Relativization in Qiang

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In this paper, we review the strategies of relativization and discuss the different types of relative clauses and morpho-syntactic properties of relative clauses in eight varieties of Qiang. The Qiang language shows six types of relativization in terms of whether there is a head noun or not, and the relative positions of the head noun and relative clause. Double-headed relative clauses are unusual cross-linguistically. Head-internal relative clauses are modified by a demonstrative-(numeral)-classifier/(in)definite-classifier, which helps readers to identify head-internal relative clause structures as NPs. In Qiang, different nominalizers, the genitive marker, and the definite marking or indefinite marking are used as clues in identifying the clause as relative; the choice of nominalizers or the genitive marker depends on the semantic role of the head in the relative clause. In some varieties of Qiang there are also some relative clauses that are not marked by nominalizers but are marked by person with aspect marking. Similar to English and Mandarin Chinese, almost all NPs, like actor, undergoer, experiencer, destination, instrument, source, location, time, etc., may be relativized on, therefore, there is no restricted neutralization (S/A pivot or S/P pivot) in nominalized relative clauses, while there is restricted neutralization in non-nominalized relative clauses (finite relative clauses), i.e. S/A is the same marking.

Key words: Sino-Tibetan, relative clauses, typology

1. Introduction

There are 306,072 Qiang people in the Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture of Sichuan (四川阿壩藏族羌族自治州), China (2000 census). The Qiang language is spoken by about 100,000 Qiang (羌族) and Zang (Tibetan) (藏族) people. The majority of Qiang speakers are members of the Qiang minority living within Mao
County (茂縣), Wenchuan County (汶川縣), Li County (理縣), and Songpan County (松潘縣), and the rest, who live in Heishui County (黑水縣), have been classified as a subgroup of the Zang nationality (藏族).

In this paper, we describe and analyze the strategies of relativization, relativizable NPs, different types of relative clauses, and morpho-syntactic properties of relative clauses in eight varieties of Northern Qiang (NQ) and Southern Qiang (SQ) to identify their similarities and differences.

2. Strategies of relativization

Across languages, strategies of relativization are different from one another. Some languages use one strategy of relativization (most Tibeto-Burman languages), while others use versatile strategies of relativization: e.g., Mandarin Chinese uses gapping or a resumptive pronoun; English utilizes a relative pronoun, or a complementizer, or a resumptive pronoun. Typologists find the following four strategies of relativization in languages around the world (Comrie 1981[1989], 2003, de Vries 2001, 2002):

(a) A full NP — in relativization, the relativized NP remains as a full NP; this is also called non-reduction type;
(b) A resumptive pronoun — in some languages, the relativized NP is represented by a resumptive pronoun; this is also called pronoun-retention type;
(c) A relative pronoun — in most European languages, the relativized NP is represented by a relative pronoun;
(d) Gapping strategy — in the position of the relativized NP, some languages use gapping; this is also called omission.

2.1 Basic structure in Qiang

Qiang is agglutinative (prefixing and suffixing), and has both head marking (person marking) and dependent marking (i.e. marking for case, gender, diminutive, and (in)definiteness). The basic constituent order of the Qiang language is SV (with one argument) / APV\(^1\) (the most common order with two arguments). An intransitive clause takes one core argument. In Qiang there is at least one argument both semantically and syntactically, as in (1), from Ronghong Qiang:

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\(^1\) I use [S] for the single direct argument of an intransitive, [A] for the actor of a transitive, and [P] for the undergoer of a transitive.
In (1) the single argument məsi ‘sun’ [S] functions as topic of the intransitive directional verb tshuo ‘shine’. A transitive clause takes two core arguments. The prototypical transitive verb semantically requires an actor who carries out an action which in turn causes something to happen to an undergoer, as in (2):

(2) qa[A] the: [P] dzeta.2
1sg 3sg beat:1sg
‘I am beating him.’

In (2) the first person singular qa functions as [A] of the transitive verb dzeta ‘beat’, and the third person singular the: functions as [P] of the same verb.

In Qiang a relative clause simply occurs immediately before or after the head of the relative clause, with no relative pronoun or resumptive pronoun used in relativization. A relative clause cannot take mood marking or evidential marking; intonation of relative clauses is treated as a single unit, and external determiners, i.e., a demonstrative-(numeral)-classifier phrase or an (in)definite-classifier phrase and context of discourse are the clues in identifying the clause as a relative clause though external determiners, such as a demonstrative-(numeral)-classifier phrase or an (in)definite-classifier phrase occur before the head noun in Mianchi and Muka varieties or appear after the head noun to modify the head in other varieties.

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2 Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: 1sg: first person singular; 1pl: first person plural; 2sg: second person singular; 2pl: second person plural; 3sg: third person singular; 3pl: third person plural; A: agent of a transitive clause; ADJ: adjective; AGT: agentive marker; AUX: auxiliary; CL: classifier; COMP: comparative marker; COMT: comitative marker; CON: continuative aspect; CONN: connection marker; COP: copula; CSM: change of state marker; DAT: dative marker; DEF: definite marker; DIR: directional prefix; EVID: evidential marker; EXCL: exclusive; GEN: genitive marker; HORT: hortative marker; HRS: hearsay evidential marker; INCL: inclusive; INDEF: indefinite marker; INST: instrumental marker; LOC: locative marker; NEG: negative prefix; NOM: nominalizer; NONFUT: non-future tense; NP: noun phrase; NTP: non-topic pronoun; P: patient of a transitive clause; PFT: perfective aspect marker; PL: plural marker; PROS: prospective aspect marker; PRT: particle; QUES: question marker; RC: relative clause; REDUP: reduplication; TOP: topic marker; TP: topic pronoun.
2.2 Gapping strategy

Most Sino-Tibetan languages, such as Mandarin Chinese, rGyalrong (J. Sun 2006), and Meithei (Chelliah 1997:157) use gapping in relativization. Gapping is also a common strategy of relativization in Qiang, with the gap being in the relative clause. This then puts it within the dependent marking type in the typology of Nichols (1984). In terms of the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977) (see also Comrie & Keenan 1979, Maxwell 1979, Fox 1987), almost all NPs in Qiang may be relativized on. In the Mawo Qiang example in (3), the single direct argument of an intransitive verb is represented by a zero within the relative clause (i.e. there is a gap within the relative clause corresponding to the head of the relative clause).3

\[
\text{NQ—Mawo variety (Liu 1998:197):} \\
(3) \quad \text{ásq}u \quad [\text{Ø} \text{ s}_\text{lu}_\text{q}_\text{hu}a \quad \text{n}_\text{u}-\text{na-n}]_{\text{RC}} \text{Ø}_{\text{NP}} \quad [\text{nì-s}]_{\text{NP}} \quad \text{zi-tɕi-jì?} \\
\text{tomorrow} \quad \text{Luhua} \quad \text{DIR-go-NOM} \quad \text{how.many-CL} \quad \text{exist-3PL-PRT} \\
\text{‘Are there many people who will go to Luhua tomorrow?’}
\]

In (4), from Qugu Qiang, the agent of a transitive clause (\textit{kep tɕyːmi} ‘orphan’) is relativized on.

\[
\text{NQ—Qugu variety (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:305):} \\
(4) \quad [\text{Ø} \text{ su}ϕu \text{ ş}_\text{t}_\text{s}_\text{u}-\text{m}]_{\text{RC}} \quad \text{kep} \quad \text{tsyːmi} \quad \text{ʔe}-\text{ze}]_{\text{NP}} \quad \text{tə-żwuse.} \\
\text{cow} \quad \text{graze-NOM} \quad \text{orphan child} \quad \text{one-CL} \quad \text{DIR-lend} \\
\text{‘To hire an orphan who grazes cows.’}
\]

In (5) the patient of a transitive clause (\textit{khue} ‘dog’) is relativized on.

\[
\text{SQ—Puxi variety:} \\
(5) \quad [\text{khue} \quad [\text{n}_\text{a}-\text{i} \quad \text{Ø} \text{ t}_\text{e}-\text{tɕu}-\text{si}]_{\text{RC}} \quad \text{tha-zi}]_{\text{NP}} \quad \text{n} \quad \text{bʒi.} \\
\text{dog} \quad \text{lsg:TP-AGT} \quad \text{DIR-see-CSM:1} \quad \text{that-CL} \quad \text{very big} \\
\text{‘That dog that I saw is very big.’}
\]

In (6), from Muka Qiang, the experiencer of an emotion verb is relativized on.

