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A web of relations : a grammar of rGyalrong Jiăomùzú (Kyom-kyo) dialects

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A Web of Relations

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UNIVERSITY OF LEIDEN

A Web of Relations

A grammar of rGyalrong
Jiǎomùzú (Kyom-kyo) dialects

Marielle Prins
September 2011

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
num /num	a slash between two numbers, e.g. 1/2 indicates the relationship between a subject and object of the respective numbers. It is in linguistic papers more conventional to signal such relationships with other symbols such as arrows, e.g. $1 \rightarrow 2$ or $1 > 2$. But because in the Jiǎomùzú dialects many prefixes tend to jostle for space in front of a verb root I have chosen the shorter notation with the slash.
1/2	the transitive relation between a first person subject and second person object
1/3	the transitive relation between a first person subject and a third person object
2/1	the transitive relation between a second person subject and a first person object
2/3	the transitive relation between a second person subject and a third person object
3/1	the transitive relation between a third person subject and a first person object
3/2	the transitive relation between a third person subject and a second person object
3/3	the transitive relation between a third person subject and a third person object
AZ/BY	a slash between two abbreviations in small capitals indicates a merging of two markers, e.g. PFT/AF signals the merger of a perfective marker and attention flow marker <i>no-</i>
gloss ₁	a small number subscribed to the gloss of a verb indicates the root of an irregular verb, as in: /leʔt/ hit ₁ and /laʔt/ hit ₂
...Ʇ	this symbol after a word indicates a loanword from Chinese, as in: bawbawꞱ
*	an asterisk followed by a space before a word or sentence indicates ungrammaticality, as in * mamətop
?	a question mark followed by a space before a word or sentence indicates doubt about the grammaticality of the construction, as in ? tamar kəsam
-	a hyphen indicates a morpheme boundary in the phonemic transcription.
.	a. in the phonology chapter, a full stop indicates a syllable boundary as in: ka.pə.lor.lor b. in glosses throughout the study a full stop connects entities that correspond to the same morpheme in the transcription, as in: go.down
'	a. a stress mark in phonetic transcriptions indicates primary stress, as in [tə'skrʉʔ] b. a stress mark in phonemic transcription indicates grammatically contrastive stress, as in /'kə-vi-ŋ/
[]	a. phonetical transcription, as in: [tə'skrʉʔ] b. square brackets indicate the extent of a constituent, as in: [təza w-apa]

c. in glosses square brackets can indicate implied or non-overt arguments or information, as in: that [demon] went and ate lots of people
 / / phonemic transcription, as in /tə-skru?/
italics a. italics in glosses and free translations of examples indicate transliterated data, as in: *como*
 b. italics in the main body of the text indicate rGyalrong language data, as in: ...the verb *kale?t*, ‘hit’.....
 c. italics also occur for translations of Chinese and Tibetan words, as in: statue or image of a deity; deity; lit. Tibetan: ལྷ *lha*

A	aspect
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
ADVLS	adverbialiser
AF	attention flow marker
AG	agent
AP	applicative
ASP	aspect marker
C	contrast marker
CAUS	causativity marker
be:CD	be, condescending
CL	classifier
COMP	comparative
CON	conjunction
COND	real conditional
d	dual
D	distal marker
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive marker
DIR	direction marker
DUR	durative time
e	exclusive
EMP	emphatic
EQ	equalitative
EREFL	emphatic reflexivity marker
EV	evidentiality marker for reliability based on conventional wisdom or generally accepted truth
EXH	exhortatory marker
EXP	expressive
FIL	filler word
FL	female
FPFT	future perfective aspect; past-in-the-future relative tense

GEN	genitive marker. The Jiǎomùzú dialects make extensive use of genitive constructions. These constructions consist of a possessor followed by the possessed, which is marked as the head of the construction by a genitive marker. In many cases the possessor does not occur overtly in the phrase or clause. But the genitive marker on the head of the genitive construction is obligatory and is a clear indication of a genitive construction even if one of the elements of the construction is covert.
GENR	generic personal pronoun
HEAD	head of an argument
HON	honorific
HUM	human, as opposed to all other objects, whether animate or inanimate
i	inclusive
IDEF	indefiniteness marker
IMP	imperative
IMPS	impersonalising marker
INF	infinitive
INT	interrogative pronoun
INTJ	interjection
INTR	interrogative marker on the level of the sentence
IRR	irrealis
INV	inverse
LOC	locative marker
M	mood
MD	mood marker, illocutionary force marker
MD:SA	mood: solicit hearer's agreement
MD:RA	mood: re-affirm previously known knowledge or fact
MD:R	mood: remind, warn
MD:G	mood: guess
MD:C	mood: certainty
MD:ANX	mood: anxiousness, eagerness
MD:AS	mood: speaker assertion of rightness ('I told you so')
MD:CF	mood: confirmation of statement, reassure hearer
MD:EXP	mood: reasoned expectancy
MD:SUP	mood: surprise
ML	male
N	nominal prefix
NEG	negation marker
NEV	non-direct evidentiality marker
NM	noun marker
NOM	nominaliser
NUM	numeral

O	object
OBS	observation marker
OR	orientation marker
p	plural
PAS	passive
PR	prominence marker
PT	patient
PFT	perfective aspect marker
POSS	possessive marker
PRIMP	present imperfective aspect marker
PROH	prohibitive (negative imperative) marker
PROS	prospective aspect marker
PSTIMP	past imperfective aspect marker
PSTPROG	past progressive aspect marker
Q	question marker on the level of the verb phrase
REFL	reflexivity marker
REC	reciprocity marker
RED	reduplication
s	singular
S	subject
SP	superlative
T	tense
TER	terminative aspect
V	verb
VC	voice
vi	intransitive verb
VPT	viewpoint marker
vt	transitive verb
VP	verb phrase

In the phonology, examples in section 2.2 on phonemes are all presented in word form, without indication of morpheme or syllable boundaries: [tə'skruʔ], /təskruʔ/. All other examples have hyphens between morphemes and dots between syllables, if the syllable break does not coincide with morpheme break, as in /k^h-o.roʔk/ or if clarity improves by indicating syllables. In the rest of the chapters all the transcriptions are phonemic and occur without slashes. Hyphens indicate morpheme breaks, while syllable boundaries are not indicated in the transcriptions, as in: ta-miʔ.

When there are two morpheme breaks within one syllable only the one grammatically significant is marked. Such cases are numerous especially in genitive forms of nouns. The phonemic transcription for 'body', consisting of a noun marker *tə-* and a nominal root *skruʔ* is therefore tə-skruʔ. The genitive form 'his body' occurs as w-əskruʔ, with the third person genitive morpheme *w-* connected to the noun with a hyphen, and the morpheme cum syllable break after the noun marker left

unmarked. In the same manner, ‘tail’ is transcribed ta-mi? for the generic form. The genitive has w-ami? but not w-a-mi?.

Transcriptions of data in the body of the text rather than in the examples are in italics and do not indicate morpheme or syllable boundaries, as in: however, the verb phrase *marəmpɲoŋ*, ‘I have not experienced’

Some Tibetan terms that are familiar to western audiences or have entered the lexicon are given in a current transcription of the original Tibetan spelling, such as ‘rGyalrong’ and ‘yak’. All other terms are transcribed according to the conventions set out here.

For ease of reference to other resource materials, especially maps, all geographical terms, administrative and political designations and personal names are in Chinese pinyin marked for tone in the body of the text, as in: Zhuōkèjī. Chinese simplified characters, the literary Tibetan form and a Wylie transcription, where available, appear in a footnote on first occurrence. The place name Zhuōkèjī thus occurs with a footnote showing: 卓克基, ཙཱ་ཅེ Cog-tse. Wylie transcriptions of

Tibetan names have a hyphen between syllables and a space between words, as in: Cog-tse, bKra-shis Tshe-ring. Following international custom, Chinese names of scholars from the People’s Republic of China (PRC) have tone marks whereas those hailing from other places are referred to without tone marks, e.g. Jackson Sun and Sūn Hóngkǎi. Authors who publish in several languages under different names are referred to by the name used in their publication. Thus for Guillaume Jacques who publishes in Chinese as well as English: Jacques 2010 but Xiàng 2008.

For the spelling of place names I follow the *Dīmínglù*¹ for both Chinese and Tibetan. Tibetan spelling of place names is famously haphazard. If there is a widely used variant on the spelling as used in the *Dīmínglù* I give the variant in a footnote. Some place names have changed entirely over the years and are no longer compatible with names as found in older literature. In these cases the body of the text gives the name as it occurs in the source material within the footnote the reference to the source and the contemporary place name for the location. In keeping with contemporary use of Chinese administrative terms I use *xiāng* (乡, ཁང་ shang) for ‘township’, *xiàn* (县, ཁར་ shan) for ‘county’ and *zhōu* (州, ཁུ་ khul) for ‘prefecture’. I have added a list of all place names in Chinese pinyin, Chinese simplified characters, literary Tibetan and Wylie transcription here, for ease of reference.

Proper names are phonetic in transcriptions of examples, with Wylie transcriptions of literary Tibetan or pinyin for Chinese in glosses. The phonetic transcription [pkraʃis tsʰeraŋ] is thus glossed as *bKra.shis Tshe.ring* and found in the translation as *bKra-shis Tshe-ring*.

¹ *Sìchuānshěng Ābà Zàngzú zìzhìzhōu dīmínglù* (四川省阿坝藏族自治州地名录 [Record of placenames for Ābà Tibetan Prefecture]).

LIST OF PLACE NAMES

Chinese pinyin	Chinese, characters	Tibetan	Wylie transcription
Ābà	阿坝	ང་བ	rNga-ba
Ānduō	安多	ཨ་མདོ	A-mdo
Bādǐ	巴底	བག་ཉིང་	Brag-steng
Báiwān	白湾	བག་བར	Brag-bar
Bànshàn mén	半扇门		
Baǒxìng	宝兴		
Běijīng	北京		
Běnzhen	本真	བིན་ཅིན	Pin-cin
Cǎodēng	草登	ཚོ་བཞི	Tsho-bzhi
Chábǎo	茶堡	ཇ་བུག	Ja-phug
Chéngdū	成都		
Dàwā	大哇	ད་བད	Da-bad
Dàzàng	大藏	ད་ཚང་	Da-tshang
Dānbā	丹巴	རོང་བག	Rong-brag
Dǎngbà	党坝	དམ་པ	Dam-pa
Gānzī	甘孜	དཀར་མཛེས	dKar-mDzes
Gēlètuó	歌乐沱	གོ་ལ་ཐང་	Go-la-thang
Hànniú	汗牛	ཏ་ཉི	Ha-nyi
Hēishuǐ	黑水	ཁོ་ཆུ	Khro-chu
Hóngyuán	红原	རྟོང་ཡོན	Hong-yon
Jiǎomùzú	脚木足	ཁྱོམ་ཁྱོ	Kyom-kyo
Jiǎomùzú Mùchǎng	脚木足牧场	ཁྱོམ་ཁྱོ་རྩ་ཐང་	Kyom-kyo rtswa-thang
Jiāróng	嘉戎, 嘉绒	རྒུལ་རོང་	rGyal-rong
Jīnchuān	金川	ཆུ་ཆེན	Chu-chen
Kāng	康	ཁམས	Kham
Kāngshān	康山	སྟོད་པ	sTod-pa

Kēhé	柯河	ཁོག་པོ	Khog-po
Kǒnglóng	孔龙	མཁོ་ནོ	mKho-no
Kuǎshā	垮沙	མཁར་གསར	mKar-gsar
Kūnmíng	昆明		
Lǐ	里	ལིས	Lis
Lóngěrjiǎ	龙尔甲	གདོང་བརྒྱད	gDong-rgyad
Lúhuāzhèng	芦花镇	རྫོ་ཁ་ཀྲེན	rDo-kha-kren
Mǎěrkāng	马尔康	འབར་ཁམས	'Bar-khams
		མག་སར	Mag-sar
Míyàluó	米亚罗	བྱག་ལོ	Myag-lo
Mòěrdūo	墨尔多	དམུ་རྫོ	dMu-rdo
Mùěrzōng	木尔宗	འབྲོང་རྫོང་	'Brag-rdzong
Mùlǐ	木里	མི་ལི	Mi-li
Pàěrbā	帕尔巴	ཕར་པ	Phar-pa
Púzhi	蒲志	ཕོ་ཁྱི	Pho-gri
Rǎngtáng	壤塘	འརྟ་མ་ཐང་	'Dzam-thang
Rìbù	日部	རྫོང་འབྲུར	rDzong-'bur
Róngān	茸安	རོང་ལམ	Rong-wam
Ruòěrgài	若尔盖	མརྫོང་དགེ	mDzod-dge
Sānjiāzhài	三家寨		
Sèdá	色达	གསེར་ཐར	gSer-thar
Shāěr	沙尔	གསར་རྫོང་	gSar-rdzong
Shāshíduō	沙石多	ས་ལྗོད	Sa-stod
Shàngzhài	上寨	སྟོད་ཐེ	sTod-sde
Shíjiāng	石江	ཐུགས་འཛོར	lCags-'ndzer
Shílǐ	石里	སི་ལི	Si-li
Sìchuān	四川	སི་ཁྲོན	Si-khron
Sìdàbà	四大坝	སྟོད་པ	sTod-pa
Sìtǔ	四土		
Sōnggǎng	松岗	རྫོང་འགག	rDzong-'gag
Sūomò	梭磨	སོ་མང་	So-mang

Tàipíngqiáo	太平桥		
Xiǎojīn	小金	བཙན་ལྷ	bTsan-lha
Yúnnán	云南		
Zhuōkèjī	桌克基	ཙཀ་ཙེ	Cog-tse ²
Zúmù	足木	ཀྱོམ་མོ	Kyom-mo

² Tibetan spelling of place names is famously haphazard and can have several widely accepted variants. *Cog-tse* also often occurs as *ICog-rtse*, see for example the early work of Nagano.

PREFACE

The writing of this study has been a very long process with lots of interruptions. In fact, I can no longer remember when the idea to write a grammar of rGyalrong³ first took hold. Perhaps the best starting point for the journey is the memorable day when my friend Yāngqiàn,⁴ who was like me a student in Chéngdū⁵ at the time, simply announced that she was taking me home, to her rGyalrong village in the heart of Jiǎomùzú⁶ Township. It was the summer of 1993. I have been in and out of the rGyalrong world ever since, and it has profoundly changed and shaped my life.

Over the years I have pestered numerous people with questions about their language and their world in general. Many have generously and good-naturedly spent days on end trying to answer my incessant and often incomprehensible queries. For the completion of this grammar I owe a debt of gratitude to many people. Here I mention only those without whose contribution the book could not have been written: Yāngqiàn and all her people of the House of Renbamila, as well as Yon-tan,⁷ Mo-mo,⁸ sKar-ma Tshe-ring⁹ and Tǎěrmǔ¹⁰ from Kǒnglóng,¹¹ Lha-rgyal¹² and all his people from Pàěrbā;¹³ teacher rDo-rje¹⁴ from Púzhi¹⁵ and Tshe-dbang sGron-ma¹⁶ and her family from the high altitude grasslands. Though I have tried my best, I have never managed to out-give them in warmth, graciousness, patience, generosity, hospitality and sheer love of life.

The slow pace of writing has been a blessing in disguise, since I have benefitted tremendously from the studies on rGyalrongic languages that others have produced over the last decade or so. My

³ Jiāróng 嘉戎, in older literature also spelled 嘉绒, ཁྱལ་རོང་ rGyal-rong.

⁴ 央倩, དབྱངས་ཅིན, dByangs-cin.

⁵ 成都.

⁶ 脚木足, ཁྱམ་ཁྱུ་ Kyom-kyo.

⁷ ཡོན་ཏན་.

⁸ མོ་མོ་.

⁹ སྐར་མ་ཅེ་རིང་.

¹⁰ 塔尔姆.

¹¹ 孔龙, མཁོ་ནོ་ mkho-no.

¹² ལྷ་ཁྱལ་.

¹³ 帕尔巴, ཕར་པ་ Phar-pa.

¹⁴ རྡོ་རྗེ་.

¹⁵ 蒲志, ཕོ་གྲི་ Pho-gri.

¹⁶ ཅེ་དབང་སྒྲོན་མ་.

thinking has been especially sharpened by the work of Lín Xiàngróng,¹⁷ Sūn Hóngkāi,¹⁸ Jackson Sun,¹⁹ Lin You-Jing,²⁰ Guillaume Jacques and Yasuhiko Nagano.

The rGyalrong world, and the language that reflects it, is of great beauty. My hopes are that this study will give a glimpse of that beauty not only to linguists but also to other interested readers. I have therefore tried to keep the grammar as much as possible free from technical terms. I have also added more examples than perhaps might be expected in a linguistic dissertation. A general description such as this study can provide only a mere glance at many issues of interest. If the grammar provides language learners with a basic outline and generates the interest of scholars to do more in-depth research, it will have fulfilled its purpose.

¹⁷ 林向荣.

¹⁸ 孙宏开.

¹⁹ 孙天心.

²⁰ 林幼菁.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 *rGyalrong: the people*

Defining the term ‘rGyalrong’ is fraught with difficulty. First of all, ‘rGyalrong’ is not a self appellation but a loanword from Tibetan, the term by which outsiders refer to some aspect of ‘rGyalrong-ness’.²¹ Secondly, the term can carry very different meanings, depending on whether it is defined by historical, geographical or political arguments, among other possibilities.²² For the purposes of this study I use the term ‘rGyalrong’ to indicate both the rGyalrong Tibetan people as defined by the present administration of the PRC and the language that a large number, but by no means all, of these people speak. With the term ‘the rGyalrong area’ I mean the area of distribution of the rGyalrong language rather than the historical or geographical entity of the traditional Eighteen Principalities.

The rGyalrong people live in the north-west corner of Sìchuān²³ Province in the People’s Republic of China (PRC), at the far eastern edge of the Tibetan plateau. The rGyalrong area consists of steep mountains intersected with deep valleys and fast flowing rivers. As with all communities on the Tibetan plateau, rGyalrong social organisation, language and economics are a factor of geography. At lower altitudes the people farm steep sloping terraced fields growing barley, wheat and potatoes. On the high altitude grasslands semi-nomadic herders graze yak and sheep. Most people adhere to Tibetan Buddhism, with a fair sprinkling of Bon believers. The farmers speak rGyalrong. The nomads speak a variety of nomad Amdo (Ānduō²⁴) Tibetan and are usually bilingual in rGyalrong. The rGyalrong call themselves *kəru?*, a designation traditionally used in opposition with the terms *pot*, ‘Tibetan’ and *kəpa?*, ‘Han Chinese’. Historically there were up to eighteen hereditary lineages of kings or chieftains. Throughout history, the number, configuration and scope of administrative reach of the principalities has varied greatly. The rGyalrong people simply called themselves ‘the people of the Eighteen Principalities’. During the Míng²⁵ and Qīng²⁶ dynasties the rGyalrong

²¹ The full designation is *rGyal-mo tsha-wa rong*, རྒྱལ་མོ་ཙ་པ་རོང་, meaning ‘the hot valleys of the queen’. The ‘queen’ refers to mount Mòěrdūō (墨尔多, དམུ་རྟོ་ dMu-rdo), the seat of the rGyalrong protector deity.

²² I have written more extensively about rGyalrong history, culture and identity issues in earlier papers, see Prins 2002, 2007 and 2009.

²³ 四川, སི་ཁྲུན་ Si-khron.

²⁴ 安多, ཨ་མདོ་ Amdo.

²⁵ 明.

²⁶ 清.

principalities were incorporated into the *tǔsī* system.²⁷ While the temporal authority of the rGyalrong kings derived from the Chinese emperor, their religious allegiance and cultural identification was with the Buddhist authorities in Tibet. rGyalrong identity was delineated clearly as a separate entity centred on kingship and the individual's locality. The position on the margins, sandwiched between two behemoths to the east and west and relying on both for different aspects of life, afforded the rGyalrong a sense of independence and distinct identity as the people of the Eighteen Principalities. This status was altered radically in the 1950s after the PRC was established, with the abolition of the last remaining *tǔsī*. The rGyalrong lost their visibility as a separate political unit. As a result of the government's project to make an inventory of and award minority nationality status to minority peoples living within the boundaries of the PRC they were incorporated in the newly created Tibetan nationality. Nationality status confers benefits on the group so recognised, from political representation and language recognition to economic development and preferential policies in the areas of education and family planning. In the case of the rGyalrong people, the administration of the PRC was inclined, mainly on the grounds of linguistic arguments, to grant minority nationality status. This drew protests from Tibetan scholars, who perceived it as an attempt to break up the larger Tibetan cultural entity. In the end the people of the Eighteen Principalities became Tibetans, though hyphenated ones. Within the PRC they are usually referred to as *Jiāróng Zàngzú*²⁸ or 'rGyalrong Tibetans'. For rGyalrong speakers, the original self appellation *kəru?* came to mean 'Tibetan' rather than 'person of the Eighteen Principalities' and is now used widely for all people belonging to the Tibetan nationality. The inclusion of the rGyalrong in the Tibetan nationality means that the rGyalrong language is not officially recognised within the PRC, that no official language development takes place and that rGyalrong is not used in any state sponsored realm of society such as education or administration.

Over the last half century or so rGyalrong society has undergone rapid change. The advent of modern society with electricity, roads, media and education has brought the outside world to what once was a relatively isolated area. After the establishment of the PRC the main source of income in the area, outside of farming and herding, was the timber industry. Decades of logging throughout the watershed of the Yangzi river caused erosion and, eventually, severe flooding downstream. In the rGyalrong area, the logging ban imposed by the national government late in the 1990s caused a collapse of the local economy. The authorities have since promoted reforestation, while trying to develop a tourist industry as an alternative source of income. Ironically, the development of the tourist industry has led to a resurgence if not a complete re-invention of rGyalrong identity. Local governments now promote the colourful rGyalrong culture, with its beautiful music and dancing, its fine skill in weaving and pottery, and its exquisite architecture. Another source of income is hydropower. Many dam-building and other infrastructure projects are underway in the rGyalrong

²⁷ A *tǔsī* (土司) is a hereditary local ruler whose temporal authority derived from the Chinese emperor. The *tǔsī* system was established under the Yuán (元) dynasty and functioned, in some areas, up to the establishment of new administrative units under the Communist Party government in the 1950s. All rGyalrong principalities were ruled by *tǔsī* lineages, perceived by their retainers and other subjects as kings, and addressed as such.

²⁸ 嘉戎藏族.

areas. The building of infrastructure as well as certain government policies require the removal of communities to lower altitudes or out of an area altogether. The search for jobs is a reason for rapid urbanisation as well as ongoing out-migration. Traditional community life styles change accordingly. People from different dialect areas, previously isolated, now frequently rub shoulders. There is also much increased language contact with Chinese, both the standard language of broadcast media and local varieties such as Sìchuān dialect through in-migration of Han Chinese setting up shop in a variety of trades and in government jobs.

In traditional rGyalrong society, few people were literate. Reading and writing was commonly used only by the ruling circles and in the monasteries. rGyalrong people used an adapted form of Tibetan script to write rGyalrong. Tibetan was also the language of high prestige, which has resulted in a large number of loanwords from Tibetan. These loans predominantly occur in religious and technical terminology and as honorific forms in high register contexts. A large collection of texts has survived the upheavals of the past few decades. There are quite a few texts that are bilingual, written line by line in rGyalrong as well as in Tibetan.²⁹ Education in state schools became compulsory after the establishment of the PRC. rGyalrong students study Chinese or, in some cases, Tibetan. Since neither language is their mother tongue, the level of education remains for the most part dismal. The students who do well in school choose to adapt to the Chinese language and culture to a large degree. Access to better jobs and economic development thus exacts a price in terms of culture and identity loss. However, recently there is once again a greater interest in the rGyalrong cultural heritage. Partly this interest is driven by the search for ‘authentic’ material to present to tourists. But there is also a desire of the people themselves to reconnect with traditional culture. One happy example is the publication of a collection of classical rGyalrong texts, with notes in Tibetan.³⁰ There is no standardised orthography as yet.

Since the rGyalrong are part of the larger Tibetan nationality, there are no statistics available on the number of speakers of rGyalrong proper. My estimate is about 150,000. However, the number of people that consider themselves ‘rGyalrong Tibetan’, either because they live in areas historically under the administration of the rGyalrong *tūsi* or because recent development of tourism makes that identity appealing, is far larger.

1.2 *rGyalrong: the language*

rGyalrong is one of the Qiangic languages.³¹ F.W. Thomas was the first to propose that some languages of the Chinese south-west belong to a Sino-Tibetan subgroup which he called the ‘Hsifan

²⁹ A selection of classical rGyalrong texts is available on line in Zàn lā Āwàng Cuòchéng (赞拉.阿旺措成, བཅོན་ལྷ་དག་དབང་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ bTshan-lha Ngag-dbang Tshul-Khrims) and Prins 2006, at www.gyalrong.latse.org.

³⁰ bTshan-lha Ngag-dbang 2009.

³¹ Katia Chirkova’s excellent recent overview of the history and the challenges that pertain to Qiangic as a genetic unit informs the following paragraphs to a large extent (Chirkova 2011: 1-7).

group’.³² Others already used the term ‘Chiang’ to refer to ethnic groups spread out over a large area from north-west Sìchuān down to northern Yúnnán.³³ Peter Goullart, who lived in the area in the 1940s, writes that:

“There were a number of these little-known tribes called the Tampa, Badi, Bawang, Yuetungs and Lifans stretching all the way up to Sungpan in the north. I later learned that they all belonged to a sub-race of the Burma-Tibetan stock called Chiang whose other tribes extended as far north as North Yunnan, reaching into Tibet at that end.....The Chiang group of tribes had a perceptible unity in their dialects, dress, appearance and, above all, their religious rites.”³⁴

The current linguistic label ‘Qiangic’ was introduced by Sūn Hóngkǎi in the 1960s to cover the Qiāng,³⁵ Púmǐ³⁶ and rGyalrong languages. Over the years more groups were added so that now the Qiangic group of what has become known as the ‘Ethnic Corridor’ of west Sìchuān has thirteen members divided in a northern and a southern branch. The northern branch is phonologically and morphologically more complex and includes Qiāng, Púmǐ, Mùyǎ, Ěrgōng,³⁷ rGyalrong, Lavrung and Tangut. The southern branch, which is less complex phonologically and morphologically, and less well-researched than the northern branch, consists of Zhābā, Quèyù, Guìqióng, Ěrsū, Nàmùyī and Shǐxīng.³⁸ The idea of the Qiangic grouping as a genetically related subgroup within Tibeto-Burman rests on shared lexical items and typological similarities. Chirkova³⁹ lists twenty characteristics, which I repeat here: (1) shared vocabulary, (2) a large number of consonant clusters, (3) large vowel and consonant inventories, (4) uvular phonemes, (5) contrast between prenasalised and plain initials, (6) three medials, *i*, *y* and *u*, (7) vowel harmony (mostly in the northern branch), (8) few or no consonantal codas, (9) tones, (10) reduplication as an important means of word formation, (11) singular, dual and plural distinction in nouns, (12) diminutive formation with a suffix derived from the morpheme for ‘child’ or ‘son’, (13) numeral classifiers, (14) case forms of personal pronouns, (15) dual and inclusive/exclusive forms of personal pronouns, (16) person and number agreement in verbs (in the northern branch), (17) directional prefixes (marking for geographical and topographical location), (18) reciprocal forms, (19) differentiation of existential (locative) verbs, and (20) rich inventory of case markers.

Still, the Qiangic subgroup is controversial for several reasons. First, the typologically common features mentioned in the list are also common in the non-Qiangic languages of the area. Second, there is only a small percentage of shared vocabulary between any two languages of the group. Third, there is an absence of common innovations. And finally, the geographical area occupied by

³² Thomas 1948.

