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 sub-group 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.

(1) məsi [S] tshuə.
     sun   shine
     'It is sunny.'

In (1) the single argument *məsi* 'sun' [S] functions as topic of the intransitive directional verb *tshuə* '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) qɑ [A]   the: [P]   dʑeta.[2]
     1sg   3sg   beat:1sg
     'I am beating him.'

In (2) the first person singular *qa* functions as [A] of the transitive verb *dʑeta* '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 vatieties 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]

NQ－Mawo variety (Liu 1998:197):
(3) ɑsqu   [[Ø ʁluqhuɑ n̠u-ʁɑ-n]$_{RC}$ Ø]$_{NP}$ [n̠i-s]$_{NP}$ ʑi-tɕi-ji?
     tomorrow   Luhua DIR-go-NOM   how.many-CL exist-3PL-PRT
     'Are there many people who will go to Luhua tomorrow?'

In (4), from Qugu Qiang, the agent of a transitive clause (*kep tɕy:mi* 'orphan') is relativized on.

NQ－Qugu variety (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:305):
(4) [[Ø suʁu ʂtʂu-m]$_{RC}$ **kep**   **tɕy:mi** ʔe-ze]$_{NP}$ tə-ʐwuse.
          cow   graze-NOM   **orphan child** one-CL   DIR-lend
     'To hire an orphan who grazes cows.'

In (5) the patient of a transitive clause (*khue* 'dog') is relativized on.

SQ－Puxi variety:
(5) [**khue** [ŋa-i   Ø   te-tɕu-si]$_{RC}$ tha-zi]$_{NP}$ n̠   bʐi̠.
      dog   1sg:TP-AGT   DIR-see-CSM:1   that-CL   very big
     '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.

SQ－Muka variety:

(6) [[Ø nu-i   ku-nə]_{RC}   Ø   tɕi-lə]_{NP} dɑ-i.
          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) [[qɑ-wu   Ø   ləɣz   de-le-m]_{RC}   **mi-le:**]_{NP}
        1sg-AGT   book   DIR-give-NOM   **person-DEF:CL**

      [qɑ-tɕ   tuətʂ]_{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 (χe^{33} 'needle') is relativized on.

SQ－Taoping variety (H. Sun 1981:81):

(8) [tsa^{33}-ti^{33}-tə^{33}]_{NP} [Ø phu^{55} zɿ^{31}zɿ^{31}-tsɿ^{33}]_{RC} **χe^{33}**]_{NP} ty^{31}.
      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 (*tɕi* 'house').

SQ－Puxi variety:

(9) [[ŋa-(i)   Ø   ɕtɕindzi te-ŋɑ-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   zəˀ]_{RC}   **tɕi**   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 (*thɐ-si* 'that day').

SQ－Puxi variety:

(11) [[thala Ø lu-ji]$_{RC}$ **tha-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 construc-
tions 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 qɑ-s   ji-p   ba-m]$_{RC}$ **mi**-le:]$_{NP}$ [wantɑu]$_{NP}$ zṃə.
          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*/*stuɑhɑ*/*tshu* 'food')
cannot be omitted in three varieties of Qiang:

(13) a. [[thaχɑ-ji **stə**   tʃə]$_{RC}$ tha-rɑ]$_{NP}$ [qɑ]$_{NP}$ (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 **stuɑhɑ** tə-bəl-ji]$_{RC}$ thɑ-lə]$_{NP}$ (Ronghong)
             3pl-AGT   **food**   DIR-do-CSM   that-CL
          [qɑ]$_{NP}$ sə-tɕ^{4} dɑ-sɑ.
           1sg   DIR-eat   DIR-finish:1sg
          'I ate all the food that they cooked.'

      c. [[thaχɑ-(i) **tshu** te-pu-ji]$_{RC}$ thɑ-lɑquɑ]$_{NP}$ (Puxi)
             3pl-AGT **food** DIR-do-CSM   that-CL
          [ŋa]$_{NP}$ qeṇi ṣe-dze-si.
           1sg:TP all   DIR-eat-CSM:1
          'I ate all the food that they cooked.'

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[4] The verb stem in Ronghong is *tɕhə* '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 (*khuǝ* 'dog') have animate referents in Ronghong Qiang:

(14) [[**khuǝ** mi-tɑ   ʁdʐe le-m]$_{RC}$ **khuǝ**-le:]$_{NP}$ hɑ-lɑ.
       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$_S$ entered and Ø$_A$ saw John$_P$.
      b. *John$_S$ entered and Mary$_A$ saw Ø$_P$.
      c. Mary$_S$ entered and Ø$_S$ was seen by John$_A$.

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 markers[5] 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.

