

## CHAPTER 6

### CLAUSE MODIFICATION

#### 6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, clause modifications, Interrogative, Imperative, Voice, Relative, Complement and Negation are examined.

#### 6.1 Interrogative clauses

There are two types of interrogative clauses in Ngo Chang. One type is often called the "yes/no question"; it demands an affirmative or a negative answer. The other type is an "information question" requiring a more detailed answer.

##### 6.1.1 Yes/No questions

The yes/no question in Ngo Chang is shown by the question marker  $la^5$ , which occurs at the end of the clause. This question marker  $la^5$  occurs with a rising tone, the high tone 5. A yes/no question is structured like a declarative clause with the question marker  $la^5$  at the end. In other words, a marker is needed to indicate the interrogative speech act in order to differentiate it from a declarative speech act. Compare the following sentences.

169.

$nay^3 \quad gai^{31} \quad ma^3 \quad la^5$   
2S market LOC go

'You went to the market.'

170.

*naŋ<sup>3</sup> gai<sup>31</sup> ma<sup>3</sup> lɔ<sup>5</sup> la<sup>5</sup>*  
 2S market LOC go Q

'Did you go to the market?'

Example 169 is a declarative sentence, while example 170 is an interrogative sentence. The two sentences share the same constituent order, and only the question marker *la<sup>5</sup>* distinguishes the two sentences.

For the answer of a yes/no question, only the main verb is given rather than the whole clause, because it is the main information which the person who gives question wants to know. Example 171 is an affirmative answer, and example 172 is a negative answer to example 172 above.

171.

*lɔ<sup>5</sup>*  
 go

'Yes, I went.'

172.

*ma<sup>31</sup> lɔ<sup>5</sup>*  
 NEG go

'No, I did not go.'

These are the usual ways of responding to a yes/no question in Ngo Chang. There are no words that are equivalent to English "yes" and "no" in function and meaning.

### 6.1.2 Confirmation and tag questions

There is another type of yes/no question implying that the speakers require the confirmation of what they ask, or remind the hearers of what the speakers intend. In Ngo Chang, this type of yes/no question is formed by *?a<sup>31</sup> + verb + la<sup>5</sup>*, or by a

similarly structured tag question  $\text{ʔa}^{31} \eta\text{ɔat}^{\text{̣}} \text{la}^5$ . Examples are described in the following sentences.

173.

$\text{ʔa}^{31} \quad \text{juat}^{\text{̣}} \quad \text{la}^5$   
NEG hungry Q

'Aren't you hungry? (You are hungry, right?)'

As shown in example 173, the yes/no question form is structured by 'the negative marker + the main verb + the question marker'. The speaker of example 173 constructs an interrogative clause; however, the speaker does not require an affirmative/negative answer, but seeks confirmation. The Ngo Chang tag question is formed by  $\text{ʔa}^{31} \eta\text{ɔat}^{\text{̣}} \text{la}^5$  'the negative marker + the copula verb + the question marker' added to the declarative clause as in the following sentence. A positive answer is expected.

174.

$\text{na}\eta^3 \quad \text{nja}\eta^3 \quad \text{li}^{31} \quad \text{we}^3 \eta\text{ui}^{31} \quad \text{ʔa}^{31} \quad \eta\text{ɔat}^{\text{̣}} \quad \text{la}^5$   
2S 3S ACC love NEG COP Q

'You love her/him, don't you?' or 'Do you love her/him or not?'

In example 174, the tag question  $\text{ʔa}^{31} \eta\text{ɔat}^{\text{̣}} \text{la}^5$  occurs at the end of the declarative clause. The speaker of example 174 anticipates a positive answer for the question, rather than just a simple yes/no answer.

### 6.1.3 Information questions

The other type of interrogative clause is the information question; it requires more content information for an answer rather than affirmative/negative information. The information question clause does not need the question marker  $\text{la}^5$ , because the question-word itself indicates interrogative.

The following list contains the question words in Ngo Chang.

Question words	Meaning	Semantic Domain
<i>haŋ<sup>5</sup></i>	(who, whom)	human
<i>tfa<sup>3</sup></i>	(what)	non-human
<i>k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>3</sup>nam<sup>31</sup></i>	(when)	time
<i>k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>3</sup>ma<sup>3</sup></i>	(where)	place
<i>k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>3</sup></i>	(which)	generic
<i>tfaŋ<sup>5</sup>mu<sup>3</sup>la<sup>3</sup></i>	(why)	reason
<i>k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>3</sup>su<sup>5</sup></i>	(how)	manner
<i>k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>5</sup>njɔ<sup>3</sup></i>	(how many)	number
<i>k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>3</sup>tɕ<sup>5</sup>ja<sup>3</sup></i>	(which way)	path

Table 5. Ngo Chang question words.

In Ngo Chang, question-words do not always occur in the same position when they occur in the declarative clauses as the same grammatical functions. The Ngo Chang question-words move to be directly before the verb phrase. According to Givón (1990:800), the pre-verbal position of WH-questions is common in SOV languages, and explains as follows.

"the WH-question clause is presupposed, and its nominal arguments are thus highly identifiable ('anaphoric'). Such highly anaphoric arguments may be expressed as anaphoric pronouns on the verb, a configuration that would again leave a fronted WH-pronoun at a direct pre-verbal position."

Compare example 175 and example 176.

175.

*naŋ<sup>3</sup> faŋ<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> mɔ<sup>3</sup>saɔ<sup>5</sup> ljam<sup>3</sup>*  
2S knife INST notebook cut

'You cut the notebook with knife.'

176.