³³ 云南.

³⁴ Peter Goullart (1959: 21).

³⁵ 羌.

³⁶ 普米.

³⁷ 尔龚.

³⁸ 扎巴, 却域, 贵琼, 尔苏, 纳木义, and 史兴.

³⁹ Chirkova 2011: 4, after Sūn (2001: 166-170).

the Qiangic languages is historically, ethnically and linguistically very complex. For these reasons, the similarities between the Qiangic languages may be caused by diffusion rather than be genetic in nature. Katia Chirkova, who is documenting the Qiangic languages of Mùlǐ⁴⁰ in west Sichuān, found that rather than genetic relatedness the first results of her work show such sharp contrasts between the languages under consideration that a genetic connection between them is doubtful. It is more likely that the shared features of these languages are the result of contact induced structural convergence, and that the Qiangic group should be considered an areal language group rather than a group of genetically related languages.⁴¹

For rGyalrong, the first extensive study in modern times is Lín Xiàngróng's description of the Central rGyalrong dialect of Zhuōkèjī,⁴² which gives a fairly complete overview of the language.⁴³ Lín considered rGyalrong to be a language that could be divided into three very divergent branches, which he called Western, Northern and Eastern rGyalrong. Lín's Western rGyalrong encompasses Sūn Hóngkǎi's Ěrgōng. Noting that Ěrgōng is closer related to Northern and Eastern rGyalrong than the other Qiangic languages, Jackson Sun took one step further and proposed a distinct rGyalrongic linguistic subgroup within the Qiangic branch. He notes as characteristic shared features in inflectional verb morphology glottality inversion in past stem formation, ablaut, and transitivity marking via vocalic alternation in the orientational prefixes.⁴⁴ The uniqueness of the phenomena should rule out common borrowing from a non-rGyalrongic source like Tibetan. Sun's rGyalrongic tree has three branches. One is called Horpa-Shàngzhài and contains two varieties, Horpa and Shàngzhài.⁴⁵ The second branch is Lavrung, and the third is rGyalrong proper. At present, the Horpa-Shàngzhài group is under debate by Suzuki as well as Jesse Gates who maintain that the Horpa-Shàngzhài complex actually consists of several languages.⁴⁶ Gates thinks there may be as many as four and proposes the name 'Western rGyalrongic' for this cluster. Lavrung, the second branch of rGyalrongic, is widely accepted in academia and has recently been described by Huáng Bùfán.⁴⁷ The third branch of the tree, rGyalrong proper, in Sun's proposal is subdivided in three varieties, West (Sìdàbà),⁴⁸ North (Chábǎo)⁴⁹ and East (Sītǔ).⁵⁰ Jackson Sun has written extensively on the Western group⁵¹ and Guillaume Jacques continues to research the Northern varieties.⁵² The

⁴⁰ 木里, མི་ལི་ Mi-li.

⁴¹ Chirkova 2011: 7-9, 14, 22.

⁴² 桌克基, ཙག་ཙེ་ Cog-tse.

⁴³ Lín Xiàngróng 1993.

⁴⁴ Sun 2000a.

⁴⁵ 上寨, ལྷོ་རྩེ་ sTod-sde.

⁴⁶ Suzuki 2010; Gates 2011.

⁴⁷ Huáng Bùfán (黄布凡) 2007.

⁴⁸ 四大坝, ལྷོ་རྩེ་པ་ sTod-pa.

⁴⁹ 茶堡, ཇམ་ཕུག་ Ja-phug.

⁵⁰ 四土.

⁵¹ Sun2004, 2005 and 2007, to mention just a few.

⁵² See for example Xiàng Bólín (向柏霖, Jacques) 2008.

most recent descriptions on the Eastern dialects include work by Nagano, Lín Xiàngróng and Lin You-Jing on Zhuōkèjī.⁵³ The dialect group which I describe in this study centres on the township of Jiāomùzú and also belongs to Sun's Eastern rGyalrong.

The designation of rGyalrongic languages and different varieties within them is a cause for much debate. Mostly scholars use geographical names in transcriptions either from Chinese or Tibetan. Occasionally a term that is more historically based finds its way into the nomenclature. The terminology so far is confusing at best. In this study I use a simple three-fold naming scheme to cover rGyalrong proper. Based on my own survey of rGyalrong and rGyalrongic varieties in the 1990s⁵⁴ as well as on more recent data from an extensive rGyalrong survey undertaken by Professor Nagano that is still ongoing,⁵⁵ I divide rGyalrong into Northern, Central and Southern.⁵⁶

⁵³ Nagano 1984 and 2003; Lín 1993; Lin 2002 and 2003.

⁵⁴ Prins 1997, unpublished.

⁵⁵ The Nagano survey covers all of the rGyalrong speaking areas as well as quite a few varieties of other rGyalrongic languages. At present I am the field manager for part of the survey.

⁵⁶ The Northern group as defined in this study consists of a North-Western branch which is centred on Ribù (日部, རྩུང་འབྲུག rDzong-'bur) Township of Mǎěrkāng (马尔康, འབར་ཁམས 'Bar-khams) County and a North-Eastern branch centred on Lóngěrjiǎ (龙尔甲, གདོང་རགྱུད gDong-rgyad) Township in Mǎěrkāng County. The North-Western dialects are spoken in Ribù, Cǎodēng (草登, ཚོ་བདུན Tsho-bdun) and Kāngshān (康山, རྩོད་པ་ sTod-pa) Townships of Mǎěrkāng County, Kēhé (柯河, ཁོག་པོ Khog-po), Kuǎshā (垮沙, མཁར་གསར mKar-gsar) and Róngān (茸安, རོང་ལམ Rong-wam) Townships of Ābà (阿坝, ཇ་བ་ rNga-ba) County, and parts of Shílǐ (石里, སི་ལི Si-li) Township of Rǎngtáng (壤塘, འཛམ་ཐང 'Dzam-thang). These townships are all in Ābà Prefecture. North-Western rGyalrong is also spoken in Gēlètuó (歌乐沱, གོ་ལ་ཐང Go-la-thang) Township of Sèdá (色达, གསེར་ཐར gSer-thar) County of Gānzī (甘孜, དཀར་མཛེས dKar-mDzes) Prefecture. North-Eastern is spoken in Lóngěrjiǎ, Shāěr (沙尔, གསར་རྩོང gSar-rdzong) and Dàzàng (大藏, ད་ཚང Da-tshang) Townships of Mǎěrkāng County.

Central rGyalrong is spoken in the Mǎěrkāng County townships of Báiwān (白湾, བྲག་བར, brag-bar), Dǎngbà (党坝, དམ་པ, Dam-pa), Sōnggǎng (松岗, རྩོང་འགག rDzong-'gag), Běnzhen (本真, ཕིན་ཅིན Pin-cin), Zhuōkèjī, Suōmó (梭磨, སོ་མང So-mang), and Jiāomùzú, the eastern part of Jīnchuān (金川, རྩུ་ཆེན Chu-chen) County, part of Xiǎojīn (小金, བཅོན་ལྷ bTsan-lha) County, in the western part of Lǐ (里, ལིས Lis) County, in Shāshíduō (沙石多, ས་ཚོད Sa-stod) and Lúhuāzhèng (芦花镇, རྩོ་ཁ་ཀླུན rDo-kha-kren) Townships of Hēishuǐ (黑水, ཁྲོ་ཆུ Khro-chu) County and part of Bǎoxìng (宝兴) County.

Southern rGyalrong is spoken in the eastern part of Jīnchuān County, parts of Lǐ County, and Bādǐ (巴底, བྲག་རྩེད, Brag-steng) Township, Tàipíngqiáo (太平桥) Township and part of Bànshàn mén (半扇门) Township in Dānbā (丹巴, རོང་བྲག Rong-brag) County of Gānzī Prefecture. The exact boundaries between Central and Southern rGyalrong remain to be determined.

Phonological as well as morphological differences support this division. For one thing, the Northern group has uvular consonants, while these are lacking in Central rGyalrong. In my terminology Northern encompasses Sun's Western and Northern groups. In light of the divergence between the Northern varieties I sub-divide them into North-Eastern and North-Western dialects. Central rGyalrong includes what Sun calls East or Sītǔ. So far researchers have not seen the need to distinguish a Southern group within rGyalrong proper. But preliminary results from the Nagano survey show a number of southern varieties to have tonal systems that significantly differ from anything presented by the Central or Northern groups. On a synchronic level at least I think there is enough reason to propose this third grouping. However, at the moment only raw data is available. The exact groupings within rGyalrong proper, as well as consensus on what to call them, will only emerge after much more careful analysis. For now, the most up to date overview of rGyalrongic languages, their geographic positions and the groupings within them can be found on www.sichuanzoulang.com, a website dedicated to the Tibeto-Burman languages of western Sìchuān.⁵⁷

1.3 *Jiǎomùzú and its dialects*

This study is a descriptive grammar of the dialects spoken in Jiǎomùzú Township.⁵⁸ The name derives from rGyalrong *comco*, meaning 'flat place in the middle of the valley'.⁵⁹ Jiǎomùzú is indeed beautifully situated on wide banks along the Jiǎomùzú river in central Mǎěrkāng County. The broad lands close to the river provide fertile ground for farming and harvests are plentiful.

The Township consists of twelve villages and settlements. Each village in its turn consists of one or more hamlets. Eleven of the villages are in farmers' areas. The twelfth settlement is on the high altitude grasslands. About 4000 people live in the township, divided into some 900 families. Of these, about 3500 people are Tibetan, the rest is Han Chinese. The Tibetan population is mostly engaged in agriculture and related occupations, while most of the Chinese hold government jobs or run small shops and restaurants.

The administrative centre of the township is the village of Jiǎomùzú. The local authorities have their offices here. There is also a bank, a post office, a small clinic and a boarding school which educates through to sixth grade of primary school. One or two shops stock necessities such as rubber boots, batteries, liquor and candles. A restaurant with an open air teahouse provides a place to exchange news and gossip. A minibus provides transportation once a day, if conditions are good, from the

⁵⁷ The website is maintained by David Gatehouse and receives regular updates from scholars working on a variety of Qiangic languages.

⁵⁸ Jiǎomùzú Xiāng in Mǎěrkāng Xiàn of Ābà Zàngzú Qiāngzú Zìzhìzhōu, 脚木足乡马尔康县阿坝州藏族羌族自治州. ཁྱེམ་ཁྱེ་ཤར་འབར་ཁམས་ཤན་ར་བ་བོད་རིགས་ཆའང་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ, Kyom-kyo Shang, 'Bar-khams Shan, rNga-pa Bod-rigs Tsh'ang-rigs Rang-skyong-khul.

⁵⁹ *Mǎěrkāng Dì míng lù*: 89.

Jiǎomùzú township centre to the administrative seat of Mǎěrkāng County, a few hours by bus to the south.

The outlying villages are dispersed on both sides of the river over an area of about 400 square kilometers. Some communities are high up in the hills, others are tucked away far into smaller valleys that branch off of the main river valley. In the past, the only way of travel between villages and communities was on foot along steep, winding paths that cling to the hill sides. Over the last decade or so roads have been built that are passable at least for tractors most of the year. Some of the roads along the river are accessible for cars throughout the year. Electricity came to Jiǎomùzú in the 1980s. But the steepness of the mountains blocked TV reception, so that watching TV only became possible around the turn of the century, with the introduction of satellite dishes.

Each village used to have a village school for primary level grades one through three or four. Recently the village schools have been closed in favour of educating all children in one centrally located primary school. The children board during the week and go home in the weekends. After primary school the children move to the county seat of Mǎěrkāng, a few hours down the road by bus, for further education. Education is compulsory, though compliance can be patchy. All children now learn Chinese in school. Access to media such as TV also exposes older monolingual generations to Chinese. Though many older rGyalrong speakers remain monolingual and rGyalrong remains the preferred language of communication in the home and the community, Chinese is the language of wider communication outside of the home valley.

The people of the valleys speak *jirpeskaʔt*, ‘the language of our place’, which is the language described in this study. They are farmers who plant highland barley, potatoes, corn and wheat. They usually also keep a couple of pigs and a cow or two for milk. The herders of the high altitude grasslands live in permanent housing in winter but are up in the high pastures with their yaks and sheep during the summer months. They speak *mbrokpeskaʔt* or ‘nomad speech’, a variety of nomad Amdo Tibetan. Most herders are bilingual in rGyalrong and Amdo. Their variety of rGyalrong however tends to show influence of Tibetan in phonology as well as in grammar. Many of the nomadic herders simplify or even muddle the complex rGyalrong pronominal and person and number system, and are therefore often laughed at by the farmers of the valleys.

I came to Jiǎomùzú for the first time in the early 1990s and have visited regularly ever since. My work on the Jiǎomùzú dialects was not part of a regular research program with set times for gathering field data. I just learned what I could from friends and colleagues, both while spending time in Jiǎomùzú and in Chéngdū, the capital of Sìchuān where I live, and in any other location where I met rGyalrong people. The data in this study therefore are not limited to one or two native speakers but cover speech varieties from several locations in Jiǎomùzú. The Jiǎomùzú varieties are different enough from one another for local people to be able to identify a speaker’s village from his speech, though the differences do not hinder communication. The variations are mainly phonetic and lexical in nature. For example, the Kǒnglóng people say *wup^haj* for ‘towards’, while Pàěrbā uses *wumbaj*. The verb *kano* means either ‘dare’ or ‘drive livestock’ in Kǒnglóng, but the Pàěrbā people only have one meaning for it, namely ‘drive livestock’. I have not found any significant variations in the morphology of the Jiǎomùzú dialects, which makes me confident that the description as presented in this study is broadly accurate for the township. The majority of the data used in this

study comes from the farming communities of Kǒnglóng, Pàěrbā and Púzhi, complemented by material from the Jiǎomùzú Mùchǎng,⁶⁰ the high altitude grasslands settlement.

In traditional rGyalrong society the people had firm views about their own place in history, in their local environment and in the world at large. They based these views on the careful observation and analysis of temporal and geographical relationships between themselves, their communities and all other persons and entities in their world. The findings were passed on to following generations, often through contextualised teaching moments, which explicitly built a secure identity centered on the home place and community. Though the rGyalrong world has changed significantly over the last fifty or sixty years, the same careful observation of different entities and a fascination with the relationships between them remains. The all-important web of relations finds expression in the Jiǎomùzú dialects in highly sophisticated systems of marking that encompass geographical direction, relative emotional distance between a speaker and an object, different categories of sentient beings, and precise semantic distinctions to clarify the actions, attitudes and relations of speakers and others in a given context. It is this intricate complexity of marking, and the web of relations that is foundational to it, that gives this book its name.

⁶⁰ 脚木足牧场, ཁྱོམ་ཁྱོ་རྩ་ཐང་ Kyom-kyo rtswa-thang.

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

2.0 *Introduction*

In this chapter I describe the main features of the phonology of the Jiǎomùzú dialects.

The description starts in section 2.2 with an overview of the Jiǎomùzú phonemes and some remarks about their characteristics, as appropriate. I pay special attention to the glottal stop, since its position as a full phoneme and its distribution, word-initially before vowels and word-finally after a vowel or pre-finally before a consonant, are linked to issues of pitch and accent, which are described later on in this chapter.

Section 2.3 discusses the Jiǎomùzú phonological word. In the first part I look at CV patterns, giving examples of each and arguing that full phoneme status for the glottal stop is supported by CV patterns in Jiǎomùzú. The syllable canon is (C1)(C2)C3(C4)V(C5)(C6). The approximants /w, r, l, j/ all behave like consonants. The trill /r/ clusters with the approximants /w, l, j/ in complex CV patterns, though I mark it in the trill category on the phoneme chart. There is a complete series of prenasalised plosives and affricates, of which I give examples. In the great majority of cases, syllable breaks are clear, based on CV patterns or morphological information. There are a few cases that are ambiguous and cannot be solved dialect internally with the help of CV patterns or morphological information. I propose that, if for pragmatic reasons a decision has to be made, in such cases analogy with patterns in other dialects or even related languages may be of use. Clearly such decisions are outside of the realm of descriptive linguistics but may be necessary in applied situations, such as the development of an orthography.

In the second half of section 2.3 I look at pitch, accent, stress and tone. I establish the glottal stop as primary in causing pitch distinctions in certain syllables. It may be that Jiǎomùzú is in the early stages of generating a tonal system by replacing final consonants with glottal stops. Neither tone nor pitch-accent nor stress is contrastive on a phonological level, though Jiǎomùzú words have customary pitch patterns that are for the most part predictable. Stress is contrastive on a morphological level. I give a few examples of contrastive stress in this chapter but will discuss it more fully in chapter 7 on verb morphology. The section on the word concludes with an overview of the workings of assimilation in Jiǎomùzú.

At the end of the chapter two appendices, A and B, give a list of minimal pairs and a list of consonant clusters respectively.

2.1 Conventions

In this study I use square brackets such as [kǎe ʔt] for phonetic transcriptions and slashes, like /ka-leʔt/ for phonemic transcriptions. I use a primary stress mark as in [kə'ruʔ] to indicate accent on a syllable, either expressed in high pitch or as increased loudness, or both. In phonemic transcriptions, where relevant, a dot indicates a syllable break, as in /da.tsə.go.go/ while hyphens show morpheme breaks: /tə-skruʔ/

2.2 Phonemes

a. Phoneme chart

1. Consonants

Because palatal affricates tend to wander between post-alveolar and palatal positions, as discussed below, and because they contrast with palatal plosives, I have placed /tʃ, tʃʰ/ and /dʒ/ in the palatal column. Phonemes that occur in loanwords only are between parentheses.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	retroflex	velar	glottal
plosive	p p ^h b	t t ^h d	c c ^h ɟ		k k ^h g	ʔ
affricate		ts ts ^h dz	tʃ tʃ ^h dʒ	tɕ tɕ ^h dɕ (tɕ ^h)		
fricative	(f) v	s z (ʃ) ⁶¹	ʃ ʒ	(ʂ)		h
nasal	m	n	ɲ		ŋ	
trill		r				
approximant	w	l	j			

2. vowels

The vowels show a two-way contrast between /a/ and /ə/, In this respect Jiǎomùzú differs from Zhuōkèjī, another Central rGyalrong dialect, as well as the Northern rGyalrong variety of Chábǎo, which both have a triple contrast between /a/, /ɐ/ and /ə/.⁶²

⁶¹ In phonemic transcriptions I use /lh/ rather than /l/ because of the broad range of realisation that occurs in Jiǎomùzú for this phoneme.

⁶² Xiàng (尙) (2008: 31), Lin (2003: 250).

	front	central	back
close	i		u
close-mid	e		o
mid		ə	
open		a	

b. *Consonant phonemes: phonetic description and allophones*

labials

/p/	voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive	[p]
/p ^h /	voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive	[p ^h]
/b/	voiced unaspirated bilabial plosive	[b]
/f/	voiceless labiodental fricative	[f]
/v/	voiced labiodental fricative	[v]
/m/	voiced bilabial nasal	[m]
/w/	voiced bilabial approximant	[w]

/f/ only occurs in Chinese loanwords:

- (1) [ma¹fɔŋ²] leprosy, Chinese: 麻风, *máfēng*
 [ʒe¹fun² ɳa¹vajŋ] married (literally: /ʒe¹fun/ 'marry', a loan from Chinese
 结婚, *jiéhūn*, plus 'do', 3p past)

Lín Xiàngróng reports the use of /f/ in the dialect of Zhuōkèjī in Chinese loanwords as well as in native vocabulary.⁶³ This is an innovation, as the use of /f/ in that dialect was still unknown in the 1950s. In the Jiǎomùzú dialects, /f/ is often realised as [ɸ].

⁶³ Lín (1993: 40, 41).

alveolars

/t/	voiceless unaspirated dental plosive	[t̪]
/tʰ/	voiceless aspirated dental plosive	[t̪ʰ]
/d/	voiced unaspirated dental plosive	[d̪]
/s/	voiceless unaspirated alveolar fricative	[s]
/z/	voiced unaspirated alveolar fricative	[z]
/lh/	voiceless alveolar lateral fricative	[ɬ]
/n/	voiced dental nasal	[n̪]
/r/	voiced alveolar trill	[r]
/l/	voiced alveolar lateral approximant	[l]

The plosives and the nasal in the alveolar category are realised as dentals on the phonetic level. But the rest of the alveolars is not, which is why I have chosen to label the entire category 'alveolar' rather than 'dental'.

Occurrence of /d/ word initially is rather rare. Mostly /d/ occurs in prenasalised form. Minimal pairs for /d/ are therefore few and far between.

Utterance-finally /r/ is realised as a voiced alveolar flap [ɾ]. In consonant clusters /r/ actually behaves like an approximant, see section 2.3.e below.

/lh/ only occurs in Tibetan loanwords and is fairly rare. Good minimal pairs are hard to find. Some examples of the occurrence of /lh/:

(2)	/lhase/	[ɬa'se]	Tibet	literary Tibetan: ལྷ་ས, <i>lHa-sa</i>
	/lhandɽe/	[ɬa'ndɽe]	devil, demon	literary Tibetan: ལྷ་འདྲེ, <i>lha-'dre</i>

In Amdo nomad dialects the cluster /sl/, as in literary Tibetan སློབ་མ་ *slob-ma*, 'student', is pronounced as [ɬ]. However, in the Jiǎomùzú dialects only loans that have /lh/ in literary Tibetan are pronounced with [ɬ]. The /sl/ combinations are pronounced just the way they occur in literary Tibetan.⁶⁴ In example (3) the second syllable of *kaslep*, 'study' and the first syllable of *sloppən*, 'teacher' correspond to literary Tibetan *slob*, 'study':

(3)	/kaslep/	[ka'slɛp]	study, learn; lit. Tibetan: སློབ་སྦྱང་ <i>slob-sbyong</i>
	/sloppən/	[slo'pən]	teacher, master; lit. Tibetan: སློབ་དཔོན་ <i>slob-dpon</i>

Not all instances of /lh/ in Tibetan loans are pronounced uniformly as [ɬ]. In Jiǎomùzú the cluster is variously pronounced as [ɬ], [xl] or even just [h], with only half of the cluster retained. Since the

⁶⁴ This kind of observation can provide a fruitful avenue for research concerning different layers of borrowing into the rGyalrong vocabulary. In this study I do not address diachronic issues. For an in-depth discussion of loan words and their origin, see Xiàng (2008: 107-147).

root letter in literary Tibetan is /h/, while /l/ is the head letter of the cluster, Jiāomùzú never pronounces /lh/ as just [l], with /h/ disappearing, but it is possible to have just [h]. For this reason I transcribe all these phonemes as /lh/ rather than /l/ in phonemic descriptions.

(4)	/lhe/	[xle]	statue or image of a deity; deity; lit. Tibetan: ལྷ <i>lha</i>
	/lhandʁe/	[ʎa'ndʁe]	ghost; lit. Tibetan: ལྷ་འདྲེ <i>lha-'dre</i>
	/lharja/	[ha'rja]	man's name; lit. Tibetan: ལྷ་རྒྱལ <i>lHa-rgyal</i>
	/lhamo/	['hamo]	woman's name; lit. Tibetan: ལྷ་མོ <i>lHa-mo</i>

palatals

/c/	voiceless unaspirated palatal plosive	[c]
/c ^h /	voiceless aspirated palatal plosive	[c ^h]
/ʃ/	voiced unaspirated palatal plosive	[ʃ]
/ʃ̥/	voiceless unaspirated palatal fricative	[ʃ̥]
/ʒ/	voiced unaspirated palatal fricative	[ʒ]
/ɲ/	palatal nasal	[ɲ]
/j/	palatal approximant	[j]

retroflexes

Retroflex flaps occur only in affricates. They are discussed in section 2.3.b and 2.3.f. The only other occurrence of retroflexes is of retroflexed fricatives. These occur only in loanwords and in expressives and onomatopoeic words. Some examples of retroflexed fricatives in loanwords:

(5)	[ʃwe'piŋʑ]	thermos flask; Chinese: [ʃwějp ^h ín], 水瓶, <i>shuǐpíng</i>
	[tɕ ^h aʔʑ]	tea; Chinese: [tɕ ^h á], 茶, <i>chá</i>

Interestingly, though the word for 'tea' apparently is a direct loan from Chinese, the word for 'kettle', [c^ha'xɰ], reflects more an Amdo nomad pronunciation. Loans from Chinese, especially more recent ones, often reflect the pronunciation of the Sìchuān dialect as spoke in the north and east of the province, which, unlike the Chinese standard language, has no retroflexes in initials. Example (5) shows the contrast between the words for 'bed' and 'umbrella'. The word for 'bed' has a retroflex fricative in the affricate in standard Chinese but not in the Sìchuān dialect. Consequently, it is borrowed into rGyalrong without retroflex. The word for umbrella does not have a retroflex in either standard Chinese or Sìchuān dialect. The superscript numbers to the right of the phonetic transcription are tone marks:

- (6) [wu'tsw^haŋ^ʔ] his or her bed; Chinese standard: [tɕ^hwaŋ³⁵], 床, *chuáng*,
 Sìchuān dialect: [ts^hwaŋ²¹]
 [saŋ^ʔ] umbrella; Chinese standard: [san²¹⁴], 伞, *sǎn*
 Sìchuān dialect: [san⁵³]

[tɕ^haŋ^ʔ], 'tea' is also often pronounced as [tɕ^haŋ^ʔ], reflecting perhaps an adaptation to native phoneme preference. Here is an example of a retroflexed fricative in an onomatopoeic word:

- (7) [ɣəx¹ʂe^ʔk] expression of the sound a fast moving object makes, such as an
 arrow in flight or a log sliding down a hill side.

affricates

/ts/	voiceless unaspirated alveolar affricate	[ts]
/ts ^h /	voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate	[ts ^h]
/dz/	voiced unaspirated alveolar affricate	[dz]
/tʃ/	voiceless unaspirated palatal affricate	[tʃ]
/tʃ ^h /	voiceless aspirated palatal affricate	[tʃ ^h]
/dʒ/	voiced unaspirated palatal affricate	[dʒ]
/ɬ/	voiceless unaspirated retroflexed affricate	[ɬ]
/ɬ ^h /	voiceless aspirated retroflexed affricate	[ɬ ^h]
/dɮ/	voiced unaspirated retroflexed flap affricate	[dɮ]

Retroflexed flaps do not occur independently, so that /ɬ, ɬ^h, dɮ/ of needs must be analysed as affricates. The regular tests for the existence of the other affricates, such as position of plosive and fricative not interchangeable, occurrence of set combinations of plosive and fricative only, etc., don't work very well because of the abundance of consonant clusters in rGyalrong. However, the CV pattern is helpful. The maximum number of consonants in an initial cluster is three, see section 2.3.b. Assuming there are no affricates would leave one with a large amount of data showing clusters of four consonants, such as in /ta.ndzwi/, 'tusk'; /ka.rɬwek/, 'roll up (sleeves)'; /ta.rnd ʒak/, 'wrinkle'; /ka.ndɬwaŋp/, 'tumble, fall'; /ka.rdzwa/, 'dig'.

The affricates /tʃ/, /tʃ^h/ and /dʒ/ are realised anywhere between a post-alveolar and a palatal position:

- (8) /katʃ^hi/ [ka¹cç^hi] go
 /japtʃen/ [ja¹ɸtʃen] stirrup

I have not found any contrasting pairs for separate palatal and post-alveolar affricates, so I have chosen to use one set under palatals, allowing for free variation under influence of the phonetic environment. In the examples above the variation might be explained by the occurrence of [i] in the verb /ka.tʃ^hi/, 'go', which effects a more palatal sound for the affricate, and the bilabial [ɸ] in /ja.ptʃen/, 'stirrup', which hauls the whole consonant cluster more forward into an alveolar position.

