Relative Clauses in Tujia[*]

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This paper presents an analytical description of relative clause markers in Tujia, revealing the internal association between the origins of these markers and the different types and forms of relative clauses. Four Tujia relative clause types are described: pre-head, head-internal, post-head and headless clauses. Tujia relative clauses are also divided into complex and simple forms based on the grammatical forms of the verbs involved. The different types and forms of Tujia relative clauses are then discussed and compared in terms of structural relationships, grammatical features, and semantic differences.

Key words: Tujia, relative clauses, synchronic grammatical analysis

1. Background

1.1 Language situation

Tujia is a Tibeto-Burman language distributed in South Central China, and is currently spoken in parts of the four counties of Longshan, Yongshun, Baojing, and Luxi in the northwestern mountainous region of Hunan Province. There are around 50,000 to 60,000 speakers. Tujia is divided into two dialects: the southern and northern dialects. As speakers of the northern dialect comprise over 98% of the total number of speakers, it is considered to be the representative Tujia dialect. Currently, there are fewer than 1,000 speakers of the southern dialect, which is in a seriously endangered state. Considerable differences exist between the two dialects, which are mutually unintelligible.

The special features of Tujia and its importance in linguistic research consist mainly of the following aspects:

(a) Its genetic affiliation within the Tibeto-Burman family has not yet been determined. Many hypotheses have been postulated with regard to the relationship between Tujia and other Tibeto-Burman languages, including an affiliation to the Yi branch, to the Burmese branch and as an independent branch. However, owing to the lack of clear support from historical comparative studies, a general consensus has not yet been reached.

(b) Although certain synchronic aspects of Tujia bear similarities to languages in the Burmese-Yi branch, many features in its grammatical structure are unique and are distinct from those in languages from any branches in the Tibeto-Burman family. These features include the many and varied morphological changes seen in the temporal, aspectual, and directional categories of its verbs.

(c) Geographically, Tujia is located on the extreme eastern edge of the Tibeto-Burman language area, and has been in direct contact with Chinese language and culture over a prolonged period. At present, Tujia exists in isolation outside the Tibeto-Burman language area and is completely surrounded by the Chinese language. Increasing external influences have led to inevitable changes in both the function and structure of Tujia, and increasing differences between the language spoken in the heartland area compared to border areas have further obscured the original form and inherent features of Tujia.

1.2 Research situation

Research into the Tujia language started in the 1950s, with the main focus being on the northern dialect. However, the literature is very limited both in terms of overall descriptions of structure and topical research. General descriptive monographs of the Tujia spoken in the heartland area of Longshan County in Hunan Province include Tian et al. (1986), Brassett et al. (2006), and Chen (2006). Dai & Tian (2005) described the Xianren Tujia spoken in Baojing County, which is also a northern dialect. Li (2000) described the southern dialect in his descriptive study. There are a number of papers investigating different structural features of Tujia, including the tense and aspect of verbs, adjectives, phonological structure of the lexicon, grammatical sandhi patterns, and affiliation.

There have not been any specific articles on relative clauses. Tian et al. (1986) mention them only in passing as modifiers of nouns, and there is a brief description of relative clauses in Brassett et al. (2006) within the context of nominalization and relativization. Systematic studies of relative clauses alone have been very limited.

The research in this paper is based on the northern Tujia dialect, with data obtained from specific investigations conducted in 2007 in the heartland area of Tujia in Tasha Township, Longshan County.

2. Relative clause markers

Relative clauses in Tujia are based on nominalization. The head noun that is relativized is indicated neither by specific relative pronouns nor by using personal pronouns or nouns. Therefore, their position in relative clauses, with the exception of head-internal clauses, is indicated by gapping. Overt markers of relative clauses are represented by clitics on the verbs in such clauses.

The clitics used in relative clauses include one basic marker -*çi*, and two combination markers formed by combining -*çi* with other grammatical markers: -*poçi* and -*nieçi*. The basic marker -*çi* is used not only as a marker for different types of relative clauses, but it can also transmit different kinds of grammatical information carried by the clausal verb, as well as accommodating different grammatical categories. Compared with the two combination markers, the function of the basic marker -*çi* is much more comprehensive. In addition, its function is not confined only to being used as a specific marker for relative clauses, but it is also very closely associated, both phonologically and grammatically, with the nominalizing marker. Therefore, an investigation of Tujia relative clauses must take both the grammatical function and the syntactic structure of the whole sentence into consideration. The two combination markers have distinctive features owing to the different origins of their components. This leads to certain restrictions in terms of their function as markers in different relative clause types. Tujia relative clause markers are thus not entirely independent with regard to grammatical function. On the other hand, however, the formation of different clausal types such as pre-head and head-internal types depending on the position of the head noun; the formation of different clausal forms depending on the grammatical categories carried by the clausal verb; as well as differences in syntactic structure and semantic expression are, to a large extent, closely associated with the different origins of the relative clause markers. Hence, the investigation of relative clause markers is an important and basic starting point in the investigation of Tujia relative clauses.