*naŋ<sup>3</sup> mɔ<sup>3</sup>saɔ<sup>5</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>3</sup>su<sup>5</sup> ljam<sup>3</sup>*  
2S notebook how cut

'How do you cut the notebook?'

In declarative clause 175, the instrumental NP *faŋ<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>* 'with a knife' is the instrumental adjunct of the verb *ljam<sup>3</sup>* 'cut'; thus the argument *mɔ<sup>3</sup>saɔ<sup>5</sup>* 'notebook' occurs closer to the verb *ljam<sup>3</sup>* 'cut'. However, in the interrogative clause 176, the question-word *k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>3</sup>su<sup>5</sup>* 'how' which substitutes for *faŋ<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>* 'with a knife' in the declarative clause 175 is placed before the verb *ljam<sup>3</sup>* 'cut'.

In the following examples (177, 178, 179, 180, 181 and 182), each question-word occurs before the verb.

177.

*njaŋ<sup>3</sup> lu<sup>3</sup>kɔ<sup>5</sup> k<sup>h</sup>an<sup>3</sup>ma<sup>3</sup> du<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>3</sup>*  
3S stone where throw put

'Where did s/he throw the stone?'

In interrogative clause 177, the question-word *kʰan³ma³* 'where' occurs before the verb *du³* 'throw'.

178.

*naŋ³ tʃa³ dzɔ̄³ me³*  
2S what eat like

'What do you like eating?'

In example 178, the question-word *tʃa³* 'what' occurs before the verb *dzɔ̄³* 'eat'.

179.

*naŋ³ kʰa³tʃɔ̄⁵ja³ lɔ̄⁵*  
2S whichway go

'Which way did you go?'

In example 179, the question-word *kʰa³tʃɔ̄⁵ja³* 'which way' occurs before the verb *lɔ̄⁵* 'go'.

180.

*naŋ³ lɔ̄³ʃaŋ⁵ kʰa⁵njɔ̄³ juk<sup>ʃ¹</sup> jɔ̄³*  
2S child how many CLF have

'How many children do you have?'

In example 180, the question-word *kʰa⁵njɔ̄³* 'how many' substitutes for the numerals.

In Ngo Chang, numerals must occur with a classifier. The question-word *kʰa⁵njɔ̄³* 'how many' with the numeral classifier *juk<sup>ʃ¹</sup>* occurs before the verb *jɔ̄³* 'have'. The classifier used is the one which refers to humans.

The question-word *naŋ⁵* 'who' substitutes the subject in the declarative clause in the next sentence.

181.

*njaŋ<sup>3</sup> li<sup>31</sup> saɔ<sup>5</sup>bu<sup>3</sup> haŋ<sup>5</sup> die<sup>31</sup>*  
 3S ACC book who give

'Who gave a book to her/him.'

In example 181, the question-word *haŋ<sup>5</sup>* 'who' occurs before the verb *die<sup>31</sup>* 'give'.

The question-word may occur with case markers depending on the relation with verbs as in the following examples.

182.

*naŋ<sup>3</sup> haŋ<sup>5</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> hjo<sup>3</sup>gɔ<sup>5</sup>*  
 2S who INST meet

'Whom did you meet with?'

In example 182, the question-word *haŋ<sup>5</sup>* occurs with the instrument case marker *ja<sup>3</sup>* because of the relation with verbs.

The question-word *tfaŋ<sup>5</sup>mu<sup>3</sup>la<sup>3</sup>* 'why' is a different type from other question-words shown above. The question-word *tfaŋ<sup>5</sup>mu<sup>3</sup>la<sup>3</sup>* 'why' designates the reason, rather than an argument.

183.

*tfaŋ<sup>5</sup>mu<sup>3</sup>la<sup>3</sup> njaŋ<sup>3</sup> gi<sup>3</sup>laŋ<sup>5</sup> ma<sup>3</sup> lu<sup>3</sup>kɔ<sup>5</sup> du<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>3</sup>*  
 why 3S river LOC stone throw put

'Why did she/he throw stone to river?'

The question-word *tfaŋ<sup>5</sup>mu<sup>3</sup>la<sup>3</sup>* 'why' always occurs clause initially as seen in example 183.

PAYAP UNIVERSITY



## 6.2 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses express the commands of speakers. The Ngo Chang imperative clause is indicated by the imperative marker  $\text{ʔa}^5$  which occurs clause final. The subject in the imperative clause is omitted, because the intended subject in the imperative clause is the addressee; thus it is not necessary to refer the subject. The following example 184 is a declarative clause, and example 185 is the imperative counterpart.

184.

$\text{nay}^3 \quad \text{ŋ}^5 \text{dɔ}^3 \text{li}^3 \text{li}^3 \quad \text{li}^3 \quad \text{d}z\text{ɔ}^3$   
 2S fish ACC eat

'You ate the fish.'

185.

$\text{ŋ}^5 \text{dɔ}^3 \text{li}^3 \text{li}^3 \quad \text{d}z\text{ɔ}^3 \quad \text{ʔa}^5$   
 fish ACC eat IMP

'Eat the fish.'

The imperative marker  $\text{ʔa}^5$  following the main verb  $\text{d}z\text{ɔ}^3$  'eat' indicates that example 185 is an imperative clause.

Ngo Chang imperative clauses utilize a prohibitive marker. The prohibitive marker  $\text{ʔa}^3$  occurs before the main verbs as in the following sentence.

186.

$\text{ŋ}^5 \text{dɔ}^3 \text{li}^3 \text{li}^3 \quad \text{ʔa}^3 \quad \text{d}z\text{ɔ}^3$   
 fish ACC PRHB eat

'Don't eat fish.'