Mansier⁶⁵ has commented on free variation between aspirated palatals and affricates for the Xiǎojīn dialect of rGyalrong as well as for some of the Amdo dialects. He notes that in some places older people tend to differentiate between palatal plosives and affricates, whereas younger people do not, and that in some locations he found either only a palatal plosives series or a series of affricates, whereas in other places both occur.⁶⁶ In previous literature on rGyalrong this same pattern is reflected, with some scholars reporting postalveolar and palatal affricates, but no palatal plosives,⁶⁷ some finding one series of affricates and a palatal plosives series.⁶⁸ Only one scholar, Kin P'eng⁶⁹ attests both a double series of affricates and a palatal plosives series. In Jiǎomùzú there is clear contrast between the post-alveolar affricates and palatal plosives. I give a full set of minimal pairs in Appendix A.

velars

/k/	voiceless unaspirated velar plosive	[k]
/k ^h /	voiceless aspirated velar plosive	[k ^h]
/g/	voiced unaspirated velar plosive	[g]
/ŋ/	velar nasal	[ŋ]

Occurrence of /g/ is relatively rare.

glottals

/ʔ/	glottal stop	[ʔ]
/h/	glottal fricative	[h]

The glottal stop always occurs utterance-initially before a vowel, in native vocabulary as well as in loanwords. I have not found any smooth onsets, that is, onsets without a glottal:

⁶⁵ Mansier (1983: 91-94).

⁶⁶ The distinction is very clear in the spelling of literary Tibetan, and is maintained in the Amdo dialects of Mag-sar བཀ་སར་ and Tsho-bzhi ཚོ་བཞི་ in Hóngyuán (红原, Hong yon རྩོད་ཡོན་) County, a little north of the rGyalrong areas: [tʃʰʔ], 'what', literary Tibetan: ཅི *cí*; [tʃʰə], 'water', literary Tibetan: ཇུ, *chu*; [cə], 'genitive particle', literary Tibetan: ཇི, *kyí*; [cʰə], 'dog', literary Tibetan: ཇུ, *khyu*.

⁶⁷ Jīn (金) 1957, Chang Kun (张琨) 1968, Lín Xiàngróng 1993.

⁶⁸ Nagano 1984, Lin 2000.

⁶⁹ Kin P'eng 1949.

(9)	/apa/	[ʔa'pa]	father
	/amo/	[ʔa'mo]	mother
	/are/	[ʔa're]	barley liquor
	/awurərə/	[ʔa'wurəru]	snail
	/ardi/	[ʔa'rɕi]	turban
	/owe/	[ʔo'we]	yes

In this position the glottal stop contrasts with other consonants, e.g. the glottal fricative /h/, see Appendix A for examples of minimal pairs. Since there are no syllables with a smooth onset, the Jiāomùzú syllable canon does not allow for syllables that consist of a vowel only, making it imperative here to consider the glottal stop to have full phoneme status.⁷⁰ Also, Jiāomùzú allows for clusters of two consonants after the vowel, see section 2.3.b. There are plenty of words that have a glottal stop in final or pre-final position in final syllables, where they are in contrast with other consonants:

(10)	/kəruʔ/	(rGyalrong) Tibetan
	/kəru/	very
	/kəruk/	strong, black (of tea)
	/kəruʔk/	lynx
(11)	/kəsuʔ/	sunny
	/kəsuk/	tight
(12)	/kamoʔt/	drink
	/kamoʔ/	hungry
(13)	/ndoʔ/	have
	/kandon/	read
(14)	/ca/	musk deer
	/zdeʔmcaʔ/	mist
	/caʔkcaʔk/	magpie
	/tacakcak/	awn of wheat

⁷⁰ In the literature on rGyalrong most scholars have chosen to limit the glottal stop to phonetic status only, because it occurs word initially in relatively few words. However, Tibetan grammarians of old have dealt with the same issue by considering the glottal stop as a full phoneme. It has its own a symbol in the Tibetan syllabary: ཨ, *A-chen*, 'big a', the thirtieth consonant. In Tibetan, *A-chen* contrasts with *a-cung*, 'small a'. As mentioned in the body of the text, Jiāomùzú lacks the contrast between onsets that have a glottal and smooth onsets. There is only contrast between onsets that have a glottal and onsets that have a single other consonant.

Because of this I reckon the glottal stop as a full consonant. Since the glottal stop occurs always utterance-initially before a vowel and is therefore predictable, for the sake of convenience I do not mark its occurrence in that position in phonemic transcriptions.

Glottal stops occur in native vocabulary as well as in loanwords:

(15)	/haŋtoʔwɿ/	[haŋ'toʔwɿ]	soy bean; Chinese: 黄豆, <i>huángdòu</i>
	/saʔnɿ/	[saʔnɿ]	umbrella; Chinese: 伞, <i>sǎn</i>
	/jaŋjuʔɿ/	[jaŋ'jyʔɿ]	potatoe; Chinese: 洋芋, <i>yángyù</i>

Final plosives and nasals are often unreleased, especially after a glottal stop. Glides and fricatives are usually released, but not always. I have not found any rule that governs the release of finals after a glottal. It seems to be up to individual speaker preference.

(16)	/p ^h aroʔk/	[p ^h ɑ'rəʔk ^ˀ]	crow
	/təwaʔm/	[tə'waʔm ^ˀ]	bear
	/k ^h rəʔw/	[k ^h rəʔw ^ˀ]; [k ^h rəʔw]	rice

In connected speech, compounds, etc. finals are usually slurred or drop out altogether, or assimilate:

(17)	[pak]	/pak/	pig
	[paŋ'ndze]	/pak-ndze/	pig food, swill (pig + food)
	[pa'ŋgor]	/pak-ŋgor/	pork fat (pig + fat)
	[pa'rŋaʔ]	/pak-rŋaʔ/	wild boar (pig + wild)

Glottal stops, like other finals in Jiǎomùzú, also disappear in compounds, due to morphological processes such as the marking of person or number, and because of assimilation. In phonemic transcriptions I maintain the glottal:

(18)	[tə'pʃiʔ]	/təpʃiʔ/	excrement
	[təpʃiʔ'rboʔ]	/təpʃiʔ'rboʔ/	fart
(19)	[pkwaʔ] ⁷¹	/pkwaʔ/	chicken, hen
	[pkwa'puʔ]	/pkwaʔpuʔ/	chick, little bird
(20)	[kaŋa'tsoʔ]	/kanatsoʔ/	look, see
	[ŋa'tsoŋ]	/natsoʔŋ/	look, 1s

⁷¹ The form /pkwaʔ/ also often occurs as /pwaʔ/. In this study I use both forms.

All these things conspire to make glottal stops, those slippery customers, hard to spot. The only way of hearing and analyzing their position properly is in the isolation of individual words. I further discuss glottal stops in section 2.3.h below.

Though the glottal fricative /h/ is a relatively rare phoneme, it does occur in native vocabulary, (21), as well as in loanwords, (22):

(21)	[t̪ərə'har ka'va]	/t̪ərəhar kava/	pant for breath
	[t̪a'həm ka'va]	/tahem kava/	yawn
	[ha'r̥d̥o]	/hardo/	that side
	[wa'hum kəmiʔ]	/wahum kəmiʔ/	tasteless, bland
(22)	[kə'haʔw]	/kəhaʔw/	good; Chinese: 好, <i>hǎo</i>
	[hun]	/hən/	minute; Chinese: 分钟, <i>fēnzhōng</i>

/h/ is sometimes realised as a velar fricative:

(23)	[mba'xe]	/mbahe/	water buffalo; lit. Tibetan: མ་ཧེ, <i>ma-he</i>

Final consonants of words, even if spoken in isolation, are frequently not released. In normal speech finals are unreleased or drop out altogether, or assimilate with the onset of the next word. This can make it hard to hear which is the consonant in final position. Especially tricky is the distinction between final velar plosive /-k/ and glottal stop /-ʔ/. The bilabials /-p/ and /-m/ and the alveolars /-t/ and /-n/ can be difficult to pin down too. At least they are more easily distinguished, in their unreleased shape, from glottal stop /-ʔ/ because of their different points of articulation. The problem is even more pronounced in words with a pre-final glottal, after which the final consonants are usually unreleased and tend to be devoiced as well.

In light of this, an interesting question is whether the glottal stop in Jiǎomùzú indicates a loss of final stops in some cases. I have found that within the different villages and settlements of Jiǎomùzú there are differences in pronunciation of glottals and final consonants. For example, most Jiǎomùzú speakers use [kə'ruʔ] for 'Tibetan, rGyalrong', as do speakers from other central rGyalrong dialects. But speakers from the Jiǎomùzú Mùchǎng, the high altitude grasslands, say [kə'ruk]. Also, the use of the glottal between the wider dialect groupings of rGyalrong, such as Southern and Central, is not consistent. One example comes from a Southern rGyalrong dialect of Xiǎojīn. Professor Āwàng, a native speaker of the Xiǎojīn dialect, when asked to write down in Tibetan script the word for 'put', gave ཀའ་གཏ, *ka-gtad*, [ka'x̥t̪at̪]. In both Jiǎomùzú and Zhuōkèjī the word for 'put' is /kataʔ/, [ka't̪aʔ].

A comparison of different dialects of rGyalrong might be a worthwhile exercise to see where final stops occur, and where only a glottal stop. If such comparative research would show a tendency of final plosives to atrophy into glottal stops this may well indicate the beginning stages of a movement

towards the development of tone in rGyalrong dialects, as Dài and Yanmuchu⁷² proposed in their work on Suōmò. Interestingly, recent research⁷³ found that minimal pairs for words with and without final glottal occur throughout the dialects, but often it involves different pairs in different dialects. This sort of inconsistency may be another indication that rGyalrong final consonants are in the process of disappearing, and that this process unfolds differently in each speech community. More on the possible relationship between the glottal stop and tonality in rGyalrong follows in sections 2.3.h and 2.3.i on tone and pitch below.

c. *Vowel phonemes: phonetic description and allophones*

front vowels

/i/	close unrounded front vowel	[i]
/e/	close-mid unrounded front vowel	[e]

central vowels

/ə/	mid unrounded central vowel	[ə]
/a/	open unrounded central vowel	[a]

Scholars disagree as to the existence of the central vowel on a phonemic level. Jīn Péng,⁷⁴ for the Suōmò dialect, concluded that it does exist, but has a tendency to turn into cardinal vowels, especially /e/ and /i/. Mansier,⁷⁵ for Xiǎojīn, notes a strong tendency to centralisation and neutralisation of all the cardinal vowels, especially for /i/ and /u/. On a phonetic level this leads to frequent occurrence of the central neutral vowel. The tendency to centralisation of the close vowels explains the occurrence of [ə] for the most part. Other occurrences are in Tibetan loans in which the vowels /i/ and /u/ from literary Tibetan are all realised as /ə/, as they are in nomad Amdo dialects. Because of this Mansier does not want to grant [ə] full phoneme status. But he admits that he is left with a number of words in which it is difficult to link [ə] to any of the cardinal vowels /i/, /e/ and /u/, and maintains the central vowel in his phonemic transcriptions.

In the Jiǎomùzú dialects [ə] occurs both in accented and in non-accented syllables, in open as well as closed ones, and in words that are not clearly Tibetan loans. There is contrast between [ə] and all the cardinal vowels, see Appendix A for minimal pairs at the end of this chapter. Processes of

⁷² Dài Qīngxià (戴庆厦) and Yanmuchu 1992.

⁷³ S. Penner, personal communication, summer 2009. Mr. Penner, who is involved in a survey of rGyalrong dialects, mentioned that a list of minimal pairs for Zhuōkèjī did not give results in the township of Dǎngbà. There were minimal pairs there too for contrast between final glottal stops and words ending in vowels, but they were different from the Zhuōkèjī pairs.

⁷⁴ 金鹏 (Kin P'eng) (1957-58: 226-229).

⁷⁵ Mansier (1983: 141-146).

harmonisation and assimilation explain much of the instability of the rGyalrong vowels noted by Jin and Mansier. I give examples of these processes in section 2.3.j.

back vowels

/u/	close rounded back vowel	[u]
	after palatals	[y]
/o/	close-mid rounded back vowel	[o]

Vowel quality:

Vowels in the Jiǎomùzú dialects tend to be very short, to the point of sometimes disappearing altogether in unstressed syllables, see section 2.3.b on CV patterns. This tendency is especially strong for the central vowel /ə/:

- (24) /mbərzaʔ/ [mbr¹zaʔ] knife

The Jiǎomùzú dialects have a preference for rounding as well as backing, especially in the village of Kǒnglóng. In many words /u/ or /o/ occurs in places where other dialects, especially Suōmò and Zhuōkèjī, have /i/. It may be this feature that makes native rGyalrong speakers perceive of the Jiǎomùzú dialects as more 'heavy' than the Suōmò or Zhuōkèjī dialects: ⁷⁶

(25)	Jiǎomùzú	Suōmò	Zhuōkèjī
grass plot	/kajvuʔ/	[kaipi]	[kəipiʔ]
buy	/kaku/	[kaki]	[kaki]
grey	/kəbu/	[kəgbi]	[kəbgi]
four	/kəbdu/	[kəwdi]	[kəwdi]
day	/ʃnu/	[ʃpi]	[sni]

Cardinal vowel /i/ is mostly stable.

Cardinal vowel /e/ can be realised as [ɛ], especially in stressed or accented syllables:

(26)	/k ^h əʃp ^h eʔs/	[k ^h əʃp ^h ɛʔs]	marmot
	/təmt ^h ek/	[tə ¹ mt ^h ɛk]	waist
	/spen/	[spɛn]	glue
	/sokle/	[sɔx ¹ lɛ]	saw

⁷⁶ The Suōmò data are from Jin 1957-8, the Zhuōkèjī data from Hsieh (Xiè, 谢) 1999. In Hsieh's data I have left out the tone markings, as they are irrelevant to the point under discussion here.

The Jiāomùzú vowels are often influenced by their environment and assimilate in a variety of ways. I give examples in section 2.3.j on assimilation below.

The default realisation of /a/ is mostly somewhere between central open and front open position:

(27) /təwaʔm/ [tə'waʔm̐] bear

The vowel /a/ tends to brighten, especially in stressed or accented syllables where /a/ can be realised a bit less open as [æ] or even [ɛ]. This can make it hard to distinguish between /a/ and /e/:

(28)	/kaleʔt/	[ka'leʔt̚], [ka'laeʔt̚]	hit
	/tʰozan/	[tʰo'zɛn̐], [tʰo'zæn̐]	portion, ration
	/ntʰam/	[ntʰæm]	religious dance
	/marsar/	[mar'sɛr], [mar'sær]	fresh butter
	/tamŋaʔn/	[tam'ŋɛʔn̐]	bad omen

Vowels can flip-flop, with one vowel in a single syllable words but another vowel in compounds. Example (29) shows a change from /a/ to /e/:

(29)	[ɬe]	/lhe/	deity
	[ɬa'ndʁe]	/lhandʁe/	ghost
	[c ^h e], [c ^h ɛ]	/c ^h e/	liquor
	[c ^h a'lə]	/c ^h alə/	distiller's yeast

However, this does not mean that in every loan from Tibetan or close cognate with Tibetan the vowel /e/ is a representation of an underlying /a/. For example, in words such as /rgom be/, 'monastery', literary Tibetan: དགོན་པ་, *dgon-pa*, /e/ remains no matter what.

Cardinal vowel /o/ is almost always pronounced as [ɔ] in closed syllables, often with a very back quality when influenced by velar plosives etc.:

(30)	/təmdoʔk/	[tə'mdɔʔk̚]	colour
	/mbrot ^h oʔ/	[mbro't ^h ɔʔ]	colt
	/zgrok/	[zgrɔk]	bracelet

Cardinal vowel /u/ is realised as [y] after palatals. Since this is predictable, it does not need to be marked in phonemic transcriptions:

(31)	/patʃu/	[pa'tʃy]	bird
	/təɲu/	[tə'ɲy]	name
	/pəʃu/	[pə'ʃy]	mouse

2.3 The word

a. The building blocks of a word

The phonological word is made up of one or more syllables. The distinguishing features of the word are syllable pattern and contents. As shown below, there are nine possible patterns for the basic Jiāomùzú word. For clarity a dot separates syllables while a hyphen connects morphemes:

- * a single unprefix root: /zji/, 'ten'; /rdwe/, 'argali'.
- * two syllables that are not clearly divided in root and prefix, and are also not clearly a compound. These words are bisyllabic but monomorphemic: /mba.la/ 'ox'; /jor.wu/, 'squirrel'.
- * three syllables that are not prefix and root combinations, nor a compound. Such words are trisyllabic but monomorphemic: /tsa.gə.jo/, 'yellow weasel'; /na.mə.rjan/, 'ceiling'.
- * four syllables that are not a combination of affixes and a root, nor a compound, forming quadrisyllabic monomorphemic words: /da.tsə.go.go/, 'two-stringed instrument'; /a.rə.wu.rə/, 'hard working'.
- * a prefix and a root, forming bisyllabic bimorphemic words: /ta-roʔ/, 'chieftain, leader' (nominal prefix-root); /ka-vi/, 'come' (nominaliser-root). Sometimes the difference between a prefix-root combination and a two-syllable but monomorphemic word that is not a compound or other combination is difficult to make. The main test is whether or not the syllables can be split up and still carry meaning. In the following example *kə-* is a bound morpheme which does not carry meaning independently. It does not mean 'one' and is not a nominaliser or an aspectual marker, as in other uses of *kə-* (see for example sections 7.1 and 4.3). In the word *kəruʔ*, 'Tibetan', neither *kə-* nor *ruʔ* have meaning by themselves:

(32)	/kə.paʔ/			Han Chinese
	/kə.ruʔ/			(rGyalrong) Tibetan
	*/ruʔ-ndzu/	/kə.ruʔ-ndzu/		Tibetan log ladder (Tibetan-log ladder)
	*/paʔ-ndze/	/kə.paʔ-ndze/		Han Chinese food (Han Chinese-food)

- * two affixes and a root: /ka-sa-psoʔ/, 'compare' (prefix-CAUS-root); /ka-və-məndə/, 'be about to arrive' (prefix-VP-root). Causativity and viewpoint markers such as *sa-* and *və-* respectively are discussed in chapter 7 on verbs.

- * two affixes and a reduplicated root: /ka-ŋa-le-leʔt/, 'fight' (prefix-REC-RED-root). I discuss reciprocity markers like *ŋa-* in chapter 7 on verbs.

These forms, usually found in verbs, consist of set combinations of affixes and roots. Such words, in the perception of native speakers, are no longer productive combinations of meaningful affixes and roots, though often the meaning of the different affixes can still be fairly easily derived.

- * a compound of two or more roots: /zji-mŋi/, 'fifteen' (ten-five); /pwaʔ-puʔ/, 'chick' (chicken-child). Often the roots used in this sort of compound have prefixes of their own when used by themselves: /ta-puʔ/, 'child'; /kə-mŋi/, 'five'.

* a root combined with a number of affixes: /ma-kə-ndʒa/, 'different, naughty' (NEG-prefix-root). The number of syllables in such words can be four or more. If a word consists of more than four syllables it is usually a cluster of affixes bound to a verb root.

Of all these possible forms, one and two syllable words are by far the most common. Three and four syllable words, other than words consisting of several affixes and a root, which are mainly verb phrases, are rare.

b. *CV patterns*

pattern chart

CV	CVC	CVCC	CVCCC	CVCCCC
CCV	CCVC	CCVCC	CCVCCC	CCVCCCC
CCCV	CCCVC	CCCVC	CCCVCCC	CCCVCCCC

Below are examples of CV patterns. In order to make a clear distinction between morphemes and syllables I use a dot between syllables and hyphens between morphemes.

CV	/ca/	[ca]	musk deer
	/kʰə/	[kʰə]	hound
	/a.rdi/	[ʔa'rɗi]	turban
CCV	/mbu.ru/	[mbu'rʌ]	plough
	/zʒi-mɲi/	[zʒi'mɲi]	fifteen (ten-five)
CCCV	/rdwe/	[rɗwe]	argali
	/ta-ndzwi/	[ʔa'ndzwi]	tusk (prefix-root)
CVC	/kʰoŋ]	[kʰoŋ]	tiger
	/tʃʰət/	[tʃʰət]	goat
CCVC	/kə-ʃpət/	[kə'ʃpuʔ]	livestock (prefix-root)
	/kroŋ.kroŋ/	[krɔŋ'krɔŋ]	throat
CCCVC	/kə-rscat/	[kə'rscat]	eight (prefix-root)
	/spjaŋ.kə/	[spjaŋ'kə]	wolf
CVCC	/tʰo-jn/	[tʰɔjɲ]	ascend-3p
	/tʃʰi-ndʒ/	[tʃʰindʒ]	go-3d

CCVCC	/zdeʔm/	[zdeʔm]	cloud
	/ka.ntʰak-j/	[ka'ntʰej]	in town (root-LOC)
CCCVCC	/ta-mbraʔm/	[ta'mbraʔm]	measles (prefix-root)
	/rdzwa-ndʒ/	[rdzwandʒ]	dig-3d
CVCCC	/kə-ŋan-ndʒ/	[kə'ŋendʒ]	the two evil ones
	/kə-va-mot-ndʒ/	[kə'vamondʒ]	the two who are blown away
CCVCCC	/kə-pjis-ndʒ/	[kə'pjindʒ]	the two who apply ointment
	/kə-ŋa-ndzor-ndʒ/	[kə'ŋandzondʒ]	the two who bark
CCCVCCC	/kə-rmbat-ndʒ/	[kə'rmbandʒ]	the two who draw near
	/kə-mpʃar-ndʒ/	[kə'mpʃandʒ]	the two beautiful ones
CVCCCC	/na-laʔt-jn/	[na'læjn]	hit, second or third person plural perfective
	/kə-neʔk-ndʒ/	[kə'nendʒ]	the two black ones
CCVCCCC	/kə-mtʃoʔk-ndʒ/	[kə'mtʃoŋndʒ]	the two old ones
	/kə-rkoʔt-ndʒ/	[kə'rkondʒ]	the two who engrave
CCCVCCCC	/kə-ʃkraʔk-ndʒ/	[kə'ʃkraŋndʒ]	the two clever ones
	/kə-skriʔn-ndʒ/	[kə'skrindʒ]	the two long ones

Note that syllable breaks and morpheme boundaries do not necessarily coincide, as in the case of person and number suffixes such as /-ndʒ/. On a morphological level /rdzwandʒ/, 'dig, third person dualis', contains a verb root suffixed with the non-first person dualis marker /-ndʒ/: /rdzwa-ndʒ/. But on the level of the syllable there is no boundary between the verb root and the suffix, since the suffix does not have a vowel and therefore cannot be a syllable in its own right. It can be argued that the non-first person dualis marker is a shortened form of a syllable /ndʒə/, as discussed in section 2.3.b on consonant clusters below. But even if /-ndʒ/ is interpreted as a syllable, the non-first person plural marker /-jn/ leaves no doubt that for person and number marking the syllable boundary and the morphological boundary do not coincide. Plural marker /-jn/ cannot be re-interpreted as a full syllable that has a vowel as well as consonants, so the case for a syllable pattern that has two final consonants stands, supported both by the occurrence of pre-final glottal stops and person and number markers such as /-jn/. Verbs that have in their last syllable a consonant as their final or a coda of a glottal stop and a final have CV patterns with three and four final consonants respectively, when these verbs are marked for second or third person plural with /-jn/.

c. *The status of the glottal stop*

Glottal stops have a limited distribution. They occur word-initially before a vowel and word-finally in final position or before the final consonant. Jiǎomùzú CV patterns call for syllables that consist at the least of one consonant and one vowel. There are quite a few words that start with only a vowel, see section 2.2.b on glottals in the description of consonants above, but there are no words or syllables that have a smooth onset. They all have either a glottal stop or a consonant as their initial. These words would be ungrammatical unless I propose a glottal stop to fill the required consonant slot in the CV pattern. Morphological marking, predominantly person and number marking, implies a CV pattern that has two final consonants. Non-first person plural is marked by /-jn/ suffixed to a verb root. The suffix /-ndʒ/, added to a verb root, marks second and third person dualis. It would be tempting to say that Jiǎomùzú syllable patterns normally either end in a vowel or in one consonant, and to view the occurrences of -CC as secondary, caused by morphological markers. However, this view would not take into account the plentiful occurrence of syllables that end in -ʔC. Either I count the glottal stop /ʔ/ as a proper phoneme, in which case I don't have to assume that there is a CV pattern consisting of a vowel only. But I do have to assume that rGyalrong can have syllables ending in two consonants - and proof for this comes from syllables that consist of a verb root and a person marker. Or I have to assume the glottal stop is a secondary phonetic phenomenon, in which case I have to assume a syllable consisting of one vowel only. Furthermore I am left with a large number of syllables ending in -ʔC, with the occurrence of the glottal unexplained unless there is another process at work that produces pre-final glottal stops. Such a possibility exists in the theories of tonality which have been put forward by several scholars. I will discuss them in section 2.2.h on tone below. A third possibility is that the glottal stop is a full phoneme word-initially but secondary in word-final position.

For now, in light of the previous observations, it seems to make more sense to grant the glottal stop full phoneme status and keep the most elegant CV patterns, as shown in the examples above.

d. *Syllable canon*

The Jiǎomùzú syllable canon can be represented in a formula as follows:

(C1)(C2)C3(C4)V(C5)(C6)

The consonants between brackets are optional. A Jiǎomùzú CV pattern at its simplest consist of C3 and a vowel. C4 is always an approximant (/j, l, w/ or /r/). The following subsections give a description of the possible initial and final consonant clusters. In the examples syllable breaks are represented by dots while morpheme boundaries are indicated by hyphens.

Initial clusters with three consonants

A Jiǎomùzú initial consonant cluster can at most have three consonants. There are two distinctive patterns for clusters with three consonants, with C1 and C4 being mutually exclusive. In the first one

C1 is empty, C4 is filled with a glide. In the second pattern C4 is empty, while C1 is filled by /r, m/ or /j/. here are some examples of the first pattern, [C1C2C3V(C5)(C6)]:

- (33)
- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| /ta-rmbok/ | mane (of a horse) (prefix-root) |
| /kə-rscat/ | eight (prefix-root) |
| /kə-mpʃar/ | beautiful (prefix-root) |
| /ca-mpso/ | musk (deer-musk) |
| /tə-jmbak/ | leaf (prefix-root) |
| /k ^h a. jŋguʔ/ | trough |

Some of the data with the glide /j/, such as /k^hajŋguʔ/ is suspect, in that /j/ may be an infix or part of a merged prefix⁷⁷ rather than a consonant properly belonging to the initial consonant cluster. This is a morphological rather than a phonological issue. More analysis, especially of meaning and form of affixes, should solve some of the problems surrounding the occurrence of /j/ in C1 position. In this pattern, C2 can be filled by /p, b, m, n, s, z, ʃ, ŋ/. C3 can be filled by /b, d, s, ʃ, dʒ, c, g/.

Examples of the second pattern, [C2C3C4V(C5)(C6)], are:

- (34)
- | | |
|------------|----------------------------|
| /mbroʔ/ | horse |
| /tə-skruʔ/ | body (prefix-root) |
| /spjaŋ.kə/ | wolf |
| /ka-mbjam/ | fly (v) (prefix-root) |
| /rdwe/ | argali |
| /tə-ntwa/ | sickle (prefix-root) |
| /tə-ŋgli/ | falsehood (prefix-root) |
| /ka-skliʔ/ | bear, endure (prefix-root) |

In this pattern, C2 can be filled by /p, m, n, s, z, r, ʃ, ʒ, k, ŋ, j/. C3 can be filled by /p, p^h, b, t, d, ts, dz, dʒ, c^h, k, g/.