With regard to phonetic form, relative clause markers resemble most of the grammatical forms in Tujia and exhibit tone sandhi. In specific environments, their actual tone values are determined by the tone of the previous syllable. The sandhi patterns for the three markers are described below:

The -*çi* marker:	takes the high-level tone (55) after a high-level (55) or high-rising (35) tone; the high-rising (35) tone after the low-falling (21) tone; and the low-falling (21) tone after the high-falling (53) tone.
The -*poçi* and -*nieçi* markers:	both syllables take the high-level tone (55) after a high-level (55) or high-rising (35) tone; after a low-falling (21) tone or

a high-falling (53) tone, the first syllable takes the
low-falling (21) tone and the second syllable takes the
high-rising (35) tone.

The above sandhi patterns correspond to the usual sandhi patterns for grammatical forms in Tujia (Xu & Lu 2005).

The different relative clause markers will be analyzed separately in the following discussion. To facilitate the reader, relative clauses are enclosed in square brackets in the examples, with underlining of the head noun being modified by the relative clause. Noun phrases in the same sentence are differentiated from relative clauses by using the letters RC and NP following the square brackets.[1]

2.1 The basic marker *-çi*

The *-çi* marker has its origin in the nominalization marker, and it has the widest usage domain in Tujia relative clauses. This is reflected in the differernt relativized arguments, clausal types, and grammatical categories involved in *-çi* relative clauses.

Relative clauses with *-çi* are generally placed in a pre-head position, with the majority preceding the head noun, as in examples (1a) and (1b). However, due to certain requirements of semantic expression, head-internal relative clauses can also be found, as in example (1c). Sometimes post-head relative clauses may also be found, as in example (1d). In contexts where the referent of the head is clearly identifiable, the head noun may be elided to form a headless relative clause, as in example (1e).

(1) a. [a^{55}lie^{55} lie^{55}-ta^{55}-çi^{55}] <u>za^{21}ni^{21}ka^{21}</u> tsʅ^{21}ɣʳ^{21} ka^{53}-la^{21}.
　　　 egg　　 lay-NEG-REL　 hen　　　　 rice　　 eat-IPV
　　　 'The hen that has not laid eggs is eating rice.'
　　 b. [ko^{35} ji^{55}mo^{21} tshaŋ^{35}-çi^{55}]$_{RC}$ [kai^{35} <u>tɕiŋ^{55}ko^{55}</u>]$_{NP}$ ŋa^{35}
　　　 3sg　 just　　 sing-REL　　　 this　　 song　　　　 1sg
　　　 pʳ^{55} tshaŋ^{35}-ɣʳ^{55}.
　　　 too　 sing-can
　　　 'The song that he has just sung I can also sing.'

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[1] The following abbreviations are used in interlinear glosses: ADV: adverbial particle; AG: agent; CEBFY: centrifugal suffix; CENPE: centripetal suffix; CL: classifier; COM: completed particle; COMP: complement marker; CON: continuative aspect; CUR: currently relevant state; EMP: emphatic particle; INT: intensifier; INTERRO: interrogative particle; IPV: imperfective; MOD: modifier; NEG: negation; PAT: patient; PFV: perfective aspect; PLU: plural suffix; POSS: possessive; PRO: prospective aspect; REL: relative clause marker; STA: stative.

c. [$kɤ^{53}$ $\underline{pha^{55}ku^{55}}$ $thie^{35}$-$ɕi^{55}$] $khou^{35}$ la^{35}-$po^{55}la^{55}$?
   3pl chilis picked-REL where put-CON
   'Where are the chili peppers that they picked?'

d. $\underline{xa^{55}tshɤ^{55}}$ [$tiã^{53}$-$ɕi^{35}$] $ɔ̃^{35}$-$po^{55}ɕi^{55}$ $tsha^{35}$ lie^{55} $tsha^{35}$.
   vegetables plant-REL grow-COMP good INT good
   'The vegetables that have been planted are growing especially well.'

e. [$aŋ^{35}$ po^{21} $tshŋ^{55}ɕiau^{55}$-$ɕi^{55}$]$_{RC1}$ [$ji^{55}mo^{21}$ $eŋ^{21}ʐŋ^{21}$-$nie^{21}ɕi^{35}$]$_{RC2}$
   1pl PAT teach-REL just come-REL
   $\underline{po^{35}ka^{55}}$.
   teacher
   'The one teaching us is the teacher who has just come.'