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3 In this paper the relative clauses and the NPs are in square brackets, while the head of the NP is boldface. In several of these examples no separate head noun appears, as the nominalizer used reflects a human head noun (as in (3)) or a place.
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SQ—Muka variety:
   2sg:TP-AGT afraid.of-NOM that-CL leave-CSM
   ‘The man who is afraid of you left.’

In (7), from Ronghong Qiang, the recipient of a ditransitive clause (*mi ‘person’) is relativized on.

NQ—Ronghong variety:
(7) [[qa-wu Ø ləyz de-le-m]RC mi-le:]NP
   1sg-AGT book DIR-give-NOM person-DEF:CL
   [qa-te tua]NP ŋuə.
   1sg-GEN younger.brother COP
   ‘The man to whom I gave the book is my younger brother.’

Apart from relativization of core arguments in Qiang, non-core arguments can also be relativized on, as in (8), where the instrument of transitive clause (*χe33 ‘needle’) is relativized on.

SQ—Taoping variety (H. Sun 1981:81):
   this-CL-TOP clothes sew-NOM needle COP
   ‘This is the needle which is being used to sew clothes.’

In (9) the head of relative clause *me ‘person’ in Puxi Qiang is a source, which is gapping, and in (10), from Puxi Qiang, the head of the relative clause is a locational noun (*tci ‘house’).

SQ—Puxi variety:
(9) [[ŋa-(i) Ø çtɕindzi te-ŋa-m]RC me tha-la]NP
   1sg:TP-AGT money DIR-borrow-NOM person that-CL
   ‘the person I borrowed money from’

SQ—Puxi variety:
(10) [[ŋa Ø zə]RC tci tha-gu]NP
   1sg:TP exist:1 house that-CL
   ‘the house where I live’

In (11) the head of the relative clause is a temporal noun phrase (*tʰa-si ‘that day’).
SQ—Puxi variety:

(11) [[thala Ø lu-ji]_{RC} th-a-si]_{NP} 3sg come-CSM:3 that-day

‘the day that s/he came’

In Qiang, from Ronghong Qiang, the noun being compared in comparative constructions can also be relativized on, as in (12), where the head of the relative clause is a noun phrase being compared (mi-le: ‘the person’):

NQ—Ronghong variety:

(12) [[Ø qa-s ji-p ba-m]_{RC} mi-le:]_{NP} [wantau]_{NP} zmə.

1sg-COMP two-year big-NOM person-DEF:CL Wangtao call

‘The person who is two years older than me is called Wangtao.’

2.3 A full NP strategy

Apart from pre-head or post-head relative clauses and headless relative clauses, which generally use the gapping strategy, there is also a full NP strategy used in head-internal relative clauses and double-headed relative clauses. In head-internal relative clauses, the head is represented by a full NP, as in (13), where the head noun (stə/stuaha/tshu ‘food’) cannot be omitted in three varieties of Qiang:

(13) a. [[thə-chə-ji stə tʃə]_{RC} th-a-ra]_{NP} [qa]_{NP} (Mawo, Liu 1998:209)

3pl-AGT food do that-CL 1sg
dzə da-sa.

eat DIR-finish:1sg

‘I ate all the food that they cooked.’

b. [[themle-wu stuaha tə-bəl-ji]_{RC} th-a-lə]_{NP} (Ronghong)

3pl-AGT food DIR-do-CSM that-CL

[qə]_{NP} sə-tʃə³ da-sa.

1sg DIR-eat DIR-finish:1sg

‘I ate all the food that they cooked.’

c. [[thə-chə-(i) tshu te-pu-ji]_{RC} th-a-laqua]_{NP} (Puxi)

3pl-AGT food DIR-do-CSM that-CL

[ŋa]_{NP} qenì še-dze-si.

1sg:TP all DIR-eat-CSM:1

‘I ate all the food that they cooked.’

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³ The verb stem in Ronghong is təɯə ‘drink’.
In double headed relative clauses, both the external head noun and internal head noun are represented by a full NP separately, as in (14), where both the external head noun and internal head noun (khuə ‘dog’) have animate referents in Ronghong Qiang:

(14) [[khuə mi-ta ɾdze le-m]RC khuə-le:]NP ha-la.
    dog person-DAT bite exist-NOM dog-DEF:CL DIR-come
    ‘The dog who would bite people is coming out.’

In terms of syntactic relations, the “pivot” concept was first introduced by Dixon (1979, 1994), and it is now widely employed in the typological literature (Foley & Van Valin 1984, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:ch.6, among many other publications). According to the concept of syntactic pivot, if the single argument of an intransitive clause [S] and the agent of a transitive clause [A] are treated the same way morphosyntactically, and differently from the patient of a transitive clause [P] in a language, that construction in that language has an [S, A] pivot, as in (15), from English:

(15) a. Mary\textsubscript{S} entered and Ø\textsubscript{A} saw John\textsubscript{P}.
   b. *John\textsubscript{S} entered and Mary\textsubscript{A} saw Ø\textsubscript{P}.
   c. Mary\textsubscript{S} entered and Ø\textsubscript{S} was seen by John\textsubscript{A}.

The cross-clause coordination in (15) has a restricted neutralization, i.e. [S, A] pivot pattern, where S and A can appear in immediately preverbal position, but P cannot. English has some other constructions with an [S, A] pivot pattern, whereas relativization does not show such a restricted pattern, as any semantic role can be relativized on. In Qiang there is S/A marking (S and A have the same morphological marking) in finite relative structures, but there is no restricted neutralization (co-referential NP deletion) in relative clauses in terms of syntactic pivot in that any argument can be relativized on. All varieties of Qiang have no pivot (S/A pivot or S/P pivot) in relative clauses, unlike rGyalrong, which has S/A marking in verb agreement and S/A pivot for co-referential NP deletion in coordinate constructions, converb constructions and relativization (J. Sun & Shi 2002, J. Sun 2006).

3. Morphosyntax of relative clauses

Qiang uses different nominalizers, the genitive marker and the definite marking or indefinite marking to help in creating relative clauses; the choice of nominalizers or the genitive marker depends on the semantic role of the head in the relative clause (LaPolla with C. Huang 2003:223-229, C. Huang 2004:263-273). In some varieties of Qiang there
are also some relative clauses that are not marked by nominalization, but they are marked by person with aspect marking. If a non-nominalized relative clause takes both person and aspect marking, we call it a finite relative clause; when a non-nominalized clause only takes aspect but no person marking, we call it a pseudo-finite relative clause.