The imperative clause 186 employs the prohibitive marker  $\text{ʔa}^3$  placed before the verb  $\text{d}z\text{ɔ}^3$  'eat' for expressing prohibition.

### 6.3 Voices

In this section, Passive, Causative, Reflexive and Reciprocal voices are discussed. See Fox and Hopper eds. (1994) for further discussion of the various elements of voice.

#### 6.3.1 Passive

Passive can be thought of as a realignment of the linking between semantic roles and grammatical relations. In an active clause, the Agent is linked to the Subject and the Patient is linked to the Object, but in a prototypical passive it is the Patient that is linked to the Subject and the Agent is either omitted or occurs as an oblique.

However, in Ngo Chang passives, the Patient is linked to the Object grammatical relation and the Agent is linked to the instrumental grammatical relation.

There is no passive marker; *ja*<sup>3</sup> is an instrumental case marker.

Not all transitive clauses in Ngo Chang can be passivized, only those that involve transfer of action to the patient, who is affected in some way. So clauses with verbs like kill, eat, smash, kick and hit can occur in passives, but clauses with verbs like watch, hear and love cannot.

187.

*la*<sup>3</sup>*nja*<sup>3</sup> *li*<sup>31</sup> *la*<sup>3</sup>*k*<sup>h</sup>*ui*<sup>5</sup> *ja*<sup>3</sup> *ηat*<sup>31</sup> *sat*<sup>5</sup>  
 cat ACC dog INST bite kill

'Cat was bitten to death by dog.'

In example 187, the predicate *ηat*<sup>31</sup>*sat*<sup>5</sup> 'bite to death' involves a totally affected patient, the object *la*<sup>3</sup>*nja*<sup>3</sup> 'cat'.

188.

$n^3$   $li^{31}$   $njan^3$   $ja^3$   $pai^{53}$   
 1S ACC horse INST kick

'I was kicked by horse.'

Example 188 describes an event with a partially affected patient  $n^3$  'I'. This is an acceptable passive, while example 189 describes an event with an unaffected patient and so is an unacceptable clause.

189.

\*  $nan^3$   $li^{31}$   $ʔa^3\eta\tilde{u}\tilde{e}^5$   $ja^3$   $w\epsilon^3\eta ui^{31}$   
 2S ACC mother INST love

\* 'You are loved by mother.'

According to Palmer (1994:117), "the basic functions of the passive are the promotion of the Patient (or non-Agent) and the demotion or deletion of the Agent." However, in Ngo Chang, the Patient is not promoted and the Agent is demoted as in the following examples.

190.

$sa^3la^3$   $njan^3$   $li^{31}$   $pat^8$   
 teacher 3S ACC hit

'Teacher hit her/him.'

191.

$njan^3$   $li^{31}$   $sa^3la^3$   $ja^3$   $pat^8$   
 3S ACC teacher INST hit

'S/He was hit by teacher.'

Example 190 expresses the active construction, while example 191 expresses the passive construction. The agent  $sa^3la^3$  'teacher' in example 190 is demoted in example 191, and the patient  $njan^3$  's/he' is not promoted in example 191. Kroeger (2004:54)

called this type of passive construction "impersonal passive", and states that "if the patient is not promoted, then the resulting passive sentence will have no grammatical subject."

As mentioned before, Ngo Chang passive constructions are described in the agent-patient grammatical relation. Some relationships between agent and patient are not acceptable for passivization as in the following sentence.

192.

*k<sup>h</sup>ɔm<sup>3</sup> li<sup>31</sup> lie<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> p<sup>h</sup>an<sup>53</sup>*  
 door ACC wind INST open

'The door is open by wind.'

193.

\* *k<sup>h</sup>ɔm<sup>3</sup> li<sup>31</sup> njaŋ<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> p<sup>h</sup>an<sup>53</sup>*  
 door ACC 3S INST open

\* 'The door is open by her/him.'

In examples 192 and 193, the subject *k<sup>h</sup>ɔm<sup>3</sup>* 'door' is the inanimate patient, and *lie<sup>3</sup>* 'wind' or *njaŋ<sup>3</sup>* 's/he' causes the door open. However, in example 192, the agent is inanimate *lie<sup>3</sup>* 'wind'; on the other hand, in example 193, the agent is animate *njaŋ<sup>3</sup>* 's/he'. Ngo Chang clauses where the patient is inanimate and the Agent is animate may not undergo passivization.

The constituent order of Ngo Chang passive clauses is Patient with the accusative marker *li<sup>31</sup>* + Agent with the instrumental *ja<sup>3</sup>* + Verb, and this order is always fixed. Also, if the patient and the agent are not of the same saliency class, the accusative *li<sup>31</sup>* may be omitted, but the instrumental *ja<sup>3</sup>* cannot be omitted in any case as in the following sentences.

194.

$\eta\tilde{\alpha}l^{32}$   $ju^3gi^5l\alpha^3$   $ja^3$   $pat^8$   
 bird boy INST hit

'A bird was hit by the boy.'

In example 194, the patient  $\eta\tilde{\alpha}l^{32}$  'bird' and the agent  $ju^3gi^5l\alpha^3$  'boy' are not of the same saliency class; therefore, the accusative  $li^{31}$  can be omitted.

195.

$\eta^3$   $li^{31}$   $na\eta^3$   $ja^3$   $sat^6$   
 1S ACC 2S INST kill

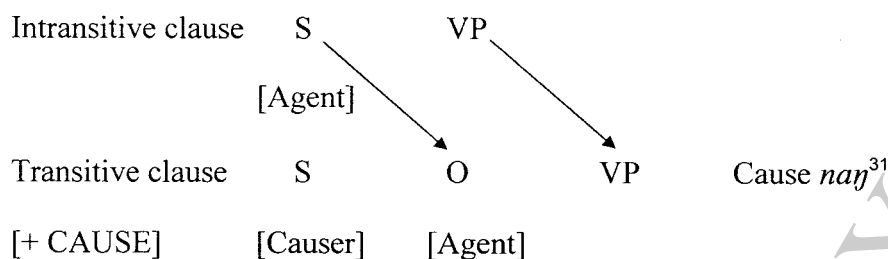
'I was killed by you.'