Table 1: Nominalizers, Genitive markers and Relativizers in Qiang

	Agentive nominalizers/ relativizers	Instrumental nominalizers/ relativizers	Genitive markers	Non-agentive, non-instrumental relativizers
Ronghong	-m -p	-s	-tɕ	-tɕ/-s -p
Qugu	-m -p	-s	-tɕ	-tɕ/-s -p
Mawo	-n	??	-k[6]	??
Heihu	-m/-ka	-ka	-ts	-ka
Mianchi	-mu	-ki	-ki	-ki
Muka	-nə	-sɑ	-əˠ	-nə
Puxi	-m	-sɑ/-s	-əˠ	
Taoping	-mə³³	-tsʅ³³	-z̥o³³	

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 *mi* 'person' in Ronghong, Qugu, Heihu; *me* 'person' in Puxi; *mu* 'person' in Mianchi and *mə³³* 'person' in Taoping, it seems *nə* derived from *mi*,[7] 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 *-sa*/*-s* (*-sa* > *-s*), but Taoping Qiang has the unique instrumental nominalizer *-tsʅ³³*, 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 *-k*/*-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).

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. [tɕymi   the:]_{NP}   [fɑ   ɕupu]_{NP}   guə.   (NQ: Ronghong)
          child   that:CL   clothes red   wear
          'That child wears red clothes.'

      b. [[fɑ   ɕupu   guə-**m**]_{RC}   **tɕymi**   the:]_{NP}   (NQ: Ronghong)
          clothes   red   wear-NOM   **child**   that:CL
          'the child who wears red clothes'

      c. [[phu   ʂən   guə-**m**]_{RC}   **kebʐɨ**   tha-la]_{NP} (SQ: Puxi)
          clothes   red   wear-NOM   **child**   that-CL
          'the child who wears red clothes'

      d. [[phu   nə   gue-**mu**]_{RC} ɦɑ-ko   **kebʐɨ-tsə**]_{NP} (SQ: Mianchi)
          clothes   red   wear-NOM   that-CL   **child**
          'the child who wears red clothes'

      e. [[phu   hnihni guə-**nə**]_{RC} tɕi-lə   **tɕibʐɨ**]_{NP} (SQ: Muka)
          clothes   red   wear-NOM   that-CL   **child**
          'the child who wears red clothes'

      f. [[ɕidzi   gueʂ   gue-**ka**]_{RC} **tʂuɑmɑ** tshɑ]_{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-ʂe.   (NQ: Ronghong)
          person   that:CL   DIR-die
          'That person died.'

      b. [[die-ʂe-**m**]_{RC}   **mi**   the:]_{NP}   (NQ: Ronghong)
          DIR-die-NOM   **person**   that:CL
          'the person who died'

      c. [[ə-ʂe-**ka**]_{RC}   **mə**   tshɑ]_{NP}   (SQ: Heihu)
          DIR-die-NOM   **person**   that:CL
          'the person who died'

      d. [[te-sə-qe]_{RC}-**ki**   ɦɑ-ko   **me**]_{NP} (SQ: Mianchi)
          DIR-die-PFT-GEN   that-CL   **person**
          'the person who died'

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e. [[tə-ɕa-pɑ-i]ᵣᴄ   tɕi-lə   **mə**]ɴᴘ   (SQ: Muka)
    ᴅɪʀ-die-do-ᴄsᴍ:3   that-ᴄʟ   **person**
    'the person who died'

f. [[te-ɕa-i]ᵣᴄ   **me**   tha-la]ɴᴘ   (SQ: Puxi)
    ᴅɪʀ-die-ᴄsᴍ:3   **person**   that-ᴄʟ
    '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)]:

(18) a. [qɑ]ɴᴘ [pɑnɑ the-ze-wu]ɴᴘ [ləɣz]ɴᴘ z̪ɑ.   (NQ: Ronghong)
          1sg   thing   that-ᴄʟ-ɪɴsᴛ   book   write:1sg
          'I use that thing to write.'

      b. [[ləɣz   z̪e-**s**]ᵣᴄ   **pɑnɑ**   the-ze]ɴᴘ   (NQ: Ronghong)
          book   write-ɴᴏᴍ   **thing**   that-ᴄʟ
          'the thing that is used to be written'

      c. [[zedə   se-**sɑ**]ᵣᴄ   **panᶎi**   tha-la]ɴᴘ   (SQ: Puxi)
          book   write-ɴᴏᴍ   **thing**   that-ᴄʟ
          'the thing that is used to be written'

      d. [[zedə   se-**sɑ**]ᵣᴄ   tɕi-to   **balubase**]ɴᴘ   (SQ: Muka)
          book   write-ɴᴏᴍ   that-ᴄʟ   **thing**
          'the thing that is used to be written'

      e. [[ləɣz̪   jinji-**ka**]ᵣᴄ   **pɑnɑ**   tshɑ]ɴᴘ   (SQ: Heihu)
          book   write-ɴᴏᴍ   **thing**   that:ᴄʟ
          'the thing that is used to be written'

      f. [[dzə   ɕa]ᵣᴄ-**ki**   ɦa-ko   **pɑnɑ**]ɴᴘ   (SQ: Mianchi)
          book   write-ɢᴇɴ   that-ᴄʟ   **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 -*tɕ* 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):

