative originated in Old English, and a *wh-*relative pronoun has taken over the pronominality in Old English, as with *that* (Kanasugi 2005: 210).

In addition, Yonekura (2005: 222) claims that "demonstratives and WH-pronouns share: both types of pronoun[sic] are similar to intensifiers in evoking a set of

alternatives." The strength of limitation is a key point to think about the compatibility of case (1). As has been mentioned, the antecedents are strongly restricted, so relative pronouns also need to have strong restrictiveness. From this point of view, *wh*-relatives have weaker restrictions than *that*-relatives because *wh*-pronouns haven't narrowed down to a single target yet, while *that*-relatives restrict the target as one.

Next, examples of the case (2) will be examined: The antecedent co-occurs with quantifiers, such as *all*, *every(thing)*, *any(thing)*, *some(thing)*, *no(thing)*, *none*, *little*, *few*, and *much*, etc. Before getting into the analysis of examples, let us look at the characteristics of the quantifiers such as *all*, *every*, *any*, *some*, *no*, *none*, *little*, *few*, and *much*

These quantifiers are classified into two categories: relative quantifiers, and absolute quantifiers (Langacker: 2016). According to Langacker (2016), relative quantifiers include *all, most, some, no, every, each,* and *any,* while absolute quantifiers include *many, much, (a) few, (a) little, three,* and *several* (pp. 141-142). They have different characteristics. First, let us take a look at the characteristics of relative quantifiers.

Langacker (2008: 292) especially provides descriptions of *all*, *most*, *some*, and *no* with diagrams.

Please look at Figure 1.

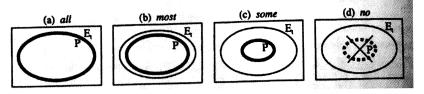


Figure 1 (Langacker 2008: 292)

P stands for profile, which means the focused part. Figure 1 (a)-(d) are used depending on how close they are to E_1 . E_1 stands for "the maximal extension of the type" (Langacker 2008: 291). It is like a borderline. In the case of *all*, P overlaps E_1 exactly. In the case of *most*, the boundary of P is much closer to that of E_1 , but does not overlap. *Some* shows smaller proportions than *all*'s and *most*'s ones. In the case of *no*, there is no proportion inside E_1 . It reflects our "mental operation of cancelation: though evoked

as a virtual entity, P's existence is effectively canceled out through the specification that the proportion of E_1 it represents is zero (Langacker 2008: 292)." Langacker (2008) has not explained the quantifiers from the perspective of restrictiveness, but they can be explained from that point of view.

All, most, some, and no use restrictions to specify a type. However, the way to limit a type is different between quantifiers like all, most, and some, and one like no. All, most, and some make a limitation positively, which means that those quantifiers prove that the type exists by restricting the type. On the other hand, no restricts a type negatively. It means that no proves that there is no type by canceling the existence of a virtual entity (Langacker 2008: 292). It can be thought that no restricts fictitious existence as something that does not exist.

As for the other relative quantifiers (*every*, *each*, and *any*), they are defined as representative instance quantifiers by Langacker (2008: 292). Figure 2 explains them with diagrams.

Please look at Figure 2.

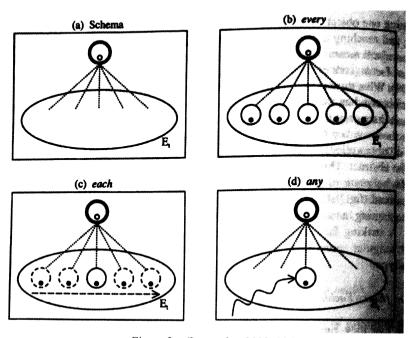


Figure 2 (Langacker 2008: 294)

Figure 2 shows a schema for the meanings of *every*, *each*, and *any*. Figure (2a) shows the schema of the three quantifiers, and Figure (2b)-(2d) shows diagrams of *every*, *each*, and *any*. They choose just one instance, but the way to do that is different among them. The three ways are named "simultaneous viewing, sequential examination, and random selection (Langacker 2008: 294)." In the case of *every*, it implies that members are seen as a set of members, and the members are seen individually. The two ways of viewing happen at the same time, so it is said that *every* uses a strategy: *simultaneous viewing*. However, *every* itself points just one representative out from the group (Langacker 2008: 294).