Nichols (1984) argues that fully head-marking languages tend to have head-marking relative clause structures, and fully dependent-marking languages tend to have dependent-marking relative clause structures, but double-marking languages, such as Qiang, tend to have dependent marked relative clause structures.

3.1 Nominalized relative clauses

It is common to find nominalized clauses functioning as modifiers of head nouns in Asian languages, especially in Sino-Tibetan languages. In other words, nominalized clauses in Sino-Tibetan have the same function as relative clauses in Indo-European languages. This is often talked about as nominalization-relativization syncretism (Noonan 1997, 2008, DeLancey 1999, LaPolla 2006, 2007). Such nominalized clausal modifiers represent a shift from [relative clause + noun] to [nominalized clause + noun] (LaPolla 2006, 2007), i.e. [NP+N(P) structure] (LaPolla with C. Huang 2003:225). In [NP-N(P)] constructions, the first N(P) modifies the second in Sino-Tibetan languages. The [NP-N(P)] construction is also original structure for genitive constructions in Sino-Tibetan (LaPolla 2007); that is, genitive-nominalization syncretism, e.g., -ve in Lahu (Matisoff 1972), -wa in Chantyal (Noonan 1997) and the particle -de in Mandarin Chinese are used as genitive markers and nominalizers. In many Tibeto-Burman languages there is more than one nominalizer, e.g., modern Central Tibetan shows a set of four nominalizers (-mkhan for Agent, -sa for Locative/Dative, -yag for Themes in non-perfective relative clauses, -pa for perfective relative clauses in which the head is a non-actor; DeLancey 1999). The majority of Qiang varieties are similar to other Tibeto-Burman languages in having more than one nominalizer; we find a set of two nominalizers in the majority of Qiang varieties, and a set of three nominalizers in two varieties. We also find that four varieties of Qiang use genitive markers5 as linkers between the head nouns and relative clauses. Nominalizers and the genitive markers are given in Table 1:

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5 Genitive markers are different from nominalizers. Nominalizers are generally a part of a nominalized clause, whereas genitive markers appear after a finite clause to link the head and the finite clause.
According to Table 1, all varieties have the agentive nominalizer, i.e. -m in Ronghong, Qugu, Heihu, and Puxi; -mu in Mianchi, -mə³³ in Taoping; -n in Mawo and -nə in Muka \(nə\) ‘person’ in Mawo and Muka corresponds to ‘person’ in Ronghong, Qugu, Heihu; me ‘person’ in Puxi; mu ‘person’ in Mianchi and mə³³ ‘person’ in Taoping, it seems nə derived from mi,⁶ and nə/mi ‘person’ grammaticalized into the agentive nominalizer, therefore, the agentive nominalizer may be reconstructed to Proto-Qiang. The instrumental nominalizer seems not to go back to the Proto-Qiang even though Ronghong, Qugu, Puxi and Muka share the instrumental nominalizer -s\(\mathfrak{t}\)/-s\(\mathfrak{t}\), but Taoping Qiang has the unique instrumental nominalizer -ts\(\mathfrak{t}\)³³, whereas Mianchi Qiang uses the genitive marker -ki to encode instrumental nominalization, and Heihu Qiang uses the general nominalizer -ka. Although the genitive maker -tɕ in Ronghong and Qugu Qiang corresponds with -ki/-ki in Mawo and Mianchi Qiang, Puxi, Muka, and Taoping Qiang have a different genitive marker. The nominalizer -p is only found in the Qugu and Ronghong varieties; it occurs after existential verbs to describe features of inanimate objects or an animal’s propensity.

When the agent of an intransitive or transitive clause is relativized on, and the head only takes one nominalized clause, each variety of Qiang uses the agentive nominalizer.

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6 In Mawo -k is the genitive marker, we did not find any example of -k to be used as a linker of the head nouns and relative clauses in Liu’s (1998) book, A Study of Mawo Qiang; therefore, it is unclear whether the genitive marker -k can be used as a linker or not.

7 The parallel correspondence of n-m is also found in Rawang and Dulong (a Tibeto-Burman language), where nut ‘mind’ in Rawang corresponds with mit ‘mind’ in Dulong (personal communication with Randy J. LaPolla).

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### Table 1: Nominalizers, Genitive markers and Relativizers in Qiang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agentive nominalizers/relativizers</th>
<th>Instrumental nominalizers/relativizers</th>
<th>Genitive markers</th>
<th>Non-agentive, non-instrumental relativizers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ronghong</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-tɕ</td>
<td>-tɕ/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qugu</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-tɕ</td>
<td>-tɕ/-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mawo</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>-k⁶</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heihu</td>
<td>-m/-ka</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-ts</td>
<td>-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mianchi</td>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muka</td>
<td>-nə</td>
<td>-sə</td>
<td>-sa¹</td>
<td>-nə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puxi</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-sa/-s</td>
<td>-sa¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taoping</td>
<td>-mə³³</td>
<td>-ts(\mathfrak{t})³³</td>
<td>-zo³³</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
as in (16) [see also (3), (4), (6), (7), (9), (12), (17b-c), (38), (39), (42), (48), (49), (50), (51), (52), (55), (56), (58)]:

(16) a. [tɛymi the:]_{NP} [fɑ ɕupu]{NP} guə. (NQ: Ronghong)
    child that:CL clothes red wear
    ‘That child wears red clothes.’

b. [[fɑ cupu guə-m]_{RC} tɛymi the:]_{NP} (NQ: Ronghong)
    clothes red wear-NOM child that:CL
    ‘the child who wears red clothes’

c. [[phu şən guə-m]_{RC} kebjǐ thə-la]_{NP} (SQ: Puxi)
    clothes red wear-NOM child that-CL
    ‘the child who wears red clothes’

d. [[phu nə guə-mu]_{RC} ɦɑ-ko kebjǐ-tsə]_{NP} (SQ: Mianchi)
    clothes red wear-NOM that-CL child
    ‘the child who wears red clothes’

e. [[phu hnihi guə-na]_{RC} ći-lə tebjĩ]_{NP} (SQ: Muka)
    clothes red wear-NOM that-CL child
    ‘the child who wears red clothes’

f. [[ɕidzi gue-ʂə gue-ka]_{RC} tʃuama tʃhə]_{NP} (SQ: Heihu)
    red clothes wear-NOM child that-CL
    ‘the child who wears red clothes’

In general, relativization of intransitive non-agents (human argument/themes) is quite different among dialects of Qiang. Ronghong and Heihu Qiang relativizations of transitive human agents use the agentive nominalizer, as in (17b-c), while others use non-nominalization, as in (17d-f) in Mianchi, Muka, and Puxi Qiang:

(17) a. [mi the:]_{NP} die-ʂə. (NQ: Ronghong)
    person that:CL DIR-die
    ‘That person died.’

b. [[die-ʂə-ə]_{RC} mi the:]_{NP} (NQ: Ronghong)
    DIR-die-NOM person that:CL
    ‘the person who died’

c. [[ɕə-ə-ka]_{RC} ma tʃhə]_{NP} (SQ: Heihu)
    DIR-die-NOM person that:CL
    ‘the person who died’

d. [[te-ʂə-qe]_{RC-ki} ɦə-ko me]_{NP} (SQ: Mianchi)
    DIR-die-PFT-GEN that-CL person
    ‘the person who died’
When an instrumental noun is relativized on, Ronghong, Puxi, and Muka Qiang use the shared nominalizer -s/-sa, as in (18b-d). Heihu Qiang uses a different nominalizer, -ka, as in (18e); whereas Mianchi Qiang uses the genitive marker -ki to link the head noun and the relative clause, as in (18f) [see also (8), (20a), (21a), (22d), (60b), (62a), (63)]:

   1sg thing that-CL-INST book write:1sg
   ‘I use that thing to write.’

b. [[lɔy] zɛ-s]RC pana the-ze]NP (NQ: Ronghong)
  book write-NOM thing that-CL
  ‘the thing that is used to be written’

c. [[zedo se-sa]RC pani tha-la]NP (SQ: Puxi)
  book write-NOM thing that-CL
  ‘the thing that is used to be written’

d. [[zedo se-sa]RC tɕi-to balubase]NP (SQ: Muka)
  book write-NOM that-CL thing
  ‘the thing that is used to be written’

  book write-NOM thing that:CL
  ‘the thing that is used to be written’

  book write-GEN that-CL thing
  ‘the thing that is used to be written’

In relativization of non-agentive or non-instrumental NPs, both Ronghong and Qugu Qiang use the genitive marker -tɛ as the linker of a relative clause and the head noun regardless of whether the relativized non-agentive or non-instrumental NPs are human or not, as in (19a) in Ronghong Qiang. In Muka Qiang relativization of non-agentive or non-instrumental NPs uses the agentive nominalizer -nə, as in (19b); whereas Heihu uses the general nominalizer -ka, which may occur in relativization of any NP, as in (19c):
Qugu Qiang can use either the instrumental nominalizer -s or the genitive marker -tc in relativization of an instrumental noun, as in (20), where (20a) and (20b) use different relativizers, and B. Huang & Zhou (2006:205) propose their meanings are the same. According to my intuition, the meanings of (20a) and (20b) are different. In (20a), where the instrumental nominalizer -s is used, it just describes the knife used to slice meat, while the example in (20b) uses the genitive marker -tc to present the knife being used to cut/slice meat. Counterparts of (20a-b) can also be found in Ronghong, as in (21):

**NQ—Qugu variety:**

(20) a. [tse:]NP [[[pies khukhu-s]RC xtcepi]NP fiũ. that:CL meat slice-NOM knife COP

‘This is the knife that is used to slice meat.’

b. [tse:]NP [[[pies khukhu]RC-tc xtcepi]NP fiũ. that:CL meat slice-GEN knife COP

‘This is the knife that is being used to slice meat.’

**NQ—Ronghong variety:**

(21) a. [tse:]NP [[[pies khukhu-s]RC xtŋepi]NP ñuə. that:CL meat slice-NOM knife COP

‘This is the knife that is used to slice meat.’

b. [tse:]NP [[[pies khukhu]RC-tc xtŋepi]NP ñuə. that:CL meat slice-GEN knife COP

‘This is the knife that is being used to slice meat.’

An interesting pattern is found in Ronghong Qiang, as in (22), where all the relative clauses precede the head, fa ‘clothes’, however, the relative clause can take different markers. In (22a) the verb of relative clause, pa ‘buy’, takes the directional prefix zə- and the change of state marker -ji; the relative clauses in (22b) and (22c) take the genitive marker -tc; and in (22d) the relative clause takes the instrumental nominalizer -s. It seems
that the use of different relativizers is related to realis and irrealis: in (22a) and (22b) the clothes have been bought, and in (22c) the clothes are being bought. In (22d), however, the clothes have not been bought; it just mentions that the clothes will be bought or should be bought. Therefore, the choice of relativizers in Ronghong not only depends on the semantic role of the head but is related to realis vs. irrealis as well:

(22) a. \([[[qa \quad z\-p\-ji]]_{RC} \quad fa]_{NP}\)  
   1sg  DIR-buy-CSM clothes
   ‘the clothes that I bought’

b. \([[[qa \quad z\-p\-te]]_{RC-}\quad a]_{NP}\)  
   1sg  DIR-buy-GEN clothes
   ‘the clothes that I bought’

c. \([[[qa \quad p\-te]]_{RC-}\quad a]_{NP}\)  
   1sg  buy-GEN clothes
   ‘the clothes that I am buying’

d. \([[[qa \quad p\-s]]_{RC}\quad a]_{NP}\)  
   1sg  buy-NOM clothes
   ‘the clothes that I will / should buy’

Apart from the agentive nominalizer, the instrumental nominalizer and the genitive marker used in relativization, both Qugu and Ronghong Qiang have another nominalizer, \(-p\), which is used in relativization of the argument of an existential verb to encode existential objects, as in (23) in Qugu Qiang:

NQ—Qugu variety (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:202):

(23) a. \([[[zogum \quad xsi\-ze \quad we\-p]]_{RC} \quad te\-hua \quad a\-sa]_{NP} \quad te\-hi.\)  
   window three-CL exist-NOM house one-CL need
   ‘It needs one room which has three windows.’

b. \([[[tsa]]_{NP} \quad [[s\-me\-p]]_{RC} \quad y\-supu]_{NP} \quad f\-h,\)  
   here tree exist-NOM mountain COP
   ‘This is the mountain which has trees, and that is the mountain which does not have trees.’

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It seems that the nominalizer \(-s\) in Ronghong only occurs in an irrealis event when it is used in relativization of a non-agent argument.
In Qugu and Ronghong Qiang, the nominalizer -p may also nominalize stative verbs to describe human propensity, as in (24)-(26), or an animal’s habit, as in (27)-(28), to form nominalized complement clauses:

**Qugu variety (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:202):**

(24) a. \([\text{tey} : \text{mi} [\text{ze} \text{ le-} \underline{\text{p}}] \underline{\text{RC}} \text{ te-} \underline{\text{NP}} \text{ to:pu-} \underline{\text{s}}] \underline{\text{NP}} \text{ mi-} \underline{\text{we}}.\)
   \(\text{child cry exist-NOM DEF:CL like-NOM NEG-exist}\)
   ‘There is no one who likes a child who is lachrymose.’

b. \([\text{zimi dze le-} \underline{\text{p}}] \underline{\text{RC}}-\underline{\text{ta-} \underline{\text{q}}}] \underline{\text{NP}} \text{ zimi} \underline{\text{NP}} \text{ dze do-} \underline{\text{jy ma-} \underline{\text{r}}} \text{u}.\)
   \(\text{speech say exist-NOM-DEF-PL speech say DIR-finish NEG-will}\)
   ‘The person who is fond of chitchat speaks perpetually.’

**NQ—Qugu variety (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:96):**

(25) a. \([\text{qupu}] \underline{\text{NP}} [\text{[khukhue le-} \underline{\text{p}}] \underline{\text{RC}} \text{ mi-} \underline{\text{we}}.\]
   \(\text{3sg angry exist-NOM old.man-IND:CL COP}\)
   ‘He is an old man who is pettish.’

b. \([\text{the:}] \underline{\text{NP}} [\text{[khukhue le-} \underline{\text{p}}] \underline{\text{RC}} \text{ (Ronghong)} \text{ tɕɑ lɑ} \underline{\text{NP}} \text{ kə ŋu-} \underline{\text{a}}.\)
   \(\text{person cry like/able -DEF:CL where go QUES}\)
   ‘The dog who is fond of biting people came out.’