(19) a. [[qɑ (-wu)   khe]ᵣᴄ-**tɕ**   **səf**   tho-zgu]ₙₚ   (NQ: Ronghong)
          1sg-AGT   cut-GEN   **tree**   that-CL
          'the tree that I am cutting'

    b. [[kɑ-i   guə-**nə**]ᵣᴄ   ɕi-wo   **pho**]ₙₚ   (SQ: Muka)
          1sg-AGT   cut-NOM   that-CL   **tree**
          'the tree that I am cutting'

    c. [[ɑ   tshɑ-**ka**]ᵣᴄ   **pho**   tho-ʁots]ₙₚ   (SQ: Heihu)
          1sg   cut-NOM   **tree**   that-CL
          'the tree that I am cutting'

Qugu Qiang can use either the instrumental nominalizer -*s* or the genitive marker -*tɕ* 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 -*tɕ* 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**]ᵣᴄ   **xtɕepi**]ₙₚ   ɦũ.
          that:CL   meat   slice-NOM   **knife**   COP
          'This is the knife that is used to slice meat.'

    b. [tse:]ₙₚ [[pies   khukhu]ᵣᴄ-**tɕ**   **xtɕepi**]ₙₚ   ɦũ.
          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**]ᵣᴄ   **xtʂepi**]ₙₚ   ŋuə.
          that:CL   meat   slice-NOM   **knife**   COP
          'This is the knife that is used to slice meat.'

    b. [tse:]ₙₚ [[pies   khukhu]ᵣᴄ-**tɕ**   **xtʂepi**]ₙₚ   ŋuə.
          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, *pə* 'buy', takes the directional prefix *zə-* and the change of state marker *-ji*; the relative clauses in (22b) and (22c) take the genitive marker *-tɕ*; 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. [[qɑ   zə-pə-**ji**]$_{RC}$ **fɑ**]$_{NP}$
          1sg   DIR-buy-CSM   **clothes**
          'the clothes that I bought'

     b. [[qɑ   zə-pə]$_{RC}$-**tɕ**   **fɑ**]$_{NP}$
          1sg   DIR-buy-GEN   **clothes**
          'the clothes that I bought'

     c. [[qɑ   pə]$_{RC}$-**tɕ**   **fɑ**]$_{NP}$
          1sg   buy-GEN   **clothes**
          'the clothes that I am buying'

     d. [[qɑ   pə-**s**]$_{RC}$[8]   **fɑ**]$_{NP}$
          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. [[zọgum   xsi-ze   we-**p**]$_{RC}$ **tɕiʁua**   ʔa-sa]$_{NP}$ tɕhi.
          window   three-CL   exist-NOM   **house**   one-CL   need
          'It needs one room which has three windows.'

     b. [tsa]$_{NP}$ [[səɸ   we-**p**]$_{RC}$ **ʐʁupu**]$_{NP}$ ɦũ,
          here   tree   exist-NOM   **mountain**   COP
          [tha]$_{NP}$ [[səɸ   me-we-**p**]$_{RC}$ **ʐʁupu**]$_{NP}$ ɦũ.
          there   tree   NEG-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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[8] 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.

  c. [qupu]_{NP} [[ji: we-**p**]_{RC} **xtɕepi** ʔe:]_{NP} sə-zu̥.
    3sg   handle exist-NOM **knife** one:CL DIR-make
    'He made a knife that has no handle.'

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. [**tɕy:mi** [zej le-**p**]_{RC} te:]_{NP} [to:pu-s]_{NP} mi-we.
     child cry exist-NOM DEF:CL like-NOM NEG-exist
     'There is no one who likes a child who is lachrymose.'
  b. [[zimi dʑe le-**p**]_{RC}-ta-χʂa]_{NP} [zimi]_{NP} dʑe do-jy ma-ʁu.
     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. [qupu]_{NP} [[khukhue le-**p**]_{RC}
     3sg   angry exist-NOM
    qapa-ke:]_{NP}   ɦĩ.
    old.man-INDEF:CL COP
    'He is an old man who is pettish.'
  b. [the:]_{NP} [[khuikhue le-**p**]_{RC}   (Ronghong)
     3sg   angry exist-NOM
    qɑpɑ-ke:]_{NP}   ŋuə.
    old.man-INDEF:CL COP
    'He is an old man who is pettish.'