In example 195, the accusative  $li^{31}$  is obligatorily marked, because of the identical saliency class identification between the patient  $\eta^3$  'I' and the agent  $na\eta^3$  'you'.

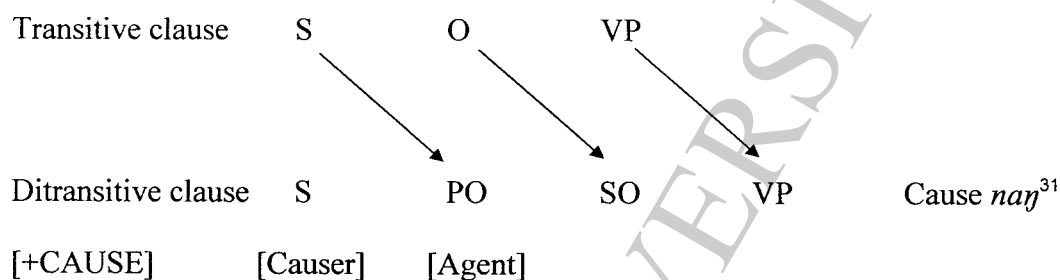
### 6.3.2 Causative

Payne (1997:176) states that "causative constructions can be formed on the basis of intransitive or transitive caused events. Causative predicates always involve one more argument than the caused predicate." Causative constructions are indicated by a causative verb and an additional participant. Ngo Chang causative clauses have two types; the transitive clause type and the ditransitive clause type. Two types are formed in the following structures.

Transitive clause type:



Ditransitive clause type:



When the causative is added to an intransitive clause, the resulting clause is transitive.

When causative is added to a transitive clause the resulting clause is ditransitive. In the causative structure, a new argument is added to the original clause. This new argument is given the grammatical role of subject. Therefore, the subject of the original clause is given another grammatical role in the causative clause. With intransitives, the subject will be marked by the grammatical role of object. With transitives, the subject will be marked by the grammatical role of the primary object and the object will be expressed as secondary object. Examples are illustrated in the following sentences.

196.

*ŋa<sup>5</sup>      lɔ<sup>3</sup>faŋ<sup>5</sup>      jiet<sup>5</sup>*  
 1SpOSS child sleep

'My child slept.'

197.

$\eta^3$   $\eta a^5$   $l\omega^3 fa\eta^5$   $li^{31}$   $jiet^5$   $na\eta^{31}$   
 1S 1SpOSS child ACC sleep CAUS

'I made my child sleep.'

Example 196 is an intransitive clause, while example 197 presents the causative clause with the intransitive event. In example 197, the subject of the caused event  $\eta a^5 l\omega^3 fa\eta^5$  'my child' is marked with the accusative  $li^{31}$ . The new argument  $\eta^3$  'I' which is the causer occurs as the subject in the causative clause.

198.

$\eta a^5$   $a\eta^{31} man^3$   $k^h i^3 lin^5$   $li^{31}$   $s\omega\eta^{31}$   
 1SpOSS older brother bicycle ACC repair

'My older brother repaired the bicycle.'

199.

$\eta^3$   $\eta a^5$   $a\eta^{31} man^3$   $li^{31}$   $k^h i^3 lin^5$   $s\omega\eta^{31}$   $na\eta^{31}$   
 1S 1SpOSS older brother ACC bicycle repair CAUS

'I made my older brother repair the bicycle.'

Example 198 is the transitive clause, while example 199 describes the causative clause with a transitive event. In example 199, the subject of the caused event  $\eta a^5 a\eta^{31} man^3$  'my older brother' is the primary object marked with the accusative  $li^{31}$ , and the object of the original event  $k^h i^3 lin^5$  'bicycle' is the secondary object in the causative clause.

In Ngo Chang, causative may also affect a ditransitive clause. In this structure, both the causee and the primary object of the ditransitive caused event are marked by the accusative  $li^{31}$ .

200.

$\eta^3$   $na\eta^3$   $li^{31}$   $\eta a^5$   $m\sigma^3 sa\sigma^5 bu\tau^{32}$   $t^h i^3 hju\tau^{53}$   
 1S 2S ACC 1SpOSS book show

'I showed my book to you.'

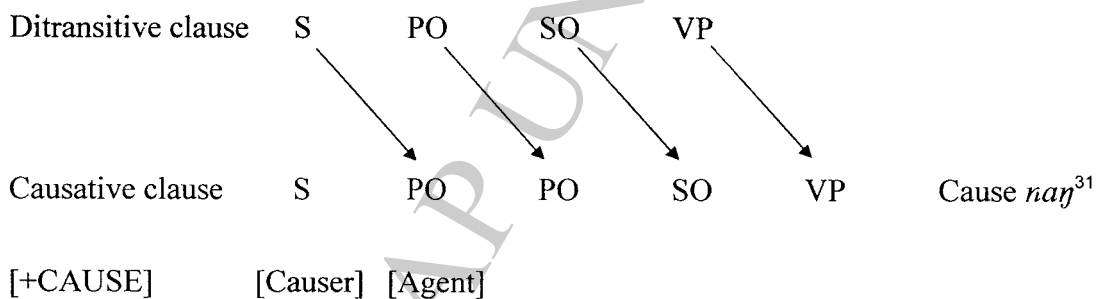
201.