Example (1e) is a copular construction. As Tujia does not use a copula in copular sentences, the corresponding components are directly linked together. In this sentence, since the head noun that is modified by the relative clause [1] is the same referent as the 'teacher' in the other half of the copular sentence, it is elided, resulting in a headless relative clause.

Suffixes may be added onto Tujia verbs to indicate different grammatical categories, such as directionality, aspect, ability, or willingness. Verbs in -$ɕi$ relative clauses may show morphological changes involving these domains. Relative clauses using -$ɕi$ are often associated with directional morphology. Example (2a) is a subject-predicate sentence where the verb predicate carries a centripetal suffix. When this sentence becomes a relative clause, the directional morphology of the verb remains unchanged, with the -$ɕi$ marker following the centripetal suffix, as in example (2b).

(2) a. $kɤ^{53}$ $phɔ̃^{21}ni^{21}$ wo^{21} lau^{53} xo^{21}-ti^{21}.
       3pl yesterday backbasket one:CL bring-CENPE
       'They brought a backbasket [here] yesterday.'

   b. [$kɤ^{53}$ $phɔ̃^{21}ni^{21}$ xo^{21}-ti^{21}-$ɕi^{35}$]$_{RC}$ [ai^{55} wo^{21} lau^{53}]$_{NP}$
       3pl yesterday bring-CENPE-REL that backbasket one:CL
       ni^{55} tuo^{55}-tha^{21}-$thiu^{35}$.
       find accomplishment-NEG-CENPE
       'The backbasket that they brought here yesterday cannot be found.'

Tense and aspect categories in Tujia verbs are very complex, and are expressed using both internal inflectional changes and morphological changes involving affixation. Verbal suffixes can also be used to express objective or subjective modality. These morphological changes can be seen in -$ɕi$ relative clauses, as in the prospective aspect shown in example

(3) and in the modalities of desire and possibility shown in example (4).

(3) kai^{35} [ko^{35} ta^{35}-i-çi^{55}] s̩ŋ^{55}pa^{55}.
    these 3sg wear-PRO-REL   clothes
    'These are the clothes he is going to wear.'

(4) a. ŋa^{35} [ni^{35} pa^{53}-tsha^{21}-çi^{35}]$_{RC}$ [ai^{55} tshŋ^{55}phɨ^{55} la^{55} phɨ^{55}]$_{NP}$ çie^{35}.
    1sg 2sg read-want-REL   that book   one CL   have
    'I have the book you want to read.'

b. [ko^{35} tshaŋ^{35}-ɣʳ^{55}-çi^{21}] tɕiŋ^{55}ko^{55} ŋa^{35} tshaŋ^{35}-ɣʳ^{55},
    3sg sing-can-REL   songs   1sg   sing-can
    [ko^{35} tshaŋ^{35}-tshŋ^{55}-ɣʳ^{55}-çi^{21}] tɕiŋ^{55}ko^{55} ŋa^{35} pʳ^{55} tshaŋ^{35}-ɣʳ^{55}.
    3sg sing-NEG-can-REL   songs   1sg also sing-can
    'The songs that he can sing I can sing. The songs he cannot sing I can also sing.'

2.2 The combination markers

The combination markers *-nieçi* and *-poçi* are based on the basic marker *-çi*, which combines with another grammatical component to form disyllabic markers. The components used to form these combination markers: *-nie* or *-po*, originate respectively from grammatical forms with different functions. They are thus affected by the grammatical forms from which they are derived and have distinctive features. In addition, certain restrictions are imposed on their functions in different clausal types and forms, so that their functions as relative clause markers are incomplete. Therefore, they can only be considered to be secondary markers lower in hierarchy to the *-çi* marker. They are described in detail below.

2.2.1 The combination marker *-nieçi*

The *-nie* marker, which combines with *-çi* to form the combination marker *-nieçi*, is a clitic used to indicate many different grammatical relationships, but its main function consists of being used after pronouns, nouns, or noun phrases to indicate possession or modification of the head noun. Therefore, it is frequently used in noun phrases, as in example (5a) where the *-nie* marker follows the pronoun, and in example (5b), where it follows the modifying phrase formed by a noun and adjective. In both cases, its function is to restrict and modify the noun:

(5) a. ni^{35} nie^{55} po^{55}li^{21} pɨe^{53}-tiu^{21}.
     2sg   POSS   child   carry-CENPE
     'Your child has been carried here.'
  b. tsho^{53} a^{35}ɕi^{55} nie^{55} tɕhiã^{21}pi^{21} sua^{35}-lie^{55} a^{21}sɿ^{21}-tʂheŋ^{21}tʂheŋ^{21}.
     house   new   POSS   walls   paint-COM   white-very
     'The walls in the new house have been painted white.'