NQ—Ronghong variety:
(26) a. [**mi** [zei le-**p**]_{RC} -le:]_{NP} [tɕɑlɑ]_{NP} kə ŋuɑ?
     person cry exist-NOM -DEF:CL where go QUES
     'Where did the person who is lachrymose go?'
  b. [**mi** [zei topu/dʐə̩]_{RC} -le:]_{NP} [tɕɑlɑ]_{NP} kə ŋuɑ?
     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) [[mi-tɑ   ʁdʐe le-**p**]_{RC} **khuə**-le:]_{NP} hɑ-lɑ.
   person-anti.AGT bite exist-NOM **dog**-DEF:CL DIR-come
   'The dog who is fond of biting people came out.'

(28) [[mi tʂitʂi le-**p**]_{RC} **xʂe**-le:]_{NP} du-ɸu.

  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. [[ŋa-ra-səih-wo]_{RC} **basma**-ra]_{NP} (Watters 2002:207, 52a)

   1sg-3pl-kill-NOM **goat**-3pl

   'those goats that I killed'

  b. [[ya-dəi-ni-u]_{RC} **po:**]_{NP} (Watters 2002:207, 52b)

   3pl-find-2sg-NOM **place**

   'the place where they find you'

  c. [[ge-səres-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. [[qɑ-wu xe-**u-ɑ**]_{RC}-tɕ **mi**-le:]_{NP}

   1sg-AGT scold-3sg:P-1sg:A-GEN **people**-DEF:CL

   [mi zəwɑ]_{NP} mo-xʂutɕu.

   other speech NEG-obedient

   'The person who is scolded by me is not obedient.'

  b. [[tɕile-wu xe-**u-ɚ**]_{RC}-tɕ **mi**-le:]_{NP}

   1pl-AGT scold-3sg:P-1pl:A-GEN **people**-DEF:CL

    [mi   zəwɑ]_{NP}   mo-xʂutɕu.

    other   speech   NEG-obedient

    'The person who is scolded by us is not obedient.'

c.   [[ʔŭ-wu   xe-**u-n**]_{RC}   **mi**-le:]_{NP}

    2sg-AGT   scold-3sg:P-2sg:A **people**-DEF:CL

    [mi   zəwɑ]_{NP}   mo-xʂutɕu.

    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   zəwɑ]_{NP}   mo-xʂutɕu.

    other speech   NEG-obedient

    'The person who is scolded by you is not obedient.'

e.   [[the:-wu   xe-**u**-tɕ]_{RC}   **mi**-le:]_{NP}

    3sg-AGT   scold-3sg:P-GEN   **people**-DEF:CL

    [mi   zəwɑ]_{NP}   mo-xʂutɕu.

    other speech   NEG-obedient

    'The person who is scolded by him / her is not obedient.'

f.   [[themle-wu   xe-**u-tɕi**]_{RC}   **mi**-le:]_{NP}

    3pl-AGT   scold-3sg:P-3pl:A **people**-DEF:CL

    [mi   zəwɑ]_{NP}   mo-xʂutɕu.

    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):

(31) a. [**nə**   [phuβɑ khsə da-guə]_{RC} tha:]_{NP} [titʂu]_{NP} ŋuə-ji.

       person clothes new DIR-wear   that:CL landlord COP-EVID

       'The person who wears new clothes is a landlord.'

    b. [**nə**   [tɕirgua-k ti:q dɑ-dzu]_{RC} tha:]_{NP} [lami]_{NP} ŋuə-ji.

       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.   ȵisi   [**tɕi** [da-ʁeˀ]_{RC}   thə]_{NP} [ȵikal]_{NP} tʂha-ji ŋuɑ?

       yesterday **snow** DIR-come.down that   how.much deep-PRT QUES

       'How much thickness did snow yesterday?'

   d.   [[thaχɑ-ji **stə**   tʃə]_{RC} tha-rɑ]_{NP} [qɑ]_{NP} dzə da-sa.

       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一Qugu variety (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:175):

(32) a.   [[ʐme   tso-qupi da-tʂtʂhu-**jy**]_{RC}   **kopu**-le:]_{NP}

        Qiang   this-CL   DIR-develop-CSM **root**-DEF:CL

       ɦake: ɦũ   wa.

       thus   COP   PRT

       'The origin of this family of Qiang is like this.'

    b.   [[ʔi-tɕtɕhy-**jy**]_{RC1} **kutʂ**]_{NP1} ze,

       DIR-fry-CSM   dish   delicious

       [[ʔo-ʂqu-**jy**]_{RC2} **kutʂ**]_{NP2} me-ze.

       DIR-boil-CSM   **dish**   NEG-delicious

       'A fried dish is delicious, while a boiled dish is not delicious.'

Ronghong variety:

(33) a.   [[tɕile ʐme tso-qupi dɑ-tʂhu-**ji**]_{RC} **kopu**-le:]_{NP} ɦake: ŋuə.

        1pl   Qiang this-CL DIR-develop-CSM **root**-DEF:CL thus   COP

       'The origin of this family of Qiang is like this.'

    b.   [[i-tʂhue-**ji**]_{RC1} **kuʂ**]_{NP1} ze,   [[ɦo-ʂqu-**ji**]_{RC2} **kuʂ**]_{NP2} me-ze.