Initial clusters with two consonants

Initial clusters consisting of two consonants follow either one of two patterns, [C2C3V(C5)(C6)] or [C3C4V(C5)(C6)]. C4 must be filled by a glide. The pattern in which both C2 and C3 are filled is rather more common than the second pattern with the C3C4 cluster. Below are some examples of the [C2C3V(C5)(C6)] pattern:

⁷⁷ Merged prefixes are quite common especially in Jiǎomùzú verb morphology. Verbal prefixes that mark mood, tense, aspect and evidentiality, among others, can merge into one prefix by retaining the initial consonant of the first prefix while the initial consonant of the second prefix is dropped. The vowel of the first prefix is dropped while the vowel of the second prefix is retained. In some cases a merged prefix can consist of three prefixes all rolled into one. For a discussion, see the chapter on verbs.

- (35)
- | | |
|-----------|--------------------------|
| /ta-ɾpi/ | hair (prefix-root) |
| /kə.mbuʔ/ | yak calf |
| /kə-ʃpət/ | livestock (prefix-root) |
| /tə-pʃiʔ/ | excrement (prefix-root) |
| /tə-ktsa/ | shoe, boot (prefix-root) |

In this pattern, C2 can be filled by /p, b, m, s, z, n, r, l, j, v, ʃ, ʒ, k, g, ŋ/. C3 can be filled by any consonant apart from /ʔ/. Examples of [C3C4V(C5)(C6)] are:

- (36)
- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| /k ^h a.priʔ/ | snake |
| /pja.rgoʔt/ | vulture |
| /ta-vluʔ/ | age (prefix-root) |
| /swej/ | barley |

In this pattern C3 can be filled by /p, p^h, m, t^h, r, s, z, v, j, ts, ʃ, ʒ, tʃ^h, c^h, k, k^h, g, w/.

Final clusters

Jiǎomùzú has thirteen consonants that can fill the final slot: /p, t, k, m, n, ŋ, dʒ, s, w, j, l, r, ʔ/. All of these, apart from /ʔ/ and /dʒ/, can be preceded by a glottal stop, see Appendix A and section 2.3.h. The only other possible clusters in final position are /-jn/ and /-ndʒ/, which are person markers, see section 7.2 on person and number in the verbs chapter. There are no voiced plosives, fricatives or affricates in final position. The suffixes /-dʒ/, which marks first person dualis, and /-ndʒ/, for non-first dualis, are exceptional. Because of their voicing, one would almost expect there to be a vowel following the consonant cluster: /-dʒə/ or /-ndʒə/. Supporting evidence for this comes from the second person dual pronoun /ndʒənʝo/, a variant of /nənʝondʒ/ (see chapter 3 on pronouns). The conclusion must be that the full form of the markers is indeed /-dʒə, -ndʒə/, but that in normal speech the vowel becomes diminished to the point of being lost, while the tell-tale voicing remains. In this study I transcribe the dualis markers, if in syllable final position, without the final vowel, but retaining their voicing.

Morphological processes such as marking of locatives and person markers may replace the final consonant(s) in a syllable at the phonetic level. These issues are described in section 2.3.j in this chapter and in the following chapters on morphology.

Obviously, this overview only reflects the possibilities within the present set of data. Though I have little doubt that the general analysis of the syllable canon is right, there is a danger in trying to give rules as to which consonants exactly group together and how. There is a good chance that, with the accumulation of more data as well as fine-tuning of the analysis for syllable breaks, new and different insights as to the clusters' internal rules of combination will emerge. For now I simply give a list of all the clusters I have found in Appendix B.

e. *The approximants*

A syllable in Jiăomùzú can have only one vowel. The simplest Jiăomùzú syllable consists of a consonant and a vowel. There is overwhelming evidence, based on this CV pattern, that the glides /w, j, r, l/ behave as consonants. None of the approximants ever occurs in the position of a vowel. There are no syllables without vowels in which an approximant acts as a vowel:

(37)	/tə-waʔm/	bear (prefix-root)	/wu-graʔl/	system (3s-root)
	/tsa.gə.jo/	yellow weasel	/ja.wət/	balcony
	/kʰo.roʔk/	ant	/kə.par/	jackal
	/ka.laʔ/	rabbit	/leŋ.leŋ.fuʔ/	kind of wild berry

f. *Prenasalised series*

There is a complete series of prenasalised plosives and affricates. The prenasal consonants is expressed by N:

(38)	Np Np ^h Nb	Nts Nts ^h Ndz
	Nt Nt ^h Nd	Ntʃ Ntʃ ^h Ndʒ
	Nc Nc ^h Nɟ	Ntɬ Ntɬ ^h Ndɬ
	Nk Nk ^h Ng	

'Prenasalised' here indicates a nasal occurring before a plosive or affricate that harmonises for place of articulation with the plosive or affricate. The palatal plosives are a bit of an exception in that they are prenasalised by /n/ which is realised almost as far back as a palatal, but without the distinctive palatalised sound of /ɲ/. The prenasalised consonants in Jiăomùzú are similar to the clusters in literary Tibetan that are transcribed with འ, *a-cung*, 'small a'. Plosives and affricates can be prefixed by a nasal that does not harmonise. Such clusters are not counted as prenasalised clusters. In example (39) the nasal harmonises with the bilabial, the cluster counts as a prenasalised one:

(39)	/mbor.kʰe/	literary Tibetan: འབར་ཁམས་ <i>'Bar-khams</i> , place name.

But in (40) the nasal does not harmonise with the velar and is considered a full consonant:

(40)	/kə-ngu/	nine (numeral prefix-root)

In the phonetic and phonemic transcriptions used in this study all nasals of prenasalised clusters are transcribed as full consonants, harmonising for place of articulation of the following plosive or affricate. So far only /ntɬ^h/ and /ntʃ^h/ are lacking in my data. More data gathering will eventually

show whether these clusters do not exist in Jiǎomùzú or if my initial data set simply missed them. Examples of prenasalised series:

(41)	/mp/	/kampʃok/	build, erect	/ka.mpuʔ/	cloth
	/mp ^h /	/təmp ^h et/	vomit	/təmp ^h i/	outside
	/mb/	/tambat/	mountain	/təmbriʔ/	rope
	/nt/	/təntwa/	sickle	/təntok/	beak
	/nt ^h /	/kant ^h en/	pull		
	/nd/	/sondiʔ/	day after tomorrow	/tandar/	rubbish
	/nc/	/tancap/	shadow side of a slope	/kancu/	transport
	/nc ^h /	/kənc ^h at/	flat	/k ^h anc ^h wak/	pit, stone
	/ɲj/	/k ^h anʃarara/	cicada	/ɲjuruʔ/	nit
	/ŋk/	/kavanʃka/	chew		
	/ŋk ^h /	/təŋk ^h uʔ/	behind, back	/kaŋk ^h ruŋ/	incarnate
	/ŋg/	/kananʃə/	share	/ʃkunuŋuʔ/	pestle
	/nts/	/karantsuk/	cut up		
	/nts ^h /	/kanənts ^h ok/	gnaw	/kənts ^h əʔp/	hasty
	/ndz/	/kawandzor/	grind	/tandzwi/	tusk
	/ntʃ/				
	/ntʃ ^h /	/kantʃ ^h a/	butcher	/kantʃ ^h iʔ/	choose
	/ndʒ/	/tarndʒak/	wrinkle	/wuʃondʒ/	3d
	/ntʃ/	/kantʃok/	wild goose		
	/ntʃ ^h /				
	/ndʃ/	/kandʃaʔp/	tumble, fall	/təndʃu/	skin

g. *Syllable breaks*

As explained in section 2.3.b on syllable patterns above, morpheme boundaries and syllable breaks do not always coincide. The most frequent occurrence of a disconnect between boundaries on the morphological and syllabic level is in the case of morphemes that consist of one or two consonants only, while the Jiǎomùzú CV pattern requires each syllable to also have a vowel. For example, *k^horoʔk*, 'ant' consists of the prefix *k^h-* which occurs in animal names signalling 'non-mammal'. The morpheme break is after *k^h-*. But the most basic syllable pattern consists of one consonant and one

vowel, requiring a syllable break after *k^ho*. In the examples in this section a hyphen marks the morpheme boundary, a dot indicates the syllable break:

(42) [k^ho'roʔk] /k^h-o.roʔk/ ant

Since morphemes carry meaning, I mark morphological boundaries in the following chapters, not syllable breaks. Nevertheless, syllable breaks can be important for practical reasons such as the development of a phonologically sound orthography. I therefore briefly discuss some issues concerning syllable breaks here.

For most words in the Jiǎomùzú dialects it is easy to establish clear, unequivocal syllable breaks based on CV patterns and morphological information, since many Jiǎomùzú words consist of strings of morphemes whose boundaries coincide with CV patterns. Two factors that can cause problems in assigning correct syllable breaks are fastness of connected speech and ambiguity of a consonant sequence. In such cases, application of morphological information usually solves the issue. For example, in the fastness of connected speech, and due to a tendency towards voicelessness, vowels sometimes disappear, especially in unstressed syllables. This can lead to wrong grouping of consonants in a cluster and the disappearance of entire syllables:

(43) [n̥aʔə'ʃokʰ] */na-tə-ʃoʔk/ finished, 2s

In normal speech there are apparently just three syllables, though the [ʃ] may sound just a fraction longer than normally, and rounding, expected on consonants in syllables with rounded vowels, does not take place. The unaccountable lengthening of the consonant can be an indication of a hidden vowel, for which in this case proof comes from morphological comparison:

(44) /ka-joʔk/ end (dynamic verb prefix-root) [ka'joʔkʰ]
 /ka-sə-joʔk/ finish (dynamic verb prefix-causal marker-root) [kasi'joʔkʰ],
 [ka'ʃoʔkʰ]

The vowel of the causal marker assimilates for place with the glide, becoming [i], or disappearing altogether. By analogy with this form the correct second singular past form of 'finish' is:

(45) /na-tə-sə-joʔk-w/ finished (past-2-causality-root-2s) [n̥aʔə'ʃoʔkʰ]

Sometimes the apparent loss of vowels leads to seemingly impossible consonant clusters, as in [mbrza], 'knife'. Jiǎomùzú cannot have four consonants in an initial cluster, so there must be a syllable break. But it is unclear how it should be applied: /mbə.rza/ and /mbər.za/ are equally valid and there is no morphological information that can come to the rescue. In such a case the ambiguity cannot be solved dialect-internally. When, say for orthographic reasons, it is still desirable to decide

on a syllable break, comparison with variants from other dialects can be helpful. The following forms are from my word list survey:⁷⁸

(46)	Mǐyàluó ⁷⁹	[brtza]
	Dǎngbà	[mbə ¹ rtze]
	Shāshíduō	[brstza]
	Báiwān	[mbə ¹ rtsa]
	Bǎoxìng	[mbə ¹ rtsa]
	Dānbā	[za ¹ griʔ]
	Bādǐ	[za ¹ grəʔk]

Based on a comparison with Bǎoxìng and Báiwān the Jiǎomùzú variant [mbrza] could be analysed as /mbə.rza/.

In some instances an imploded syllable can become part of morphologically standardised forms:

(47)	/kə-raʔm/	dry (non-process verb; prefix-root)
	/ka-rə-kram/	make, cause to dry (process verb; prefix-cause-root)

The cluster /kr/ in the dynamic verb can easily be traced to a contraction of the two syllables of the stative verb. This kind of process may be responsible for quite a few of the initial consonant clusters, especially in verb roots. Careful analysis is needed to see which clusters are morphologically frozen or standardised, and which are actually caused by imploded syllables and should be split up in a prefix and root. Observations as to which clusters are indeed accepted by native speakers as morphological units, and which are strings of affixes that lose their separate identity only in connected speech can fruitfully inform such analysis.⁸⁰

The second factor that can cause mistakes in the correct allocation of syllable breaks is ambiguity of a consonant sequence. The final consonant of the preceding syllable is mistaken for the first consonant of the following syllable and vice versa. This is especially so for words in which it is not immediately clear where an affix ends and a root starts, for loanwords, and for compound words consisting of roots with consonant clusters. Decisions on ambiguous syllable breaks that cannot be resolved with the help of word-internal morphological information can be informed by application of analogy from unambiguous sequences:

⁷⁸ Prins 1997 (unpublished).

⁷⁹ 米亚罗, མྱལ་ལོ་ Myag-lo.

⁸⁰ The implosion of syllables due to the tendency of speakers to drop vowels is a phonological process similar to, but not the same as, the morphological processes in which verbal prefixes are merged to form one new prefix, retaining the meanings of both the merged prefixes. For a discussion, see the chapter on verbs.

(48)	[kən'gu]		nine
	[zji]	/zji/	ten
	[zji'ngu]	/zji-ngu/	nineteen (ten-nine)
	*/kən.gu/	/kə.ngu/	nine
	[saxsəŋ'k ^h ʉʔ]		afternoon
	[sa'xsə]	/sa.ksə/	noon
	[tə'ŋk ^h ʉʔ]	/tə-ŋk ^h ʉʔ/	back; behind (n, prefix-root)
	*/sa.ksəŋ.k ^h ʉʔ/	/sa.ksə-ŋk ^h ʉʔ/	afternoon

In a small number of cases dialect-internal characteristics such as CV patterns, morphological information and analogy with unambiguous sequences fail to bring resolution. If nevertheless for pragmatic reasons a choice about a syllable break, one way or the other, has to be made, dialect external or even language external information can inform the decision. For the Jiǎomùzú dialects, comparison with other dialects or languages such as literary Tibetan and Chinese, can be helpful, especially for loanwords:

(49)	[ja'ŋxwo ^ʔ]		matches
	*/ja.ŋxwo ^ʔ /	/jaŋ.hwo ^ʔ /	Chinese: 洋火, <i>yáng huǒ</i> , 'foreign fire'
	[rgambə'tsaʔ]		small box (box-small)
	*/rga.mbə.tsaʔ/	/rgam.bə-tsaʔ/	literary Tibetan: སྒམ་, <i>sgam</i> , 'box'

Sometimes a syllable break can be assigned in either one of two valid ways, for lack of analogy with other syllables, morphological information and direct supportive evidence from other languages or dialects:

(50)	[məntoʔk]	flower

The Jiǎomùzú syllable canon would support either /mə.ntoʔk/ or /mən.toʔk/. There is no direct match in the literary Tibetan form, which is མེ་རྩ་ཁྱེ་, *me-tog*. In such cases, though there is no dialect-internal evidence that would support one choice over the other, other arguments may be brought into play if a decision is required. The Tibetan form has as initial syllable *me*, and in Jiǎomùzú there are many instances of prenasalised /t/. The preferred choice here may therefore be /mə.ntoʔk/. Such reasoning is clearly not based on phonological or other dialect-internal arguments, but may help decide ambiguous cases while staying as close as possible to common characteristics of the dialect.

h. *Glottal stops, CV patterns and tone*

For the purpose of clarity in the discussions following in this section and the next, I define 'tone' as lexical tone: a distinctive pitch level of a syllable and an essential feature of the meaning of a word. I define 'pitch' as an auditory sensation in terms of which a sound may be ordered on a scale from 'low' to 'high'. And 'accent' is the emphasis which makes a word stand out in a stream of speech. Therefore accent is not solely a matter of loudness but also of pitch and duration. 'Stress' refers to the degree of force used in producing a syllable. Prominence of a syllable is usually due to an increase in loudness of a stressed syllable, but increases in length and often pitch may contribute as well. Lexical stress distinguishes meaning in a word.⁸¹

In previous descriptions of rGyalrong phonology various authors have noted contrast between level and falling pitch, in some studies linked to the occurrence of a glottal in final or pre-final position of the phonological word:⁸²

(51)	[tə'mbrɪ]	plaything, toy	[tə'rpû]	chaff
	[tə'mbrɪʔ]	rope (n)	[tə'rpûʔ]	seed
	[kʰa'ʃpâ]	frog	[kə'jô]	light (not heavy)
	[ka'ʃpāʔ]	know	[kə'jôʔ]	sheep

Different ideas have been offered to account for these phenomena. Some authors have interpreted the data to indicate that rGyalrong has a tonal contrast. However, solutions to the glottal-and-pitch phenomena have lacked the comprehensiveness to account for all data. This is firstly because the contrasting pitch and the occurrence of the glottal are limited to final syllables. Secondly, both the perceived tonality and the glottal stop linked to its occurrence disappear in compounds, even if the affected syllable is still in final position, not to mention connected speech. And third, the contrasting pairs of words are not necessarily the same across the dialects. I have, so far, not found any single syllable words that contrast for pitch in Jiăomùzú. The contrast between level and falling pitch in syllables is, at best, minimal and occurs independently from the glottal stop. In my data there are words with a glottal but a falling pitch. I also have words that have a level pitch, but no glottal appears:

⁸¹ These definitions are borrowed from David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (1991).

⁸² Kin 1949, Mansier 1983, and Nagano 1984 find that tone is not phonemic, and do not mention glottal stops in connection with tone. Jin 1957, Wolfenden 1936, Lín Xiàngróng 1993 and Chang 1968 find some pairs of words in which pitch is contrastive, but all of them admit there is no tonal system to be derived from these. Of these authors, only Wolfenden notes the existence of glottal stops in word final position. The watershed paper on tonality in rGyalrong is Dài and Yanmuchu 1992. Dài concludes that there is tone, or at least that a tonal system is developing, and that occurrence of the glottal stop and level pitch are linked. Lin You-Jing 2000 builds on Dài's work.

- (52) [zwîʔ] wall
 [kôʔ] scallion, onion
 [âʔm] iron

- (53) [ŋōs] be
 [pāk] pig
 [fōk] buckwheat

Then there are instances where an unaccented syllable retains a glottal and a level pitch:

- (54) ['nəmāʔk], ['nəmāʔ] no, not at all

Jiǎomùzú CV patterns may be of help here. In section 2.3.b on CV patterns I have proposed two basic patterns, CV and -V(C)(C), to fit the requirements of my data. One of these, CV, already made it necessary to view the glottal stop as a full phoneme. The -V(C)(C) pattern, necessitated by morphological markers suffixed to the root syllable, leaves space for clusters consisting of two consonants. If the glottal stop counts as a full consonant it can fill either the final or the pre-final consonant spot. It then fits all the Jiǎomùzú data without having to pose a separate tonal system. The disappearance of the glottal from connected speech, compounds etc. may be explained by the tendency in Jiǎomùzú for final consonants to erode into disappearance, and the displacement that takes place when morphological markers are added to the end of a syllable. Or the case can be made for the glottal to have limited distribution, word initially before a vowel, and word finally or prefinally in accented syllables only. A third possible way of looking at the puzzle is suggested by Dài and Yanmuchu in their 1992 paper. They note that the first condition to affect a split into tones is the presence of a final plosive in a syllable.⁸³ If this is correct, the tendency of the Jiǎomùzú dialects to lose finals and the presence of final and pre-final glottal stops may indicate that final stops are eroding into glottal stops. This in turn may point to the beginnings of the development of a tonal system.⁸⁴ Each of these possible interpretations would consider the appearance of the glottal as primary. Pitch becomes a secondary feature that does not contrast, which fits the Jiǎomùzú data. Slight level and falling pitch patterns can be observed. Level pitch mainly, but not always, occurs in closed syllables ending in a plosive, whereas falling pitch occurs predominantly, but not always, in open syllables or in syllables ending in a nasal or a fricative.

An additional indication that the glottal stop is primary, with pitch or tonal features as a secondary issue, comes from data that seems to imply a role for the glottal in distinguishing meaning on the

⁸³ Dài and Yanmuchu (1992: 29).

⁸⁴ There is some anecdotal evidence that supports this theory. For example, I have heard native speakers from Jiǎomùzú Mùchǎng pronounce 'sheep' as [kəʔjəʔk], and 'Tibetan' as [kəʔruk], with a clear final plosive. Also, Professor Āwàng suggests that [taʔroʔ], 'leader' derives from an ancient tribal name pronounced [taʔrək]. The descendants of the people bearing this name became leaders, and the word [taʔrək], by extension, came to mean 'leader, headman, boss'. The final consonant then sloughed off, leaving only a glottal stop, so that now we are left with the contrasting pair /ta.ro/, 'chest' and /ta.roʔ/, 'leader'.

grammatical level as well as on the phonological level. Consider the following two sentences from Púzhi:

- (55) [ka'ndza] /kandza/ eat
 [nə'ndzeŋ] /nə-ndze-ŋ/ EREFL-eat-1s
 I eat by myself (without any company).
 [ŋa nə'ndzeʔŋ] /ŋa nə-ndzeʔ-ŋ/ I EREFL-eat-1s
 I eat [something] myself (without sharing it with others).

Apart from the occurrence of *ŋa*, 'I', for emphasis, the only difference between the sentences is the glottal stop. Apparently the glottal stop here marks the subtle difference between semantic notions of 'by myself, without company' and 'by myself, without sharing the food'. The emphatic reflexivity marker *nə-* emphasises 'myself', see section (7.8.e) on reflexivity in the chapter on verbs, but is not able to mark the difference between the two different levels of 'not with others'. For that, the glottal stop is pressed into service. The difference is subtle. Of course, if I eat by myself, I also don't share my food with others. But the second phrase clearly means that there are other people there. I just don't want to give them any of my food. At this point it is unclear to me if such grammatical distinctions marked by a glottal stop are a matter of individual speaker preference, local usage at, say, the village level, or a broadly applicable principle that simply has gone unnoticed before. It is obvious that the glottal stop cannot be ignored and that a dedicated study of its functions and usage may open unexpectedly fruitful fields of study.

In regards to tone rGyalrong gives a mixed picture. Like the Jiǎomùzú dialects, the Northern dialect of Chábǎo does not have tone, though stress is contrastive.⁸⁵ Lin, in her most recent work on the Central dialect of Zhuōkèjī, proposes a simple two-way contrast between toneless words and words that have a falling tone. The glottal stop is not phonemic and plays no role in tonal patterns. Tonality is contrastive not only on the phonemic level but also marks grammatical distinctions.⁸⁶ Sun notes glottal stops as well as tonal alternations that serve, among other things, to mark tense, aspect and modal meanings on verbs for Northern rGyalrong varieties and other members of rGyalrongic.⁸⁷ A preliminary glance at the dialects of Southern rGyalrong shows that some of them have tonal systems that involve at least high, mid and low level tones as well as falling tones, by far the most complex tonal system in the rGyalrongic languages reported so far. At this point only raw data are

⁸⁵ Xiàng (2008: 36).

⁸⁶ Lin 2009.

⁸⁷ Sun 2000a and Sun 2000b.

i. *Stress, pitch and accent*

1. Pitch

The default pattern for two syllable words is accent on the second syllable, with low pitch on the first:

Two syllable words that consist of a prefix and a root have low pitch on the prefix, and high pitch on the accented second syllable. In two syllable words that are compounds the pitch on the unaccented syllable is somewhat lower than that on the accented syllable, but not as low as on the prefix in prefix-root combinations. Level of pitch is relative:

Note that the initial consonant has become voiceless. This can be attributed either to a tendency in Jiǎomùzú to devoice initial plosives and affricates or to a straight loan from Tibetan [tʃʰə'sram], 'otter'; literary Tibetan: ཇུ་སྐྱལ, *chu-sram*.

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Pitch patterns for three syllable words

The default pattern for three syllable words is accent and accompanying high pitch on the final syllable, with low pitch on the unaccented initial syllable and high pitch on the unaccented second syllable:

- (58) /ta.kʃi.'ru/ taste
L H H
/k^ha.rdi.'liʔ/ earth worm
L H H

A secondary pattern exists for words with reduplicated syllables, which have the accent on the second syllable with low pitch on both the initial and final syllable:

- (59) /k^ha.'mɲaʔm.mɲaʔm/ small bell for leading a circle dance
L H L
/ta.'tʃəm.tʃəm/ niter
L H L

Pitch patterns for four syllable words

The default pattern for four syllable words is accent on the final syllable, with low pitch on the initial syllable and high pitch on the second and third syllables:

- (60) /k^ha.jpə.lo.'ta/ skipping (a child's game)
L H H H
/kə.ka.va.'ʃki/ burnt, scorched
L H H H
/ka.ʃi.ktek.'snaŋ/ brothers
L H H H

A second pattern exists, as for three syllable words, for words that have reduplication of a syllable. In such words, the accent is on the second syllable. The initial syllable takes a low pitch, as do the third and fourth syllables:

- (61) /k^ha.'jpə.lo.lo/ butterfly
L H L L
/da.'tsə.go.go/ two stringed instrument
L H L L
/kə.'ɲa.gu.guʔ/ bent
L H L L
/ka.'ɲa.p^hət.p^hət/ lose contact with
L H L L

Pitch patterns for words of more than four syllables

Words that consist of more than four syllables are usually verb roots with a string of affixes. In this type of word stress is contrastive on the morphological level and overrules previous pitch patterns. I discuss this kind of stress pattern in section 2.3.j on morpho-phonemics at the end of this chapter and where relevant in chapter 7 on verb morphology.

Compounds

The accent in compounds consisting of three or four syllables is on the part of the compound that has dominance in establishing meaning or is emphasised by the speaker. Morpheme breaks are marked by hyphens, syllable breaks by dots. Some compounds consist of two nouns connected by a genitive construction in which the second term of the genitive is marked by the third person singular prefix *w-*. For more on genitive constructions, see the chapters on pronouns and nouns:

- (62) /'mbroʔ-w-a.rmbok/ mane (of a horse) (horse-3s.mane)
 H L L
 /'smok-kə.ŋam/ down (a very soft kind of hair) (wool-soft)
 H L L
- /k^hor.lo-'mnu/ augur, drill (wheel-drill)
 L H H
 /ta.waʔp-'jeʔm/ sewing kit (needle-house)
 L H H
- /k^ha.'mtse-pə.rjo/ centipede (bug-hundred)
 L H L L
 /tə.'ʃmi-w-a.wo/ tongue tip (tongue-3s-head)
 L H L L

The compounds conform to either the first or the second pitch pattern established earlier. In doing so, the constituent of the compound that is less emphasised loses its original pitch pattern and accent. Accent only occurs on one syllable within a word:

- (63) /tə.'ʃmi/ tongue
 /ta.'wo/ head
 /tə.'ʃmi-w-a.wo/ tongue tip (tongue-3s-head)

Loanwords

Most loanwords conform to the patterns described above, but there are some that behave differently. They have an accent on the first syllable in two syllable words, followed by a low pitch on the second syllable:

- (64) /ʃun.lən/ bamboo food steamer; Chinese: 蒸笼 *zhēnglóng*
 H L
 /p^{hi}.si.jən/ leather box or chest; Chinese: 皮箱 *píxiāng*
 H L L

This sort of pattern, as well as the assignment of pitch in loanwords, can be accounted for by a rule that syllables following an accented syllable automatically have low pitch.

Based on this overview the following rules can be deduced for pitch patterns in Jiǎomùzú:

- accented syllables have high pitch
- there is only one accent per word
- default accent is on the final syllable
- initial un-accented syllables take low pitch
- syllables following the initial syllable and leading up to an accent take high pitch
- post-accent syllables take low pitch

High and low are relative standards. If two low or high pitches follow each other in a word, e.g. H-L-L, as in /k^həpəlolo/, 'butterfly', the first low pitch will be pronounced at mid level and the last one at low level. Two high pitches leading up to the accent, as in /kəkavaʃki/, 'burnt', will sound like a mid level and a high level pitch respectively.

Accented syllables in Jiǎomùzú are marked both by a greater degree of loudness or force and a higher pitch than the surrounding syllables. Since pitch patterns are predictable, as shown above, but not contrastive, I do not mark pitch and accent in the phonemic descriptions.