**NQ—Ronghong variety:**

(26) a. \([\text{mi} [\text{zei le-} \underline{\text{p}}] \underline{\text{RC}} -\underline{\text{le-}}] \underline{\text{NP}} [\text{tɕala} \underline{\text{NP}} \text{ kə ŋu-} \underline{\text{a}}.\)
   \(\text{person cry exist-NOM -DEF:CL where go QUES}\)
   ‘Where did the person who is lachrymose go?’

b. \([\text{mi} [\text{zei topu/dzə} \underline{\text{RC}} -\underline{\text{le-}}] \underline{\text{NP}} [\text{tɕala} \underline{\text{NP}} \text{ kə ŋu-} \underline{\text{a}}.\)
   \(\text{person cry like/able -DEF:CL where go QUES}\)
   ‘Where did the person who likes crying/is able to cry go?’

**NQ—Ronghong variety:**

(27) \([\text{mi-} \underline{\text{ta zdze le-} \underline{\text{p}}] \underline{\text{RC}} khuə-\underline{\text{le-} \underline{\text{NP}} \text{ ha-}la}.\)
   \(\text{person-anti.AGT bite exist-NOM dog-DEF:CL DIR-come}\)
   ‘The dog who is fond of biting people came out.’
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(28) \[[mi \ tsi-tsi \ le-p]_{RC} \ xse-le:]_{NP} \ du-\phi u.
   person butt exist-NOM cow-DEF:CL DIR-escape
   ‘The cow who butts people escaped.’

3.2 Non-nominalized relative clauses

Nichols (1984) put forward another type of relativization called pronominal relativization found in some languages. The strategy of pronominal relativization is still the gap, pre-head type. The person-marking might make recovery of the referent of the head noun easier in some cases. Pronominal relativization is common in those languages that have verb agreement, such as Kham (a Tibeto-Burman language in Nepal) in (29):

(29) a. \[[nya-ra-saih-wo]_{RC} \ basma-ra]_{NP} \ (Watters 2002:207, 52a)
   1sg-3pl-kill-NOM goat-3pl
   ‘those goats that I killed’

b. \[[ya-dai-ni-u]_{RC} \ po:]_{NP} \ (Watters 2002:207, 52b)
   3pl-find-2sg-NOM place
   ‘the place where they find you’

c. \[[ge-saires-ci-u]_{RC} \ chyam]_{NP} \ (Watters 2002:207, 52c)
   1pl-recognize-2pl-NOM day
   ‘the day when we recognized you’

Qiang is similar to many other pronominalizing languages, in that it also has pronominal relativization. In some varieties of Qiang, when relativized NPs are non-agentive nouns or non-instrumental NPs, they usually use non-nominalized constructions; the co-referential NPs between the heads and relative clauses are represented by aspect markers or both person and aspect markers. Only the genitive marker occurs after a finite clause; nominalizers cannot appear after a finite clause as in (30a-b), (30e) in Ronghong Qiang [see also (36) in Mianchi Qiang]:

(30) a. \[[qa-wu \ xe-u-a]_{RC-tc} \ mi-le:]_{NP}
   1sg-AGT scold-3sg:p-1sg:A-GEN people-DEF:CL
   [mi \ zwa]_{NP} \ mo-x\u015ft\u030cu.
   other speech NEG-obedient
   ‘The person who is scolded by me is not obedient.’

b. \[[tcile-wu \ xe-u-\phi]_{RC-tc} \ mi-le:]_{NP}
   1pl-AGT scold-3sg:p-1pl:A-GEN people-DEF:CL
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[mi ʐəwɑ]NP mo-xʂutcu.
other speech NEG-obedient
‘The person who is scolded by us is not obedient.’
c. [[ʔũ-wu xe-u-n]RC mi-le:]NP
2sg-AGT scold-3sg:P-2sg:A people-DEF:CL
[mi ʐəwɑ]NP mo-xʂutcu.
other speech NEG-obedient
‘The person who is scolded by you is not obedient.’
d. [[ʔile-wu xe-u-i]RC mi-le:]NP
2pl-AGT scold-3sg:P-2pl:A people-DEF:CL
[mi ʐəwɑ]NP mo-xʂutcu.
other speech NEG-obedient
‘The person who is scolded by you is not obedient.’
e. [[the:-wu xe-u-te]RC mi-le:]NP
3sg-AGT scold-3sg:P-GEN people-DEF:CL
[mi ʐəwɑ]NP mo-xʂutcu.
other speech NEG-obedient
‘The person who is scolded by him / her is not obedient.’
f. [[themle-wu xe-u-tei]RC mi-le:]NP
3pl-AGT scold-3sg:P-3pl:A people-DEF:CL
[mi ʐəwɑ]NP mo-xʂutcu.
other speech NEG-obedient
‘The person who is scolded by them is not obedient.’

3.2.1 Pseudo-finite relative clauses

In some cases, post-head relative clauses and head-internal relative clauses in Mawo Qiang are not only non-nominalized, but there is no person marking either. We call such cases pseudo-finite clauses, as in (31), where relative clauses are non-nominalized, and the verbs of the relative clauses in (31a-c) take directional prefixes to function as aspect markers [see also (13), (18a), (22a), (43), (44), (46), (47), (53), (54), (57), (60c), (62)]:

NQ—Mawo variety (Liu 1998:227, 137, 209):
   person clothes new DIR-wear that:CL landlord COP-EVID
   ‘The person who wears new clothes is a landlord.’
   person house-GEN top DIR-sit that:CL Lama COP-EVID
   ‘The person who is sitting on the terrace of the house is a Lama.’
c. nisi [tei [da-ɾe']RC thɔ]NP [nɪkal]NP tʃa-ji ɲua?
yesterday snow DIR-come.down that how.much deep-PRT QUES
‘How much thickness did snow yesterday?’
3pl-AGT food do that-CL 1sg eat DIR-finish:1sg
‘I ate all the food that they cooked.’

When non-agentive nouns of impersonal events are relativized on in Ronghong and Qugu Qiang, relative clauses are usually non-nominalized constructions, and verbs of relative clauses take the change of state marker -jy or -ji, as in (32)-(33):

**NQ—Qugu variety (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:175):**

(32) a. [[zme tso-quip da-tʃsha-jy]RC kopu-le:]NP
Qiang this-CL DIR-develop-CSM root-DEF:CL
fiake: fiu wa.
thus COP PRT
‘The origin of this family of Qiang is like this.’
b. [[ʔi-tʃɺe-jy]RC1 kʊʃ]NP1 ze,
DIR-fry-CSM dish delicious
[[ʔo-ʃu-jy]RC2 kʊʃ]NP2 me-ze.
DIR-boil-CSM dish NEG-delicious
‘A fried dish is delicious, while a boiled dish is not delicious.’

**Ronghong variety:**

1pl Qiang this-CL DIR-develop-CSM root-DEF:CL thus COP
‘The origin of this family of Qiang is like this.’
DIR-fry-CSM dish delicious DIR-boil-CSM dish NEG-delicious
‘A fried dish is delicious, while a boiled dish is not delicious.’

In Qugu Qiang, the genitive marker may occur after the change of state marker optionally in relativization, as in (34a), whereas in Ronghong Qiang pseudo-finite clauses do not take the genitive marker, as in (34b):

**NQ—Qugu variety (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:175):**

DIR-buy-CSM-GEN clothes this-two:CL 2sg-DAT DIR-give-HORT:1sg
‘Let me give you these two pieces of clothes that were bought.’
Ronghong variety:

b. \[[zə-pə-jy/-ji]_{RC} \text{fa tsə-jə-qai}]_{NP} \ [ʔũ-tə]_{NP} \ de-le-la.
   \text{DIR-buy-CSM clothes this-two-CL 2sg-DAT DIR-give-HORT:1sg}

‘Let me give you these two pieces of clothes that were bought.’

