1 Introduction

To characterize cross-linguistic universals in relative clause formation, Keenan & Comrie (1977) proposed an “accessibility hierarchy” whereby syntactic positions in the clause are crucially structured relative to one another. Subject positions reside at the top of the hierarchy, followed by direct objects, followed by indirect objects and obliques. This hierarchy makes a typological prediction, as well as a synchronic prediction for individual languages. The typological prediction is that most or all languages will permit noun phrases in subject position to be relativized, a lesser number of languages will permit those in object position to be relativized, still fewer will permit those in indirect object position, and so on. Synchronically, individual languages must also observe the hierarchy. That is, if a language permits indirect object relativization, it must also permit direct object and subject relativization. It does not ‘skip’ levels in the hierarchy by permitting indirect objects and subjects, while disallowing direct objects.

Keenan & Comrie also observe that a language may provide more than one means for relativization. For example, if a particular grammatical construction relativizes subject noun phrases only, the language may provide a different, periphrastic means for relativizing noun phrases in other positions.

Kuki Thadow, the language under study in this paper, permits relativization of noun phrases in all positions, and appears to bear out the predictions of the accessibility hierarchy. Subjects, direct objects, indirect objects and possessors may all be relativized using the constructions of word order, verb stem alternation, and relativizers, and no skipping of items in the hierarchy occurs. An introductory example of how word order and verb stem alternation create relatives is shown below. The basic clause exhibits SOV word order and uses verb stem 1 for third person subjects:

(1) zÔOng ín Géorge á pÈt êe
    monkey                       3sg-bite1
    S                   O                   V1
    “the monkey is biting George”
By contrast, a relativized subject exhibits OVS word order:

(2) kèel pÉt zÔng (á hlùu èe)
    goat  bite1 monkey  3sg-fall
    O      V1    S
    “the monkey who bites the goat (is falling)”

The relativized object exhibits SVO word order, as well as a stem change, to verb stem 2:

(3) kèel pÉE zÔng (á hlùu èe)
    goat bite2 monkey  3sg-fall
    S       V2     O
    “the monkey whom the goat bites (is falling)”

In both cases we see the movement of the relativized noun phrase to a position adjacent to the verb of the main clause. There is also the option of keeping the subject in pre-verbal position of the relative clause maintaining the basic SV word order as shown in (4). In this case, a relativizer, here paa, is required to act as a sort of subject for the main clause1:

(4) [keel zÔng pEt paa] a hluu ee
    goat monkey bite1REL Vmain clause marker
    S       O      V1   REL
    “[the goat who bites the monkey] is falling”

In addition, a wide variety of oblique noun phrases, such as instruments, times, and locations, may also be relativized in Kuki Thadow, using a more limited grammatical construction of word order and verbal affixation.

The table below gives an overview of relativization in Kuki Thadow, and the grammatical constructions used to create it. Shaded cells are those which are not relevant for elicitation; blank cells are those which we have not elicited yet.

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1 We have made every effort to transcribe tones correctly during elicitation. We have a small handful of sentences for which we did not or could not transcribe them accurately, in which case they have been omitted, as in (4).
As mentioned, the word order for RCs may differ crucially from the word order exhibited by the analogous basic clauses. When it does not differ, the presence of a relativizer (REL) is generally required; the relativizers appear to be isolated words that refer to the gender or number of the relativized noun. In addition, verb stem alternation plays an important role, serving to distinguish between relativized subjects and objects even when the word order itself does not make this distinction. This is shown by the verb stems in the chart, V1 and V2. The relativization of noun phrases in oblique positions (which was elicited primarily in the context of transitive verbs for this study), such as dative, ablative, and instrument, operates somewhat differently, using the suffix –na.

In the sections that follow, each of the clause types in the table above is discussed in more detail. For each section, we give a brief overview of what the basic clause construction is, so that we may then compare it with the relative clause construction. Section 2 discusses the intransitives, including predicate adjectives, and intransitive verbs. Of course, the intransitives may relativize subjects only, but their RC constructions do exhibit differences from one another. Section 3 discusses transitive verbs, including relativized subjects and objects as well as predicate nominals which pattern syntactically with transitive verbs. Section 4 discusses ditransitive verbs, focusing only on relativized indirect objects and Section 5 discusses the obliques, including relativized possessors.