When *-nieɕi* functions as a relative clause marker, it retains features reflecting its origin from *-nie*. Its position preceding the head noun is consistent with its position as a marker for possession or modification within the clause. In relative clauses with the *-nieɕi* marker, regardless of whether the relativized object is an agent argument, a patient argument or a peripheral participant, the only relative clause types formed are pre-head clauses, without any head-internal or post-head relative clause types.

(6) a. lau^{53}zẽ^{21}ka^{21} pha^{21}pha^{55} li^{21}-la^{21}.
     elderly man   stories   tell-IPV
     'The elderly man is telling stories.'
  a′. [pha^{21}pha^{55} li^{21}-nie^{21}ɕi^{35}]   <u>lau^{53}zẽ^{21}ka^{21}</u>   sɿ^{21}tɕie^{53}-ma^{55}.
      stories   tell-REL   elderly man   hunter
      'The elderly man telling stories is a hunter.'
  b. ko^{35} ai^{55} khɨ^{55}thi^{55} lau^{53} sɿ^{53}-tsha^{21}.
     3sg   that   basin   one:CL   use-want
     'He wants to use that basin.'
  b′. [ko^{35} sɿ^{53}-nie^{21}ɕi^{35}]   <u>khɨ^{55}thi^{55}</u>   thai^{35} suã^{53}-liau^{55}.
      3sg   use-REL   basin   too   small-CUR
      'The basin he is using is too small.'
  c. ko^{35} tshŋ^{55}phɨ^{55} pa^{53}-la^{21}.
     3sg   book   read-IPV
     'He is reading a book.'
  c′. ko^{35} pa^{53}-nie^{21}ɕi^{35} tshŋ^{55}phɨ^{55} tsha^{35} ɕi^{55}thai^{35}.
      3sg   read-REL   book   good   very
      'The book he is reading is very good.'

In the above examples, the head noun of the relative clause in example (6a′) is the agent, whereas the head nouns of the relative clauses in examples (6b′) and (6c′) are patient objects of the verb in the relative clause. However, all three follow the relative clause with the *-nieɕi* marker. Examples (6b) and (6c) indicate that the objects 'basin' and 'book' originally precede the clausal verb: but when they function as head nouns, the OV

word order is not retained. This reflects the effect of the clausal marker from which it is derived, as *-nie* functions as a possessive and modifying marker. Consequently, the usual position of the patient object is changed to a position following the verb in the relative clause, thus forming a pre-head relative clause.

Therefore, relative clauses with the *-nieçi* marker are only of the pre-head type. Regardless of whether the head noun is the agent argument or patient argument, it always follows the relative clause. This order is consistent with the position of the possessive or modifying element which always precedes the head noun. The verbs in such relative clauses do not generally carry suffixes indicating different grammatical meanings or other clitics, and represent general statements without specific grammatical categorization. These features in terms of clause types and forms are all related to the origin of the *-nie* marker.

2.2.2 The combination marker *-poçi*

The *-poçi* marker is also a combination marker: with the *-po* component being closely associated with the aspectual suffix *-po*. When *-po* is used alone following a verb predicate, it indicates the stative aspect. When it is used in combination with *-çi* to form a relative clause marker, the meaning being expressed changes, so that it is not completely identical to its aspectual meaning. The *-poçi* marker indicates that the verb in the clause describes an action that is in the completed or realized state. In addition, it has the nature of a nominalizer. This is shown in the following examples (Tian et al. 1986:61):

Table 1

$z\eta^{55}$	do	$\rightarrow$	$z\eta^{55}po^{55}çi^{55}$	that which has been done
tu^{21}	cover	$\rightarrow$	$tu^{21}po^{21}çi^{35}$	that which has been completely covered
no^{35}	burn	$\rightarrow$	$no^{35}po^{55}çi^{55}$	that which has finished burning

The two components of the *-poçi* marker constitute a stable combination and fixed form, with the relative clause types being mainly head-internal and post-head types. With regard to features such as sentence patterns, sentence types, relativized objects and semantic expression, the *-poçi* marker differs from other relative clauses where *-çi* is associated with other aspectual markers, and thus constitutes a definite category of its own.

Head-internal clauses are the main clause types for relative clauses using the *-poçi* marker. In these clauses, the patient object of the relative clause is the head noun, as in the following examples:

(7) a. [$k\gamma^{53}$ <u>$pha^{55}ku^{55}$</u> $thie^{35}$-$po^{55}\text{¢}i^{55}$] $khou^{35}$ la^{35}-$po^{55}la^{55}$?