3.2.2 Finite relative clauses

In Puxi Qiang relative clauses are usually finite clauses when the relativized nouns are non-agentive nouns or non-instrumental nouns. The person marking might make recovery of the referent of the head nouns easier in some cases, as in (35) [see also (5), (10), (11), (30b), (30d), (30f), (40), (41), (45)]:

(35) a. \[[ŋa \ zə^]\_{RC} \text{tei tha-gu}]_{NP} \ (unmarked aspect)
   \text{1sg:TP exist:1 house that-CL}

‘the house that I live in’

b. \[[ŋa \ zə-u-\text{-a}]_{RC} \text{tei tha-gu}]_{NP} \ (prospective)
   \text{1sg:TP exist-PROS-1 house that-CL}

‘the house that I will live in’

c. \[[ŋa \ zə-si]_{RC} \text{tei tha-gu}]_{NP} \ (change of state)
   \text{1sg:TP exist-CSM:1 house that-CL}

‘the house I have lived in’

In (35), where the relative clauses are pre-heads, there are no nominalizers, but they are all finite relative clauses. This seems to be limited to relativization of non-agentive and non-instrumental nouns; this type is very interesting. LaPolla (2007) indicates that the nominalization-relativization syncretism in many Tibeto-Burman languages is due to the historical development of nominalizers out of heads of relative clauses. The [relative clause + noun] structure is then older than the [nominalized clause + noun] structure, and so the non-nominalized finite clause of Puxi Qiang shown above reflects the older type of relativization.

3.2.3 Finite clauses + genitive marker

In Mianchi Qiang, when a non-agentive or a non-instrumental argument is relativized on, the relative clause is a finite clause plus the genitive marker -\text{ki}, as in (36). This type of relativization (i.e., finite clause + genitive marker + noun) is not a nominalized clause because nominalizers cannot occur after a finite clause, but the genitive marker can appear after a finite clause, and it functions as a linker between the finite clause and the head noun. This type in Mianchi Qiang reflects a later development than the finite relative
The genitive marker is different from nominalizers though both the genitive marker and nominalizers occur in the same slot. Nominalizers only appear after a bare verb and as a part of a nominalized clause, while the genitive marker may occur in genitive constructions, or after a verb, or a finite clause; therefore, the genitive marker and nominalizers are different. Unlike many other Sino-Tibetan languages where there is genitive-nominalization syncretism, such as Mandarin Chinese, Lahu (Matisoff 1972), and Chantyal (Noonan 1997), there is no genitive-nominalization syncretism in Qiang.

4. Types of relative clauses

clause among the world languages: pre-head relative clauses, post-head relative clauses, head-internal relative clauses, and headless relative clauses. Relative clauses in Qiang can be quite complex. There are two types of relative clauses in terms of whether there is a head or not, i.e. headed relative clauses and headless relative clauses. Headed relative clauses comprise head-external relative clauses, including pre-head relative clauses, post-head relative clauses, head-internal relative clauses (cf. Lehmann 1986), and double headed relative clauses (C. Huang & Evans 2007).

4.1 Head-external relative clauses

Head-external relative clauses may be sub-classified into pre-head relative clauses and post-head relative clauses in terms of the position of the relative clause.

4.1.1 Pre-head relative clauses

Cross-linguistically, in verb final languages like most Tibeto-Burman, Turkic, and Tungusic languages, Korean, Japanese, and Navajo, relative clauses usually occur before the head. In Qiang the most common type relativization is also pre-head relative clauses, as in (37) [see also (4), (7), (8), (9), (10), (11), (12), (16), (17), (18), (19), (20), (21), (22), (23), (24), (27), (28), (30), (32), (33), (34), (35), (36), (38), (39), (40), (41), (61), (62)]:

(37) a. [tєymi тhe:]NP [фa ցupu]NP ɡuə. (NQ: Ronghong)
   child that:CL clothes red wear
   ‘That child wears red clothes.’

b. [[фa ցupu ɡuə-м]RC тєymi тhe:]NP (NQ: Ronghong)
   clothes red wear-NOM child that:CL
   ‘the child who wears red clothes’

c. [[фh ʂə ɡuə-м]RC kebz交易中心 th-a]NP (SQ: Puxi)
   clothes red wear-NOM child that-CL
   ‘the child who wears red clothes’

d. [[фh ɲə ɡue-m]RC ɦa-ko kebz交易中心-tsa]NP (SQ: Mianchi)
   clothes red wear-NOM that-CL child
   ‘the child who wears red clothes’

e. [[фh niңni ɡuə-ɲə]RC tɛi-la ʨibɛ]NP (SQ: Muka)
   clothes red wear-NOM that-CL child
   ‘the child who wears red clothes’

9 Although Persian, Bengali, and Georgian are verb-final, relative clauses in these languages follow the head of the NP (Kuno 1974).
In Ronghong Qiang, the head of the relative clause is usually a lexical noun, as in (38a) and (39a); but if the referent of the head noun is recoverable, the head noun may be represented by a pronoun, as in (38b)-(39b):

(38) a. \([\text{ŋə dzə-m]}_{RC} \text{mi-le:}]_{NP} \text{tɕa-n.}\) 
   sleepable-NOM people-DEF:CL CON-sleep
   ‘The person who likes to sleep late is still sleeping.’

b. \([\text{ŋə dzə-m]}_{RC} \text{the:}]_{NP} \text{tɕa-n.}\) (LaPolla with C. Huang 2003:228)
   sleepable-NOM 3sg CON-sleep
   ‘S/he who likes to sleep late is still sleeping.’

(39) a. \([\text{ləɣ su kə-m]}_{RC} \text{təymi-la-ha}]_{NP} \text{tecǐu i-pɔl-jy.}\)
   book learn go-NOM child-DEF-PL home DIR-arrive-CSM
   ‘Those children who went to school came back.’

b. \([\text{ləɣ su kə-m]}_{RC} \text{themle}]_{NP} \text{tecǐu i-pɔl-jy.}\)
   book learn go-NOM 3pl home DIR-arrive-CSM
   ‘They who went to school came back.’

In Puxi Qiang the pre-head relative clause is not nominalized, as in (40)-(41). In (40) the verb of the relative clause agrees with the actor of the relative clause in terms of the combined person/aspect marking. In example (40a) the verb of the relative clause is marked by the first person prospective aspect marking \(-u-a\), whereas in (40b) it is marked by the first person imperfective aspect marker \(-ʴ\), and in (40c) by the first person change of state aspect marker \(-si\). In example (41a) the verb of the relative clause is marked by the first person prospective aspect marker \(-u-a\), while in (41b) it is marked by the second person imperfective aspect marker \(-n\). In both (41c) and (41d) the verbs are marked by the third person change of state marker \(-i\).