## 2 Intransitives

The intransitive clauses include predicate adjectives in addition to basic intransitive verbs. Both behave the same way and the same generalizations seem to apply for relative clauses.

### 2.1 Verbal intransitives

For verbal intransitives, the basic clause structure is SV as shown in (5a).
(5) Basic clause: SV

a. kèel á lùu êe
   goat  3sg-fall
   S  V
   “the goat is falling”

There are two constructions available to relativize an intransitive clause. In the first construction, the main clause follows the intransitive relative clause which adheres to an SV word-order (6). The verb takes no person marking suggesting that it is non-finite and that the dual and plural markers in (6b,c) are not relativizers but rather nominal markers. While further elicitation examining the grammaticality of nominal morphology on the SV-combination is necessary, it is suggested here that the relative clause is a noun phrase.

(6) Relative clause, construction #1: S V

a. zÔOng káp á hlùu êe
   monkey   cry1
   S              V1
   “the monkey who is crying (is falling)”

b. kèel kàp téni á hlùu êe
   goat cry1 two
   S       V1
   “the (two) goats who are crying (are falling)”

c. zÔOng kap hO tsu
   money    cry1
   S                V1
   “the monkeys who are crying”

In the second construction, the subject and verb of the relative clause is followed by a relativizer – either paa, nuu, teni, or hO, depending on the gender and number of the subject. The consultant says that these forms mean something like “the one that is…”

In (7a,b,c ), there is a single subject that is either masculine or unknown/neuter gender and the relativizer paa is used. In (7d), there is a singular feminine subject, and the relativizer nuu is used. Note that unlike (6), the verbs have person inflection marking.

(7) Relative clause, construction #2: S V RELATIVIZER

a. pàsál á-káp pàa (tsu)…
   man    3SG-cry REL.M DET
   S      V1        REL
   “the man who is crying…”

b. zùong á-káp pàa (tsu)…
   monkey  3SG-cry REL.M DET
“the monkey who is crying…”

c. bùol pien á-hlùu páa  (tsu)…
pen      3SG-fall REL.M DET
S        V        REL
“the pen that is falling…”

d. [nùu mè á-káp núu !(tsú)] á-hlùu-êe
woman 3SG-cry REL.F DET 3SG-fall
S        V1       REL
[the woman who is crying] is falling

2.2 Predicate adjectives

In predicate adjectives, the basic clause has an SV order as shown in (8a) much like intransitive verbs. When a pronoun is the subject, it may be dropped in which case the subject is only indicated by an agreement marker on the verb (8b, 8c).

(8) Basic clause: S V

a. hiče keel hi a-sang ee
   this goat 3sg-be.tall
   S        V
   “the goat is tall”

b. ka-sang ee
   1sg-be.tall
   S-V
   “I am tall”

c. ka-sang in ahii
   1sg-tall
   S-V
   “I am tall”

When the relative clause is a predicate adjective the SV order remains and the clause marker is dropped as in (9a). In this construction, the verb appears also to be non-finite as with the intransitive verbal relative clause above and also has no subject marking. The consultant remarked that the bracketed constituent, kèel sàng, was a “noun phrase.” The fact that the plural marker –hO can come after the non-finite verb (9b) further the hypothesis that the relative clause is a noun phrase in this construction.

(9) Relative clause, construction #1: S V

a. [kèel sàng] á hlùu êe
   goat tall
   S        V
   “[the goat who is tall] is falling”
b. [zŌng sáng hÔ] á hlûu êe  
monkey    tall      PL  
S                V        NUM  
“[the monkeys who are tall] are falling”

A relativizer can also precede the verb of the main clause at the end of the relative clause as shown in (10a,b). This construction is different from the previous one in that the verb appears to be finite, indicated by subject marking on the verb. The relativizer may be masculine, feminine, dual, or plural as with verbal relative clauses.

(10) Relative clause, construction #2: S V REL

a. Singular
[keel a- sang paa] a- hluu ee  
goat 3sg-be.tall REL 3SG fall clause marker  
S                    V        REL  
“[the goat who is tall] is falling”

b. Plural  
[zŌong a- sang hO] (tsu) a- hluu ee  
monkey 3sg-be.tall PLURAL the 3SG fall clause marker  
S                    V        REL  
“[the monkeys who are tall] are falling”

3 Transitives
Relative clauses may also take the form of a transitive clause with either the subject or object acting as the subject of the main verb. Because of the number of arguments in a transitive clause, there are a wider range of possibilities for relativization.