In the case of *each*, it is related to *sequential examination*. *Sequential* means seeing the members one by one. By doing so, the instances are also focused one by one at any one moment (Langacker 2008: 294). *Any* is related to *random selection*. As the term indicates, *any* chooses one instance randomly from a group. In addition, it is important that every member of the group can be chosen as a representative. (Langacker 2008: 294). Focusing on only one member is a commonality that applies to Figure (2b)-(2d).

Note that *all* has similar function with *every*, *each*, and *any* in that they are pointing out their members. However, the number of members pointed out is different. As has been mentioned before, *every*, *each*, and *any* point out just one single member, while *all* refers to plural members as a set. In other words, *all* can also be said to refer to one in that it relates to multiple members as a single group, but the number of members it refers to is different from *every*, *each*, and *any*.

Second, let us explore the characteristics of absolute quantifiers including (a) little, (a) few, and much. Relative quantifiers and absolute quantifiers have different characteristics. While relative quantifiers express the quantity depending on how close they are to the maximal extension of the type, or selecting one member from a group, absolute quantifiers show the quantity, using different scales. According to Langacker (2016), the scale of absolute quantifiers has a linear image. For example, he says, "few (plural mass) and little (non-plural mass) indicate a quantity below the norm, so you scan downward from the norm to arrive at some range of possible value. (p. 150)" There is a norm on the linear scale, and few and little mark below the norm. On the other hand, a few and a little assess the same quantity in a positive way from the starting point of the scalar.

In the case of much, it is easy to imagine how it works compared to many.

Langacker (2016: 150) explains, "Many indicates a value beyond the norm. Much is the same except that the measured mass is continuous." Both express the quantity is larger than the norm, but they are different whether instances referred to by them are countable or not.

The characteristics of absolute quantifiers are also related to the preference of *that*-relative pronouns. This time, restrictiveness is a key point. Compared to relative quantifiers, absolute quantifiers have a linear image, so it is a little bit difficult to imagine the limitation. The quantity scaled by them is, however, a mass. That is, they have boundaries, and the boundaries are construed as limitations. A mass limited by boundaries can be pointed out. Therefore, absolute quantifiers are also compatible with *that*-relative pronouns, which have the role of singling out. This explanation, however, is not perfect because countable nouns such as apples, or books also have boundaries in that they have a shape. Therefore, more explanation will be needed to describe the reason why absolute quantifiers prefer *that*-relative pronouns, and it will be explored in future studies.

Although some parts such as absolute quantifiers are difficult to explain, the characteristics are helpful to explore the reason why a *that*-relative pronoun is preferred when its antecedent collocates with *all*, *every(thing)*, *any(thing)*, and *no(thing)*, *none*, *each*, *little*, *few*, and *much*.

Let us move on to the analysis of examples.

- (7) a. He will never be able to have *all* the things *that* he deserved to have in his life.
 - b. He sees and hears every thought and *every* word *that* comes out of your mouth.
 - c. My ex-husband was careful not to do *anything that* couldn't be justified medically or by usual procedure.
 - d. *Nothing that* has ever happened to you can affect you it's already over.
 - e. *Each* time *that* I hear someone's story I feel so touched by the way that their individual experience has been shared.
 - f. Well apparently there is *some* evidence *that* leads us to believe that Lebron James is illumanti[sic]!

- g. My problem is these *little* things *that* are added doesn't [sic] change much of the experience for me.
- h. I'm one of the *few* people *that* know what you had to do every night iust to be able to play.
- i. There's too *much* money *that* flows through that system that is completely opaque.

(COCA, italics mine)

Example (7) shows the cases where a *that*-relative pronoun is preferred when its antecedent collocates with *all, every(thing), each, any(thing), some(thing),* and *no(thing), none, each, little, few,* and *much.* As can be seen, all the antecedents of example (7) take *that* as a relative pronoun. In addition, the antecedents in (7) are a person, or a thing, so *who*, or *which* can be used for their relative pronouns. However, *that* is used instead. The reason why the examples prefer *that* over *who*, or *which* is related to the characteristics of the antecedents and a *that*-relative pronoun.