       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一Qugu variety (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:175):

(34) a.   [[zə-pə-**jy**]_{RC}-tɕ **guəs**   tsə-ɦiil]_{NP} [ʔũ-tɕ]_{NP} de-le-la.

       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} **fα**   tsə-jə-qai]_{NP} [ʔŭ-tɕ]_{NP} de-le-lα.
       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**ʳ**]_{RC}   **tɕi**   tha-gu]_{NP}   (unmarked aspect)
         1sg:TP   exist:1   **house**   that-CL
         'the house that I live in'
     b.   [[ŋa   zə-**u-α**]_{RC}   **tɕi**   tha-gu]_{NP}   (prospective)
         1sg:TP   exist-PROS-1 **house**   that-CL
         'the house that I will live in'
     c.   [[ŋa   zə-**si**]_{RC}   **tɕi**   tha-gu]_{NP}   (change of state)
         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 -*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

clauses in Puxi [see also (30a-b), (30e) in Ronghong Qiang]:

(36) a. [[ŋa-i   tiu-**ɕa**]_{RC}-ki   ɦa-ko   **me**-i]_{NP}
          1sg:TP-AGT   see-CSM:1sg-GEN   that-CL   **person**-DEF
          [a-ki   ɕinsə]_{NP}   le.
          1sg:NTP-GEN   teacher   COP
          'The person that I saw is my teacher.'
     b. [[no-i   tiu-**so**]_{RC}-ki   ɦa-ko   **me**-i]_{NP}
          2sg:TP-AGT   see-CSM:2sg-GEN   that-CL   **person**-DEF
          [a-ki   ɕinsə]_{NP}   le.
          1sg:NTP-GEN   teacher   COP
          'The person that you saw is my teacher.'
     c. [[ɦa-i   tiu]_{RC}-ki ɦa-ko **me**-i]_{NP}   [a-ki   ɕinsə]_{NP} le.
          3sg-AGT   see-GEN   that-CL **person**-DEF 1sg:NTP-GEN   teacher   COP
          'The person that s/he saw is my teacher.'
     d. [[ale/tɕole-i   tiu-**se**]_{RC}-ki   ɦa-ko   **me**-i]_{NP}
          1pl:INCL/1pl:EXCL-AGT   see-CSM:1pl-GEN   that-CL   **person**-DEF
          [a-ki   ɕinsə]_{NP}   le.
          1sg:NTP-GEN   teacher   COP
          'The person that we saw is my teacher.'
     e. [[ʔule-i   tiu-**se**]_{RC}-ki   ɦa-ko   **me**-i]_{NP}
          2pl-AGT   see-CSM:2pl-GEN   that-CL   **person**-DEF
          [a-ki   ɕinsə]_{NP}   le.
          1sg:NTP-GEN   teacher   COP
          'The person that you saw is my teacher.'

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

Linguistic typologists (Greenberg 1963, Kuno 1974, Downing 1978, Keenan 1985, Lehmann 1986, Comrie 1981[1989] §7.2:135-148, Andrews 2007) find four types of relative clause in terms of position between the head of the relative clause and the relative

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.[9] 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. [tɕymi   the:]$_{NP}$ [fɑ   ɕupu]$_{NP}$ guə.   (NQ: Ronghong)
         child   that:CL   clothes red   wear
         'That child wears red clothes.'

     b. [[fɑ   ɕupu guə-m]$_{RC}$ **tɕymi**   the:]$_{NP}$ (NQ: Ronghong)
         clothes   red   wear-NOM   **child**   that:CL
         'the child who wears red clothes'

     c. [[phu   ʂən   guə-m]$_{RC}$ **kebʐʐʅ**   tha-la]$_{NP}$ (SQ: Puxi)
         clothes   red   wear-NOM   **child**   that-CL
         'the child who wears red clothes'

     d. [[phu   nə   gue-mu]$_{RC}$ ɦɑ-ko   **kebʐʅ-tsə**]$_{NP}$ (SQ: Mianchi)
         clothes   red   wear-NOM   that-CL **child**
         'the child who wears red clothes'

     e. [[phu   hnihni guə-nə]$_{RC}$ tɕi-lə   **tɕibʐʅ**]$_{NP}$ (SQ: Muka)
         clothes   red   wear-NOM   that-CL   **child**
         'the child who wears red clothes'

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[9] Although Persian, Bengali, and Georgian are verb-final, relative clauses in these languages follow the head of the NP (Kuno 1974).

    f.   [[ɕidzi   guɛʂ   gue-ka]_{RC} **tʂuɑmɑ** tshɑ]_{NP} (SQ: Heihu)

        red   clothes   wear-NOM   **child**   that:CL

        'the child who wears red clothes'

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.   [[nə   dzə̡-m]_{RC} **mi**-le:]_{NP}   tɕɑ-n.

        sleep   able-NOM **people**-DEF:CL CON-sleep

        'The person who likes to sleep late is still sleeping.'

    b.   [[nə   dzə̡-m]_{RC} **the:**]_{NP} tɕɑ-n. (LaPolla with C. Huang 2003:228)

        sleep   able-NOM **3sg**   CON-sleep

        'S/he who likes to sleep late is still sleeping.'