3.1 Relativized subjects

3.1.1 Transitives with overt nouns
Transitive clauses with overt subjects have the basic word order of SOV as shown in (11) and (12) and the subject is marked with a morphological marker that is most likely an ergative marker because of its absence in intransitive clauses. OSV clause order is prohibited as seen in (11b,c). With third person subjects a stem 1 verb is used, in contrast with relativized objects below.

(11) Basic transitive clause: S O V²

a. pasal in keel a-muu ee  
man  ERG goat 3sg-see  
S      O     V  
“a man sees a goat”

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² Hyman et al. (class), 10/7/04

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b. *keel khat pasal in a-muu ee
   “a man sees a goat”

c. *keel khat pasal a-muu ee
   “a man sees a goat”

(12) More basic transitive clauses: S O V

a. Géorge in zÒOng á pÈt êe
   monkey 3sg-bite1
   S   O   V1
   “George is biting the monkey”

b. Géorge in zÒOng á pÈt in á hîi
   monkey 3sg bite1
   S   O   V1
   “George is biting the monkey”

c. zÒOng ín Géorge á pÈt êe
   monkey                       3sg-bite1
   S   O   V1
   “the monkey is biting George”

In relativized transitive clauses, there are several possible constructions. The first possible construction maintains the SOV word order and adds one of the relativizers discussed above while dropping the ergative marker (13a). The relativizer is required and if the main clause is transitive, it is marked as ergative and is thus presumed to act like the subject of the main verb.

(13) Relative clause, construction #1: S O V REL

a. [keel zOng pEt paa] a hluu ee
   goat monkey bite1REL Vmain clause marker
   S   O   V1   REL
   “[the goat who bites the monkey] is falling”

b. [kèel zÔng pÉt !páa in] à née êe
   goat monkey bite
   S   O   V1   REL
   “[the goat who bites the monkey] is eating”

In the second construction, the relative clause order becomes OVS followed by an optional relativizer. The relativizer is absent in (14a) but present in (14b,c). The consultant indicated that the utterance sounds better without the relativizer.

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3 Fleisher & Park-Doob (handout), 11/18/04
(14) Relative clause, construction #2: O V1 S (REL)

a. kèel pÉt zÔng  a hluu ee  
goat  bite1 monkey Vmain  
O      V1    S  
the monkey who bites the goat is falling

b. kèel pÉt zÔng  tÉni  
goat  bite1 monkey two  
O      V1    S       NUM/REL  
the (two) monkeys who bite the goat

c. kèel pÉt paa zÔng  
goat  bite1 REL monkey  
O      V1    REL S  
“the monkey who bites the goat…”

As with the SOV construction shown in (13), when the relativized subject is also the subject of a transitive matrix verb, the marker –in affixes on the subject (15).

(15) Relative transitive clause with transitive main clause

a. [zÔng  pÉt  kèel !ín] à née êe  
monkey bite1 goat  
O           V1    S  
“[the goat who bites the monkey] is eating”

When the object of the relative clause is a pronoun, the construction stays the same as it is for overt nouns (16). This contrasts with what occurs in basic clauses with a pronoun object, where the pronoun is not overt, but inflected on the verb (17).

(16) Relative clause construction with pronoun objects: OVS

a. ámá páa   pÈt  zÔng (tsù)  
3SG    MASC bite1 monkey the  
O      V1    S  
“the monkey who bites him”

b. ámá !nüu pÈt  zÔng   tsù  
3SG    FEM    bite1 monkey the  
O      V1    S  
“the monkey who bites her”

c. ámá pÈt  zÔng  
3SG    bite1 monkey  
O      V1    S  
“the monkey who bites him or her”

(17) Basic transitive clause construction with pronoun objects: SV$^4$

$^4$ Cover & Sullivan, 10/7/04
a. vÔq in í- mùu êe
   pig 1SG.OBJ- see
   “one pig sees me”

3.1.2 Transitives with pronoun subjects

In basic clauses, the subject may be dropped resulting in an OV word order (18) with subject inflection on the verb.