     3pl   chilis   picked-REL   where   put-CON

     'The chilis they picked - where [have they] put them?'

  b. $x\tilde{o}^{55}pa^{55}$ ka^{21} [$po^{55}li^{21}$-te^{55} nie^{21} <u>xua^{35}</u> xua^{35}-$po^{55}\text{¢}i^{55}$]

     walls   on   children-PLU   POSS   pictures drawn-REL

     nia^{55}-$po^{55}la^{55}$.

     pasted-CON

     'On the wall are pasted pictures that the children have drawn.'

  c. [ηa^{35} <u>$tsh\dot{i}e^{35}s\eta^{55}$</u> phi^{55}-$po^{55}\text{¢}i^{55}$] $thi\tilde{a}^{21}$ lie^{55} $thi\tilde{a}^{21}$.

     1sg   orange   buy-REL   sweet   INT   sweet

     'The orange I bought is very sweet.'

  d. $xu^{35}ni^{55}$ [ko^{35} <u>jie^{21}</u> $p\tilde{a}^{35}$-$po^{55}\text{¢}i^{55}$] $xu\tilde{a}^{55}\text{¢}i^{55}$.

     everyone 3sg rice cook-REL   like

     'Everyone likes eating the rice he cooks.'

The above examples indicate that, when the patient argument is both the object of the verb and the head noun in a relative clause with the *-po¢i* marker, the OV word order is retained, resulting in a head-internal relative clause. This differs from relative clauses with the *-nie¢i* marker, where the patient object, when functioning as the head noun, shifts its position to form a pre-head clause.

When the head noun that functions as the patient object precedes the verb in a relative clause, and there is a null subject, the relative clause becomes post-head to correspond to the position of the head noun. This is shown in the following examples: (Examples (8c) and (8d) are taken from Brassett et al. 2006:147).

(8) a. <u>je^{21}</u> [$th\mathupsilon\eta^{53}$-$po^{21}\text{¢}i^{35}$] $kau^{35}tshai^{21}$.

     rice   steam-REL   here

     'The rice that has been steamed until it is cooked is here.'

  b. <u>$pha^{55}ku^{55}$</u> [$thie^{35}$-$po^{55}\text{¢}i^{55}$] $li^{53}thi^{21}$ tui^{53}-po^{21}.

     chilis   picked-REL   on the ground   pile-STA

     'The chilis that have been picked are piled up on the ground.'

  c. <u>$s\eta^{55}pa^{55}$</u> [tsa^{35}-$po^{55}\text{¢}i^{55}$] $so^{35}li^{55}$.

     clothes   wash-REL   be clean

     'The clothes which have washed are clean.'

  d. <u>$la^{55}m\tilde{e}^{21}$</u> [$\text{¢}ian^{55}$-$po^{55}\text{¢}i^{55}$] $kh\tilde{a}^{55}l\tilde{a}^{55}$ $k\tilde{a}^{55}l\tilde{a}^{55}$.

     door   close-REL   be tight   be tight

     'The door which has been closed is [now]very tight.'

There is a small number of pre-head relative clauses with the *-poçi* marker, as in sentences where the head noun of the relative clause is a peripheral participant:

(9) [kha^{55}phɨ^{55} çiu^{35}-po^{55}çi^{55}]   s̠ŋ^{55}l̠ã^{55}
        flowers   embroider-REL   blanket
     'a blanket embroidered with flowers'

However, sentences where the head noun of the relative clause is the patient argument are all head-internal or post-head. This contrasts markedly with *-nieçi* relative clauses which are all pre-head. This restriction on clause types is seen most prominently in sentences taken from traditional stories. In the Tujia spoken by bilingual speakers today, pre-head clause types have emerged with the patient argument as the head noun: these are seen primarily in copular sentences. As Tujia is a language which has been greatly influenced by Chinese, further in-depth investigation is needed in order to ascertain whether the emergence of this clause type is due to particular syntactic reasons or to the effect of the Chinese language, which has a VO word order.

As mentioned in §2.1, in relative clauses with the *-çi* marker, the verb can carry different grammatical forms which precede the *-çi* marker, resulting in a connection which is similar to clauses with the *-poçi* marker. However, this external similarity differs substantively from the *-poçi* marker. The connection between the *-çi* marker and the grammatical form of the clausal verb is temporary and unstable: the two forms are mutually independent and do not affect clausal formation, in that different kinds of clause types can be formed regardless of whether the verb carries any grammatical markers, as in examples (2), (3), and (4). This differs from the *-poçi* marker, which is a stable combination and which has distinctive features in clausal formation, leading to the formation of definite clause types. Therefore, not only is this marker considered by native speakers of Tujia to be a separate entity, but it is often also discussed as such in other grammatical descriptions (Tian et al. 1986:61, Brassett et al. 2006:147).