(40) a. \([\text{ŋə-i lie-u-a]}_{RC} \text{pho thə-pho}]_{NP}\)
   1sg:TP-AGT plant-PROS-1 tree that-CL
   ‘the tree that I will plant’

b. \([\text{ŋə-i lie}^4]_{RC} \text{pho thə-pho}]_{NP}\)
   1sg:TP-AGT plant:1 tree that-CL
   ‘the tree that I am planting’
4.1.2 Post-head relative clauses

In many other Tibeto-Burman languages, e.g. Tibetan (DeLancey 1999, Huber 2003) and Lushai (Hillard 1977), nominalized relative clauses can also be used to form appositional post-head relative clauses, and this is also true in Qiang. In Qiang, post-head relative clauses are unlike pre-head relative clauses, as they are in apposition to the head, as in (42) from Ronghong Qiang. In some varieties of Qiang, if the head of the relative clause is a human non-actor or a non-human patient, then the relative clause is a non-nominalized structure, and the verb of the relative clause only takes a directional prefix, as in (43) from Mawo Qiang and in (44) from Taoping Qiang [see also (5), (24a), (26), (30a-c)]:

NQ — Ronghong variety:
(42) [ni [ʂu xə guə-m]RC theː:]NP [titʂu]NP ŋuə-ji.
   person clothes new wear-NOM that:CL landlord COP-HRS
   ‘It is said that the person who wears new clothes is a landlord.’

NQ — Mawo variety (Liu 1998:227):
(43) [ni [phuʦu kʰə da-gua]RC thəː:]NP [titʂu]NP ŋuə-ji.
   person clothes new DIR-wear that:CL landlord COP-PRT
   ‘The person who wears new clothes is a landlord.’
Relativization in Qiang

SQ—Taoping variety (H. Sun 1981:144):

(44) \[ti^{31} [s^{31}-q^{55}t^{55}-pa^{33}]_{RC-ti^{33}}]_{NP} tcy^{55}-so^{31} ua^{31}?\]
  bear  DIR-kill-do-DEF see-CSM:2sg QUES
  ‘Did you see the bear that was killed?’

Post-head non-nominalized clauses may take aspect with person markers in Puxi Qiang, as in (45), where the verb of the relative clause, \(te-t\text{çu} ‘\text{see}’\), is marked by the first person change of state marker-\(si\) [see also (5), (22a), (24), (29a-c), (40), (41)]:

SQ—Puxi variety:

(45) \[khue [tja-i te-tçu-si]_{RC} tha-zi]_{NP} n bžj.\]
  dog  1sg:TP-AGT DIR-see-CSM:1 that-CL very big
  ‘The dog I saw is very big.’

4.2 Head-internal relative clauses

Apart from the head-external relative clauses, Qiang is similar to many verb-final languages, such as many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Japanese, Korean, Turkic, Tungusic (Malchukov 1996), Navajo, and Wappo (Li & Thompson 1978), which also have head-internal relative clause constructions; that is to say, the head of a relative clause appears within the relative clause. In Qiang, head-internal relative clauses are limited to relativizations on the non-human argument or non-instrument of the clause. Whenever there is a head-internal structure, it would be modified by a demonstrative-(numeral)-classifier or (in)definite-classifier, which helps the addressee to identify the structure as a head-internal relative clause, as in (46) [see also (13)]:

(46) a. \[qä]_{NP} [[tcile tsa-wu tšuωa lampa (Ronghong)\]
  1sg 1pl elder.sister-AGT shoes flower
  tø-je-jį]_{RC} the-tse]_{NP} kan topu-a.
  DIR-embroider-CSM that-CL very like-1sg
  ‘I like that pair of colored shoes which my elder sister embroidered very much.’

b. \[qä]_{NP} [[tsa fiači-sta lapa tšuaha (Heihu)\]
  1sg 1pl elder.sister-AGT flower shoes
  tø-jinji-ka]_{RC} the-tsa]_{NP} tpau tpau-a.
  DIR-embroider-NOM that-CL like like-1sg
  ‘I like that pair of colored shoes which my elder sister embroidered very much.’
4.3 Headless relative clauses

The nominalized constructions can be used to modify another noun or noun phrase, forming a NP+N(P) structure where the first NP modifies the second, in many Tibeto-Burman languages and Mandarin Chinese (LaPolla with C. Huang 2003:225, LaPolla 2006, C. Huang & Evans 2007). The NP part of the structure is historically a relative clause plus head noun structure, which has been reanalyzed as simply a nominalized clause and is now modifying another noun (LaPolla with C. Huang 2003:225). In these cases, the head of the relative clause may be omitted in contexts where it is recoverable, forming a headless relative clause. In the examples (47)-(52) relative clauses appear without the head me/mi/ma/me/nə ‘person’ [see also (3), (6), (24b), (63)]:

SQ—Taoping variety (H. Sun 1981:97):

(47) [thaŋ55 laŋ55 ]NP [[tʃan31 cin31 ze241 lie33 ]RC-lə33 ]NP (mə33 ‘person’ omitted) 3sg usually illness.exist-DEF
ηəŋ33 ma31 .
COP PRT
‘S/he is the one that is usually ill.’
Relativization in Qiang

SQ—Heihu variety:
(48) [[ɑ qu-m/-ka]RC tsha]NP kə-i. (mi ‘person’ omitted)
  1sg fear-NOM/-NOM that:CL go-CSM
  ‘The person who is afraid of me left.’

SQ—Muka variety:
(49) [[nu-i ku-nə]RC tɕi-lə]NP də-i. (nə ‘person’ omitted)
  2sg:TP-AGT fear-NOM that-CL leave-CSM
  ‘The person who is afraid of you left.’

SQ—Puxi variety:
(50) tepai [petsu ke-m]RC [təŋ-la]NP (me ‘person’ omitted)
  tomorrow Xuecheng go-NOM how.many-CL
  zə me?
  exist QUES
  ‘Are there many people who will go to Xuecheng tomorrow?’

NQ—Mawo variety (Liu 1998:197):
(51) aʂqu [sluqhua nu-ʔə-n]RC [nɨ-s]NP (nə ‘person’ omitted)
  tomorrow Luhua DIR-go-NOM how.many-CL
  zi-tɕi-ji?
  exist-3pl-PRT
  ‘Are there many people who will go to Luhua tomorrow?’

NQ—Ronghong variety:
(52) [qa]NP [[ləyz tse-m]RC eː]NP u-tɕu-ə. (mi ‘person’ omitted)
  1sg book look.at-NOM one:CL DIR-see-1sg
  ‘I saw one person who is reading books.’

Apart from human actors that are relativized on, other types of head nouns may also be omitted in contexts where they are recoverable; e.g., speech complements, as in (53)-(54), instruments, as in (55), non-human objects, in (57), and locations, as in (58):

SQ—Taoping variety (H. Sun 1981:150):
(53) [[tha 55 lə 55 -i 33 dzi 241 -pa 33 ]RC-ti 33 ]NP (ɛ 31 mə 55 ‘speech’ omitted)
  3sg:AGT say-do-DEF
  [nə 55 ]NP ə 31 -tɕi 55 to 55 -nə 31 ni 31 ?
  2sg:TP DIR-remember-2sg QUES
  ‘Do you remember what s/he said?’
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NQ—Mawo variety (Liu 1998:197):

(54) [[kuə-ji do-ju]RC-thə]NP [qa]NP (dʒəβə ‘speech’ omitted)
  2sg-AGT  DIR-say-DEF  1sg
kəndi  tə-qhəə.
  all  DIR-understand
‘I understand all you said.’

SQ—Heihu variety:

(55) [[tegə-sta tə-χqa əHi-ka]RC tsha]NP (tʃhetsə ‘car’ omitted)
  3sg-AGT  DIR-damage  slide-NOM  that:CL
‘the car that is damaged by him/her’

Headless relative clauses are frequent in conversation and narratives. Following are examples from texts of the Qugu variety (B. Huang & Zhou 2006). In (56) the head mi ‘person’ is omitted, in (57) the head pəna ‘thing’ is omitted, and in (58) the head zəp ‘place’ is omitted:

NQ—Qugu variety (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:315):

(56) [tsi-te: stuaχə thə stə-m]RC zi…… (mi ‘person’ omitted)
  girl-DEF:CL  food  eat  feast-NOM  exist
‘There is someone who feasts that girl …’

NQ—Qugu variety (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:309):

  home-LOC  exist-GEN-DEF-CL  other-DAT
  de-le-əə!
  DIR-give-HORT:1pl
‘We gave things that are in our home to other people.’