As for the characteristics of antecedents, as mentioned previously, relative quantifiers such as *all*, *every(thing)*, *each*, *any(thing)*, *some(thing)*, and *no(thing)* single out specific members out of all members. The quantifiers such as *all*, *some*, and *no* limit the area of a target, and see it like one mass. *Every*, *each*, and *any* choose one member as a representative from a group (randomly in the case of *any*). In addition, absolute quantifiers such as *little*, *few*, and *much* also have an image of limitation because they express a certain mass. Mass has a boundary, and it works as a limitation line. A mass with a boundary can be pointed out. That is, all the quantifiers (relative, and absolute quantifiers) restrict one target (even randomly).

In the case of *that*-relative pronouns, it is derived from a definite article, so it has definiteness (Kanasugi 2005: 213). Langacker (2008) also explains the concept, and claims, "the definite article indicates that **just one eligible candidate is available** (p.287, emphasis original)." So, if you say, "Could you open the window?" the hearer can specify which the window is. That is, *the* lets people imagine just one target from the beginning. There are no other members. People don't have to choose one member from other members because the target is limited from the beginning. That is, the number of members recalled differs between quantifiers and definite articles, but they have in common the limitation to a single target, or an area. Therefore, antecedents with

the modifiers such as *all*, *every(thing)*, *any(thing)*, *no(thing)*, *none*, *each*, *little*, *few*, and *much* often collocate with a *that*-relative pronoun.

To make the explanation more convincing in this case as well, a *that*-relative pronoun is compared to a *which*-relative pronoun in Case (2). The data is collected from COCA

Antecedents	that	which
All the	8190	266
every	6013	230
anything	19238	344
something	74661	2244
nothing	5498	130
none	714	16
each	2083	160
little	7259	263
few	4289	427
much	11966	1028

Table 2: Comparison of that and which co-occurring with antecedents

(COCA)

Table 2 shows the comparison of co-occurrence with antecedents between that and which in the case of the antecedents involving all, every(thing), any(thing), some(thing), no(thing), none, each, little, few, and much. As can be seen in Table 2, a that-relative pronoun is more compatible with the antecedents than a which-relative pronoun. The difference in number was especially noticeable in the example of anything.

This section has analyzed the examples of the two cases explained in Introduction. The cases are largely divided into two groups: the case where the antecedents collocate with the first, the last, the only, the very, the+~est, etc., and refers to one definite thing, and the case where the antecedent co-occurs with quantifiers, such as all, every(thing), any(thing), some(thing), no(thing), none, each, little, few, and much. A comparison of the amount of data for that and which using COCA shows that that is more compatible with the antecedents of cases (1)-(2) than which because the restrictiveness of that is compatible with the restrictiveness of the antecedents.

2.3. The analysis of the case where the relative pronoun is a complement of he-yerb

This section researches the case in which the relative pronoun is a complement of be-verb.

Please look at examples in (8).

(8) a. Perhaps you don't want to be the person that you used to be. b. Her parents, when she came out to her parents as transgender, she's 17 years old, her parents put her into reparative therapy and didn't support her. They cut her off from all social media and from all of her friends. And that isolation made her feel like she would never get to be the woman that she dreamed of becoming.

(COCA, *italics* mine)

(8a) shows that the relative clause explains the antecedent, *the person*. In addition, the relative clause especially refers to the person's characteristics, rather than the person's whole. Therefore, the antecedent also means the person's inner characteristics rather than the person's whole. In (8b), the woman feels that she will not be able to become her ideal woman. We can understand from the context that the ideal image of a woman is not only about her outward appearance, but also about her inner life. As such, both examples use *that* as a relative pronoun.