3. Types of relative clauses

Summarizing the above discussion, Tujia relative clauses can be divided into four types depending on their relative position with regard to the head noun: pre-head, head-internal, post-head, and headless clause types. Among these the headless clause type is associated with the contextual environment. In general, headless relative clauses are found under the following two circumstances: in sentences where the relativized object is identical or is clearly associated with the preceding or following referent, the head noun is often elided; the other situation occurs in conversation or in specific usage

environments, where the relativized object is obvious even when it is unstated, and in such cases, a headless relative clause is often used. Therefore, headless clauses are mainly subject to restrictions due to usage requirements.

The choice of pre-head, head-internal, or post-head clause types depends on many different factors, including the correspondence with relative clause markers and restrictions posed by syntax. In addition, the semantic emphasis may also affect the use of different clause types.

3.1 Choice of clause types

Pre-head, head-internal, and post-head clause types exhibit restrictive relationships with different relative clause markers. This is mainly seen in sentences where the head noun is the patient object of the relative clause. When the patient object in a relative clause functions as the head noun, relative clauses with the -*çi* marker can be pre-head, head-internal, or post-head; relative clauses with the -*nieçi* marker are only pre-head, while relative clauses with the -*poçi* marker are both head-internal and post-head. This correspondence between clause markers and clause types is shown in the following table:

Table 2: Correspondence between relative clause markers and clause types in Tujia

Clause marker / Clause type	-*çi*	-*nieçi*	-*poçi*
pre-head	+	+	
head-internal	+		+
post-head	+		+
headless	+	+	+

Note: These correspondences only relate to sentences where the head noun is the patient object of the relative clause.

To a certain extent, syntactic structure and relativized objects also play a role in determining clause type. In addition, the usage domain of different clause types also varies with regard to relativized objects and syntactic structure. Pre-head clause types have the widest usage domain, as all arguments can be relativized objects, including main arguments such as agent and patient, and peripheral participant arguments. The usage domain of head-internal clause types is narrower, as head-internal clauses are only seen in cases where the relativized noun is the patient object of the clause. In other words, it is only when the patient object that precedes the verb in the relative clause is the head noun that head-internal clauses can be formed, as in example (10a). In general, post-head clause types are only found in circumstances where there is a null agent subject, as in example (10b).

(10) a. [ŋa³⁵ t͟s͟h͟i͟e͟³⁵s͟ŋ³ ͭ phɨ⁵⁵-po⁵⁵ɕi⁵⁵] thiã²¹ lie⁵⁵ thiã²¹.
      1sg orange buy-REL sweet INT sweet
      'The oranges that I bought are very sweet.'
    b. t͟s͟h͟i͟e͟³⁵s͟ŋ⁵⁵ [phɨ⁵⁵-po⁵⁵ɕi⁵⁵] thiã²¹ lie⁵⁵ thiã²¹.
      orange buy-REL sweet INT sweet
      'The oranges that was bought are very sweet.'

Different clause types affect to a certain extent the emphasis of semantic expression. In pre-head relative clauses, the head noun following the relative clause reflects the emphasis of semantic expression; whereas in head-internal relative clauses, the verb of the relative clause which follows the head noun constitutes the emphasis. Thus, when emphazing the result of the action, the whole process of the action or the completed state of the action, head-internal relative clauses are often used. This is shown in the following examples:

(11) 'This is grass eaten by cattle.'
    a. kai³⁵ [wu³⁵ ka³⁵-ɕi¹] s͟ŋ͟²¹kha²¹tsha²¹.
      this cattle eat-REL grass
    b. kai³⁵ [s͟ŋ͟²¹k͟h͟a͟²¹t͟s͟h͟a͟²¹ wu³⁵ ka³⁵-ɕi¹].
      this grass cattle eat-REL

In -ɕi relative clauses, the phrase 'grass eaten by cattle' can be used in both pre-head and head-internal clause types, but the semantic emphasis of these two clausal types is different. In example (13a), i.e. the pre-head type, the emphasis is on the head noun 'grass'; in example (13b), i.e. the head-internal type, the emphasis is on the clausal verb 'eat', with the implication that 'this grass is for the cattle to eat, not for bedding or other uses'.

The post-positioning of the semantic emphasis, with the descriptive focus at the end of the phrase, constitutes the difference between Tujia pre-head and head-internal relative clauses. The declarative principle of a post-positioned focus reflects a substantive feature of a verb-final language, and is consistent with the general rules for semantic structure seen in these sentence types. Therefore, it can be seen that the use of different relative clause types, within the permitted range of syntactic relationships, is largely based on semantic restrictions. The choice of a pre-head or head-internal clause is thus sometimes based on the requirements of semantic expression.