2. Stress

Stress is contrastive on the morphological level, where it marks a variety of meanings, such as the difference between interrogative and prohibitive. Interrogatives and prohibitives are both marked by prefix *mə*, but only the verb root of the prohibitive is stressed. In the example below hyphens mark morpheme breaks and a stress mark indicates stress. The two verb phrases both have three syllables. The final syllable of each example consists of two morphemes:

- (65a) /mə-tə-tʃ^{hi}i-n/ Will you go? (INT-2-go-2s)
 L H L
- (65b) /mə-tə-^{hi}tʃi-n/ Don't go. (PROH-2-go-2s)
 L L H

Since pitch and accent are not contrastive on the phonological or the morphological level, I do not mark phonemic transcriptions for it in the following chapters. Stress is predictable and contrastive, and will be marked as appropriate throughout the rest of this study.

I discuss grammatically contrastive stress patterns more fully in sections 7.4 and 7.5 of the verb chapter. Here I just give a concise overview of the grammatical functions marked by stress. Contrastive stress is used to mark three kinds of evidentiality, first and second person present imperfective aspect, past-in-the-future relative tense and imperatives. Example (65a, b) above and examples (66), (67) and (68) below show the regular stress patterns for these grammatical functions. In the verb phrase two grammatical functions marked by two separate prefixes can merge into one slot. Usually the consonant of the first prefix remains as well as the vowel of the second prefix. If the second prefix carries grammatically distinctive stress, as in the case of the non-direct evidentiality marker *a-*, the stress remains, as in example (66). In this study I transcribe *a-* in its full form. Another kind of evidentiality is signalled by observation marker *na-*, used when a speaker has personal experience of an event or object. This marker is also stressed. After negation marker *ma-* and with some linking and existential verbs the vowel of the observation marker becomes *ə*-, see example (67). Since both *na-* and *nə-* can occur unstressed, signalling other grammatical functions, in the same slot, both forms of the observation marker must be marked for contrastive stress. The third stressed evidentiality marker is *nə-* which signals outside authority, see example (66). First en second person present imperfective aspect is marked by the stressed prefix *kə-*, as in (66). The relative tense past-in-the-future is formed by prefixing a perfective marker to a verb root and adding stress to the prefix. In normal perfective aspect frames the perfective marker is not stressed, as in example (66). Morpheme breaks are indicated by hyphens in the following examples.

(66)	/ka-top/	[kaɾop]	hit (INF-root)
	/'kə-top-ŋ/	['kətom]	I'm hitting (PRIMP-root-1s)
	/ŋa-top-w/	[ŋaɾop]	he is hitting (PRIMP-root-3s)
	/na-top-w/	[naɾop]	he hit (PFT-root-3s)
	/na-'top-w/	[na'ɾop]	hit! (IMP-root-2s)
	/'na-top-w/	['naɾop]	he is hitting (OBS-root-3s)
	/na-'a-top-w/	['naɾop]	he hit (PFT-NEV-root-3s)
	/'nə-top-w/	['nəɾop]	he hit (EV-root-3s)
	/ma-top-w/	[maɾop]	doesn't hit (NEG-root-3s)
	/'na-top-ŋ tʃe/	['naɾom tʃe]	once I will have hit (PFT-root-1s LOC)
(67)	/kə-mem/	[kəməm]	tasty (INF-root)
	/'na-mem/	['naməmə]	tasty (OBS-root)
	/ma-'nə-mem/	[ma'nəməmə]	not tasty (NEG-OBS-root)
(68)	/ka-ju/	[kaɲy]	live, be at home (INF-root)
	/ju/	[ɲy]	is at home (root)
	/ma-ju/	[maɲy]	is not at home (NEG-root)
	/'na-ju/	['naɲy]	is at home (OBS-root)
	/ma-'nə-ju/	[ma'nəɲy]	is not at home (NEG-OBS-root)

j. *Assimilation and dissimilation*

Assimilation in Jiăomùzú is expressed in a variety of ways. I give the main categories below, with some examples for each.

Voicing

There is a tendency for plosives to soften into fricatives in the Jiăomùzú dialects. These fricatives then may assimilate for voicing with the following consonants or vowels:

(69)	/k/ - [ɣ]	/tokənatsoʔŋ/	[təɣənaʔtsəŋ]	look, 1s past
		/kanəknu/	[kanəʔɣnu]	feel guilty
	/g/ - [ɣ]	/təgʒo/	[təʔɣʒo]	genital organ
		/zgogden/	[zgoʔɣdɛŋ]	threshold
	/p/ - [ɸ]	/pkwaʔ/	[ɸkwaʔ]	chicken
		/tapke/	[təʔɸke]	be full (after eating)
	/p/ - [b]	/ʒopʒop/	[ʒəbʔʒəpʰ]	fish
		/b/ - [β]	/kə bde/	[kəʔβde]

Voicing of voiceless consonants such as fricatives in a voiced environment is also common:

(70)	/kasənəna/	[kazənə'na]	stop, cease

/ɾ/ can be devoiced after /k/ and especially /k^h/:

(71)	/k ^h roŋk ^h roŋ/	[k ^h ɾəŋ 'k ^h ɾəŋ]	throat
	/k ^h rəʔw/	[k ^h ɾəʔw]	rice

Place of articulation

In the prenasalised series the nasals assimilate to the place of articulation of the following plosive or affricate, see section 2.3.f on the prenasalised series.

The vowel /u/ assimilates to the place of articulation of preceding consonants, moving forward to [ʊ] or even [ø]:

(72)	/kəmbɾu/	[kə'mbrø]	yak
	/tavlu/	[tə'vɫø]	age
	/mep ^h uʔ/	[me'p ^h ʊʔ]	poplar
	/kətsəru/	[kətsə'rʊ]	salty

The vowel /ə/ in non-accented syllables can assimilate to [ɔ] before /o, w/, and to [i] or [e] before palatals and alveolars occurring in a following syllable:

(73)	/təjla/	[tɛ'jla, ti'jla]	milk
	/təjwaʔk/	[tɛ'jwaʔk]	neighbour
	/təskruʔ/	[ti'skrʊʔ]	body
	/təʃnəʔ/	[ti'ʃnəʔ]	heart
	/təŋgro/	[tə'ŋgrɔ]	sinew, tendon
	/təmɲok/	[tə'mɲɔk]	bread
	/kəwas/	[kə'was]	fly

/a/ in a non-accented syllable can become [ɑ] before syllables with /o, k/ or /w/ and [e] before palatals:

(74)	/tajmi/	[tɛ'jmi]	tail
	/tajtʃen/	[tɛ'jtʃɛn]	scales, steelyard
	/kaktor/	[kɑ'ktɔr]	break up, scatter
	/p ^h aroʔk/	[p ^h ɑ'rɔʔk]	crow
	/kərnaʔk/	[kə'rɲɑʔk]	deep
	/kəpsak/	[kə'psak]	light, not dark
	/kawoʔr/	[kɑ'wɔʔr]	help with physical labour
	/kawu/	[kɑ'wu]	charm box

The assimilation caused by /w/ in these cases seems to indicate that native speakers perceive of /w/ as of a velar rather than a bilabial approximant. However, assimilation does not happen in all environments with /w/ and apparently is a matter of speaker preference. For this reason I keep /w/ in the bilabial column rather than grouping it with the velars.

Mode of articulation

plosives may harmonise with mode of articulation with nasals and fricatives:

(75)	/k/ - [ŋ]	/pakndze/	[paŋ'ndze]	swill, pigs feed
		/p ^h a mbo/	[p ^h aŋ'mbo]	corpse
	/c/ - [ç]	/stʃi/	[ʃçi]	linking verb 'be'

Disappearance of finals before following initials

In the flow of speech finals tend to disappear, sometimes without leaving a trace, sometimes with a glottal as a reminder:

- (76) /nə-ʃeʔmbak wu-je ɲi-ndʁa/ [nəʃeʔm'baʔɲindʁa]
 2s:GEN-family 3s-POSS 3p:GEN-picture
 pictures of your family
- /kərscaʔ-zʃi/ [kərscaʔzʃi]
 eight-ten
 eighty
- /tajiʔk-mdzoʔ/ [tajiʔmdzoʔ]
 hand-digit
 finger

Morpho-phonemics

The principles of assimilation and dissimilation as described above also hold on the morphological level, when affixes are attached to roots. The phonological shape of the affix can influence the realisation of the root. For example, when a root is marked with the locative suffix *-j*, phonetically, the final consonant, if there is one, of the root drops out while the vowel of the last syllable assimilates for place to a more palatal or central environment. Locative *-j* sometimes is not pronounced:

- (77) /kantʃʰak/ /kantʃʰak-j/ [ka'ntʃʰej]
 market, town market-LOC
 at the market, in town
- /kʰa/ /kʰa-j/ [kʰej]
 room room-LOC
 in the communal kitchen or livingroom
- /təŋgu/ /təŋgu-j/ [təŋgi]
 inside inside-LOC
 on the inside
- /ston-pa/ /ston-pa-j/ [ston'pe]
 every-year every-year-LOC
 in every year, yearly
- (78) /loser w-əʒak-j/ [wu'ʒeʔ]
 New.Year 3s:GEN-time-LOC
 at New Year's

- (79) /tambat w-ərka-j/ [wurke]
 mountain 3s:GEN-top-LOC
 on top of the mountain

Another example is the third person genitive marker *w-*, which replaces the initial consonant of a noun marker in possessives and other genitive type constructions. If *w-* is prefixed to a noun that has *ta-* as its nominal prefix, the vowel [a] remains unaltered. But if the prefix is *tə-* the central vowel is realised more as a back vowel [u]:

- (80) /ta-miʔ/ leg /w-a.miʔ/ [wa'miʔ] his leg
 3s:GEN-leg
 /tə-skruʔ/ body /w-ə.skruʔ/ [wu'skrʊʔ] his body
 3s:GEN-body

For nouns that do not have a nominal prefix the third person marker *wu-* is prefixed in its full form and the vowel is realised as [u]:

- (81) /hawʂuɕ/ number /wu-hawʂuɕ/ [wu'hawʂuɕ] his number
 3s:GEN-number

In the Jiǎomùzú verb paradigms, the pronominal suffixes are very important. However, it is not always easy to pinpoint exactly what the suffix is, because of the way the suffixes and the finals of the verb stem influence each other phonetically. Before I discuss the verb paradigm I first establish some of the morphophonemic rules of thumb and give some examples for common verb forms.

Final consonants

Jiǎomùzú verb roots can have a final consonant. These finals are from one of four categories: plosive, nasal, fricative or glide. Person and number suffixes influence, and sometimes are influenced by, these consonants. In my data there are examples with final plosives /p,t/ and /k/, final nasals /m/ and /n/, final fricative /s/ and final glides /l/ and /r/. The following generalisations can be extrapolated from my data:

- 1s -ŋ - plosives take the same place as the first person singular marker or become a glottal, while final glottals disappear
 - nasals take the same place as the first person singular marker
 - fricatives and glides are overruled and replaced by the first person singular marker

In the following examples the verb *kaleʔt* is used in the sense of 'write', part of the phrase *tascok kaleʔt*, 'write [any kind of writing]'. The verb *kasəraʔm* is transitive and means literally 'cause to dry'. The forms between slashes show the full form of the verb stems with their suffixes. The forms in brackets are phonetic transcriptions.

(82)	kanəʒup	sleep	/nəʒup-ŋ/	[nə'ʒym]	I sleep
	kaleʔt	write	/leʔt-ŋ/	[leʔn]	I write
	karʒəʔk	run	/rʒəʔk-ŋ/	[rʒəʔŋ]	I run
	kataʔ	put	/taʔ-ŋ/	[taʔŋ]	I put
	kasəraʔm	dry	/səraʔm-ŋ/	[sə'raʔm]	I dry
	kandon	read	/ndon-ŋ/	[ndon]	I read
	kanəkroʔs	discuss	/nəkroʔs-ŋ/	[nəkroʔŋ]	I discuss
	kap ^h əl	offer up	/p ^h əl-ŋ/	[p ^h əŋ]	I offer up
	kaskoʔr	hire	/skoʔr-ŋ/	[skoʔŋ]	I hire

- 2s/3s -n/-w
- plosives remain or become a glottal; glottals remain and may block the pronunciation of the number suffix
 - nasals take the same place as the second person singular markers
 - fricatives drop out, with sometimes a glottal replacing final as well as suffix
 - glides drop out or become a glottal

Jiāomùzú marks second and third person singular on transitive verbs with *-w*. Intransitive verbs are not marked for third person singular, while second person singular has *-n*. The examples below are all for second person singular.

(83)	katop	hit	/tə-top-w/	[tə'top]	you hit
	kaleʔt	write	/tə-leʔt-w/	[tə'leʔt]	you write
	kəʃpaʔk	thirsty	/tə-ʃpaʔk-n/	[tə'ʃpaʔk]	you are thirsty
	kataʔ	put	/tə-taʔ-w/	[tə'taʔw]	you put
	kasəraʔm	dry	/tə-səraʔm-w/	[təsə'raʔm]	you dry
	kandon	read	/tə-ndon-w/	[tə'ndon]	you read
	kanəkroʔs	discuss	/tə-nəkroʔs-w/	[tə'nəkroʔw]	you discuss
	kap ^h əl	offer up	/tə-p ^h əl-w/	[tə'p ^h əw]	you offer up
	kaskoʔr	hire	/tə-skoʔr-w/	[tə'skoʔ]	you hire

(85)	kanəʒup	sleep	/nəʒup-ndʒ/	[nə'ʒyndʒ] [nə'ʒymdʒ]	they two sleep
	katop	hit	/top-ndʒ/	[tɔmdʒ] [tɔndʒ]	they two hit
	kaleʔt	write	/leʔt-ndʒ/	[lendʒ]	they two write
	karʒəʔk	run	/rʒəʔk-ndʒ/	[rʒəndʒ]	they two run
	kataʔ	put	/taʔ-ndʒ/	[tandʒ]	they two put
	kasəraʔm	dry	/səraʔm-ndʒ/	[sə'ramdʒ]	they two dry
	kandon	read	/ndon-ndʒ/	[ndondʒ]	they two read
	kanəkroʔs	discuss	/nəkroʔs-ndʒ/	[nəkrondʒ]	they two discuss
	kap ^h əl	offer up	/p ^h əl-ndʒ/	[p ^h əndʒ]	they two offer up
	kaskoʔr	hire	/skoʔr-ndʒ/	[skondʒ]	they two hire

1p, 2p/3p -j, -jn - final consonants of all categories drop out

(86)	katop	hit	/top-j/	[toj]	we hit
	kanəʒup	sleep	/tə-ʒup-jn/	[tə'ʒyjɲ]	you (p) sleep
	kaleʔt	hit	/leʔt-jn/	[lejɲ]	they hit
	kəʃpaʔk	thirsty	/ʃpaʔk-j/	[ʃpaj]	we are thirsty
	kataʔ	put	/taʔ-jn/	[tajɲ]	they put
	kasəraʔm	dry	/səraʔm-jn/	[sə'rajɲ]	they dry
	kandon	read	/tə-ndon-jn/	[tə'ndojɲ]	you (p) read
	kanəkroʔs	discuss	/nəkroʔs-j/	[nəkroj]	we discuss
	kap ^h əl	offer up	/p ^h əl-j/	[p ^h əj]	we offer up
	kaskoʔr	hire	/tə-skor-jn/	[tə'skojɲ]	you (p) hire

Final vowels

All six of the Jiāomùzú vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ and /ə/ can occur as finals of verb roots. Person and number suffixes influence the final vowels in open syllable verbal roots to some extent, though not nearly as much as they do final consonants. In general the following rules apply:

The second and the third person singular transitive suffix *-w* tends to be difficult to hear or gets dropped, especially after final *-o*, *-u* and *-ə*. The finals *-a* and *-e* tend to become rounded before the *-w* suffix:

(87)	/karko/	put	/tərko-w/	[tə'rko]	you put
	/kaptɹu/	melt	/ptɹu-w/	[ptɹʊ]	he melts
	/kamejkrə/	climb	/mejkrə-w/	[me'jkrə]	she climbs
	/kava/	do	/təva-w/	[tə'vø]	you do
	/karəkse/	use up	/rəkse-w/	[rəxsø]	he uses up

The final *-u* tends to become fronted before plural suffix *-j*. The same holds for forms that are modified with locative suffix *-j*:

(89)	/kaptɹu/	melt	/ptɹu-j/	[ptɹyj]	we melt
	/kavavu/	cry	/vavu-jn/	[va'vyjɲ]	they cry

Final *-e* and *-i* become nasalised before first person singular suffix *-ŋ*, and tend to sound like a shwa:

(90)	/kavi/	come	/vi-ŋ/	[vĩŋ]	I come
	/kanətʃ ^h e/	get drunk	/nətʃ ^h e-ŋ/	[nĩ'tʃ ^h ẽŋ]	I get drunk

Verbs with a final *-ə* keep that vowel without showing much influence from the suffixes.

These morpho-phonemic changes can make it quite difficult sometimes to pinpoint what the final vowel of a certain verb actually is, a problem easily solved by the elicitation of uninflected forms in isolation.

observation and present imperfective markers

One other instance of morpho-phonemic change occurs with the stressed observation marker *na-*, which signals a certain kind of evidentiality based on experience, see section 7.5 of the verb chapter below. This marker has a vowel change, from *-a* to *-ə*, when it occurs after negation marker *ma-* and when prefixed to linking verbs *ŋos*, ‘be’, *maʔk*, ‘not be’ and the existential verb *miʔ*, ‘not have’. In the following examples hyphens in the first line separate morphemes:

(91)	kəmem	tasty	mə-'na-mem	ma-'nə-mem
			Q-OBS-tasty	NEG-OBS-tasty
			Does it taste good?	No, it doesn't.

(92)	ŋə-poŋeʔj	'nə-miʔ
	1s:GEN-money	OBS-not.have
	My money isn't here!	

A description of evidentiality and aspect follows in sections 7.5 and 7.4 respectively of the chapter on verbs.

For clarity of interpretation I give, in the following chapters, all roots and affixes in their phonemic form, with a hyphen between affixes. Syllable breaks are not indicated if they do not coincide with morpheme breaks. However, full forms of words, e.g. roots with their standard verbal or nominal prefix, if they are not modified by other prefixes, are given without hyphens, as in:

(93)	tami?	leg	nominal prefix <i>ta-</i> and root <i>-mi?</i>
	təskru?	body	nominal prefix <i>tə-</i> and root <i>-skru?</i>
	k ^h afpa	frog	non-mammal prefix <i>k^h-</i> and root <i>-afpa</i>
	kala?	rabbit	mammal prefix <i>k-</i> and root <i>-ala?</i>

(94)	w-ami?	3s:GEN-leg	his leg
	j-əskru?	1p:GEN-body	our body
	ni-k ^h afpa	2p:GEN-frog	your frog
	wu-kala?	3s:GEN-rabbit	his rabbit

(95)	kanəɟup	sleep	verbal prefix <i>ka-</i> and root <i>-nəɟup</i>
	kəməʃtak	cold	verbal prefix <i>kə-</i> and root <i>-məʃtak</i>

(96)	to-sa-nəɟup-w	'na-məʃtak
	PFT-CAUS-sleep-3s	OBS-cold
	put to sleep	cold

APPENDIX A

Minimal and near-minimal pairs

In the following series the left hand column contains phonetic transcriptions, the right hand column phonetic ones. In the phonemic transcriptions syllable breaks are indicated by a space. Stress is marked only in the phonetic transcriptions.

Consonants

a. (near) minimal pairs for labials

/p/ - /p ^h /	[pak]	/pak/	pig
	[p ^h ak'mbo]	/p ^h akmbo/	corpse
	[ka'pɔ]	/kapo/	spin
	[ka'p ^h ɔ]	/kap ^h o/	escape
/p/ - /b/	[ka'mpʉʔ]	/kampuʔ/	cloth
	[ka'mbʉʔ]	/kambuʔ/	give
	[ɽjar'po]	/ɽjarpo/	king, ruler
	[tə'rboʔ]	/tərboʔ/	drum
/p/ - /m/	[t̪a'paʔt̪ʰ]	/tapaʔt/	flower
	[t̪a'maʔ]	/tamaʔ/	work; business
	[t̪ə'waʔmʰ]	/təwaʔm/	bear
	[t̪a'waʔpʰ]	/tawaʔp/	needle
/p/ - /w/	[t̪a'pʉʔ]	/tapuʔ/	child
	[ka'wʉ]	/kawu/	amulet box
	[k ^h a'ʃpa]	/k ^h aʃpa/	frog
	[t̪ə'ʃwa]	/təʃwa/	tooth

/p/ - /v/	[ta'pa]	/tapa/	father
	[ka'va]	/kava/	do
	[ta'puʔ]	/tapuʔ/	child
	[ta'vø]	/tavu/	grandparent
/p ^h / - /b/	[ka'mbɛm]	/kambɛm/	overflow
	[tə'mp ^h ɛʔt̪]	/təmp ^h ɛʔt̪/	vomit (n)
	[tə'rp ^h ʌ]	/tərp ^h u/	fir tree
	[tə'rboʔ]	/tərboʔ/	drum
/p ^h / - /m/	[ka'mɔʔt̪]	/kamoʔt̪/	drink (v)
	[ka'p ^h ɔʔt̪]	/kap ^h oʔt̪/	pick; take off; reach for
	[pkwa'mo]	/pkwaʔmo/	chicken, hen
	[pkwa'p ^h o]	/pkwaʔp ^h o/	rooster
/p ^h / - /w/	[p ^h ɑ'rɔʔk̪]	/p ^h aroʔk̪/	crow, raven
	[wa'roʔ]	/waroʔ/	leader (3s)
	[p ^h ot̪]	/p ^h ot̪/	expression of disapproval
	[wu'wot̪]	/wuwot̪/	light (3s)
/p ^h / - /v/	[tə'p ^h ok]	/təp ^h ok/	salary
	[tə'vok]	/təvok/	abdomen
	[p ^h i'rmʌ]	/p ^h irmu/	outsider
	[ka'vi]	/kavi/	come

Because /b/ mostly occurs in clusters whereas /v/ and /w/ do not, minimal pairs for these phonemes are few.

/b/ - /w/	[la'bat̪]	/labat̪/	horn (musical instrument)
	[ta'wat̪]	/tawat̪/	mountain
/b/ - /v/	[la'bat̪]	/labat̪/	horn (musical instrument)
	[swi'vaʔt̪]	/swivaʔt̪/	barley flour

/m/ - /b/	[koŋ ¹ me rjarpo]	/koŋme rjarpo/	emperor
	[k ^h oŋ ¹ be]	/k ^h oŋbe/	viscera
	[ta ¹ rmɔ ² k ¹]	/tarmo ² k/	thunder; dragon
	[tə ¹ rbo ²]	/tərbo ² /	drum
/m/ - /w/	[ta ¹ wa ² p]	/tawa ² p/	needle
	[ta ¹ ma ²]	/ta ma ² /	thing, business
	[ka ¹ mo ² t]	/kamo ² t/	drink
	[wu ¹ wot]	/wuwot/	light (3s)
/m/ - /v/	[ta ¹ ma ²]	/tama ² /	thing, business
	[ka ¹ va]	/kava/	do
	[tə ¹ mə ²]	/təmu ² /	girl
	[ta ¹ vø]	/tavu/	grandparent
/v/ - /w/	[va ¹ ŋa ² r]	/vaŋa ² r/	bird of prey; buzzard
	[wa ¹ kej]	/wakaj/	on top; over
	[ta ¹ vø]	/tavu/	grandparent
	[ta ¹ wo]	/tawo/	head

b. (near) minimal pairs for alveolars

/t/ - /t ^h /	[ka ¹ ta ²]	/kata ² /	put
	[tə ¹ t ^h a]	/tət ^h a/	book
	[mbo ¹ tɛ ² m ¹]	/mbote ² m/	kidney
	[ta ¹ mt ^h ɛ ² m ¹]	/tamt ^h e ² m/	vegetable(s)
/t/ - /d/	[kə ¹ dar]	/kədar/	slow (in thinking)
	[kə ¹ tar]	/kətar/	developed
	[rə ¹ dak]	/rədak/	(wild) animal
	[tə ¹ ta ² k ¹]	/təta ² k/	weaving, knitting, plaiting

/t/ - /n/	[t̪a'miʔ]	/tamiʔ/	foot, leg
	[n̪a'miʔ]	/namiʔ/	your leg (2s-leg)
	[t̪a'mbat̪]	/tambat/	mountain
	[ʔ̪n̪ambaʔt̪]	/nambaʔt/	cheap (OBS-cheap)
/t/ - /ɾ/	[ka't̪aʔ]	/kataʔ/	put
	[kʰa'raʔ]	/kʰaraʔ/	basket
	[t̪ə'skaʔt̪]	/t̪skaʔt/	language, speech
	[t̪ə'skar]	/t̪skar/	roast barley flour
/t/ - /s/	[ka't̪ɔp]	/katop/	hit
	[t̪a'sɔʔp̪]	/tasoʔp/	anus
	[t̪a'kaʔ]	/takaʔ/	hoof
	[sa'kʰa]	/sakʰa/	difficult
/t/ - /z/	[t̪ə't̪aʔk̪]	/t̪taʔk/	weave or knit work; plaiting
	[kʰə'zaʔ]	/kʰəzaʔ/	bowl
	[ka't̪ɔp]	/katop/	hit
	[t̪a'zɔʔk̪]	/tazoʔk/	nail
/t/ - /lh/	[t̪a'nd̪ɾiʔ]	/tand̪ɾiʔ/	friend
	[ʔ̪a'nd̪ɾe]	/lhand̪ɾe/	devil; demon; ghost
	[me't̪oʔ]	/metoʔ/	upper (e.g. upper teeth)
	[ka'ʔɔk]	/kalhok/	appear, emerge
/t/ - /l/	[ka't̪ɔp]	/katop/	hit
	[ka lɔk]	/kalok/	graze, herd (v)
	[t̪a'miʔ]	/tamiʔ/	leg
	[la'mɲy]	/lamɲu/	big bamboo basket
/tʰ/ - /d/	[t̪ə'mtʰek]	/t̪əmtʰek/	waist
	[kʰa'md̪e]	/kʰamde/	reins
	[t̪ə't̪ʰa]	/t̪ə'tʰa/	book
	[d̪a'tsəgogo]	/datsəgogo/	two stringed instrument

/t ^h / - /n/	[t̚ə't̚h̥a]	/tət ^h a/	book
	[k ^h ə'na]	/k ^h əna/	dog
	[t̚ ^h oŋ]	/t ^h oŋ/	go up, 1s prs.
	[n̚oŋ]	/noŋ/	be, 1s prs.
/t ^h / - /r/	[t̚ə't̚h̥a]	/tət ^h a/	book
	[kə'ra]	/kəra/	want, need (n)
	[ka't̚ ^h o]	/kat ^h o/	ascend
	[t̚a'ro]	/taro/	breast, chest
/t ^h / - /s/	[t̚ ^h i]	/t ^h i/	what
	[si]	/si/	who
	[t̚am't̚ ^h ɛʔm]	/tamt ^h ɛʔm/	vegetables
	[t̚ə'sem]	/təsem/	heart; thought
/t ^h / - /z/	[t̚ə't̚h̥a]	/tət ^h a/	book
	[t̚ə'za]	/təza/	male; son
	[ka't̚ ^h oʔ]	/kat ^h oʔ/	ask
	[t̚a'zɔʔk̚]	/tazoʔk/	nail
/t ^h / - /l/	[ka't̚ ^h oʔ]	/kat ^h oʔ/	ask
	[ka'lo]	/kalo/	set out
	[t̚ə't̚h̥a]	/tət ^h a/	book
	[la'm̚ɲy]	/lam̚ɲu/	big bamboo basket
/t ^h / - /lh/	[t̚ə't̚h̥a]	/tət ^h a/	book
	[t̚a'ndʒe]	/lhandʒe/	ghost, demon
	[ka't̚ ^h oʔ]	/kat ^h oʔ/	ask
	[ka't̚ɔk]	/kalhok/	appear, emerge
/d/ - /n/	[kə'd̚ɰ]	/kədu/	heavy
	[t̚a'n̚ɰ]	/tanu/	father's sister
	[d̚a't̚səgogo]	/datsəgogo/	instrument with two strings
	[n̚a'rəɲə]	/narəɲə/	and