(18) Basic transitive clause with pronoun subject: OV⁵
   a. vÔq khàt khá- mùu êe
      pig one 1SG.SUB-see
      O       V
      “I see one pig”

When this type of basic clause is relativized, the verb does not take any inflection and the pronoun subject must be overtly included after the verb resulting in an OVS word order (19). While the lack of subject marking on the verb would normally suggest that the relative clause is a noun phrase, the overt subject pronouns indicate otherwise. While in intransitive clauses the hypothesized noun phrase can be marked with nominal morphology (hOO, teni) the object-verb must be followed by a full pronoun as in (19a).

(19) Relative transitive clause with pronoun subject: O V1 S
   a. zÔng pÈt !náng mà
      monkey bite1 you
      O       V1    S
      “you who bite the monkey”
   b. zÔng pÈt !náng !ní
c      monkey bite1 you dual
      O       V1    S
      “you (two) who bite the monkey”
   c. kèel pÈt tÉnì
g      goat bite1 dual
      O       V1    S
      “they (two) who bite the goat”
   d. kèel pÈt Énì
g      goat bite1 1DU
      O       V   S
      “you and me who bite the goat”

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⁵ Cover & Sullivan (handout), 10/7/04
3.2 Relativized objects

The chief feature distinguishing relativized objects from relativized subjects is a stem change in the verb: from stem 1 to stem 2. Also, the two possible constructions (20, 21) have SVO word order.

So, in (20) we find the stem 2 form of the verb whereas the SVO construction for relativized subjects takes stem 1 of the verb, the same construction for objects takes stem 2 of the verb. Either a bare stem or a stem with inflection marking may be used.

(20) Relative clause, construction #1: S V2 O
   a.  kèel ín á-  pÉE  zÔng  
        goat  3sg- bite2  monkey  
        S       V2      O
        “the monkey whom the goat bites”
      
   b.  kèel  pÉE  zÔng  
        goat  bite2  monkey  
        S       V2      O
        “the monkey whom the goat bites”

As with relativized subjects of transitive clauses where the matrix verb is transitive (15), when the relativized object acts as the subject of a transitive matrix sentence, the marker –in appears after the relativized noun.

(21) Relativized objects as the subject of a transitive main verb
   a.  [zÔng  pÉE  keel  ín]  anee  ee  
        monkey  bite2  goat  
        S               V2    O
        “[the goat whom the monkey bites] is eating”
      
   b.  [zÔng  ín  á-pÉE  kèel  ín]  à  née  êe  
        monkey         3sg-bite2  goat  
        S                V2    O
        “[the goat whom the monkey bites] is eating”

Alternatively, a relativizer may appear after the relative clause verb (22). While further elicitation is needed to understand what is really happening, it is suggested that the object is constituent with the main verb and the relativizer acting as the object of the relative clause.

(22) Relative clause, construction #2: S V2 REL O
   a.  kèel  ín  á-  !pÉE  pàa  zÔng (tsu)  a  hluu  ee  
        goat  3sg-bite2  REL  monkey (the)  falls  
        S               V2  REL    O
        “the monkey whom the goat bites is falling”
3.3 Predicate nominals

Predicate nominals pattern like transitive verbs with the nominal acting an object and hii ‘be’ acting like a verb. In predicate nominals, the basic clause has an S-V order as shown in (23). In the case where the subject is an adjective, the subject can be dropped, as in (23b).

(23) Basic clause: S PRED COP

a. hiče keel hi pasal a-hi ee
   this goat man 3sg-be
   S PRED S-COP
   “this goat is a man”

b. pasal ka-hi ee
   man 1sg-be
   PRED S-COP
   “I am a man”

In a relative clause, much like a transitive verb, there are two possible constructions: OVS (20) and SOV (21). In (24) the relativizer is optional and the subject of the copula may be moved to a pre-verbal position (25), in which case a relativizer is required.

(24) Relative clause, construction #1: PRED COP (REL) S

a. núu !hí (pàa) keel tsu
   mother COP REL goat
   PRED COP (REL) S
   the goat who is a mother

(25) Relative clause, construction #2: S PRED COP REL

a. kèel nú !hí pàa
   goat mother COP REL
   S PRED COP REL
   the goat who is a mother

4 Ditransitives

Ditransitives clauses have the basic word order shown in (26). The indirect object is postposed by the adposition lam aq and the verb is stem 1.