$\eta a^5$   $\eta a^3 \eta \tilde{u} \tilde{e}^5$   $\eta^3$   $li^{31}$   $na\eta^3$   $li^{31}$   $\eta a^5$   $m\sigma^3 sa\sigma^5 bu\tau^{32}$   $t^h i^3 hju\tau^{53}$   $na\eta^{31}$   
 1SpOSS mother 1S ACC 2S ACC 1SpOSS book show CAUS

'My mother made me show my book to you.'

Example 200 is a ditransitive clause, while example 201 is a causativized ditransitive clause. The subject  $\eta^3$  'I' in example 200 is the causee marked by the accusative  $li^{31}$  in example 201, and the primary object  $na\eta^3$  'you' retains the accusative  $li^{31}$  in example 201. Schematically the alignment of participants in a causativized ditransitive clause is as follow.

Causativized ditransitive clause:



When the causative event includes the ditransitive causative event, the subject of the ditransitive will be the primary object in the causative clause. The primary object and the secondary object in the ditransitive caused event keep their same markings in the causative clause.



### 6.3.3 Reflexive

In Ngo Chang reflexivisation is expressed by the reflexive auxiliary verb, and also the interaction of the reflexive verb and the emphatic pronouns. Ngo Chang reflexive clauses are formed in Subject + Main verb + Reflexive verb  $\bar{d}z\bar{o}^3$  as in the following example 202.

202.

$\eta^3$     $\bar{t}san^3$     $lijam^5$     $\bar{d}z\bar{o}^3$   
 1S   touch   cut   REFL

'I cut myself.'

203.

$\eta^3$     $\eta a^5$     $?a^3 bi^5$     $li^{31}$     $\bar{t}san^3$     $lijam^5$   
 1S   1Sposs   older   sister   ACC   touch   cut

'I cut my older sister.'

Example 202 is a reflexive clause and example 203 is a transitive clause. In example 203, the overt object  $\eta a^5 ?a^3 bi^5$  'my older sister' is expressed, and the verb  $\bar{t}san^3 lijam^5$  'cut' is transitive verb. In example 202, the reflexivization by  $\bar{d}z\bar{o}^3$  indicates that the object of the verb  $\bar{t}san^3 lijam^5$  'cut' is same entity as the subject. In other words, reflexivity should be described by the reflexive verb construction; the normal pronoun cannot describe the reflexivity as in the following example.

204.

\*  $\eta^3$     $\eta^3$     $li^{31}$     $\bar{t}san^3$     $lijam^5$   
 1S   1S   ACC   touch   cut

\* I cut me.'

Example 204 is ungrammatical. In a reflexive construction, the referent of both subject and the object is identical. The identical argument described by the normal pronoun cannot show the reflexivity.

Ngo Chang reflexive clauses can be frequently expressed with emphatic pronouns. This construction is divided into two types depending on actions intentionally or accidentally done by subjects. Examples are illustrated in the following sentences.

205.

$\eta^3$   $nja\eta^3$   $pat^{81}$   $\overline{dzo}^3$   
1S EMPRO hit REFL

'I myself hit myself. (accidentally)'

206.

$\eta^3$   $nja\eta^3$   $nja\eta^5$   $pat^{81}$   $\overline{dzo}^3$   
1S EMPRO hit REFL

'I myself hit myself. (intentionally)'

In example 205, the structure of emphatic pronoun  $nja\eta^3$  + the reflexive verb  $\overline{dzo}^3$  implies that the subject hits himself accidentally. On the other hand, in example 206, the structure of emphatic pronoun  $nja\eta^3$   $nja\eta^5$  + the reflexive verb  $\overline{dzo}^3$  implies that the subject hits himself intentionally.

### 6.3.4 Reciprocal

In Ngo Chang, reciprocity is expressed by the reciprocal auxiliary verb  $g\omega^5$ . Ngo Chang reciprocal clauses are structured in Subject + Main verbs + the reciprocal verb  $g\omega^5$  as in the following sentence.

207.

$\eta^3$   $n\eta^5$   $ja^5$   $\eta^3$   $\overline{dzi}^3$   $g\omega^5$   
mother and 1S talk RECIP

'Mother and I talked to each other.'

In example 207, the reciprocal verb *gɔ̌<sup>5</sup>* that follows the main verb *d̄zi<sup>3</sup>* 'talk' illustrates the action of two participants on each other.

Some of verbs are inherently reciprocal. In the following example 208, the verb *hjǒ<sup>3</sup>gɔ̌<sup>5</sup>* 'meet' implies reciprocity.

208.

*ŋ<sup>3</sup>    ŋa<sup>5</sup>        ʔa<sup>3</sup>bi<sup>5</sup>                    ja<sup>3</sup>        hjǒ<sup>3</sup>gɔ̌<sup>5</sup>*  
 1S   1SpOSS older sister INST meet

'I met with my older sister.'

In Ngo Chang, reciprocity can be expressed by the reciprocal pronoun *njaŋ<sup>3</sup> tʃaŋ<sup>5</sup>* *njaŋ<sup>3</sup>*. See 3.2 Pronouns for a discussion of the reciprocal pronoun.

#### 6.4 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are embedded clauses functioning as modifiers of noun phrases. Relative clauses involve three basic parts: a head noun, a modifying clause and a RELATIVIZER. In Ngo Chang the relativizer *da<sup>3</sup>* is used with the relative clause in order to indicate the relationship between the relative clause and the head noun. In Ngo Chang, adjectival and numeral noun modifiers are postnominal, while relative clauses are prenominal. The prenominal relative clause tends to occur in SOV languages. The head noun bears two grammatical relations at the same time. In example 209, the head noun *mɔ̌<sup>3</sup>saɔ̌<sup>5</sup>* 'notebook' is the subject of the matrix clause, and it also functions as the object in the relative clause.