3.2 Structural variations in different clause types

The different positions of the head noun in pre-head and head-internal relative clauses can affect the grammatical relationships between other associated elements and result in changes. These are mainly reflected in the syntactic positions of other modifiers and changes in structural relationships, as in the following examples:

(12) a. kai^{35} [ŋa^{35}-tie^{55} xo^{21}-ti^{21}-ɕi^{35}]$_{RC}$ [ai^{55} <u>khɨ^{55}thi^{55}</u> lau^{53}]$_{NP}$.
   this 1sg-AG bring-CENPE-REL that basin one:CL
   'This is the basin I brought [here].'

   b. [kõ^{55}kõ^{55} ai^{55} <u>la^{35}thu^{55}</u> lau^{53} tiã^{53}-po^{21}ɕi^{35}]
    grandfather that gourd one:CL planted-REL
    tshŋ^{53} lie^{21} tshŋ^{53}.
    big INT big
    'The gourd planted by Grandfather is very big.'

In the pre-head clause in example (12a), apart from being restricted by the relative clause, the head noun 'basin' is also restricted by the demonstrative 'that' and the numeral-classifier 'one-classifier'. Demonstratives and numerals, occur in juxtaposition with the relative clause, restrict or modify the head noun. However, in the head-internal clause in example (12b), the demonstrative pronoun and the numeral-classifier form are embedded together with the head noun into the relative clause, thereby functioning as a determiner of the clausal object and becoming a constituent of the elative clause.

(13) [ko^{35} phõ^{21}ni^{21} ta^{35}-ɕi^{55}]$_{RC!}$ [ai^{55} <u>sŋ^{55}pa^{55}</u> la^{55} phi^{55}]$_{NP1}$
    3sg yesterday wear-REL that clothing one CL
    xo^{35}sŋ^{53}-ta^{21}, [ko^{35} ji^{55}mo^{21} kai^{35} (sŋ^{55}pa^{55}) la^{55} phi^{55}
    suitable-NEG 3sg just this clothing one CL
    phɨ^{55}-po^{55}ɕi^{55}]$_{RC2}$ xo^{35}sŋ^{53}.
    buy-REL suitable
    'That piece of clothing he was wearing yesterday is not too suitable, this piece of clothing that he bought just now is very suitable.'

The two clauses in example (13) show that in the first clause the demonstrative pronoun and numeral phrase preceding or following the head noun exist in mutually independent juxtaposition with the relative clause, and separately restrict or modify the head noun. In the second clause, when the head noun is elided, the demonstrative-numeral phrase, as an appositional element, marks out the position of the head noun, leading to a

head-internal relative clausal type. Hence, it can be seen that pre-head relative clauses and the other modifiers of the head noun are mutually independent. In head-internal relative clauses, the determiners which are juxtaposed with the pre-head clause are embedded together with the head noun into the relative clause to become one of its constituents. Therefore, not only are the structures of head-internal relative clauses more complete compared to pre-head clauses, but they have a larger capacity, include more content, and comprise more complex grammatical elements.

3.3 Relative clause forms and their interchangeability

The verbs in Tujia relative clauses can undergo morphological changes, and can also carry different grammatical forms indicating grammatical meanings. Tujia relative clauses can be divided into complex and simple forms based on whether the verb carries grammatical forms. Complex forms retain the grammatical meaning and morphological changes of the verbs indicating aspect, directionality, willingness, or desire, as in examples (2), (3) and (4) previously mentioned. The verbs in simple relative clauses do not show morphological changes.

The complex and simple forms of relative clauses are also related to relative clause markers. In general, relative clauses with the marker *-çi* can be used in different clausal forms and can accommodate different grammatical meanings. Relative clauses with the markers *-nieçi* and *-poçi* are essentially simple forms, where the verbs do not, or only rarely, carry grammatical forms.

When the basic meaning of the sentence is similar, complex and simple forms can sometimes be interchangeable, with the conversion to another form indicating a slightly different semantic emphasis or subtle differences in the usage requirements, as illustrated by the following examples:

(14) 'Inside the basket are the vegetables my friend sent.'
    a. laŋ²¹laŋ⁵⁵ wo³⁵thu⁵⁵ [ŋa³⁵ a³⁵ko⁵⁵-tie⁵⁵ sɿ³⁵-ti⁵⁵-çi⁵⁵]   xa⁵⁵tshɤ⁵⁵.
        basket   inside   1sg friend-AG   send-CENPE-REL vegetables
    b. laŋ²¹laŋ⁵⁵ wo³⁵thu⁵⁵ [ŋa³⁵ a³⁵ko⁵⁵-tie⁵⁵ xa⁵⁵tshɤ⁵⁵ sɿ³⁵-po⁵⁵çi⁵⁵].
        basket   inside   1sg friend-AG   vegetables send-REL

Example (14a) is a complex relative clause where the verb carries a centripetal suffix; whereas (14b) is a simple relative clause with the *-poçi* marker. As the centripetal suffix *-ti*⁵⁵ has the additional aspectual function of indicating that an action or behavior has already finished (Tian et al. 1986:62), the basic meaning expressed is very close to that of (14b). The difference is that in (14a), the direction and completion of the action

'send' is indicated by a centripetal verb suffix, whereas in (14b), the use of the relative clause marker has the function of emphasizing realization of the result of the action 'send'.