/d/ - /r/	[kə'dʱʌ]	/kədu/	heavy
	[kə'rʱʌʔ]	/kəruʔ/	(rGyalrong) Tibetan
	[ɕa'tsəgogo]	/datsəgogo/	instrument with two strings
	[ra]	/ra/	need
/d/ - /s/	[d̥o'sket̚]	/dosket/	stone steps
	[sɔ̃'nd̥iʔ]	/sondiʔ/	tomorrow
	[kə'dʱʌ]	/kədu/	heavy
	[kə'sʱʌʔ]	/kəsuʔ/	sunny
/d/ - /z/	[kə'dʱʌ]	/kədu/	heavy
	[kʰə'zʱʌ]	/kʰəzu/	monkey
	[kə'd̥ar]	/kədar/	slow (in thought)
	[kə'zat̚]	/kəzat/	busy
/d/ - /l/	[ta'd̥aʔ]	/tadaʔ/	tomb
	[tʃa'laʔ]	/tʃalaʔ/	road
	[zgər'lək]	/zgərlok/	hunchback
	[wu'mdoʔk̚]	/wumdoʔk/	colour (3s-colour)
/d/ - /lh/	[ta'd̥aʔ]	/tadaʔ/	tomb
	[ʃa'nd̥ɕe]	/lhand̥ɕe/	ghost
	[wu'mdoʔk̚]	/wumdoʔk/	colour (3s-colour)
	[ka'ʃok]	/kalhok/	appear
/n/ - /r/	[t̥ə'nd̥ʱʌʔ]	/tənuʔ/	breast, udder
	[t̥ə'rʱʌʔ]	/təruʔ/	horn
	[kə'neʔk̚]	/kəneʔk/	black
	[kə'rek]	/kərek/	one
/n/ - /s/	[soʔr]	/soʔr/	louse
	[n̥or'wu]	/norwu/	treasure
	[kasa'li]	/kasali/	cover
	[kaɳa'li]	/kanali/	owe

/n/ - /z/	[wu ¹ na]	/wuna/	3s
	[wu ¹ za]	/wuza/	his son (3s-male)
	[ta ¹ zor]	/tazor/	crack
	[nor ¹ wu]	/norwu/	treasure
/r/ - /s/	[kə ¹ səʔ]	/kəsəʔ/	sunny
	[kə ¹ rəʔ]	/kəruʔ/	(rGyalrong) Tibetan
	[kə ¹ sam]	/kəsam/	three
	[kə ¹ raʔm]	/kəraʔm/	dry
/r/ - /z/	[ta ¹ roʔ]	/taroʔ/	leader, boss, chieftain
	[ta ¹ zoʔk ^ˀ]	/tazoʔk/	nail
	[kə ¹ ra]	/kəra/	need, want (n)
	[tə ¹ za]	/təza/	male, son
/r/ - /l/	[ta ¹ ro]	/taro/	breast, chest
	[ka ¹ lo]	/kalo/	blind person
	[ʒy ¹ rək]	/ʒuʔrok/	canal
	[ʒy ¹ lək]	/ʒulok/	stone, rock
/s/ - /z/	[ta ¹ soʔp ^ˀ]	/tasoʔp/	anus
	[ta ¹ zoʔk ^ˀ]	/tazoʔk/	nail
	[səm ¹ saʔm]	/səmsaʔm/	heel
	[zaʔm]	/zaʔm/	bucket
/s/ - /l/	[ta ¹ soʔp ^ˀ]	/tasoʔp/	anus
	[ka ¹ lək]	/kalok/	herd, graze
	[sa ¹ tʃ ^h e]	/satʃ ^h e/	place
	[la ¹ mnyʔ]	/lamnyʔ/	big bamboo basket
/z/ - /l/	[kamə ¹ zeʔk ^ˀ]	/kaməzeʔk/	jump
	[kamə ¹ leʔk ^ˀ]	/kaməleʔk/	swallow (v)
	[ka ¹ laʔ]	/kalaʔ/	rabbit
	[ka ¹ zaʔ]	/kazaʔ/	longleafed grass

/l/ - /lh/	[ka'lok]	/kalok/	graze
	[ka'ʰok]	/kalhok/	appear
	[la'pok]	/lapok/	turnip
	[ʰa'ndʁe]	/lhandʁe/	ghost

c. (near) minimal pairs for palatals

/c/ - /cʰ/	[ka'cop]	/kacop/	burn
	[ka'cʰop]	/kacʰop/	break (string)
	[zdem'caʔ]	/zdeʔmcaʔ/	mist, haze
	[ka'cʰa]	/kacʰa/	(be) together
/c/ - /ʃ/	[kə'cy]	/kəcu/	short
	[tə'ʃyʔ]	/təʃuʔ/	water
	[ca]	/ca/	musk deer
	[ʃa'skə]	/ʃaskə/	winnowing fan
/c/ - /ɲ/	[ɲa'ɲaʔ]	/ɲaɲaʔ/	lamb
	[ca]	/ca/	musk deer
	[-ɲo]	/-ɲo/	plural and honorific marker
	[co'lo]	/colo/	seasoned rtsam-pa
/c/ - /tʃ/	[ca]	/ca/	musk deer
	[kə'tʃa]	/kətʃa/	poor
	[caʔŋ]	/caʔŋ/	mud wall
	[tʃaʔŋ]	/tʃaʔŋ/	horse shoe
/c/ - /tʃʰ/	[caʔŋ]	/caʔŋ/	mud wall
	[tʃʰaŋ'ra]	/tʃʰaŋra/	toilet
	[kə'cy]	/kəcu/	short
	[kə'tʃʰy]	/kətʃʰu/	sweet
/c/ - /dʒ/	[ta'cakcak]	/tacakcak/	awn of wheat
	[tətʃo'mdʒak]	/tətʃomdʒak/	loess mud

/c/ - /ʃ/	[ca]	/ca/	musk deer
	[ʃa'rə]	/ʃarə/	bone
	[kə'cy]	/kəcu/	short
	[ʃy]	/ʃu/	tree
/c/ - /ʒ/	[co'lo]	/colo/	seasoned rtsam-pa
	[ʒoʔ]	/ʒoʔ/	curd
	[caʔk'caʔk]	/caʔkcaʔk/	magpie
	[ʒak'ma]	/ʒakma/	day
/c/ - /j/	[caʔk'caʔkʰ]	/caʔkcaʔk/	magpie
	[kə'jaʔkʰ]	/kəjaʔk/	thick
	[co'lo]	/colo/	seasoned rtsam-pa
	[jɔl've]	/jolve/	curtain
/cʰ/ - /ʃ/	[kə'mcʰæŋ]	/kəmcʰan/	soothsayer
	[kə'ŋʃæm]	/kəŋʃam/	soft
	[cʰa'lə]	/cʰalə/	distiller's yeast
	[ʃa'rə]	/ʃarə/	meat
/cʰ/ - /ɲ/	[cʰe]	/cʰe/	liquor
	[kə'ɲes]	/kəɲes/	two
	[cʰa'lə]	/cʰalə/	distiller's yeast
	[ɲa'ɲaʔ]	/ɲaɲaʔ/	lamb
/cʰ/ - /tʃ/	[kə'cʰe]	/kəcʰe/	far
	[kə'tʃe]	/kəʈʃe/	where
	[kə tʃa]	/kəʈʃa/	poor
	[ka'cʰa]	/kacʰa/	right hand side
/cʰ/ - /tʃʰ/	[kə'cʰe]	/kəcʰe/	far
	[kə'tʃʰe]	/kəʈʃʰe/	pair
	[tʃʰaʔ]	/tʃʰaʔ/	tea
	[cʰa'lə]	/cʰalə/	distiller's yeast

/c^h/ - /dʒ/ no minimal pairs found, due to rarity of occurrence of these phonemes

/c ^h / - /ʃ/	[c ^h a'lə]	/c ^h alə/	distiller's yeast
	[ʃa'rə]	/ʃarə/	bone
	[c ^h e]	/c ^h e/	liquor
	[skat'ʃe]	/skaʔtʃe/	accent

/c ^h / - /ʒ/	[c ^h a'lə]	/c ^h alə/	distiller's yeast
	[ʒak'ma]	/ʒakma/	day, time
	[ka'c ^h op]	/kac ^h op/	break (string)
	[ʒoʔ]	/ʒoʔ/	curd

/c ^h / - /j/	[c ^h e]	/c ^h e/	liquor
	[nə'je]	/nəje/	yours (2s possessive)
	[c ^h a'lə]	/c ^h alə/	distiller's yeast
	[ja'vø]	/javu/	grandfather (1p-grandparent)

/ʃ/ - /ɲ/	[k ^h a'ɾʃy]	/k ^h arʃu/	hawk
	[ka'ɾɲy]	/karɲu/	be called
	[kə'ɲoʔ]	/kəɲoʔ/	ready made
	[kə'ʃoʔ]	/kəʃoʔ/	sheep

/ʃ/ - /tʃ/	[ta'ʃi]	/taʃi/	face
	[ta'tʃik]	/tatʃik/	sprout
	[tə'ʃyʔ]	/təʃuʔ/	water
	[kə'tʃyʔ]	/kətʃuʔ/	rotten

/ʃ/ - /tʃ ^h /	[ka'nʃarara]	/kanʃarara/	cicada
	[ka'ntʃ ^h a]	/kantʃ ^h a/	butcher
	[ta'ʃi]	/taʃi/	face
	[tak'tʃ ^h iʔ]	/taʔktʃ ^h iʔ/	weaving implement

/ʃ/ - /dʒ/	[tə'mʃa]	/təmʃa/	chin
	[tatʃo'mdʒak]	/tatʃomdʒak/	loess mud

/ʃ/ - /ʃ/	[kə'ʃoʔ]	/kəʃoʔ/	sheep
	[ʃo]	/ʃo/	dice
	[tə'jyʔ]	/təjuʔ/	water
	[ʃy]	/ʃu/	tree
/ʃ/ - /ʒ/	[ʃob'ʃop]	/ʃopʃop/	fish
	[ʒoʔ]	/ʒoʔ/	curd
	[ʃa'skə]	/ʃaskə/	winnowing fan
	[ʒak'ma]	/ʒakma/	day
/ʃ/ - /j/	[kə'joʔk]	/kəjoʔk/	end
	[kə'ʃoʔ]	/kəʃoʔ/	sheep
	[tə'ji]	/təji/	face
	[ji'maʔ]	/jimaʔ/	corn
/ɲ/ - /tʃ/	[ka'ɲy]	/kaɲu/	live, stay
	[kə'tʃyʔ]	/kətʃuʔ/	rotten
	[ɲa'ɲaʔ]	/ɲaɲaʔ/	lamb
	[kə'tʃa]	/kətʃa/	poor
/ɲ/ - /tʃʰ/	[ka'ɲy]	/kaɲu/	live, stay
	[kə'tʃʰy]	/kətʃʰu/	sweet
	[tʃʰaʔ]	/tʃʰaʔ/	tea
	[ɲa'ɲaʔ]	/ɲaɲaʔ/	lamb
/ɲ/ - /dʒ/	[tə'mɲak]	/təmpak/	eye
	[tə'tʃo'mdʒak]	/tə'tʃomdʒak/	loess mud
/ɲ/ - /ʃ/	[ka'ɲy]	/kaɲu/	live, stay
	[ʃy]	/ʃu/	tree
	[-ɲo]	/-ɲo/	plural marker
	[ʃo]	/ʃo/	dice

/ɲ/ - /ʒ/	[ka'ɲy]	/kaɲu/	live, stay
	[kə'ʒy]	/kəʒu/	all
	[-ɲo]	/-ɲo/	plural marker
	[ʒoʔ]	/ʒoʔ/	curd
/ɲ/ - /j/	[ji'ɾpɛ]	/jirpɛ/	our village (1p-village)
	[ɲi'ɾpɛ]	/ɲirpɛ/	your village (2p-village)
	[kə'joʔk]	/kəjoʔk/	end
	[kə'ɲoʔ]	/kəɲoʔ/	ready made
/tʃ/ - /ʃ/	[kə'tʃyʔ]	/kətʃuʔ/	rotten
	[ʃy]	/ʃu/	tree
	[kə'tʃa]	/kətʃa/	poor
	[ʃa'rə]	/ʃarə/	bone
/tʃ/ - /ʒ/	[kə'tʃaʔk]	/kətʃaʔk/	bitter
	[ʒak'ma]	/ʒakma/	day
	[kəmə'ʒyr]	/kəməʒur/	spin, turn (stative verb)
	[kasəmtʃyr]	/kasəmtʃur/	spin, turn (dynamic verb)
/tʃ/ - /j/	[kə'tʃa]	/kətʃa/	poor
	[kanə'ja]	/kanəja/	go home
	[kə'tʃe]	/kətʃe/	where
	[wu'je]	/wuje/	his (third person possessive)
/tʃʰ/ - /ʃ/	[kə'tʃʰy]	/kətʃʰu/	sweet
	[ʃy]	/ʃu/	tree
	[tʃʰaʔ]	/tʃʰaʔ/	tea
	[ʃa'rə]	/ʃarə/	bone
/tʃʰ/ - /ʒ/	[kə'tʃʰy]	/kətʃʰu/	sweet
	[kəmə'ʒyr]	/kəməʒur/	spin, turn (stative verb)
	[tʃʰaʔ]	/tʃʰaʔ/	tea
	[ʒak'ma]	/ʒakma/	day, time

/tʃʰ/ - /j/	[ta'ptʃʰak]	/taptʃʰak/	middling, so-so
	[sa'pjak]	/sapjak/	broom
	[tʃʰaʔ]	/tʃʰaʔ/	tea
	[jaʔk]	/jaʔk/	pad
/dʒ/ - /ʃ/	[ka'ndʒyʔ]	/kandʒuʔ/	sue
	[ka'pʃy]	/kapʃu/	sharpen
/dʒ/ - /ʒ/	[ta'rndʒak]	/tarndʒak/	wrinkle
	[ʒak'ma]	/ʒakma/	day, time
/dʒ/ - /j/	[ta'rndʒak]	/tarndʒak/	wrinkle
	[sa'pjak]	/sapjak/	broom
/ʃ/ - /ʒ/	[ʒoʔ]	/ʒoʔ/	curd
	[ʃo]	/ʃo/	dice
	[ʒoŋ'mar]	/ʒoŋmar/	dark butter
	[ʃoŋ'ce]	/ʃoŋce/	log
/ʃ/ - /j/	[ʃa'rə]	/ʃarə/	bone
	[ja'wət̚]	/jawət̚/	balcony
/ʒ/ - /j/	[ʃo]	/ʃo/	dice
	[jɔl've]	/jɔlve/	curtain
	[ʒak'ma]	/ʒakma/	day
	[jaŋ'ma]	/jaŋma/	bike
	[ʒoʔ]	/ʒoʔ/	curd
	[jɔl've]	/jɔlve/	curtain

d. (near) minimal pairs for affricates

/tʃ/ - /tʃʰ/	[ta'tʃo]	/tatʃo/	mud
	[ta'tʃʰoʔ]	/tatʃʰoʔ/	lamp, light
	[tʃa'laʔ]	/tʃalaʔ/	road
	[zok'tʃʰa]	/zoktʃʰa/	white bellied dzo

/tʰ/ - /dʰ/	[tʰaˈlaʔ]	/tʰalaʔ/	road
	[rəˈdʰa]	/rədʰa/	envy
	[tiˈʃtʰʌʔ]	/təʃtʰuʔ/	sweat
	[kaˈʒdʰʌ]	/kaʒdʰu/	peel off
/tʰʰ/ - /dʰ/	[zokˈtʰʰa]	/zoktʰʰa/	white bellied dzo
	[rəˈdʰa]	/rədʰa/	envy
/ts/ - /tsʰ/	[kəˈtso]	/kətso/	not busy
	[kəˈtsʰoʔ]	/kətsʰoʔ/	fat
	[tsarˈtsaʔr]	/tsartsaʔr/	fence
	[tsʰar]	/tsʰar/	bharal
/ts/ - /dz/	[təˈrtse]	/tərtse/	wrist; pulse
	[kəˈŋardzordze]	/kəŋardzordze/	dishevelled
	[kaˈptsək]	/kaptsek/	build
	[saˈndzət]	/sandzət/	upbringing, education
/tsʰ/ - /dz/	[kaˈrtsʰwek]	/kartsʰwek/	roll up (sleeves)
	[kaˈrdzwa]	/kardzwa/	dig
/tʃ/ - /tʃʰ/	[kəˈtʃʰy]	/kətʃʰu/	sweet
	[tʃyˈtʃy]	/tʃutʃu/	crouch, squat
	[tʃʰaʔ]	/tʃʰaʔ/	tea
	[kəˈtʃa]	/kətʃa/	poor
/tʃ/ - /dʒ/	[kəˈtʃaʔk]	/kətʃaʔk/	bitter
	[tʰatʰoˈmdʒak]	/tʰatʰomdʒak/	loess mud
/tʃʰ/ - /dʒ/	[tʰaˈptʃʰak]	/tʰaptʃʰak/	mediocre
	[tʰatʰoˈmdʒak]	/tʰatʰomdʒak/	loess mud
	[tʃʰət]	/tʃʰət/	goat
	[kəˈndʒəʔt]	/kəndʒəʔt/	hold

e. (near) minimal pairs for velars

/k/ - /k ^h /	[kɔŋ]	/kɔŋ/	price, cost
	[k ^h ɔŋ]	/k ^h ɔŋ/	tiger
	[ka ^h kaʔk]	/kakaʔk/	peel, skin
	[ʔa ^h k ^h a]	/ʔak ^h a/	valley
/k/ - /g/	[kanəʔŋka]	/kanəŋka/	divide, split up
	[kanəʔrgaʔ]	/kanərgaʔ/	like, cherish
	[wa ^h ke]	/wakaj/	before
	[tʃa ^h geʔ]	/tʃageʔ/	parrot, ara
/k/ - /ŋ/	[jaŋ ^h səʔ]	/jaŋsəʔ/	felt blanket
	[jaʔk]	/jaʔk/	pad
	[ʃon ^h ce]	/ʃonce/	log
	[ʃok ^h ʃoʔk]	/ʃokʃoʔk/	paper
/k ^h / - /g/	[k ^h ə]	/k ^h ə/	dog
	[gəʔr]	/gəʔr/	enclosure
	[k ^h o]	/k ^h o/	room
	[ta ^h goʔ]	/tagoʔ/	fool
/k ^h / - /ŋ/	[k ^h ɔŋ]	/k ^h ɔŋ/	tiger
	[ŋɔŋ]	/ŋɔŋ/	be, 1s
	[k ^h ə]	/k ^h ə/	dog
	[ŋəʔje]	/ŋəje/	mine (1s possessive)
/g/ - /ŋ/	[kanəʔrgaʔ]	/kanərgaʔ/	like, cherish
	[ka ^h rŋaʔ]	/karŋaʔ/	borrow
	[tʃa ^h geʔ]	/tʃageʔ/	parrot
	[po ^h ŋeʔ]	/po ^h ŋeʔ/	silver

g. (near) minimal pairs for glottals

/ʔ/ - /h/	[ʔa'na]	/ana/	down there (near)
	[ha'na]	/hana/	down there (far)
	[ʔa'rdi]	/ardi/	turban
	[ha'rdo]	/hardo/	that side

Vowels

a. (near) minimal pairs for cardinal vowels /i, e, u/ and central vowel /a/

/i/ - /e/	[kə'tʰe]	/kə'tʰe/	pair
	[lam kə'tʰi]	/lam kə'tʰi/	easy, smooth
	[me'kaŋ]	/mekəŋ/	relatives
	[miʔ]	/miʔ/	not have
/i/ - /a/	[ta'miʔ]	/tamiʔ/	leg
	[ta'maʔ]	/tamaʔ/	business, issue
	[ka'vi]	/kavi/	come
	[ka'va]	/kava/	do
/i/ - /u/	[ta'piʔ]	/tapiʔ/	mud
	[ta'puʔ]	/tapuʔ/	child
	[kə'mbiʔk]	/kəmbiʔk/	old
	[kə mbuʔ]	/kəmbuʔ/	calf
/i/ - /o/	[ta'ri]	/tari/	laughter
	[ta'ro]	/taro/	chest
	[tə'mbri]	/təmbri/	toy
	[kə'mbro]	/kəmbro/	high

/e/ - /a/	[keʔk]	/keʔk/	hoe
	[ka'kaʔk]	/kakaʔk/	tear, rip, peel
	[ʈa'ndʐe]	/ʈandʐe/	ghost
	[tə'ndʐa]	/təndʐa/	picture
/e/ - /u/	[kə'rek]	/kərek/	one
	[kə'ruʔk]	/kəruʔk/	lynx
	[pə'ʃyr]	/pəʃur/	yesterday
	[ʃer]	/ʃer/	glass
/e/ - /o/	[ser'po]	/serpo/	yellow
	[soʔr]	/soʔr/	louse
	[kə'mbre]	/kəmbre/	thin, sparse
	[kə'mbro]	/kəmbro/	high
/a/ - /u/	[ta'kaʔ]	/takaʔ/	hoof
	[ta'ku]	/taku/	mother's brother
	[kə'ra]	/kəra/	need, desire
	[kə'rʉʔ]	/kəruʔ/	(rGyalrong) Tibetan
/a/ - /o/	[ca]	/ca/	musk deer
	[co'lo]	/colo/	seasoned rtsam-pa
	[ka'laʔ]	/kalaʔ/	rabbit
	[ka'lo]	/kalo/	blind person
/u/ - /o/	[kə'mbrʉ]	/kəmbu/	cattle
	[kə'mbro]	/kəmbro/	high
	[tə'zur]	/təzur/	corner
	[ta'zor]	/tazor/	crack, rift

b. (near) minimal pairs for central unrounded vowel /ə/ and other vowels

/ə/ - /i/	[kə ^h k ^h i]	/kə ^h k ^h i/	stupid
	[k ^h ə]	/k ^h ə/	hound
	[kə ^h bəʔk]	/kəbəʔk/	lonesome
	[kə ^h mbiʔk]	/kəmbiʔk/	old
/ə/ - /e/	[səm ^h saʔm]	/səmsaʔm/	heel
	[tə ^h sem]	/təsem/	thought, mind
	[c ^h a ^h lə]	/c ^h alə/	distiller's yeast
	[ts ^h a ^h le]	/ts ^h ale/	welding
/ə/ - /a/	[tə ^h nəʔ]	/tanu/	father's sister
	[tə ^h nəʔʔ]	/tənuʔ/	breast, udder
	[tə ^h c ^h ə]	/tac ^h ə/	wedge
	[c ^h a ^h lə]	/c ^h alə/	distiller's yeast
/ə/ - /u/	[k ^h ə]	/k ^h ə/	hound
	[tə ^h k ^h u]	/tak ^h u/	cigarette
	[ti ^h ʃtəʔʔ]	/təʃtəʔʔ/	body hair
	[ti ^h ʃtəʔʔʔ]	/təʃtəʔʔʔ/	sweat
/ə/ - /o/	[tə ^h lə]	/tələ/	yeast
	[tə ^h lo]	/təlo/	the animal signs of the twelve year cycle
	[k ^h ə]	/k ^h ə/	hound
	[k ^h o]	/k ^h o/	room

c. (near) minimal pairs for /-V/ and /-Vʔ/

/-i/ - /-iʔ/	[tə ^h mbri]	/təmbri/	plaything, toy
	[tə ^h mbriʔ]	/təmbriʔ/	rope (n)
/-e/ - /-eʔ/ I have found no pairs in my data			

/-a/ - /aʔ/	[t̪a¹mbja]	/tambja/	cripple (n)
	[t̪a¹mbjaʔ]	/tambjaʔ/	thunderbolt
	[ʃa¹kra]	/ʃaskra/	boundary line
	[ka¹kraʔ]	/kaʃkraʔ/	sieve, sift
/-o/ - /oʔ/	[kəʔɔ]	/kəʔo/	light (not heavy)
	[kəʔɔʔ]	/kəʔoʔ/	sheep
	[t̪a¹rɔ]	/taro/	chest, breast
	[t̪a¹rɔʔ]	/taroʔ/	leader; chieftain
/-u/ - /uʔ/	[t̪ə¹rpʰ]	/tərpʰu/	chaff; scrapings left after threshing
	[t̪ə¹rpʰʔ]	/tərpʰuʔ/	seed (n)
	[t̪ə¹mʰ]	/təmu/	rain (n)
	[t̪ə¹mʰʔ]	/təmuʔ/	girl
/-ə/ - /əʔ/	[kʰə]	/kʰə/	hound
	[kʰr̥əʔ]	/kʰr̥əʔ/	pig-iron

APPENDIX B

Consonant clusters

In the following listings I have marked suspect clusters with × behind the example word and possible alternatives in bold. Reasons for such suspicion include doubt about a syllable break and uncertainty about a phoneme in the cluster. I trust that more work on the language will eventually clear up these hesitations. For ease of reading syllable breaks are indicated by a dot.

1. C1C2C3

rmb	/ta.rmbok/	mane (horse)	mpʃ	/ka.mpʃok/	build, erect
rndʒ	/ta.rndʒak/	wrinkle	mps	/ca.mpsɔ/	musk
rŋg	/ka.rŋgop/	bind; tie up			
rsc	/kə.rscat/	eight	jŋg	/k ^h a.jŋguʔ/	trough, water conduit
rʃc	/rʃcaŋ/	wild donkey	jmb	/tə.jmbak/	leaf
rnd	/kə.rndi/	slack, lax			
rstʃ	/ka.rstʃut/	drench × stʃ, rtʃ			
rstɿ	/tə.rstɿaʔ/	claw			

Some of the clusters with /j-/ may be suspect because of unclear syllable breaks or morphological issues.

2. C2C3C4

pkw	/tə.pkwot/	shape, form (P)	mbj	/ka.mbjam/	fly
pk ^h w	/kə.mə.pk ^h waʔ/	faded (colour) (P)	mbr	/ta.mbraʔm/	measels
			mbw	/tə.mbweʔm/	corpse (P)
			mpj	/kə.mpja/	warm (water)
ndɾw	/ka.ndɾwaʔp/	tumble, fall (P)	mp ^h j	/kə.mp ^h jam/	classifier cloth
ndzw	/ta.ndzwi/	tusk	mp ^h r	/mp ^h rəʔs/	Tibetan woolen cloth
ntw	/tə.ntwa/	sickle	mkr	/kə.ŋa.mkrak/	horizontal
nc ^h w	/k ^h a.nc ^h wak/	pit, stone	mk ^h w	/ka.mk ^h wi/	patch, tinker (P)
nɣl	/kə.mə.ŋgli/	con artist	mgr	/tə.mgri/	arrow

ŋk ^h r	/ka.ŋk ^h ruŋ/	be reborn			
ŋgr	/kə.ŋgri/	thin, clear (soup)	rdw	/rdwe/	argali
ŋgl	/ka.nə.ŋglaʔ/	cross	rdzw	/ka.rdzwa/	dig
			rts ^h w	/ka.rts ^h wek/	roll up (sleeves)
			rpj	/ka.sə.rpju/	congeal
spj	/spjaŋ.kə/	wolf	zbr	/ta.zbrok/	kick
skr	/tə.skruʔ/	body	zgr	/zgrok/	bracelet
skl	/ka.skliʔ/	endure			
ʃkl	/ka.ʃkli/	cross-eyed person	ʒbr	/ʒbruʔ/	coracle
ʃkr	/ka.ʃkraʔk/	sieve, sift	ʒgr	/ʒgroʔ/	mouth harp
ʃpr	/tə.ʃpros/	curse			
jkr	/ka.mə.jkrə/	climb	kpj	/ka.kpjer/	open, unfold

/pkw, p^hw, ndɿw, mbw/ and /m^hw/ are particular to speakers from Púzhì. In Kǒnglóng these clusters occur as /pk, p^hk nd ɿ, mg/ and /m^h/ respectively. Also /jkr/ is particular to Púzhì. In Kǒnglóng it is realised as /jk/. Púzhì's /kpj/ is /p^hj/ in Kǒnglóng.

