

Relative Clauses in Lan Hmyo

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1. Key points of this talk

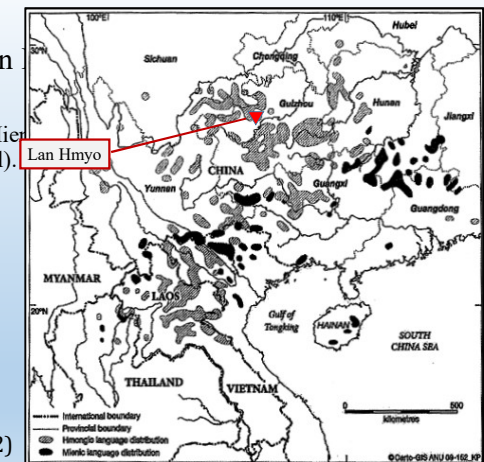
- The two morphemes used in Lan Hmyo's relative clauses (RCs), *təA-* and *-moA*, are a nominalization marker and an associative marker, respectively. *-moA* also exhibits a nominalizing function.
- Both *təA-* and *-moA* have a nominalizing function, but some difference is observed in the degree of "noun-like-ness" that their constructions exhibit.
- This analysis provides a solution to some apparent problems that have been pointed out in similar RC constructions of a related language.

2. Brief Description of Lan Hmyo

- A Hmongic language (Hmong-Mien), spoken in the central part of Guizhou Province, China (ISO 639-3: hml).

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Ratliff (2010:2)

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- A Hmongic language (Hmong-Mien), spoken in the central part of Guizhou Province, China (ISO 639-3: hml).
- 61,000 speakers (Wang and Mao 1995).
- S-V-O (A-V-P) word order
- Three lexical tones: A, B, C (tones are marked at the end of each syllable, e.g., naA “human”).

3. Types of RCs in Lan Hmyo

- There are quite a few definitions of RCs. In this talk, the author collected examples of RCs based on that of Comrie and Kuteva (2012).
- “A relative clause is a clause narrowing the potential reference of a referring expression by restricting the reference to those referents of which a particular proposition is true.” (Comrie and Kuteva 2012)

3. Types of RCs in Lan Hmyo

- RCs in Lan Hmyo can be classified according to the morphemes constructing RCs.

- (a) A construction using *təA-* → Pre-Head or Post-Head
 (b) A construction using *-moA*
 (c) A construction using both *təA-* and *-moA*
 (d) A construction using neither *təA-* nor *-moA*
- } Pre-head

In (a) there are two types: pre-head RCs or post-head RCs. In (b) – (d), only pre-head RCs are observed.

3. Types of RCs in Lan Hmyo

- The schemata of the RCs observed in Lan Hmyo.

(a) A construction using *təA-*

(a-1) Post-head	HEAD	[<i>təA-</i>] _{RC}
(a-2) Pre-head		[<i>təA-</i>] _{RC} HEAD
(b) A construction using <i>-moA</i>		[... ... <i>-moA</i>] _{RC} HEAD
(c) A construction using both <i>təA-</i> and <i>-moA</i>		[<i>təA-</i> <i>-moA</i>] _{RC} HEAD
(d) A construction using neither <i>təA-</i> nor <i>-moA</i>		[... ...] _{RC} HEAD

3. Some examples

- (a-1) post-head: HEAD [*təA*-]_{RC}

loB- χanC δanB tshaCnaA niB piB aAtanA [təA- kuB δoB] -eB loB- δaA.
 too call CLF poor.person 3 house son NMLZ carry firewood DEM too come
 “(He) also invited the poor person’s son who carried firewood.” (*Getting a Drum of Sichuan*)

3. Some examples

- (a-2) pre-head: [*təA*-]_{RC} HEAD

təAnaA tsoC- ndzjeA [təA- δaC] naA tsoC- qwaC suC.
 human then tread NMLZ die human then cross river
 “They crossed the river stepping on the dead.” (*A War in Guizhou*)

3. Some examples

- (b) [... ... -*moA*]_{RC} HEAD

konA luB qweC [jaAqhiC tiB δaA -moA] aAjiAjiC.
 2SG come register guest take come ASSC thing
 “You register the things that the guests brought here.” (*Celebrating Father-in-Law’s Birthday*)

3. Some examples

- (c) [*təA*-... ... -*moA*]_{RC} HEAD

[təA- nteC wuB -moA] təAnaA ʔnonA saA jiB ... ʔnonA saA jiB nteC wuB
 NMLA jump dance ASSC human be.at top street be.at top street jump dance
nteC kwanA.
jump pipe
 “The dancers dance in the street.” (*New Year Festival in a Hmyo Village*)

4. *təA-* and *-moA*

- *təA-* and *-moA* are a nominalization marker and an associative marker, respectively. *-moA* also exhibits a nominalizing function.
- RCs using *təA-* (a-1, a-2) are constructions in which a nominalized verb phrase modifies a noun, and RCs using *-moA* (b) are constructions in which a nominalized clause modifies a noun.