(39) a.   [[ləɣz   su   kə-m]_{RC} **tɕymi**-lɑ-hɑ]_{NP} tɕiu   i-pəl-jy.

        book   learn go-NOM **child**-DEF-PL   home DIR-arrive-CSM

        'Those children who went to school came back.'

    b.   [[ləɣz   su   kə-m]_{RC} **themle**]_{NP} tɕiu   i-pəl-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.   [[ŋa-i   lie-**u-ɑ**]_{RC}   **pho**   tha-pho]_{NP}

        1sg:TP-AGT plant-PROS-1 **tree** that-CL

        'the tree that I will plant'

    b.   [[ŋa-i   lie^ʴ]_{RC}   **pho**   tha-pho]_{NP}

        1sg:TP-AGT plant:1   tree   that-CL

        'the tree that I am planting'

c.   [[ŋa-i   lie-**si**]_{RC}   **pho**   tha-pho]_{NP}
        1sg:TP-AGT   plant-CSM:1 **three**   that-CL
     'the tree that I planted'

(41) a.   [[ŋa-(i)   ¢t¢indzi   ŋɑ-**u**-**ɑ**]_{RC}   **me**   tha-la]_{NP}
          1sg:TP-AGT   money   borrow-PROS-1 **person**   that-CL
       'the person I will borrow money from'

b.   [[no   zə-**n**]_{RC}   **t¢i**   tha-gu]_{NP}
        2sg:TP   exist-2   **house**   that-CL
     'the house where you live'

c.   [[te-¢a-**i**]_{RC}   **me**   tha-la]_{NP}
        DIR-die-CSM:3   **person**   that-CL
     'the person who died'

d.   [[thala   lu-**i**]_{RC}   **tha-si**]_{NP}
        3sg   come-CSM:3   **that-day**
     'the day that s/he came'

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) [**mi**   [fɑ   xsə   guə-m]_{RC}   the:]_{NP}   [tit̢u]_{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) [**nə**   [phuβɑ   khsə   da-guə]_{RC}   tha:]_{NP}   [tit̢u]_{NP}   ŋuə-ji.
       person clothes new   DIR-wear   that:CL   landlord   COP-PRT
       'The person who wears new clothes is a landlord.'

SQ－Taoping variety (H. Sun 1981:144):

(44) [**ti^{31}** [sɿ^{31}-qə^{55}te^{55}-pɑ^{33}]$_{RC}$-ti^{33}]$_{NP}$ tɕy^{55}-so^{31} uɑ^{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-tɕu* '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** [ŋa-i   te-tɕu-si]$_{RC}$ tha-zi]$_{NP}$ n̩   bzi̩.
       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. [qɑ]$_{NP}$ [[tɕile tsəi-wu   **tʂuəwɑ** lɑmpɑ   (Ronghong)
            1sg   1pl   elder.sister-AGT **shoes**   flower
            tə-jej-ji]$_{RC}$ the-tse]$_{NP}$ kən   topu-ɑ.
            DIR-embroider-CSM   that-CL   very like-1sg
            'I like that pair of colored shoes which my elder sister embroidered very much.'
      b. [qɑ]$_{NP}$ [[tsa   ɦatɕi-sta   lɑpa   **tʂuɑɦɑ**   (Heihu)
            1sg   1pl   elder.sister-AGT flower **shoes**
            tə-jinji-ka]$_{RC}$ the-tsa]$_{NP}$ tɑpu tɑpu-ɑ.
            DIR-embroider-NOM   that-CL   like   like-1sg
            'I like that pair of colored shoes which my elder sister embroidered very much.'

c. [kɑ]_{NP} [[kɑ-tɕi   sɑbzi-ti   patʂuə   (Muka)
   1sg   1sg-family elder.sister-AGT flower
   tatɕe ɑ-dʐɑ-pɑ-i]_{RC}   tɕi-gu]_{NP} tɑpə   mɑ.
   shoes DIR-embroider-do-CSM that-CL very   like:1
   'I like that pair of colored shoes which my elder sister embroidered very much.'

d. [ŋa]_{NP} [[qaˈ   sɑbzi-i   **tatɕe**   (Puxi)
   1sg:TP   1sg:NTP-GEN elder.sister-AGT **shoes**
   tə-χuɑ-i]_{RC}   tha-dzuə]_{NP} la   mɑˈ.
   DIR-embroider-CSM that-CL   very like:1sg
   'I like that pair of colored shoes which my elder sister embroidered very much.'