(26) Basic clause: S DO IO V construction

a. kà nìi in zÔOng khát kà púu lám àq á sÈp êe
   my aunt in monkey a my uncle to threw
   S DO IO PP V
   “my aunt threw a monkey to my uncle”

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6 Cover & Sullivan, 11/4/04
b. kà nìi in zÕOng khàt kà pú á pé sÕOn in à !hîi
   my aunt in monkey a my uncle give pass
   S DO IO V
   “my aunt passes my uncle a monkey”

When using a ditransitive as the relative clause and relativizing the indirect object, there are a number of constructions possible, but all of them have in common that the relativized noun phrase is postposed directly after the verb (27).

(27) Relative clause: V IO construction
   a. pàsál pàa in zÕng à kómà à sée nùu tsù à hlúu êe
      man REL monkey toward throw woman the
      S DO PP V IO
      [the woman that the man throws the monkey to] is falling

   b. zÕng à kómà pàsál pàa in á sèe nùu tsù
      monkey toward man REL throw woman the
      DO PP S V IO

c. á kómà pàsál pàa in zÕng á sèe nùu tsù
   toward man Rel monkey throw woman the
   PP S DO V IO

d. pàsál pàa in bÓl á kómà á !sée kêel
   man Rel ball toward throw goat
   S DO PP V IO
   the goat that the man throws the ball to

5 Sentences with oblique noun phrases

Aside from relativizing the arguments of the verb, obliques can also be relativized in Kuki-Thadow whether it’s a possessor, instrument, locative benefactive or any other sort of oblique nominal.

5.1 Possessor

The basic word order for possession is possessor followed by possessee.

(28) Basic clause: POSSESSOR POSSEESSEE V1
   a. zÕng há á hlúu êe
      monkey tooth 3sg fall
      P’OR P’EE V1
      “the monkey’s tooth is falling”

When relativizing the possessor, the two clause orders are shown in (29a) and (29b) with the relativizer optionally included in (29a) when the possessor is shifted to the end of the relative and the beginning of the main clause but required if the possessor stay in it’s basic clause position (29b).
(29) **Relative clause:** POSSESSEE V1 (REL) POSSESSOR
POSSESSOR POSSESSEE V1 REL, where REL is required

a. à hà hlúu (páa) zÒng
   his tooth fall (REL) monkey
   P'EE V₁ P'OR
   “the monkey whose tooth is falling”

b. zÒng á hà hlúu páa tsu
   monkey his tooth fall REL the
   P'OR P'EE V₁
   “the monkey whose tooth is falling…”

5.2 **Instrument/Benefective**

Basic clauses with an instrument have a postposition –tOq after the oblique noun phrase (30).

(30) Basic clause, with overt subject:S OBL tOq V1

a. zÒng in á háa tOq á pÈt êe
   monkey his tooth with 3SG bite1
   S OBL PP V
   “the monkey bites with the (his) tooth”

b. zÒng in kéel á hà tOq á pÈt êe
   monkey goat his tooth with bite1
   S O OBL PP V
   “the monkey bites the goat with the (his) tooth”

The consultant observed that –tOq “is hard to put in relative clauses,” and this postposition does indeed disappear in relatives. In addition, the oblique noun is postposed after the verb, which takes an affix –na, and the verb itself undergoes a stem change. When the subject is not marked with –in the sentence is ambiguous with the instrument possibly taking the role of subject mimic the basic relative clause order of OVS discussed above (31a). However, marking the subject with the ergative –in disambiguates what the subject of the relative clause is (31b). In all cases, the verb remains stem 2.

(31) **Relative clause:** S (O) V2-na OBL

a. zÒng pÈ ná hà
   monkey bite2 tooth
   S V2 OBL
   “the tooth the monkey bites with”
   (ambiguous: could also mean ‘the tooth that is biting the monkey’)

b. zÒng in á !pÈ nà hà
   monkey bite tooth
   S V2 OBL
   the tooth the monkey bites with
(unambiguous)

c.  zÔng in !kéel à pÉE nà (á) háa
    monkey goat bite2 tooth
    S        O     V2   OBL
  "the tooth the monkey bites the goat with"

Benefactives pattern in a similar fashion except that the –na isn’t included (32).

**(32) Relativized benefactive:** S (O) V2 BEN

   a.  kèel in á !pÉE pèq zÔng
       goat 3sg bite2 give monkey
       S V2 BEN
       "the monkey for whom the goat bites”

   b.  kèel in tsápàng à pÈE pÈE pèq zÔng
       goat child 3sg bite2 give monkey
       S O V2 BEN
       "the monkey for whom the goat bites the child”

When the subject is a pronoun it can be dropped alluded to earlier and the basic clause structure of an instrumental with a dropped pronoun is shown in (33).