4.1 *təA-* as a nominalization marker

- *təA-* cliticizes to a verb phrase (VP) and nominalizes it.
 - *təA-* *maA zenA*
NMLZ exist money “rich one(s)”
 - *təA-* *muA-* *maA zenA*
NMLZ NEG exist money “one(s) who is(/are) not rich”
 - *ɔanB təA-* *ŋaAŋaA* *ɔaA -eB*
CLF NMLZ everyday come DEM “the one who comes everyday”

4.1 *təA-* as a nominalization marker

- Nouns and pronouns cannot intervene between *təA-* and the following verb.
- **ɔanB təA-* *taAŋəBŋaA* *ɔaA -eB ʔnonA təAeB*.
CLF NMLZ yesterday come DEM sit there
“(Intended) The person who came yesterday is sitting there.”
- **chiB pzeB təA-* *niB maB -eB ʔʉonCnonA -tsaB*.
CLF fruit NMLZ 3 buy DEM delicious very
“(Intended) The fruit that he bought is very delicious.”

4.1 *təA-* as a nominalization marker

- The nominalized verb phrase denotes an argument of the verb (argument nominalization), or denotes an action/state that the verb phrase signifies (Shibatani 2017, 2018, Forthcoming).
- Argument nominalization marker
 - *ɔanB təA-* *ŋaAŋaA* *ɔaA -eB*
CLF NMLZ everyday come DEM “the one who comes everyday”
- Action/state nominalization marker
 - *ʔwuA- ɔanB -nonB niB, ɔanBaAtsiB loB- tsoC- muA- maA...laAhaB...təA- tshiC -jaA*.
two CLF DEM FLL who too then NEG exist FLL NMLZ love NEG
“Nobody had sympathy for them.” (*A Girl Born from an Egg*)

4.2 -moA as a nominalization marker

- -moA is an associative marker, but it also functions as an argument nominalization marker.
- Associative marker
 - *kanB -moA ntenB*
1SG ASSC knife “my knife”
- Argument nominalization marker
 - *maA təApluA -moA jonC qaCthuB.*
exist hair ASSC=NMLZ COP devil’s tongue
“The thing that has hairs is a devil’s tongue.” (*Celebrating Father-in-Law’s Birthday*)

This type of morpheme that has both functions of an associative marker and an argument nominalization marker is well known in Asian languages, such as Chinese and Lahu (Matisoff 1972, Comrie 1998).

4.3 Difference in noun-like-ness

- When we observe the behavior of the two types of constructions constituted by *təA-* and *-moA*, we can find some difference in their noun-like-ness or “nouniness” (Ross 1973).
- The constructions constituted by *təA-* behave more noun-like than those constituted by *-moA*.

4.3 Difference in noun-like-ness

- In Lan Hmyo, as in other Hmongic languages, nouns indicate the following features.
 - They are an argument candidate (=They can be an argument of a verb).
 - They can constitute a construction with a classifier in the following manner: CLF-N
 - They can constitute a construction with a classifier and a demonstrative in the following manner: CLF-N-DEM.
- *ðanB aAtanA -eB*
CLF N DEM “that child”

4.3 Difference in noun-like-ness

- Although constructions constituted by *təA-* exhibit all the above-mentioned features, constructions constituted by *-moA* fail to exhibit the last feature.
 - *ðanB təA- jiBlaA -eB jonC kəBpiB aAtanA.*
CLF NMLZ cry DEM COP 1SG.house son
“The crying one is my son.”
 - **ðanB jiBlaA -moA -eB jonC kəBpiB aAtanA.*
CLF cry ASSC DEM COP 1SG.house son
“(Intended) The crying one is my son.”

4.4 Section Summary

	Host of cliticization	Argument Nominalization	Action/State Nominalization	Associative Function	Occurrence in CLF-X-DEM
təA-	Verb phrase	+	+	-	+
-moA	Clause	+	-	+	-

5. What the present analysis can explain

- The above-mentioned analysis can explain the problems that previous studies might suggest for Lan Hmyo.
 - 5.1 The position of “relative marker”
 - 5.2 An issue related to NP Accessibility

5.1 The position of “relative marker”

- Sposato (2012), describes RCs in Xong, a Hmongic language spoken in Hunan Province. His description reveals that the RCs in Lan Hmyo and those in Xong exhibit surprising similarities in their constructions and in the distributions of the relevant morphemes (as already mentioned in Sposato 2015).