e. [ŋa]_{NP} [[ɑ-vu   ʁuetɕe-i   **betsə**   (Mianchi)
   1sg:TP   1sg:NTP-family elder.sister-AGT **shoes**
   te-thio]_{RC}-ki   ɦa-tui]_{NP} qeqe   mɑ-ra.
   DIR-embroider-GEN that-CL   very   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/mə/me/nə* 'person' [see also (3), (6), (24b), (63)]:

SQ－Taoping variety (H. Sun 1981:97):
(47) [tha⁵⁵lə⁵⁵]_{NP} [[tʂhaŋ³¹ɕiŋ³¹ ʐe²⁴¹ lie³³]_{RC}-lə³³]_{NP} (*mə³³* 'person' omitted)
     3sg   usually   illness.exist-DEF
   ŋuə³³ ma³¹.
   COP   PRT
   'S/he is the one that is usually ill.'

SQ－Heihu variety:

(48) [[α   qu-m/-**ka**]_RC   tshα]_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   dα-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) tepəi   [petsu   ke-**m**]_RC   [taŋ-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) αsqu   [ʁluqhuα   n̪u-ʁα-**n**]_RC   [n̪i-s]_NP   (*nə* 'person' omitted)
      tomorrow   Luhua   DIR-go-NOM   how.many-CL
      ʑi-tɕi-ji?
      exist-3pl-PRT
      'Are there many people who will go to Luhua tomorrow?'

NQ－Ronghong variety:

(52) [qα]_NP [[ləɣz   tse-**m**]_RC   e:]_NP   u-tɕu-α.   (*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} dʑi^{241}-pa^{33}]_RC-ti^{33}]_NP   (*zʅ^{31}mə^{55}* 'speech' omitted)
      3sg-AGT   say-do-DEF
      [no^{55}]_NP   ə^{ɿ31}-tɕi^{55}to^{55}-nə^{31} n̪i^{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-ɹu]_RC-thə]_NP   [qɑ]_NP   (*dʒəßa* 'speech' omitted)
         2sg-AGT   DIR-say-DEF   1sg
      kəndi   tə-qhsɑ.
      all   DIR-understand
      'I understand all you said.'

SQ－Heihu variety:
(55) [[thegu-stɑ tə-χqa   ɬiɬi-**ka**]_RC   tsha]_NP   (*tʂhetsə* '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: stuaχa   thə   stə-**m**]_RC   ʑi……   (*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):
(57) [[tɕiku-ta   ʂə]_RC-tɕ-ta-za]_NP   [mi-tɕ[10]]_NP   (*pəna* 'thing' omitted)
         home-LOC   exist-GEN-DEF-CL   other-DAT
      de-le-ʂa!
      DIR-give-HORT:1pl
      'We gave things that are in our home to other people.'

NQ－Qugu variety (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:313):
(58) [[khuə qej   ʔə-m   ma-dzʐ-**s**]_RC1-ta]_NP1   (*zəp* 'place' omitted)
         dog   voice DIR-hear   NEG-able-NOM-LOC
      [[jy   qej   ʔə-m   ma-dzʐ-**s**]_RC2-ta]_NP2   kə-la.
       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 *-tɕ* after existential verb *ʂə* 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 *doü* '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':

(59)   a.   [[**doü**   αdiyαno-no]$_{RC}$ **doü**]$_{NP}$ deyαlukhe.
            sago   give.3PL.NONFUT-CONN   **sago**   finished.ADJ
            'The sago that they gave is finished.'
       b.   [[**gαnα**   gu   fαli-khα]$_{RC}$ **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 *zəqe/ʐuəpə/ zəp* 'place' in three varieties of Qiang:

(60)   a.   [[**zəqe**   αməi   nəpe   tshy-tshy-ka]$_{RC}$ **zəqe**   tshα]$_{NP}$ (SQ: Heihu)
            place usually rock   drop-REDUP-NOM   **place** that:CL
            'the place where rockslides often occur'
       b.   [[**ʐuəpə** α-sə   mαni   ʁo   tshu-sα]$_{RC}$ tɕi-to **ʐuəpə**]$_{NP}$ (SQ: Muka)
            place one-day every rock drop-NOM   that-CL **place**
            'the place where rockslides often occur'
       c.   [[**zəp**   iɕtɕimαqα   zαwα   tshu-tshu]$_{RC}$(-tɕ)   (NQ: Ronghong)
            place   usually   rock   drop-REDUP-GEN
            zəp   tha-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) [[**mi**   qɑ   nə-xeˈ-m]ᵣᴄ   **mi**-le:]ₙₚ   kə-ji.
       person   1sg   DIR-scold-NOM   **person**-DEF:CL   go-CSM
      '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):
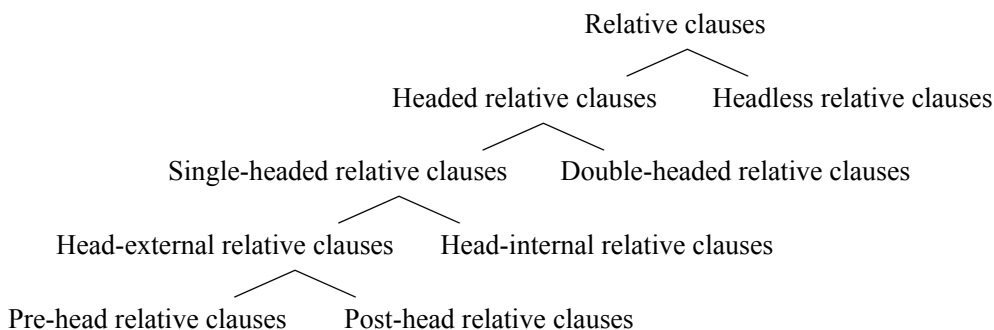
Diagram 1: Types of relative clauses in Qiang

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. [[tɕile   tɑtə-wu   zə-p -**ji**]ᵣᴄ₁   (NQ: Ronghong)
            1pl   father-AGT   DIR-buy-CSM
           [tɕiu-lɑ   ʂə]ᵣᴄ₂-**tɕ** [qɑ   xʂu   qhu-kə-**s**]ᵣᴄ₃
            home-LOC   put-GEN   1sg   bag   hunt-go-NOM
           soqhu   thɑ-lɑ]ₙₚ   [ʂə-thɑ-s]ₙₚ   mi-je-jy.
           gun   that-CL   use-AUX-NOM   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.'

b. [[kɑ-tɕi   vɑje-ti   do-pɑ-i]_{RC1}   (SQ: Muka)
   1sg-family   father-AGT   DIR-buy-CSM
   [tɕi-ko   ɕtiu-**nə**]_{RC2} [kɑ   ɕy   khɑ-**sɑ**]_{RC3}
   home-LOC   put-NOM   1sg   bag   hunt-NOM
   tɕi-lə   **ɕiʐdio**]_{NP} te-zio   mi-qe-pɑ-i.
   that-CL   **gun**   DIR-use   NEG-able-do-CSM
   '[The gun [that my father bought] [that was put in the home] [that I use to hunt]]_{NP} cannot be used any more.'

c. [[tse tɑ-stɑ   zə-p-**ka**]_{Rc1} [tɕin-tɑ   e-s-**ka**]_{RC2} (SQ: Heihu)
   1pl father-AGT DIR-buy-NOM home-LOC   DIR-put-NOM
   [ʑiʁu qhu-**ka**]_{Rc3} **lətshuə** tshɑ]_{NP} ʂə-thɑ   mɑ-qe-i.
   bag   hunt-NOM   **gun**   that:CL   use-AUX   NEG-able-CSM
   '[The gun [that my father bought] [that was put in the home] [that I use to hunt]]_{NP} cannot be used any more.'

d. [[ɑ-vu   ʁuejɑ   te-pu]_{RC1}-**ki**   (SQ: Mianchi)
   1sg:NTP-family   father   DIR-buy-GEN
   [tɕi-ko   tə]_{RC2}-**ki** [ŋɑ-i   ɕy   χo]_{RC3}-**ki**
   home-LOC   put-GEN   1sg:TP-AGT   bag   hunt-GEN
   ɦɑ-dzəi   **tʂhəu-i**]_{NP} zio   mi-qe.
   that-CL   **gun**-DEF   use   NEG-able
   '[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 *ɕu-tɕ nuplo zimi* **"The Story of the Sea"** in Qugu (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:313) as in (63a), and as in (63b) in Ronghong:

NQ一Qugu (B. Huang & Zhou 2006:313):
(63) a. [[khuə   qej   ʔə-m   ma-dzʐ-**s**]_{RC1}-ta]_{NP1}
        dog   voice DIR-hear   NEG-able-NOM-LOC
        [[jy   qej   ʔə-m   ma-dzʐ-**s**]_{RC2}-ta]_{NP2}   kə-la.
        chicken   voice DIR-hear   NEG-able-NOM-LOC   go-HORT:1sg
        'Let me go to [a place [where one cannot hear the voices of dogs and chickens]]_{NP}.'

   b. qa [[khuə qəi   ə-m   ma-lə-**s**]_{RC1}-ta]_{NP1}   (Ronghong)
      1sg dog   voice DIR-hear NEG-able-NOM-LOC
      [[tɕy   qəi   ə-m   mɑ-lə-**s**]_{RC2}-tɑ
       chicken   voice DIR-hear NEG-able-NOM-LOC

(zəp)   ka-kua]_{NP2}   kɑː.
 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.

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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