209.

*lɔ̌<sup>3</sup>ʃaŋ<sup>5</sup>    ʃaŋ<sup>3</sup>        ja<sup>3</sup>        ljam<sup>3</sup> da<sup>3</sup>        mɔ̌<sup>3</sup>saɔ̌<sup>5</sup>        ʔa<sup>3</sup> tʃ<sup>h</sup>au<sup>5</sup>*  
 child knife INST cut REL notebook old

'The notebook which a child cut with a knife is old.'

As example 209 shows, the relative clause *lɔʔfaŋʰ faŋʰ jaʰ ljamʰ daʰ* 'a child cut with a knife' omits the object, and the head noun *mɔʔsaɔʰ* 'notebook' is the missing phrase of this relative clause. In this strategy, "filler-gap", the modifying clause contains a 'gap', while the head noun is interpreted as the entity which fills this gap, making the sentence complete. In Ngo Chang, only the head nouns which function as the subject or the object of the relative clause can be the filler. Example 209 represents the head noun which functions as the object of the relative clause. The following sentence represents the head noun which functions as the subject in the relative clause.

210.

*ŋʰ faŋʰ jaʰ mɔʔsaɔʰ ljamʰ daʰ lɔʔfaŋʰ njaʰ*  
 1S knife INST notebook cut REL child see

'I saw the child who cut a notebook with a knife'

In example 210, the head noun *lɔʔfaŋʰ* 'child' functions as the subject in the relative clause *lɔʔfaŋʰ faŋʰ jaʰ mɔʔsaɔʰ ljamʰ daʰ* 'who cut a notebook with a knife'.

In Ngo Chang, oblique phrases, like in postposition phrase, cannot be the head of relative clauses. However, if the oblique phrase is promoted to the object, it can be the head as in the following examples.

211.

\* *lɔʔfaŋʰ mɔʔsaɔʰ ljamʰ daʰ faŋʰ jaʰ*  
 child notebook cut REL knife INST

\* 'the knife with which the child cut a notebook'

212.

*lɔʔfaŋʰ mɔʔsaɔʰ ljamʰ daʰ faŋʰ*  
 child notebook cut REL knife

'the knife with which the child cut a notebook'

In example 211, the postposition phrase, *faŋ<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>* 'with the knife' cannot be the head of relative clause. In order to allow the relativization of the oblique phrase, the oblique is promoted to object. In example 212, *faŋ<sup>3</sup>* 'knife' occurs without the instrument marker *ja<sup>3</sup>*, and it is promoted to the object.

## 6.5 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are embedded in other clauses, and function as subjects or objects in other clauses. There are two types of complements: a finite complement and an infinitive complement. The conditions under which Ngo Chang finite and infinitive complement clauses occur are shown as follows.

### A finite complement clause

- The subject in the matrix clause and the subject in the complement clause may be identical and may not be identical.
- The embedded verb in a complement clause can take its own tense and aspect.

### An infinitive complement clause

- The subject in the matrix clause and the subject in the complement clause should be identical.
- The embedded verb in a complement clause tends to take same tense and aspect as the matrix verb.

Ngo Chang finite complement clauses employ the complementizer *dzi<sup>31</sup>* for marking that the independent clause is embedded in the matrix clause, and the complementizer *dzi<sup>31</sup>* occurs in the final position of the complement clause. Ngo Chang finite complement clauses are shown as in the following examples.

In example 213, the complement clause *hai<sup>5</sup> u<sup>3</sup>gun<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>3</sup>ja<sup>5</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>3</sup> lo<sup>5</sup> da<sup>31</sup>* 's/he will leave this village' is the direct object of the matrix verb *seɽ<sup>31</sup>* 'know'.

213.

*njaŋ<sup>3</sup> hai<sup>5</sup> u<sup>3</sup>gun<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>3</sup>ja<sup>5</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>3</sup> lo<sup>5</sup> da<sup>31</sup> d̄zi<sup>31</sup> ŋ<sup>3</sup> seɽ<sup>31</sup>*  
 3S this village from out go FUT COMP 1S know

'I know that s/he will leave this village.'

The Ngo Chang normal constituent order is Subject + Object + Verb; however, the constituent order in example 213 is Object (complement clause) + Subject + Verb. In Ngo Chang, long information is usually placed in a cleft construction.

In example 214, the complement clause *hai<sup>5</sup> u<sup>3</sup>gun<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>3</sup>ja<sup>5</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>3</sup> lo<sup>5</sup> da<sup>31</sup>* 's/he will leave this village' functions as the subject of the matrix clause, and it occurs at the normal position of the subject.

214.

*njaŋ<sup>3</sup> hai<sup>5</sup> u<sup>3</sup>gun<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>3</sup>ja<sup>5</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>3</sup> lo<sup>5</sup> da<sup>31</sup> d̄zi<sup>31</sup> naɽ<sup>31</sup>ŋi<sup>53</sup> p<sup>h</sup>ɔd̄zi<sup>31</sup> ŋɔat<sup>5</sup>*  
 3S this village from out go FUT COMP sad event COP

'That s/he will leave this village is a sad thing.'

In both examples 213 and 214, the complement clauses include a different tense from the tense in matrix clauses. Also, in example 214, the subject of the complement clause is different from the subject of the matrix clause.

In the Ngo Chang finite complement clauses, if the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are identical, the subject of the complement clause is omitted as in the following sentence.

215.