3. C2C3

sp	/spi.lem/	habit	ŋg	/ʃku.ŋguʔ/	pestle
sn	/kə.snaʔ/	good	ŋk	/ka.va.ŋka/	chew
sk	/tə.sker/	measurement	ŋd	/ka.ŋdor/	come lose, spread
sc	/sceʔk/	eagle	ŋk ^h uʔ	/tə.ŋk ^h uʔ/	behind, back
sm	/smon.be/	doctor			
stʃ	/ta.stʃuʔ/	urine			
sr	/srem/	otter	zd	/kə.məzdək.pe/	pain, agony
st	/ta.sti/	bladder	zb	/zbor.k ^h ok/	tortoise
sts	/ʃuʔ.stsoʔ/	hot water	zg	/ta.zgən/	back
sp	/spet/	crupper strap	zʃ	/mbroʔ.zʃok/	fetter
sŋ	/kə.va.sŋop/	hot; muggy			
sk ^h	/ka.sk ^h ut/	provoke (P)			

kʃ	/ta.kʃi.ru/	taste	jp	/k ^h a.jpo.lo.lo/	butterfly
ks	/sa.ksə/	noon	jk	/ka.sa.jkoʔk/	hook
kp	/sa.kpar/	map	jm	/tə.jmi/	tail
kt	/tə.kto/	stomach	jv	/ka.jvuʔ/	level grass plot
kts	/tə.ktsa/	boot, shoe	jtʃ ^h	/tə.jtʃ ^h u/	pillar
ktʃ	/tə.ktʃaʔm.tʃ ^h o/	wheat straw torch	jn	/se.jnok.ka.va/	hoe (weeds)
kp ^h	/kə.kp ^h u/	measureword plants	jg	/ta.jga ka.leʔt/	branch out
km	/kə.kmen/	short	jd	/ka.və.jdoʔ/	coax
kn	/ka.rə.kna/	listen			
lt ^h	/ta.ro.lt ^h em/	diaphragm	gʒ	/tə.gʒo/	genital organ
ltʃ	/lʃa.ltʃaʔm/	willow × rʃa mtʃaʔmʔ	gd	/zgo.gden/	threshold
ln	/ka.lni/	knead	gn	/ka.nə.gnu/	feel guilty
ld	/ka.ldaʔ/	untie			
lʃ	/lʃa.ltʃaʔm/	willow			
md	/tə.mdoʔk/	colour	rɲ	/ta.rɲi/	hair
mt	/ta.mtut ka.leʔt/	tie a knot	rn	/tə.rna/	ear
mb	/kə.mbuʔ/	yak calf	rɲ	/rɲa.monɲ/	camel
mdz	/mdza.jiʔk/	flea	rm	/ta.rmoʔk/	dragon
mdɿ	/mdɿoɲ/	wild yak	rts	/ka.rtseʔs/	deer
mts	/k ^h a.mtsu.pə.rʃo/	lizzard	rʃ	/rʃar.poʔ/	king
mɲ	/tə.mɲak/	eye	rd	/k ^h a.rdi.liʔ/	earth worm
mtʃ ^h	/tə.mtʃ ^h u/	mouth	rk ^h	/tə.rk ^h oʔ/	husk
mʃ	/tə.mʃa/	chin	rt	/k ^h ə.rtoʔk/	locust
mtɿ	/tə.mtɿi/	drool	rg	/pja.rgoʔt/	vulture
mk	/tə.mku/	neck	rb	/tə.pʃiʔ.rboʔ/	fart
mt ^h	/tə.mt ^h ek/	waist	rts ^h	/tə.rts ^h ot/	lungs
mɲ	/k ^h a.mɲaʔm.mɲaʔm/	small bell	rp	/ta.rpaʔk/	shoulder
mp	/ka.mpuʔ/	cloth	rʒ	/ka.rʒəʔk/	chop
mk ^h	/ka.mk ^h i/	patch, tinker (K)	rtʃ	/kə.rtʃəp/	harvest
mc ^h	/kə.mc ^h en/	soothsayer	rv	/kə.nə.rva.bɔʔo/	industrious
mts ^h	/mts ^h en.ji/	vegetable oil	rp ^h	/tə.rp ^h uʔ/	fir tree
mc	/kə.mci/	beggar	rz	/ʃu.rzək/	tree trunk
mɿ	/tə.wu tə.mɿe/	offspring	rdz	/kə.ɲa.rdzo.rdze/	disheveled
mdʒ	/ta.tʃo.mdʒak/	loess mud			
mg	/tə.mgeʔm/	corpse (animal) (K)			
mp ^h	/wə.mp ^h oj/	outside			
mʃ	/ka.sa.mʃok/	comb			

/mdɿoɲ/, 'wild yak', is also often pronounced /mbrɔɲ/.

ʃp	/kə.ʃpət/	livestock	ʒg	/kə.ʒgoʔ/	boatman
ʃtɹ	/ʃtɹoʔ/	dove	ʒd	/kə.ʒder/	afraid
ʃp ^h	/k ^h ə.ʃp ^h eʔs/	marmot	ʒb	/tə.ʒba/	cheek
ʃk	/ʃkaʔm/	muntjac	ʒdɹ	/ka.ʒdɹu/	peel off
ʃn	/k ^h a.ʃnaʔ/	spider			
ʃt	/ta.ʃtes/	buttocks	bd	/kə.bdu/	four
ʃm	/tə.ʃmi/	tongue	bɟ	/kə.nə.rva.bɟo/	industrious
ʃt ^h	/mbə.ʃt ^h eʔk/	saliva	bg	/tə.bga/	belch
ʃk	/ʃku.ŋguʔ/	pestle	bʒ	/ka.bʒaŋ/	practice
ʃtʃ	/ta.ʃtʃək/	layer, floor, storey			

vʒ /ka.vʒer/ scrape × **vəʒər** Also pronounced as /ka bʒer/.

ndz	/sa.ndzət/	upbringing	pʃ	/tə.pʃiʔ/	excrement
ndɹ	/ndɹə.ʃəʔk/	bedbug	ps	/ka.sa.psoʔ/	compare
ŋɟ	/k ^h a.ŋɟa.ra.raʔ/	cicada	pk	/ka.pki.ka.lo/	hide-and-seek
ntɹ	/ka.ntɹok/	wild goose	ptʃ	/ja.ptʃen/	stirrup
nt	/ʃu.ŋgu.kə.ntok/	woodpecker	ptɹ	/ka.ptɹu/	melt (vt)
nd	/ta.ndar/	garbage	ptʃ ^h	/t ^h a.ptʃ ^h aʔk/	mediocre
ntʃ ^h	/ka.ntʃ ^h a/	butcher	pc	/ka.pcər/	change
ng	/kə.ŋgu/	nine	pts	/ka.ptseʔk/	filter
ndʒ	/nə.ŋondʒ/	2d	pk ^h a	/kə.pk ^h a/	faded (K)
nc	/ta.ncap/	shadow side			
nts ^h	/kə.nts ^h əp/	hasty			
nc ^h	/kə.nc ^h at/	flat			
ŋɟ	/ka.ŋɟaʔ/	be defeated			
nk	/ka.nə.nkas/	separate × ŋk			
nts	/ka.ra.ntsuk/	cut			
nt ^h	/ka.nt ^h en/	pull			

4. C3C4

wr	/zgo.wre/	garden	kr	/ka.kre/	misbehave
wl	/wlo.rəʔk/	trick	kl	/ka.kloʔk/	roll up
			kw	/ka.rə.kwam/	freeze
gr	/wu.graʔl/	system	sr	/sron.ɭaʔ/	ring
gl	/ka.glo.ʃke/	left handed person	sw	/swej/	barley
gj	/kə.tə.gje/	measureword meal	sl	/ka.slep/	study

pw	/pwaʔ/	chicken (K)	jl	/tə.jla/	cow
pr	/k ^h a.priʔ/	snake	jw	/ta.jwaʔk/	neighbour
pj	/pja.rgoʔt/	vulture	jr	/ka.nə.jros/	ruminant
ʃw	/kə.ʃwuʔ/	fly blow	vr	/tʃə.vrok/	rtsam-pa mixed with tea
ʃl	/tə.ʃla/	joke	vj	/tə.vjo/	marrow
ʃr	/tə.ʃros/	trace, imprint	vl	/ta.vluʔ/	age
ʃp	/kə.ʃpət/	livestock			
rw	/ta.rwek.k ^h ə/	hound	zw	/zwor.k ^h oʔk/	tortoise × zb
rl	/tə.rluʔ/	hornless cow	zl	/zla.wa/	moon
k ^h r	/k ^h rəʔw/	cooked rice	p ^h j	/wu.p ^h jok/	direction
k ^h l	/ta.k ^h la/	sleeve	p ^h r	/ka.p ^h rəm ka.leʔt/	spray water
t ^h w	/kə.t ^h we/	fox	ʒw	/ka.ʒwa.ʒwa/	shallow, flat
tsw	/ka.tswi/	lower	tʃ ^h w	/ka.tʃ ^h weʔs/	reverse

5. finals

p	/ka.top/	hit	ʔp	/ta.soʔp/	anus
t	/kə.ʃpət/	livestock	ʔt	/ka.leʔt/	hit
k	/kə.rdok/	one	ʔk	/k ^h ə.rtoʔk/	locust
ʔ	/ta.roʔ/	leader			
m	/srem/	otter	ʔm	/tə.waʔm/	bear
n	/spen/	glue	ʔn	/tə.leʔn/	penis
ŋ	/k ^h oŋ/	tiger	ʔŋ	/tʃaʔŋ	horse shoe
s	/kə.was/	fly	ʔs	/peʔs/	badger
r	/kə.par/	jackal	ʔr	/soʔr/	louse
l	/ka.nə.gral/	line up	ʔl	/wu.graʔl/	system
w	/to.ndzaw/	eat, IMP	ʔw	/k ^h rəʔw/	rice
j	/swej/	barley	ʔj	/ta.paʔj/	claw
			jn	/vajn/	do, 3p

dʒ /tʃʰidʒ/ go, 1d ndʒ /vindʒ/ come, 3d

/-dʒ/ and /-ndʒ/ are exceptional, see section 2.3.b on CV patterns

CHAPTER 3

PRONOUNS

3.0 *Introduction*

rGyalrong is a head marking language, which shows person and number agreement for subject and, in some instances, object. The Jiăomùzú dialects of rGyalrong use affixes derived from personal pronouns to mark subject as well as object on the verb. Other sentence constituents like the noun phrase can also be marked by pronominal affixes. In this chapter in section 3.1 I first give an overview of the personal pronouns, their various categories, occurrence and use. Jiăomùzú distinguishes three persons, though the contrast between the marking for first person and second and third person indicates that Jiăomùzú may have a split between the first person and the second and third person. The dialects mark number for singular, dual and plural, and employ the plural marker to mark honorifics as well. Jiăomùzú distinguishes between inclusive and exclusive first person. There is a variety of third person pronouns, some of which are derived from numerals, nouns or demonstratives. An analysis of the personal pronouns, derived from the pronominal affixes as used in the verb phrase and noun phrase, then leads to a discussion of the bound forms of the pronouns and their use in, for example, genitive constructions. Section 3.2 of the chapter looks at possessive pronouns, followed by section 3.3 on demonstratives. The last two sections, 3.4 and 3.5, cover interrogative and relative pronouns. Reciprocity and reflexivity are not expressed through separate pronouns. Both categories are marked on the verb and will be discussed in chapter 7 on verbs, though I give a few examples in this chapter.

3.1 *Personal pronouns*

a. Free definite personal pronouns

Jiăomùzú pronouns occur both in free and in bound forms. The free definite personal pronouns are listed below.

person	singular	dual	plural
1 inclusive exclusive emphatic	 ŋa ŋəʃo	 tʃəʃo tʃəno	 jiʃo, jiʃi jino, jini
2	nənʃo	nənʃondʒ ndʒənʃo ənindʒ	nənʃono, nənʃijno ninʃo
3 person non-person	wuʃo mə wuna kərek jargo tʃəʔ ndə	wuʃondʒ məndʒ wunandʒ kərekndʒ jargondʒ tʃəndʒ ndəndʒ	wuʃono, wuʃijno məno wunəno kərekno jargonno tʃəno ndəno

Free personal pronouns can occur in subject, object and second object positions in Jiāomùzú sentences. The basic order of constituents, both for pronouns and for full noun phrases, is subject-object-second object-verb phrase:

- (1) ŋa tʃ^hi-ŋ
 1s go₁-1s
 I go.
- (2) ŋa nənʃo ni-tʃ^hiŋʂəʔ ta-və-sca-n
 1s 2s 2p-dorm 1/2-VPT-see.off-2s
 I'll walk you back to your dorm.
- (3) ŋa sofnu tʃəʔ tə wuʃo w-əmp^ha-j k^ham-ŋ
 1s tomorrow this C 3s 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC give-1s
 I'll give it to him tomorrow.

In (2) the plural marker is used with *tʃ^hiŋʂəʔ*, a loan from Chinese 寝室 *qǐnshì*, 'dorm' because more than two people live there. The Jiāomùzú plural marker is *-no* or its variant *-ni*, depending on the dialect of the speaker. When the plural marker is prefixed it appears only as *ni-*. Note that in (3) the demonstrative *tʃəʔ* is used for third person singular inanimate. More on person distinctions follows below. I discuss *tə*, a contrast marker, in section 4.3 of the chapter on nouns. The viewpoint marker *və-* signals geographical direction of the action.

Since rGyalrong is a head marking language, with person and number marking abundant on various sentence constituents, native speakers rely on this marking and context for clarity regarding the referents in the conversation. Free pronouns are omitted as much as possible, unless there is a

danger of ambiguity. The use of free pronouns where they are not needed to clarify meaning is perceived by native speakers as unnatural and stilted, a case of overkill. The following examples are more natural and equally grammatical variants of the examples above, example (4) of (1) and (5) a simple answer to (2):

- (4) tʰi-ŋ ne
 go₁-1s MD:CON
 I have to go now.

- (5) ko-və-sca-ŋ ma-ra o
 2/1-VPT-see.off-1s NEG-need MD:CF
 You really don't need to walk me back (see me off)!

The use of sentence final mood markers such as *o* and *ne* in the examples above is common in Jiāomùzú. I discuss this kind of marker in chapter 6 on smaller word classes below.

Similarly, in (3) more often than not the third person singular pronoun *wuʃo* is left out. It is even possible to leave out *tʃəʔ tə*, 'this', on the grounds that obviously something is going to be given - and the obvious does not need to be stated. It is, however, not possible to omit *ŋa*, because it is not clear from the marking on the verb who the giver is. The first person singular marker *-ŋ* is not realised after final *-m*, so that the inflected verb in example (6) is pronounced [kʰam], losing the person distinction:

- (6) ŋa soʃnu w-əmpʰa-j kʰam-ŋ
 1s tomorrow 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC give-1s
 I'll give it to him tomorrow.

In cases where the context gives enough information to know what the speaker is referring to, free pronouns can be omitted even if there are no markers of that referent on the verb or elsewhere in the sentence:

- (7) nənʃo nə-jeʔmbak-ŋo ɲi-ndʒa mə-ndoʔ
 2s 2s:GEN-family-p 2p:GEN-picture Q-have
 Do you have pictures of your family?

- (8) ndoʔ tə-natso-w me
 have 2-see-2s INTR
 Yes I have. Do you want to see them?

- (9) ə natso-ŋ
 yes see-1s
 Yes, I do.

Note that in (7) the referent for *təndɾa*, 'pictures', is the hearer's family, and therefore marked for third plural. In (7), the first sentence of the exchange, *nəŋʃo* and *nəʃeʔmbakɾo ʝindɾa* are both full forms that establish the context of the conversation. In (9) there is no need for *ŋa*, 'I', in subject position, because it is clear from the context that the speaker is 'I'. Likewise, marking of second person makes *tənatsow*, 'see, 2s', adequate. In (9) the subject, first person singular, is marked on the verb. The object, 'pictures' or 'them', can be left out because the previous sentence makes the referent clear.

Normally a pronoun needs to be used only when a new topic is introduced, or a new exchange is initiated, or when the marking for person and number elsewhere in the sentence leaves room for ambiguity. Besides these rules of thumb there are some other situations in which the use of a pronoun is at least preferred, and sometimes obligatory. One of these cases concerns sentences in which the referent of the pronoun has prominence.

- (10a) *pəʃnu ma-tʃʰi-ŋ*
 today NEG-go₁-1s
 I'm not going today.

- (10b) *ŋa ma-tʃʰi-ŋ korə krəŋ pkraʃis tʃʰi*
 1s NEG-go₁-1s but maybe bKra.shis go₁
 I am not going, but maybe bKra-shis will.

Both (10a) and (10b) are answers to the question: "Are you going...?" The topic is already introduced, and so the expectation is for pronouns to be omitted. In (10a), which is unemphasised, the pronoun *ŋa* is omitted, as expected. But in (10b), which emphasises the contrast between the speaker and bKra-shis, *ŋa* is used. When a pronoun is in focus, it is not possible to omit it. For example, a question such as 'Who ate the bread?' must be answered with a pronoun (unless the speaker avoids naming the person who ate the bread, with an answer such as 'I don't know'). I will discuss other means of giving prominence to a referent in following chapters.

Sometimes a pronoun is preferred over the use of a proper name, for example to answer questions of the type 'Who is it?'. But the use of a proper name in such cases occurs as well:

- (12) *si kə-ŋos ŋa ŋos-ŋ*
 who NOM-be 1s be-1s
 Who is it? It's me!

In example (12) *kə-* is a nominaliser, the use of which I describe in section 7.1 of the chapter on verbs.

Another case of preferred use of pronouns is in combinations of free personal pronouns with bound or free possessive pronouns. Some native speakers use free personal pronouns together with free possessive pronouns. Others leave them out, they are not obligatory. For discussion and examples, see section 3.2 on possessive pronouns.

b. Person distinctions in free personal pronouns

Jiāomùzú distinguishes three persons, first versus second versus third. There is an indication that Jiāomùzú marks a basic split of first versus second and third person, see section 3.1.e below. It also distinguishes three numbers, single, dual and plural. There is no separate category for gender. When necessary gender is marked by the affixes *p^ho* for male and *mo* for female, which are loaned from Tibetan ཤོ *pho* and མོ *mo* respectively, or by forms of the indigenous *tāza* 'man, male' and *tāmu*, 'woman, female':

(13)	pkwaʔ	chicken	
	pkwaʔ-mo	hen (chicken-FL)	
	pkwaʔ-p ^h o	rooster (chicken-ML)	
(14)	sloppən tāza	(teacher + man)	a male teacher
	sloppən tāmu	(teacher + woman)	a female teacher

first person

Of the two forms for first person singular, *ŋa* and *ŋəʔo*, the first form is by far the most frequently used. The second form *ŋəʔo* is an emphatic personal pronoun which mostly occurs when a speaker wants to emphasise the first person, as in the following example:

(15)	ŋəʔo	ŋ-aka-j	kə-nəmdok	si	'na-ndoʔ
	1s:EMP	1s:GEN-top-LOC	NOM-strong	who	OBS-have
	Who is there that can compare with <i>me</i> in strength?				

Locatives like *-j* are discussed in section 5.6 of the chapter on adverbs. The observation marker *na-* marks evidentiality based on personal experience of the speaker. I describe evidentiality in section 7.5 of the chapter on verbs.

There are two forms for first person plural, *jijo* and *jiji* for inclusive and *jino* and *jini* for exclusive.⁸⁹ The two forms in each set are freely interchangeable, and I use them interchangeably in this study. I have found no difference in meaning or function. Note that the *-o* and *-i* alternation occurs also in the plural markers *-jo* and *-ji* as discussed above. Jiāomùzú distinguishes between inclusive and exclusive forms for first dual and plural. The first person dual forms distinguish inclusion versus exclusion of the second person in the first person, 'we including you' versus 'we excluding you', as shown in the examples below. The first person dual forms do not indicate anything about the relationship between the participants, other than the '(non-) part of the group' distinction.

⁸⁹ Bauman (1973: 131-133) sets up #i for inclusive and #u for exclusive in Proto Tibeto-Burman. But in Jiāomùzú the relevant distinction is on the consonants, rather than on the vowels: *j* for the default inclusive, based on the non-specific pronoun *təʔo* and *n* for exclusive.

- (16) tʃəʒo kətʃe tʃʰi-dʒ
 1d:i where go₁-1d
 Where are the two of us going?

 tʃəʒo mborkʰe ŋgo-dʒ
 1d:i 'Bar.khams go.upstream-1d
 The two of us are going up to 'Bar-khams.

- (17) nənʒondʒ kətʃe tə-tʃʰi-ndʒ
 2d where 2-go₁-2d
 Where are you two going?

 tʃə-no mborkʰe ŋgo-dʒ
 1d:e 'Bar.khams go.upstream-1d
 The two of us are going up to 'Bar-kʰams.

In (16) and (17) *katʃʰi* is the generic verb for 'go', which does not specify orientation or direction. The verb *kaŋgo* means 'go upstream'. Which of the possible words for 'go' is appropriate depends on the position of the speaker in relation to his environment, specifically the position of mountains and rivers in his home place. These geographical data form a grid to which the speaker will refer and from which he will derive his locative markers, no matter where he is. I discuss spatial deictics more fully in section 7.3 of the chapter on verbs below.

In (16) it would be inappropriate to use the second dual in the question. The first dual pronoun *tʃəʒo* in the answer makes it clear that the conversation is between two people who are both going somewhere together. In (17) the conversation is between at least three people, one of whom asks where two of the group, excluding the person asking the question, are going. In this case the second dual has to appear in the question, while in the answer a first dual exclusive has to be used.

The first person plural inclusive and exclusive distinctions function much the same way. Both the extent of the group of which the speaker is a member and the relation of the listener to that group are important. Sometimes the extent of the group has to be derived from the context of a conversation to distinguish between what is part of the group and what is not:

- (18) jino tsəlaɲsweꞌ ndo?
 1p:e running.water have
 We have running water (in our village).

- (19) jini tsəlaɲsweꞌ ndo?
 1p:e running.water have
 Our house(hold) has running water.

- (20) tʃəʔ w-aka-j wu-ʃwetʃiɿ jini sloppən jini kʰarʃit ki
 this 3s:GEN-bottom-LOC 3s:GEN-semester 1p:e teacher 1p:e song IDEF
 Last semester our teacher taught us a song.

no-səkʃot-j
 AF-teach-1p

In (18), the speaker is part of the group of inhabitants of a village. He tells someone who does not live in that village that his whole community has running water in the houses. In (19) the speaker defines his group as only his own household or family. This group has running water. The listener is not part of the speaker's household, but might belong to the same village. Example (20) shows a situation in which the listener is not part of the group that was taught the song. In this example *ki* marks indefiniteness. More on indefiniteness marking can be found in section 4.3 of the chapter on nouns. The marker *no-* signals attention flow, which is described in section 7.6 of the chapter on verbs.

- (21) jiji tsəlaɿʃweɿ ndoʔ
 1p:i running.water have
 We have running water.

The inclusive in (21) shows that both the speaker and the listener are part of the group that has running water. In the context of (18), the hearer is a village member. In the context of (19), the listener belongs to the household of the speaker.

second person

I have found several forms for second person dual and plural, see table. These variant forms can be used interchangeably. There is no difference in meaning or function. Which form is used depends on personal preference, and, to some extent, dialect preference. Within Jiǎomùzú Township each village has variant forms of vocabulary, including these pronouns.

In the flow of speech frequently the first syllable of the second singular and dual pronouns *nənʃo* and *nənʃondʒ* are frequently omitted, leaving only *nʃo* and *nʃondʒ*. This is perfectly acceptable. I suspect that this is a matter not so much of leaving out the first syllable but rather of the first syllable collapsing into the second: the initial *n-* melts into the second person marker *n-* of the second syllable and the vowel disappears due to the Jiǎomùzú tendency to emphasise consonants and skip vowels, see section 2.3 of the chapter on phonology. Confusion with third dual *wuʃondʒ* is avoided by the presence of the second person marker *n-* which is absent in the third person pronouns, by person and number marking on the verb, and by context. Interestingly, the first syllable of the third person pronouns, *wu-*, cannot be omitted. Maybe this is because there is no congenial environment for it to collapse into.

third person

For third person singular the most neutral terms are *wuʃo* and *mə*, indicating a generic 'he' or 'she'. The choice for one or the other formerly depended on dialect preferences exclusively. For example, Suōmò⁹⁰ used *mə*, whereas Jiǎomùzú used *wuʃo*. The onset of modern society has brought more contact between the different dialects and both *mə* and *wuʃo* are now widely understood. Some places use both, whereas others use only one or the other. The meaning of the pronouns may also be shifting. Recently a native speaker from Kǒnglóng defined the difference between *mə* and *wuʃo* in terms of reflexivity, with *mə* being a non-reflexive third person pronoun and *wuʃo* a third person reflexive pronoun meaning 'him- or herself'.⁹¹ I have, as yet, no evidence that this distinction is widespread. There is some discussion about the origins of *mə*. Lín Xiàngróng⁹² thinks rGyalrong borrowed the Tibetan word for 'person', མི *mi*, for which he gives the pronunciation [mə]. This word is used in literary Tibetan as well as in the Kham⁹³ dialect, which borders on the rGyalrong area in the south. In the Amdo dialect area, bordering on rGyalrong in the north and west, the contemporary spoken form is [mɲi]. The form *mə* as used in rGyalrong is thus most likely borrowed either from literary Tibetan, maybe via the monasteries or the secretaries of the local chieftains, or from Kham through trade and other contact. Of the two, *wuʃo* is the older form, as is attested by other aspects of rGyalrong grammar, such as the head marking of nouns. For third singular the pronominal prefix is always *w-*, never *m-*, as shown in example (22). In (22) *tə-* and *ta-* are noun markers, which I describe in section 4.2 of the chapter on nouns below. In genitives third person singular *w-* replaces the consonant *t-* of the noun marker:

(22)	tə-skruʔ	w-əskruʔ
	body	3s:GEN-body
	body	his, her body
	ta-rjaʔp	w-arjaʔp
	wife	3s:GEN-wife
	wife	his wife

An interesting form of third person pronoun is *wuna*, which is used only to implicate the referent in a negative action or state:

(23)	k ^h əzaʔ	si	na-kə-tʃ ^h op-w	wuna	tə
	bowl	who	PFT-NOM-break-3s	he	C
	Who broke that bowl?			It was him!	

⁹⁰ Jīn (1958: 77).

⁹¹ Tǎěrmǔ, personal communication.

⁹² Lín (1993: 178).

⁹³ Kāng 康, ཁམས་ Khams.

The speaker's use of *wuna* also carries the implication that the speaker wants to distinguish himself positively from a third person who may or may not be present at the time. Or the speaker wants to cast this third person in a negative light, thereby proving his own innocence.

- (24) *wuna* *ʃo* *na-ŋos*
 he always PFT-be
 It *was* him - [not me]!

Finally, *wuna* is sometimes used to refer to a child, in a condescending manner. The implication is that children somehow rank lower than grown-ups. The pronoun *wuna* is perhaps best understood as a third person despective or humilific pronoun, conferring relatively higher status on the speaker who uses it and lower status on the person referred to. Interestingly, there is such a form only for third person. Second person **nəna* does not exist, showing that this sort of implied accusation or suspicion can only be cast on a third person referent, never from a first person to a second person in direct conversation.