Clausal markers not only show restriction relationships with clausal forms, but there are definite differences in semantic expression related to their inherent characteristics. This is clearly shown in the different background meanings expressed through the use of different clausal markers within the same clausal form. For example, relative clauses with the *-nieçi* marker are used to indicate general situations, whereas relative clauses with the *-poçi* marker, which is closely associated with aspect, are often used to describe specific situations, as in the following examples:

(15) 'the bed he sleeps [in]'
    a. [ko^{35} nie^{35}-$nie^{55}çi^{55}$] $\underline{nie^{35}tso^{55}}$
       3sg   sleep-REL   bed
    b. [ko^{35} $\underline{nie^{35}tso^{55}}$ nie^{35}-$po^{55}çi^{55}$]
       3sg   bed   sleep-REL

The basic meaning of the above simple relative clauses is the same, but the relative clause in example (15a) is used to make a generic statement about general circumstances. It does not specify whether he is sleeping on this bed at the time of speech. The relative clause in example (15b), however, describes the situation at the time of speech; and whether this bed is the usual one on which he sleeps does not come within the semantic range of this sentence.

Therefore, these two clausal forms, complex and simple, whose division is based on the clausal verb, do not have a similar or reciprocal relationship with the content being expressed, although there is no lack of association between simple and complex forms. Even within the same clausal form, there may be differences in the meaning being expressed. Thus, relative clause markers as well as the types and forms of relative clauses all play a role as grammatical factors that influence semantic expression in relative clauses.

4. Conclusion

This paper presents a general overview of Tujia relative clauses from the perspective of grammatical markers, with the following conclusions:

(1) Tujia relative clauses are based on nominalizing structures. Overt markers of relative clause markers are obligatory post-verbal clitics, and relative clause markers are also closely associated with nominalizing markers.

(2) Relative clause markers in Tujia include the basic marker *-çi*, and two

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combination markers *-nieçi* and *-poçi*. The combination markers are influenced by their origins and possess distinctive features and limitations: they are secondary markers with restricted function. Different relative clause markers show internal correspondence relationships with the types and forms of relative clauses.

(3) The relative position of the head noun to the relative clause leads to four relative clause types: the pre-head, head-internal, post-head, and headless clausal types. The syntax and function of different clausal types exhibit their own distinctive features. In terms of syntax, head-internal relative clauses have a relatively complete internal structure, full arguments and a large capacity. Not only do they include the head noun, but even those appositional components which modify the head noun and which are located outside the relative clause in pre-head clauses can become a part of head-internal clauses. In terms of usage, owing to the different semantic functions of different clause types, apart from the syntactic restrictions associated with the markers themselves, the choice of different forms is also affected by the emphasis of semantic expression. Compared with the other clause types, the pre-head clause type clearly occupies a dominant position in terms of usage.

(4) In terms of clausal forms, relative clauses can be divided into complex forms, whose verbs carry morphological changes indicating modalities such as aspect and directionality; and simple forms without grammatical morphology. Relative clauses with the *-çi* marker appear in both simple and complex forms, while relative clauses with the *-nieçi* and *-poçi* markers are only simple forms. In comparison with the other markers, relative clauses with the *-çi* marker encompass a complete range of types and forms, include a wide range of grammatical categories, and transmit different kinds of grammatical information on the verb. The *-çi* marker is therefore the most important marker in Tujia relative clauses.

This paper presents a preliminary analysis of Tujia relative clauses based on the different origins of relative clause markers and their internal associations with clausal types and forms. Complex grammatical phenomena still await elucidation in Tujia relative clauses, including nominalization, nominalizing markers, and the multifunctional nature of the possessive marker, as well as the complicated relationships between these structures, grammatical forms, and relative clauses. These issues await further in-depth investigation, and will be discussed in future papers.

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土家語的關係子句

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　　本文以對土家語關係子句不同標記的分析描寫爲基礎，揭示這些標記的來源特徵和與關係子句各種類型、句式的內在聯繫，提出土家語關係子句有前置型、內置型、後置型、無核型四種類型，依據子句動詞是否帶語法形式而分爲複雜句和簡單句兩種句式，通過對關係子句各種句型、句式在結構關係、句法特徵、語義差別等方面的探討，展現土家語關係子句的基本面貌。

關鍵詞：土家語，關係子句，語法共時分析