(ŋ<sup>3</sup>) hai<sup>5</sup> u<sup>3</sup>gun<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>3</sup>ja<sup>5</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>3</sup> lɔ<sup>5</sup> da<sup>31</sup> d̄zi<sup>31</sup> ŋ<sup>3</sup> gam<sup>5</sup>  
 (1S) this village from out go FUT COMP 1S think

'I think that I will leave this village.'

In example 215, the subject of the complement clause ŋ<sup>3</sup> 'I' can be omitted, because it is identical to the subject of matrix clause.

There is a restriction on tense marking in the complement clause. The complements of the matrix verbs, such as 'promise' and 'decide' should occur with the future tense as in the following sentences.

216.

mɔ<sup>3</sup>saɔ<sup>5</sup> jɔm gat<sup>81</sup> da<sup>31</sup> d̄zi<sup>31</sup> dʒoŋ<sup>31</sup> lɔɪ<sup>32</sup> d̄ʒen<sup>3</sup> gaɪ<sup>31</sup> sa<sup>3</sup>la<sup>3</sup> li<sup>31</sup>  
 book strength put FUT COMP student PL TOP teacher ACC

dan<sup>3</sup>t<sup>h</sup>uŋ<sup>5</sup> d̄je<sup>-</sup>  
 promise give

'The students promised the teacher that they will study hard.'

217.

ŋ<sup>5</sup>dɔɪ<sup>31</sup> ma<sup>31</sup> d̄zɔ<sup>3</sup> da<sup>31</sup> d̄zi<sup>31</sup> ʔa<sup>3</sup>ba<sup>3</sup>ŋue<sup>5</sup> ŋam<sup>3</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ie<sup>53</sup>  
 fish NEG eat FUT COMP father decide

'Father decided that he will not eat fish.'

In example 216, the matrix verb *dan<sup>3</sup>t<sup>h</sup>uŋ<sup>5</sup>* 'promise' implies that the promised event will occur after the time of promising. Therefore, the complement clause, that is to say, the promised event, always occurs with the future tense *da<sup>31</sup>* regardless of the tense in matrix clauses.

In example 217, the matrix verb *ŋam<sup>3</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ie<sup>53</sup>* 'decide' has the same motivation; thus the complement clause should occur with the future tense *da<sup>31</sup>*.

If the finite complement functions specific to the purpose of the matrix clause, the complementizer *hi<sup>3</sup>li<sup>3</sup>* 'for' is used as in example 218.

218.

*n<sup>3</sup>    dzɔ<sup>3</sup>    da<sup>31</sup>    hi<sup>3</sup>li<sup>3</sup>    dzui<sup>5</sup>*  
 1S    eat    FUT    for    work

'I worked in order to eat.'

In example 218, the finite complement functions as the purpose of the matrix clause. The complementizer *hi<sup>3</sup>li<sup>3</sup>* 'for' occurs at the final position of the finite complement.

If the finite complement functions as the purpose of the matrix clause with employing the complementizer *hi<sup>3</sup>li<sup>3</sup>* 'for', the finite complement should always occur with the future tense *da<sup>31</sup>*.

Another type of complement is an infinitive complement<sup>4</sup>. Unlike a finite complement, an infinitive complement is more dependent on a matrix clause. Therefore, the verb in the infinitive complement tends to take the same tense and aspect in the matrix clause, and the subject should be identical to the subject in the matrix clause.

219.

*n<sup>3</sup>    gjɔ<sup>3</sup>fɔ<sup>5</sup>    dzɔ<sup>3</sup>    me<sup>3</sup>*  
 1S    chicken    eat    like

'I want to eat chicken.'

In example 219, the subject of the infinitive complement is identical to the subject of the matrix clause, and it is not described. Actually, the Ngo Chang infinitive complements always own the identical subjects to the matrix clause subjects. If the subjects of the infinitive complements are not identical to the matrix clause subjects, the finite complement clause is employed.



There is another type of construction in which the main clause subject is not identical to the Agent of the verb. The Agent is marked by a benefactive case *hi<sup>3</sup>li<sup>3</sup>*.

220.

*hai<sup>5</sup> mɔ<sup>3</sup>saɔ<sup>5</sup>buɽ<sup>32</sup> gaɽ<sup>31</sup> ja<sup>5</sup> hi<sup>3</sup>li<sup>3</sup> sɔ<sup>3</sup>sɔ<sup>3</sup> ɲap<sup>-81</sup> nan<sup>3</sup>*  
 this book TOP 1PL BEN INTS read difficult

'This book is very difficult for us to read.'

In example 220, the Agent *ja<sup>5</sup>* 'us' of the verb *ɲap<sup>-81</sup>nan<sup>3</sup>* 'read difficult' is described with the benefactive case *hi<sup>3</sup>li<sup>3</sup>*. The subject of clause *hai<sup>5</sup>mɔ<sup>3</sup>saɔ<sup>5</sup>buɽ<sup>32</sup>* 'this book' is the Patient of the verb.

## 6.6 Negation

The Ngo Chang negative construction is clausal negation. A structure like English constituent negation, *He eats no meat, only vegetables*, does not occur in Ngo Chang. Clausal negation is utilized as in the following two-clause sentence.

221.

*njaŋ<sup>3</sup> ʃɔ<sup>5</sup> ma<sup>31</sup> dzɔ<sup>3</sup> an<sup>3</sup>p<sup>h</sup>ɔ<sup>53</sup> kin<sup>3</sup> d̄zɔ<sup>3</sup>*  
 3S meat NEG eat vegetable only eat

'She/He does not eat meat, she eats only vegetables.'