NQ—Qugu variety (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:313):

(58) [[khọ qej ə-m ma-də:s]RC1-tə]NP1 (zəp ‘place’ omitted)
  dog  voice  DIR-hear  NEG-able-NOM-LOC
  chicken  voice  DIR-hear  NEG-able-NOM-LOC  go-HORT:1sg
‘I will go to the place where there is no voices of dog and chicken.’

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10 In (57) the postposition -te after existential verb əsə is the genitive marker, while that after mi ‘other’ is a dative marker.
4.4 Double headed relative clauses

Aside from the relative clause types presented above, there is another type of relative clause found in Kombai, a language of Irian Jaya (western New Guinea), which has a construction for relative clauses described as ‘double-headed’ by Dryer (2005:366). Dryer proposes that a double-headed relative clause combines the features of externally-headed and internally-headed relative clauses in a single structure; i.e. a single structure has both an external head noun and an internal head noun in the relative clause, as in (59). In some cases the two head nouns are the same, as in (59a), where both external head noun and internal head noun are doû ‘sago’. The external head noun may be a generic noun, whereas the one inside the relative clause is a specific noun, as in (59b), the external head noun is the generic noun ro ‘thing’, while the internal head noun is the specific noun gana ‘bush knife’:

    sago give.3PL.NONFUT-CONN sago finished.ADJ
    ‘The sago that they gave is finished.’

b. [[gana gu fali-kha]RC ro]NP
    bush.knife 2sg carry-go-2sg.NONFUT thing
    ‘the bush knife that you took away’

In Qiang we also find similar double-headed relative constructions, though in Kombai the double-headed relative clause is dominant, while in Qiang it is just marginal, as in (60), where both external head noun and internal head noun are locational nouns zaqe/zuapa/zap ‘place’ in three varieties of Qiang:

(60) a. [[zaqe amai nope tshy-tshy-ka]RC zaqe tshu]NP (SQ: Heihu)
    place usually rock drop-REDUP-NOM place that:CL
    ‘the place where rockslides often occur’

b. [[zuapa a-so mani ko tshu-saj]RC tci-to zuapa]NP (SQ: Muka)
    place one-day every rock drop-NOM that-CL place
    ‘the place where rockslides often occur’

c. [[zap içtcimqa zwa tshu-tshu]RC(-tc) (NQ: Ronghong)
    place usually rock drop-REDUP-GEN zap that-kua]NP
    place that-CL
    ‘the place where rockslides often occur’
Apart from relativization of peripheral arguments being double-headed, non-peripheral arguments can be double-headed, as in (61), from Ronghong Qiang, where both the external head noun and internal head noun (mi ‘person’) refer to a human actor:

(61) \[ [\text{mi} \quad \text{qa} \quad \text{nə-xe’-m}]_{RC} \quad \text{mi-le:}]_{NP} \quad \text{kə-ji.} \]

‘The person who scolded me has gone.’

As we discussed above, the Qiang language has different types of relative clauses in terms of whether there is the head noun or not, and in terms of the relative positions of the head noun and the relative clause in headed relative clauses. The types of relative clauses in Qiang are given in Diagram 1 (C. Huang & Evans 2007):

![Diagram 1: Types of relative clauses in Qiang](image_url)

5. Stacking relative clauses

Like Mandarin Chinese, English and many other languages, the Qiang language may also stack several relative clauses into a big proposition to modify a head noun, as in (62), where the head noun is modified by three pre-head relative clauses:

(62) a. \[ [\text{tcile} \quad \text{tətə-wu} \quad \text{zə-p-ji}]_{RC1} \quad (\text{NQ: Ronghong}) \]

\[ [\text{tɛu-ła} \quad \text{ʂə}]_{RC2-\text{te}} \quad [\text{qa} \quad \text{xṣu} \quad \text{qhu-kə-s}]_{RC3} \]

\[ \text{home-LOC} \quad \text{put-GEN} \quad \text{1sg} \quad \text{bag} \quad \text{hunt-go-NOM} \]

\[ \text{soqhu} \quad \text{tha-la}]_{NP} \quad [\text{ʂə-tha-s}]_{NP} \quad \text{mi-je-jiy.} \]

\[ \text{gun} \quad \text{that-CL} \quad \text{use-AUX-NOM} \quad \text{NEG-good-CSM} \]

‘[The gun [that my father bought] [that was put in the home] [that I use to hunt]]_{NP} cannot be used any more.’
In a stack of relative clauses, the head noun may be omitted when it is recoverable from context. The following examples are from the text *cu-te nuplo zimi* “The Story of the Sea” in Qugu (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:313) as in (63a), and as in (63b) in Ronghong:

NQ—Qugu (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:313):

(63) a. [[khu- qe] [w] o-m ma-dz̄-sيسر]RC1-ta]NP1
   dog voice DIR-hear NEG-able-NOM-LOC
   ‘Let me go to [a place [where one cannot hear the voices of dogs and
   chickens]]NP.’

b. qo [[khu- q̄i] o-m ma- ]RC1-ta]NP1 (Ronghong)
   1sg dog voice DIR-hear NEG-able-NOM-LOC
   ‘Let me go to [a place [where one cannot hear the voices of dogs and
   chickens]]NP.’
(zəp) ka-kua[NP2 ka:
place INDEF-CL go:PROS:1sg
‘I will go to [a place [where one cannot hear the voices of dogs and chickens]]NP.’

6. Summary

There are two strategies of relativization in Qiang. In one there is a gap in head-external relative clauses and headless relative clauses coreferrential with the head. In the other the head is a full NP within the relative clause in head-internal relative clauses and both within and external to the relative clause in double-headed relative clauses. The semantic roles of the head (e.g. agent, instrument, patient) play an important role in governing the choice of one type of relative clause over another. A relative clause cannot take mood marking or evidential marking; intonation of relative clauses is treated as a single unit, and external determiners (a demonstrative-(numeral)-classifier phrase or an (in)definite-classifier phrase and context of discourse) are the clues in identifying the clause as a relative clause.

Qiang shows a historical continuum from [relative clause (finite clause) + noun] to [finite clause + genitive marker + noun] to [nominalized clause + (noun)]. In [nominal (nominalized clause) + nominal (noun)] constructions, the first nominal modifies the second.
References


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羌語子句的關係化

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本文描寫和討論了羌語八個土語的子句關係化的類型、手段和形態句法特點。羌語子句的關係化並沒有關係代詞，也沒有代詞複指，關係子句在中心名詞之前或之後出現。羌語有留空和完整名詞保留兩種關係化手段和6種不同類型的關係子句。關係子句不能帶句式或者實證標記，關係子句的語調把關係子句當作是一個單獨的單位，關係子句外的限定詞，譬如指示代詞—數量詞短語，或者定指/不定指—量詞，或者言談語境是辨別一個子句是否是關係子句的重要線索。中心名詞的語意角色對於選擇關係子句的類型起著重要作用。羌語子句的關係化體現了從關係子句+名詞→關係子句+屬格標記+名詞→名物化子句+名詞歷史演變的連續過程。

關鍵詞：漢藏語，關係句，類型