5.1 The position of “relative marker”

- The schemata of the RCs observed in Xong (adapted from Sposato 2012:63)

(a) A construction using *max*

(a-1) Post-head	HEAD	[<i>max</i>] _{RC}	
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(a-2) Pre-head		[<i>max</i>] _{RC}	HEAD
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(b) A construction using <i>naond/nangd</i>		[... ... <i>naond/nangd</i>] _{RC}	HEAD
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(c) A construction using both <i>max</i> and <i>naond/nangd</i>		[<i>max</i> <i>naond/nangd</i>] _{RC}	HEAD
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(d) A construction using neither <i>max</i> nor <i>naond/nangd</i>		[... ...] _{RC}	
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5.1 The position of “relative marker”

- The correspondence between *təA-* in Lan Hmyo and *max* in Xong, and the correspondence between *-moA* in Lan Hmyo and *naond/nangd* in Xong are striking, except for one type of RC without any marker (*naond/nangd* are dialectal variation).
- These similarities are interesting in a historical perspective too, since, as far as the author knows, other Hmongic languages, such as Hmu and White Hmong, do not indicate similar constructions for their RCs (Riddle 1993, 1994; Ji 2015).

5.1 The position of “relative marker”

- Sposato (2012:64), based on de Vries (2005), argues that the position of the “relative marker” *max* in type (a-2) and (c) is “extremely rare” typologically.
 - (a-2) [*max*]_{RC} HEAD
 - (c) [*max*... .. *naond/nangd*]_{RC} HEAD
- de Vries (2005:148) states the following cross-linguistic universal.
 - Relative complementizer particles are clause-final in prenominal relatives, and clause-initial elsewhere.
- Sposato (2012) maintains that the type (a-2) and (c) construction in Xong is an exception to this universal.

5.1 The position of “relative marker”

- However, the type (a-2) and (c) construction in Lan Hmyo does not necessarily constitutes an exception to the de Vries’s universal on “relative particles”.
 - (a-2) [*təA-*]_{RC} HEAD
 - (c) [*təA-* *-moA*]_{RC} HEAD
- If *təA-* is a dedicated VP-nominalizer, as we observed earlier, it has nothing to do with relativization function. In (a-1) and (a-2), nominalized constructions are just juxtaposed with a head: *təA-* is not a relative particle (Shibatani Forthcoming).

5.1 The position of “relative marker”

- In the type (c) construction, the associative relation between the nominalized construction and the head is indicated by *-moA*, the position of which perfectly conforms to de Vries’s universal.
- (c) [*təA-* *-moA*]_{RC} HEAD

5.2 An issue related to NP Accessibility

- Wu (2011) describes RCs in Gouliang Xong, another lect belonging to the Xong group. She indicated that *ma*⁵³ (corresponding to *max* in Sposato 2012) in Gouliang Xong can only relativize nouns that assume a subject role and some peripheral roles (such as instrumental, locative, and time) in RCs (37-46).

Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object	Peripheral	Genitive	Standard of Comparison
+	-	-	+	-	-

- Sposato (2012:53-54) also makes the same point referring to Keenan and Comrie (1977).

5.2 An issue related to NP Accessibility

- This conclusion, however, is not applicable to Lan Hmyo.
- Interestingly, if we elicit sentences under the condition that nouns/pronouns in each core argument (such as Agent and Patient of a transitive verb) must be spelled out in RCs, the same result as in Wu (2011) is obtained in Lan Hmyo.
- In such sentences, the head of RCs cannot assume the “Direct Object” role, as in the following example (*maB* “buy” takes two core arguments, Agent and Theme).

- **chiB pzeB təA- niB maB -eB ʔʊŋCnonA -tsaB*.
CLF fruit NMLZ 3 buy DEM delicious very
“(Intended) The fruit that he bought was very delicious.”

5.2 An issue related to NP Accessibility

- However, this restriction is not due to the role of the head in RCs.
- This is due to one of the characteristics of *təA-*: a clitic to a VP.
- In the cases where the head assumes a role other than “Subject” in RCs, a noun or a pronoun will appear as “Subject” between *təA-* and the verb. That is the cause of unacceptability.
 - **chiB pzeB təA- niB maB -eB ʔʊŋCnonA -tsaB*.
CLF fruit NMLZ 3 buy DEM delicious very
“(Intended) The fruit that he bought was very delicious.”

5.2 An issue related to NP Accessibility

- In fact, with an appropriate context, a RC with a head assuming the “Direct Object” role can constitute an acceptable sentence, as in the following:
 - chiB pzeB təA- maB -eB ʔʊŋCnonA -tsaB*.
CLF fruit NMLZ buy DEM delicious very
“(Not those fruit that we raised by ourselves but) those fruit that we bought (in stores) are very delicious.”

6. Summary

- The two morphemes used in Lan Hmyo's RCs, *təA-* and *-moA*, are a nominalization marker and an associative marker, respectively. *-moA* also exhibits a nominalizing function.
- Both *təA-* and *-moA* have a nominalizing function, but constructions constituted by *təA-* are more noun-like than those constituted by *-moA*.
- This analysis provides a solution to some apparent problems in the RCs that have been pointed out for similar RC constructions of a related language.

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Thank you!