As shown in example 221, the negative marker *ma<sup>31</sup>* is used to negate the whole meaning of the clause. The negative marker *ma<sup>31</sup>* occurs immediately before the main verb in the predication as illustrated the following sentence.

222.

*ŋ<sup>3</sup> mɔ<sup>3</sup>saɔ<sup>5</sup>buɽ<sup>32</sup> ma<sup>31</sup> ɲap<sup>-81</sup>*  
 1S book NEG read

'I did not read a book.'

In example 222, the negative marker  $ma^{31}$  occurs immediately before the verb  $\eta ap^{81}$  'read'.

In an equative clause, the negative marker  $ma^{31}$  occurs immediately before the copula as in the following example.

223.

$njan^3 \quad ga\dot{r}^{31} \quad \eta a^3 da^3 \quad \eta a^3 ba^3 \eta ue^5 \quad ma^{31} \quad \eta \dot{c}at^5$   
 3S TOP my father NEG COP

'He is not my father.'

The negative marker  $ma^{31}$  also occurs in clauses with tense, aspect and modality. The position of the negative marker  $ma^{31}$  is immediately before verb phrases as described in the following sentences.

224.

$\eta^3 \quad tan^5 p^h a^3 \quad ma^3 \quad ma^{31} \quad l\dot{o}^5 \quad k^h \dot{o}^5$   
 1S field LOC NEG go PAST

'I did not go to the field.'

In example 224, the negative marker  $ma^{31}$  occurs before the verb phrase  $l\dot{o}^5 k^h \dot{o}^5$  'go + past tense' in order to negate the whole meaning of the clause.

225.

$njan^3 \quad tan^5 p^h a^3 \quad ma^3 \quad ma^{31} \quad l\dot{o}^5 \quad gu^3$   
 3S field LOC NEG go PERF

'She/He has not gone to the field.'

Example 225 includes the perfect aspect in the verb phrase. The negative marker  $ma^{31}$  occurs before the verb phrase  $l\dot{o}^5 gu^3$  'go + perfect aspect' and is associated with the entire proposition of the clause.

226.

ŋ<sup>3</sup>    ŋɔ<sup>3</sup>tʃaŋ<sup>5</sup>    nie<sup>31</sup>    ma<sup>31</sup> jɔ<sup>3</sup>    ka<sup>3</sup>  
 1S   Ngo Chang language NEG can speak

'I can not speak the Ngo Chang language.'

In example 226, the negative marker *ma*<sup>31</sup> occurs before the verb phrase *jɔ*<sup>3</sup> *ka*<sup>3</sup> 'modality + speak' in order to negate the whole predication.

Clausal negation may also change the order of the constituents. The main verb and the secondary verb switch their positions. Compare the following affirmative sentence and the negative sentence.

227.

ŋ<sup>3</sup>    fɿ<sup>5</sup>    dzo<sup>3</sup>    me<sup>3</sup>  
 1S   fruit   eat   like

'I like eating fruit.'

228.

ŋ<sup>3</sup>    fɿ<sup>5</sup>    ma<sup>31</sup>    me<sup>3</sup>    dzo<sup>3</sup>  
 1S   fruit   NEG   like   eat

'I do not like eating fruit.'

In the affirmative example 227, the secondary verb *dzo*<sup>3</sup> 'eat' occurs just after the object *fɿ*<sup>5</sup> 'fruit' because the object *fɿ*<sup>5</sup> 'fruit' is grammatically and semantically more associated with the secondary verb *dzo*<sup>3</sup> 'eat' than the main verb *me*<sup>3</sup> 'like'. On the other hand, in the negative example 228, the place of the main verb *me*<sup>3</sup> 'like' and the secondary verb *dzo*<sup>3</sup> 'eat' switches, because the negative marker *ma*<sup>31</sup> is grammatically and semantically associated with the main verb *me*<sup>3</sup> 'like' more than the secondary verb *dzo*<sup>3</sup> 'eat'.

Most Ngo Chang verbs consist of one or two syllables, like  $\widehat{dzo}^3$  'eat' and  $dan^3t^huj^5$  'promise'; however, there are also verbs which consist of three syllables. Such verbs are the compound verbs. In the Ngo Chang compound verb  $\widehat{dzi}^3sap^6sap^6$  'swim', for example,  $\widehat{dzi}^3$  is the lexical noun meaning 'water' and  $sap^6$  is the lexical verb meaning 'shave off'. These verbs, which consist of three syllables, have a special order for negation.

229.

$l\omega^3fan^5$     $nj\omega^5f\omega^3$     $m\omega^5$     $\widehat{dzi}^3sap^6$     $ma^{31}$     $sap^6$   
 child   many   PL   swim   NEG   swim

'Many children did not swim.'

In example 229, the negative marker  $ma^{31}$  occurs before the last syllable of  $\widehat{dzi}^3sap^6sap^6$  'swim'. This constituent order also occurs when such verbs function as the secondary verb. Compare the following sentences.

230.

$l\omega^3fan^5$     $nj\omega^5f\omega^3$     $m\omega^5$     $\widehat{dzi}^3sap^6sap^6$     $me^3$   
 child   many   PL   swim   like

'Many children like swimming.'

231.

$l\omega^3fan^5$     $nj\omega^5f\omega^3$     $m\omega^5$     $\widehat{dzi}^3sap^6$     $ma^{31}$     $me^3$     $sap^6$   
 child   many   PL   swim   NEG   like   swim

'Many children do not like swimming.'

Example 230 is an affirmative sentence and example 231 is a negative sentence. In example 231, only the last syllable  $sap^6$  of the secondary verb  $\widehat{dzi}^3sap^6sap^6$  'swim' follows the main verb  $me^3$  'like'.