**(33) Basic clause, with pronominal subject:** OBL tOq agr-V1

   a.  ká há tOq ká-pÈt êe
       my tooth with 1sg-bite1
       OBL ARG-V1
       “I bite with the (my) tooth”

   b.  kèel ká há tOq ká pÈt êe
       goat my tooth with 1sg-bite1
       O OBL S-V1
       “I bite the goat with the (my) tooth”

When relativized, the subject must be indicated with an agreement marker on the relative clause verb (29) and the entire clause is marked with a –na. As shown above with transitive verbs the object isn’t required as seen in the contrast of (34a) and (34b).

**(34) Relative clause, with pronominal subject:** (O) V2-na OBL

   a.  ká- pÉ- ná !há
       1sg-bite2-na tooth
       V2-na OBL
       “the (my) tooth I bite with”

   b.  kèel ká- pÉ- ná hà
       goat 1sg-bite2-na tooth
       O AGR-V2-na OBL
       “the (my) tooth I bite the goat with”
5.3 Location/Time

Just as with instruments, locative and temporal phrases may also be relativized with two basic construction available, (35a) and (35b). In both cases, the oblique is at the end of the relative clause and at the beginning of the main clause while the subject and object are exchangeable as long as the subject is marked with the ergative marker –in when intervening between the object from the verb.

(35) Relative clause: V2-na OBL
   a. pàsál páa núu mèy nú in à pÉE ná múùn (tsù)
      man  woman  bite2  place
      O     S      V2     OBL
      “the place where the woman bites the man”
      
      b. nù mèy nú in pàsál pàa á pÈE nà múùn (tsù)
         woman  man  bite2  place
         S       O    V2    OBL
         “the place where the woman bites the man...”

Temporals must be additionally marked with a –na (36):

(36) Relativized temporal oblique: V-na OBL
   a. nù mèy nú in pàsál pàa a mu na pat
      woman  man  see   time
      S     O     V    OBL
      “the time when the woman sees the man”

Relativizing the dative and ablative operate similar to the locative obliques as expected. In (37a), stem 2 is required just as with (35a) and the –na postposition is required as well. The semantic difference determined by the adposition used, in (37a) the adposition a tsung indicates the subject of the main clause is one type of oblique while the a different adposition indicates a different sort of oblique (37b, c, d)

(37) Relativized dative and ablative: S P V2-na OBL
   a. zÓng  á tsùng á à hlùuq ná keel
      monkey  towards 3sg  fall2  goat
      S    P        V2    OBL
      “the goat the monkey is falling towards”
         
      b. zÓng  !á má láng á à hlùuq nà (ding) keel
         monkey side 3sg fall2  goat
         S   P            V    OBL
         “the goat the monkey is falling towards”

   c. zÓng  xéq ná mÔl
         monkey fall2  mountain
         S     V2     OBL
         “the mountain the monkey fell from”
         (ambiguous: could also mean ‘the monkey the mountain fell on’)

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6 Conclusion

This paper has surveyed the basics of relative clause formation in Kuki Thadow. We saw that both word order and stem formation play a crucial role in the formation of relative clauses. We also saw some examples of what we have called ‘relativizers’, although the grammatical status of these words remains open to further investigation. The relativizers hOO (plural) and teni (dual) are found throughout Kuki Thadow as number markers for basic noun phrases, and their placement in some kinds of relative clauses suggests that they continue to act as simple number markers attached to an NP. On the other hand, the relativizers paa (masculine and inanimate) and nuu (feminine) do not, to our knowledge, serve as gender markers in the rest of the language – in fact, the presence of gender marking in relatives comes as something of a surprise, given that Kuki Thadow does not generally seem to possess gender.

The interaction of verb stems and relatives will also warrant further work. We have shown how verb stem alternation plays a crucial role in relative clauses, distinguishing subjects from objects in transitive clauses. Once the role of this alternation in basic clauses has been clarified, we will have a clearer understanding of how this alternation works in relatives too.

Finally, the suffix –na appears to be a pervasive and productive means of relativizing obliques, including instrumentals, benefactors, datives and ablatives. Further investigation into the semantics of this suffix would shed light on an important aspect of Kuki Thadow grammar.

Reference