Next, let us analyze the compatibility between the antecedents and *that*-relatives, comparing *who*-relative pronouns.

	that	who
The person * you used to be	4	0
The woman * she dreamed of becoming	1	0

Table 3: Comparison of that and who co-occurring with antecedents

(COCA)

Table 3 shows the comparison of co-occurrence with antecedents between *that* and *who*. The number of examples is much smaller than other examples of cases (1)-(2), but it shows that *that*-relatives are more likely to collocate with such antecedents than *who*-relatives. The antecedents are people, so it seems that *who* is more natural to use as relative pronouns, but the data shows the opposite. That is, the antecedents do not collocate with *wh*-relative pronouns, though the antecedents are people. The compatibility between *that* and the antecedents is related to one of the *that*-relatives' characteristics: restrictiveness. Example (8) can describe the relationship between the antecedents and restrictiveness of *that*-relatives.

As has been mentioned in 2.1, if there is *definiteness*, an entity denoted by an expression can be pointed out. As for antecedents, *the person*, and *the woman* in (8) are limited to a certain person type by being in the form, "the + person." As Langacker (2008) explains, *the* refers to only one instance (p. 287). Therefore, *the person* and *the woman* mean not a general person, but a specific person. In addition, relative clauses add information about who the person is to the antecedents.

However, there is a point to note here. Earlier I said that *the* refers to a specific person, but in more detail, it indicates the person's character. Although the antecedents are written as *the person*, and *the woman* in example (8), the meanings imply their inner characteristics. In other words, the scope of the expressions is narrowed down from the person him/herself to the inner personality. The characteristic of narrowing down is compatible with the restrictiveness of *that*-relatives.

As for the *that*-relative, it has its origin in a definite article (Kanasugi 2005: 213), so it also has the function of restricting a target to a unique entity. Cases (1)-(2) are also related to restrictiveness, but the targets of limitation are different between cases (1)-(2) and case (5). To explain the differences, the terms, *type*, and *instance*, which are presented by Langacker (2008), are used.

Type refers to general situations, or things while instance refers to specific situations, or things (Langacker 2008: 265). As for cases (1)-(2), the antecedents describe individuals, or specific things, and they are concrete. Therefore, they are related to *instance*. On the other hand, the antecedents of case (5) refer to the inner personality rather than the person him/herself, and the inner personality is more abstract than the person him/herself. Therefore, it can be said that the antecedents of case (5) are *type*. The antecedents of cases (1)-(2) are different from those of case (5) in that their antecedents

are type, or instance. However, they can be said to indicate one thing in common in that they choose one thing.

This section has analyzed the case in which the relative pronoun is a complement of *be*-verb. In addition, COCA has shown that *that*-relatives are compatible with the antecedents in case (5). Restrictiveness is also important to understand the relationship between the antecedents and *that*-relatives.

Chapter 2 has explored cases (1)-(2) and (5) from the perspectives of historical developments of *that*, and characteristics of modifiers. All the cases are related to the concept of restrictiveness, and if the antecedents are strongly restricted by modifiers, quantifiers, and relative clauses, they prefer *that*-relative pronouns. What is more, Table (1)-(3) have proved the tendency in which *that* is more compatible with the antecedents of cases (1)-(2) and (5) than *which*, or *who*.

3. Conclusion

This paper has examined the cases in which *that*-relatives are preferred from the perspective of cognitive linguistics, primarily focusing on the cases where the antecedents are limited. The first case contains antecedents modified by *the first, the last, the only, the very, the+~est*, etc. The second case contains antecedents collocating with *all, every(thing), any(thing), some(thing), no(thing), none, each, little, few,* and *much.* The last case illustrates the construction where the relative pronoun is a complement of *be*-verb. Examples of the cases have been collected from COCA. To explore the reason why a *that*-relative pronoun is preferred in such cases, examples were compared between a *that*-relative pronoun and a *which*-relative pronoun or a *who*-relative pronoun. The comparison has revealed that *that* is more compatible with the antecedents in the cases than *which*, or *who.* The result is related to the characteristics of the antecedents and *that*-relative pronouns. Both have restrictiveness in that they limit an area or a target. Therefore, they are compatible with each other.

Explanation about compatibility between absolute quantifiers (*little, few*, and *much*) and *that*-relatives is not enough this time, so future studies will explore it and deepen the research.

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CORPUS

The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) English: 570 *million* words, 2017-present, https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/

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Oxford Languages, https://languages.oup.com/