Some terms used to indicate third person referents are derived from other word categories such as numerals, demonstratives and nouns. Commonly used are the dual and plural forms *kərekndʒ* and *kərekɲo*, derived from the numeral *kərek*, 'one'. It is difficult to say whether the derivatives of *kərek* should be considered personal pronouns or indefinite pronouns, see section 3.1.e below. The numeral *kərek* is used to indicate a person who is outside of the normal frame of reference of the speaker, signalling that the speaker is unfamiliar with the referent. This is why (25c) is ungrammatical: if the speaker knows the referent has a book, the use of *kərek* is automatically out of the question because of that knowledge:

- (25a) *wuʃo tətʰa ki ndo?*
 he book IDEF have
 He has a book.
- (b) *mə tətʰa ki ndo?*
 he book IDEF have
 He has a book.
- (c) * *kərek tətʰa ki ndo?*

For example, if speaker and listener are inside and they hear someone calling outside, the speaker may use either (26) or (27):

- (26) *tərmu ki ji-vu*
 person IDEF PFT-come₂
 Someone is at the gate.

- (27) kərek ki ji-vu
 one IDEF PFT-come₂
 Someone is at the gate.

But if the speaker can see the person standing at the gate, and is calling to the listener inside that someone has come, *kərek* cannot be used, whether the speaker knows the person at the gate or not:

- (28) tərnu ki ji-vu
 person IDEF PFT-come₂
 Someone is at the gate.

- (29) kə-vi ki 'na-ndo?
 NOM-come₁ IDEF OBS-have
 Someone has come.

- (30) *kərek ki jivu

Forms of *kərek* can be used to distinguish between in-group and out-group:

- (31) wuʒo-ŋo ɲi-laktʃe to-¹a-nə-ndʒu-ɲn kərek-ŋo ɲi-laktʃe
 3-p p-thing PFT-NEV-EREFL-take-3p 3-p p-thing
 They took their own things, but they didn't take the other people's stuff.
- ɲi-¹a-ndʒu-ɲn
 NEG/PRF-NEV-take-3p

Marker ¹a- in example (31) signals non-direct evidentiality, nə- marks emphatic reflexivity and ɲi- is the marker for negative perfective aspect. I discuss these markers in sections 7.5.b, 7.8.e and 7.9.b respectively of the chapter on verbs.

The people in (31) who took the things, luggage, say, after a group of people arrives at a bus station, may or may not know the other people, whose things they did *not* take. In any case, the speaker makes a distinction between two groups. One group, the in-group, referred to by *wuʒoŋo*, and the out-group, referred to as *kərekŋo*. There is no comment by the speaker on the motivation of the members of the in-group. We don't know if they just left the stuff because the other people did not belong to their group, or if they actually left behind stuff of people that belonged in the group but that they did not want to deal with.

The form expressing the most intimate relationship is *jargo*. This word is actually a noun, marked for genitive with first person plural marker *j-*, which has taken on the role of personal pronoun. The root noun is *targopso*, which simply means 'friend'. Addition of the first person plural pronominal marker and deletion of the postfix renders the form *jargo*, literally 'our friend'. The term is now used in the sense of 'he' or 'she', but it refers to people closest in relationship to the speaker. These

relationships include direct family members as well as close friends. Another use of the term concerns situations in which the speaker does not want to use a personal pronoun, which happens frequently in Jiāomùzú. The use of a term for 'friend' rather than a third person personal pronoun is attested also in other languages such as Amdo Tibetan. In this kind of context the term can be used to refer to anyone, from the closest friend to complete strangers. It is often used while telling a story about a person, either known or unknown to the listener as well as the speaker, referring to this person as 'friend' rather than using a third person personal pronoun: '...*the friend* finally caught the cat...' rather than '...*he* finally caught the cat...'. Here are some examples for the use of *kārekpo* and *jargono*:

(32) ṇa wuʃo-ŋo pakʃu kərgi nə-mbuʔ-ŋ
 1s 3-p apple one PFT-give-1s
 I gave them an apple.

(33) ṇa kārek-ŋo pakʃu kərgi nə-mbuʔ-ŋ
 1s 3-p apple one PFT-give-1s
 I gave them an apple.

(34) ṇa jargo-ŋo pakʃu kərgi nə-mbuʔ-ŋ
 1s 3-p apple one PFT-give-1s
 I gave them an apple.

(35) jargo kāpaʔ-ŋo tarngaʔ ka-va ma-kə-ʃpaʔ-jn
 friend Chinese-p dance NOM-do NEG-NOM-can₁-3p
 Those Chinese can't dance.

Examples (34) and (35) will be used in situations where 'them' is unspecified. All the hearer can glean is that an apple will be given to third persons with whom the speaker has no particular relationship - or at least, the speaker only expresses neutrality about the relationship. Example (34) shows that the speaker wants to give the apple to close friends or relatives. It may be said at the market while buying apples to bring home. Example (35) may be used in a discussion about traditional dancing between native rGyalrong people.

Inanimate referents are usually indicated by *tʃəʔ* or *ndə*, which are actually demonstratives meaning 'this' and 'that' respectively, as in:

(36) tərmu tʃəʔ tə tərmu ndə tə
 person this C person that C
 this person that person

Pronouns *wuʃo* and *mə* are only used for animate referents that are persons. Sentence (38), though grammatically correct, can only be used in a denigrating way, it is not normal usage.

(37) tʃəʔ kəʃpət ɲos this, it cow be It's a cow.	(38) *wuʃo kəʃpət ɲos he, she cow be

Usually the third person is not referred to if the referent is present. If a situation requires a third person referent, who is present at that moment, to be referred to, even if the referent is human, the demonstrative is used instead of the neutral form *wuʃo* or *mə*. Example (40) has *kə*, a prominence marker. More on prominence marking can be found in section 4.3 of the chapter on nouns.

(39) wuʃo kəpaʔ ɲos 3s Chinese be He is Chinese.	tʃəʔ kəpaʔ ɲos he, this Chinese be He, this is Chinese.
(40) si kə to-kə-va-w ɲos who PR PFT-NOM-do-3s be Who did [it]?	tʃəʔ kə this PR He did! (It was him!)

The response in example (40) is similar to English forms such as 'this guy here', when pointing to someone present. Also in storytelling the use of demonstratives for third person human referents is very common. In the following example A-myis Sgo-ldong,⁹⁴ the saviour of the rGyalrong people, is referred to twice with the demonstrative *ndə*:

⁹⁴ ཨ་ཁྱིམ་སྒོ་ལྷོང་.

- (41) pot-j amɲi sgəldən kacəs tə rənə
Tibetan-LOC A.myis Sgo.ldong say C CON
The one from Tibet who is called A-myis Sgo-ldong,
- saŋɽi-ɲi kə ndə tə-ɲi tə nə
enlightened.one-p:HON PR DEM C-p:HON C CON
he was sent to us by the enlightened ones
- əɲje tʃe na bdewa kə-pkot
we LOC downwards peace NOM-decree
to come down and bring peace
- ndə tə tə na-kə-sə-vu na-kə-ŋos-ɲn 'nə-ŋos
DEM C C PFT-NOM-CAUS-come₂ PFT-NOM-be-3s:HON EV-be
they sent him to us.

It is also common to use directional words to refer to people not present with the speaker. In (42) *hardu tə* literally means 'the one that is in the direction towards the river'. The prefix *h-* marks distal:

- (42) h-ardu tə kə pkraʃis doŋmən^ʔ w-əp^ha tʃe
D-towards.the.river C PR bKra.shis East.Gate 3s:GEN-vicinity LOC
He will meet bKra-shis at the East Gate.
- məto-w ra
meet-3s need

c. Number

The Jiāomùzú pronouns are marked for number. For first person there are entirely different forms in the dual and plural, see table above. Number for dual and plural forms of second and third person, is marked by affixes *-ndʒ* for dual and *-no* or *-ɲi* for plural. This may indicate a higher ranking for first person, or a basic split between first versus second and third persons. Marking for number is normally obligatory. There can however be a mis-match between the number of the pronoun and the number marking on the verb, as in example (43):

- (43) nənɲo t^histok ʃeʔm tə-ndoʔ-ɲn
you how.many house 2-have-2p
How many houses are there in your [village]?

In this example the speaker is addressing the question to just one person, *nəŋɔ*, 'you (s)'. But because he asks about the conditions in *nəŋɔ*'s village he marks the verb for second person plural, as if he were addressing the entire community. This sort of construction, where one representative stands in for a whole, with the verb marked for plural to express the whole, is quite common in Jiāomùzú. Another example is sentence (44) below, where the speaker addresses a single person, 'you', but marks the verb for plural as if including the hearer's entire family or community:

- (44) *nəŋɔ semcan kə-lok tə-ŋos-jn me təmpak kə-ji tə-ŋos-jn*
 2s livestock NOM-herd 2-be-2p or field NOM-sow 2-be-2p
 Are you herders or farmers?

The number categories do not overlap in meaning. The dual marker means 'exactly two', the plural marker specifies 'three or more'. The plural cannot be used to simply indicate 'more than one', nor can the dual mean 'two or more' or 'two out of many'. For examples on the strict number boundaries see section 4.2.d on the number marking of nouns. Free pronouns can combine with numerals in noun phrases, as long as the number is three or higher. If the number is one or two, the appropriate pronoun, singular or dual, must be used:

- (45) *mə kəsam tə laktʃe kə-ku ji-rji-jn*
 3s three C thing NOM-buy PFT-go₂-3p
 The three of them went out to buy some things.

- (46) * *mə kəŋes tə laktʃe kəku jirjindʒ*

- (47) *mə-ndʒ laktʃe kə-ku ji-rji-ndʒ*
 3d thing NOM-buy PFT-go₂-2p
 The two of them went to buy something.

The numeral *kəŋes*, 'two', cannot be used together with a dual pronoun:

- (48) *tʃəno təza-ndʒ kə-varwek tʃ^hi-dʒ, ŋɔ təmuʔ-ŋo ɲ-aste na-^lɲu-jn*
 1d,e man-2d NOM-hunt go₁-1d, 2s woman-p 2p:GEN-place IMP-sit-2p
 We two guys are going to hunt, you girls stay here.

- * *tʃəno təza kəŋes kəvarwek tʃ^hidʒ*

Because the first dual pronoun means that there are two, and only two, men who are going to hunt, it would be ungrammatical to add the numeral *kəŋes*. It also means that there are no other men there who will stay with the women. There are only two men present, and both of them will go hunting. This can be shown more clearly from examples where the number marking for dual and plural is used on nouns, in combination with a numeral:

(49) k^həzaʔ kəpəs rə-^lvja-w
 bowl two IMP-get-2s
 Bring two bowls (out of many).

(50) k^həzaʔ-ndʒ rə-^lvja-w
 bowl-3d IMP-get-2s
 Bring the two bowls.

In (49) there are any number of bowls, and the speaker requests that two of them be brought to him. In (50) there are only two bowls, and the speaker wants both of them. There is no limit on how big the numeral that is used can be. But the higher the number, the bigger the chance that the sentence will sound unnatural, simply because there is a lower probability of having higher numbers in natural discourse. Note that the use of a numeral also precludes the use of the plural marker *-no*: in (45) the verb is marked for three plural but the pronoun is the unmarked third singular. Sentences (51) and (52) are other examples of the omission of the plural marker when there is a numeral in the noun phrase:

(51) ŋa ŋ-ajze-*no* pok tə ʒehun^ɕ na-va-jn
 1s 1s:GEN-older.brother-p all C marry PFT-do-3p
 My older brothers are all married.

(52) ŋa ŋ-ajze kəsam ndoʔ-jn
 1s 1s:GEN-older brother three exist-3p
 I have three older brothers.

(53) pkraʃis skalbzaŋ harʒa-*no* tarngaʔ kə-va tʃ^hi-jn ^lnə-ŋos
 bKra.shis sKal.bzang lHa.rgyal-p dance NOM-do go-3p EV-be
 bKra-shis, sKal-bzang and lHa-rgyal are going to dance.

(54) pkraʃis skalbzaŋ harʒa kəsam tə tarngaʔ kə-va tʃ^hi-jn ^lnə-ŋos
 bKra.shis sKal.bzang lHa.rgyal three C dance NOM-do go-3p EV-be
 bKra-shis, sKal-bzang and lHa-rgyal are going to dance.

Plural marker *-no* can mean 'et cetera, the like, all':

(55) tʃəʔ tə bdət tə kə jiʒi-*no* pəʒək wu-veravla-j kəne
 this C demon C PR we:i-p again 3/1-destroy-1p MD:C
 This demon will once again destroy us all!

The plural marker *-no* and the dual marker *-ndʒ* are attached to the last syllable of the word or phrase that they dualise or pluralise:

(56)	tət ^h a ndə-ndʒ	tət ^h a ndə-no	tərnu tʃə? tə-no
	book that-d	book that-p	person this C-p
	those two books	those books	these people

For more on number marking, see the chapters on nouns and verbs.

d. Status, forms of address and honorifics

Traditional rGyalrong society is very aware of social position and status. For the formation of respectful terms of address the Jiăomùzú dialects employ a simple system whereby nouns and pronouns can be changed from neutral forms into honorifics. The plural marker *-no* is affixed to a word:

(57)	smonbe-no	sloppən-no	nəŋo-no
	doctor-p	teacher-p	2-p
	honoured doctor	honoured teacher	you (2s, HON)

Use of honorific marking on nouns and pronouns also requires that the verb is marked for plural:

- (58) nəŋo-no smonbe tə-ŋos-jn me
 2s-HON doctor 2-be-2p INTR
 Are you (HON) a doctor?

Context and situation rule out confusion between plural and honorific use of the plural markers. For some of the verbs and nouns there are special honorific forms, as in Tibetan. Most of these, in fact, are Tibetan loanwords, see chapter 7 on verbs and chapter 3 on nouns respectively. But for most words it is sufficient to simply use the neutral form marking it for honorific by adding plural markers.

As in Chinese and Tibetan, usually people in positions that command respect are addressed by their title, such as teacher, leader, doctor, incarnation etc., not by their name. Within the family younger siblings are addressed by their names, but older siblings as well as any older relative will be addressed by their kinship terms like aunt, uncle, older brother, cousin etc. If, due to the vagaries of generational relationships, a relative is of an older generation but younger in age than the speaker, he or she will still be shown the proper respect by being addressed with the appropriate kinship term rather than with his or her name. Kinship terms or names sometimes replace personal pronouns in forms of direct address:

- (59) pkraʃis 'mə-to-tə-nəndza-n
 bKra.shis Q-PFT-2-have.a.meal-2s
 bKra-shis, have you eaten?

In (59) the speaker addresses bKra-shis by his name rather than with 'you', rather like 'Has bKra-shis eaten yet?', which in English gives the impression that the matter of a third person's having had dinner is being discussed.

There is a tendency in Jiǎomùzú to avoid direct address and the use of personal pronouns to refer to a third person who is present or within earshot. If a speaker wants to know the name of a person who is present but with whom he has no relationship he will generally not ask a direct question such as 'Who are you?' or even 'What's your name?', which is considered rude. He will also avoid using 'he, she, that person', as in 'who is that', when inquiring from a person in the know. Usually a more polite form will be used:

- (60) j-aku si 'nə-ŋos
 1p:GEN-uncle who EV-be
 Who is our uncle? (Who is this?)

- (61) ŋa si ŋos-ŋ
 I who be-1s
 Who am I?

Example (61) is very colloquial and mostly used by young people. In order to avoid the impolite direct use of third singular personal pronouns when asking about a third person's identity when that person is in earshot, the speaker will ask 'Who am I?', addressing himself to a friend who may know the person the speaker is referring to. The question in this context really means 'Who is that?', a fact known to everybody present. It is just a polite way of avoiding direct address.

There is no pronominal marking especially for vocative, though in most forms of direct address a genitive construction is used as in (62) and (63b). There is also no particle like the English 'oh' in sentences such as 'Oh father, please don't make me marry him'. The only way is to form terms of endearment with the use of *lelej*, as in:

- (62) ŋ-apa lelej ma-ra ma-ra
 1s:GEN-father dear NEG-need NEG-need
 Dear daddy, please don't!

(63a) cici lelej child dear dearest child	(63b) ŋ-andʃi? lelej 1s:GEN-friend dear my dear friend

In example (63a) *cici* is a term of address used for children of an age younger than oneself.

e. Indefinite pronouns

Jiǎomùzú has two non-specific indefinite or generic pronouns: *təʃo* and *raŋraŋ*. They resemble the English *one* and French *on*, and translate roughly as 'self, oneself, one'. Neither takes person or number marking. The generic pronouns only occur in sentences where the verb is in the generic form with *ka-* or *kə-*. Generic pronoun *raŋraŋ* is a loanword from Tibetan རང་ *rang*, 'self, oneself, own' and རང་རང་ *rang rang*, 'one's own'. However, in some Jiǎomùzú dialects *raŋraŋ* can mean 'other':

- (64) *raŋraŋ* *w-ərmu-ŋo*
 other 3s:GEN-person-p
 the other people

The pronoun *təʃo* is obviously the indigenous term, conforming to the forms of the definite personal pronouns as listed above. Like the definite pronouns, *təʃo* is used to form genitives and generally behaves like the free personal definites, except that it does not inflect for number. In *təʃo* we have indeed the most generic pronoun, not just in meaning but also in form. The second syllable of the pronoun is *-ʃo*, with *-ʃ-* indicating 'inclusive', the default form in the pronouns, see below. If, as in the definite pronouns, the first syllable marks person, based on the meaning 'self, oneself' as given above for the entire pronoun, the first syllable *tə-* must indicate 'self, one's own person'. It may be linked to contrast marker *tə*, see section 4.3 of the chapter on nouns, which functions to distinguish between one particular entity and all possible other entities. The pronouns *raŋraŋ* and *təʃo* can be used interchangeably:

(65)	<i>raŋraŋ</i>	<i>ka-nəndza</i>	<i>təʃo</i>	<i>ka-nəndza</i>
	self	INF-eat	self	INF-eat
	Eat [something] oneself.		Eat [something] oneself.	

Usually the generic pronouns are not used by the speaker to refer to himself, because that would, in rGyalrong culture, be boastful and thus impolite. But sentences like (66) are possible, mostly in a joking sense, where the speaker indicates that, against the opinion of the listener(s), he is convinced he is the man for the job: 'I'm your guy'.

- (66) *tamaʔ ndə tə təʃo tə kə-kʰut ŋos*
 work that C self C INF-can be
 That job this person can do.

Huáng⁹⁵ notes that a marker *tə-* prefixed to a noun gives the meaning of 'my own'. Though Huáng does not mention *təfo* it is clearly the origin of his marker *tə-*. In his data *tə-* is prefixed to full nouns that retain their nominal prefixes, as in *tətərbo*, 'my own drum'. If a noun does not have a nominal prefix, *tə-* is prefixed directly to the root, as it is with many Chinese loanwords. Prefixing with *tə-* from free pronoun *təfo* also occurs in the Jiǎomùzú dialects, signalling meanings such as 'one's...', 'one's own....'. In (67) the first example shows a noun with a nominal prefix, the second a root without a nominal prefix, and the third a loan from Chinese. All forms can take the generic pronoun marker *tə-*:

- (67) *tət^ha* N-book *tə-tət^ha* one's (own) book
 ʃokʃoʔk paper *tə-ʃokʃoʔk* one's (own) paper
 dijansəɁ TV *tə-dijansəɁ* one's (own) tv
- (68) *ndə tərmu tə kə-ŋan ki 'nə-ŋos təjeʔm w-əŋgi ji-vu*
 that person C NOM-bad IDEF EV-be house 3s:GEN-in PFT-come₂
 That is a really bad person; when he came into the house he broke one's tv,
- tʃe tə-dijansəɁ tə-jawkoŋɁ manʃuʔ tə-tʃ^haʔdem kəzu tə*
 LOC GENR-TV GENR-remote.control also GENR-thermos all C
 one's remote control and one's thermos.
- nə-c^hop-w*
 PFT-break-3s

The use of *tə-* in this kind of sentence gives more emphasis than the use of genitives with prefixes derived from the free definite personal pronouns, such as *ŋ-*, 'my...'. The pronominal prefix can also be prefixed to the last term in the sequence only, which gives a slight difference in meaning, more emphasis on the last thing to be broken:

- (69) ...*dijansəɁ jawkoŋɁ manʃuʔ tə-tʃ^haʔdem kəzu tə nə-c^hop-w*
 tv remote.control also GENR-thermos all C PFT-break-3s
 the tv, the clicker and even the (one's) thermos, he broke them all.

Note that the use of *tə-* here refers to the owner of the things broken by the bad person, not to the person breaking the things.

⁹⁵ 黄 (Huáng) (1993: 28).

The pronouns *təʃo* and *raŋraŋ* can carry the meaning of 'each', in sentences such as:

- (70) *təʃo təprak təʃo ka-nəndʒu*
 self portion self INF-take
 Each should take his own portion.

'Each, every' or 'each one, every one' is also expressed by another pronoun, *re* or *rere*. It cannot be used interchangeably with *təʃo* and *raŋraŋ*. In example (71) *kəmp^hjar* is a classifier for paper and other sheet like things. I discuss classifiers in section 4.3 of the chapter on nouns.

- (71) *mpi re poŋeʔj kəmp^hjar ka*
 person each money CL one
 Every one gets one [unit of] money.
- (72) *tərmu rere təjeʔm kaka 'na-ndoʔ*
 person each house one OBS-have
 Every person gets one house.
- (73) *kaka nə-'mbu-w*
 one IMP-give-2s
 Give one [to each person]

Note that instead of *tərmu rere* often the standard expression *mpi re*, which is a loan from Tibetan མི་རེ་ *mi re*, is used. In these constructions *rere* and *kaka* occur together, linking 'one' and 'each', though they can be separated by other constituents. Example (73) shows that *kaka* can appear without *rere* and still convey the same meaning of 'one [item] for each [person]'. Often a sentence with such a general meaning is formed with the infinitive of a verb, without any pronouns.

- (74) *kəʃmo ka-nədzəŋkpe ra*
 thief INF-watch.out.for need
 One should beware of thieves.
- (75) *tak^huʔ ka-moʔt təskruʔ ma-haʔw*
 cigarette INF-drink body NEG-good
 Smoking is harmful to one's health.

Nonspecific indefinite meaning can also be expressed by making use of the emphatic reflexivity affix *nə-* in the verb phrase, see (7.8.e) in the chapter on verbs. In such cases the emphatic reflexivity affix carries the meaning of 'oneself':

- (76) ηa $n\acute{a}-t\acute{h}i-\eta$ ra $n\acute{a}\eta\eta o$ $z\acute{i}k$ $t\acute{a}-n\acute{a}-t\acute{h}i-n$
 1s EREFL-go₁-1s need 2s also 2-EREFL-go₁-2s
 I have to go myself; you need to go yourself too.

There are no specific indefinite pronouns such as 'somewhere' and 'someone', though the derived pronoun *kārek* can do service, see section 3.1.b on third person free pronouns. More often, to express these concepts, Jiāomùzú uses a noun plus the marker for indefiniteness *ki*, 'a, one'. The interpretation of such constructions depends largely on context. The meaning of *tǎrmu ki* can be 'a person' or 'one person' or 'a certain person' as well as 'someone':

(77)	<i>tǎrmu</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>laktǵe</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>sat^he</i>	<i>ki</i>
	person	IDEF	thing	IDEF	place	IDEF
	someone		something		some place	

Many indefinite meanings can be expressed by combinations of a question word with a verb. The verb can be nominalised or consist of a double root:

(78)	<i>t^hi</i> <i>ndo?</i> <i>ndo?</i>	what + have + have	all kinds
	<i>kətǵe</i> <i>kə-ndo?</i>	where + NOM-have	everywhere, wherever
	<i>si</i> <i>ndo?</i> <i>ndo?</i>	who + have + have	everyone

Another possibility for expressing indefiniteness involves a question word in combination with a real conditional construction and the adverb *zík*, 'also':

- (79) $k\acute{a}st\acute{r}\acute{e}$ $m\acute{a}-na-vi$ $z\acute{i}k$ $k^h\acute{u}t$.
 when COND-PFT-come₁ also allow
 You can come whenever.

t^hi *m\acute{a}-na-ndo?* *z\acute{i}k* *k^hut*.
 what COND-PFT-have also allow
 Whatever is available is ok.

si *m\acute{a}-na-vi* *z\acute{i}k* *k^hut*.
 who COND-PFT-come₁ also allow
 Whoever comes is fine.

Jiāomùzú has constructions of the type pronoun-noun, where both elements have the same referent. This kind of construction is possible with all free pronouns, including more recent or derived forms like *jargo*:

- (80) jino kəruʔ-no kəzu tə tarngaʔ ka-va ʃpaʔ-j
 1p:e Tibetan-p all C dance NOM-do can-1p
 We Tibetans all know how to dance.
- (81) ɲo kəʃmo-no
 2 thief-p
 you thieves!
- (82) jargo kəpaʔ-no tarngaʔ ka-va ma-kə-ʃpaʔ-jn ɲos
 friend Chinese-p dance NOM-do NEG-NOM-can₁-3p be
 Those Chinese can't dance.

Jiǎomùzú does not have free reciprocal pronouns like the English 'each other' or 'one another'. Reciprocity is marked on the verb by inserting the affix *-ŋa-* just before the verb root. This can be combined with a doubling of the root. If the root ends in a consonant, this consonant is omitted in the first part of the double root:

- (83) wuʃo-no tascok na-laʔt-jn
 3-p letter PFT-write₂-3p
 They wrote a letter.
- wuʃo-no-ŋgu-j tascok na-ŋa-la-laʔt-jn
 3-p-in-LOC letter PFT-REC-RED-write₂-3p
 They wrote each other letters.
- (84) losar wu-ʒak-j j-əp^hambəm na-ŋa-mbə-mbəm-j
 New.Year 3s:GEN-time-LOC 1p:GEN-gift PFT-REC-RED-give-1p
 At New Year we gave each other gifts.

A specific kind of reciprocity can be expressed by the prefix *kafa-*, affixed to a noun. The prefix expresses that there is a set relationship between two entities that cannot be altered, as in *kafamomo*, literally 'each other's mother and daughter', for 'mother and daughter'. In the same way there are nouns like *kafap^hakja*, 'husband and wife'; *kafandʒiʔ*, 'friends'; and *kafapupuʔ*, 'an animal and its young'. For more on reciprocity, see section 7.8.f of the chapter on verbs.

f. Analysis of the free definite personal pronouns

The pronominal markers as used in genitive constructions are:

1s	ŋ-	1d	tʃ-	1p	j-
2s	n-	2d	ndʒ-	2p	ɲ-
3s	w-	3d	wuʃondʒ-	3p	wuʃɲ-

I give a full description of genitive constructions and possessive pronouns in section 3.2.

From a comparison with the free pronouns it is easy to see which parts of the pronoun carry the pronominal meaning. Some pronouns have more than one form currently in use in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. The following table includes these variants:

1s		ŋ	a						
2s		n	ə	n	ʃ	o			
3s		w	u		ʃ	o			
1di		tʃ	ə		ʃ	o			
1de		tʃ	ə		n	o			
2d		n	ə	n	ʃ	o	n	dʒ	
3d		w	u		ʃ	o	n	dʒ	
1pi		j	i		ʃ	o			
		j	i		ʃ	i			
1pe		j	i		n	o			
		j	i		n	i			
2p	n	j	i	n	ʃ	o			
		n	ə	n	ʃ	o	n	j	o
3p		w	u		ʃ	o	n	j	o

A comparison of the pronouns leads to the following conclusions:

ŋ-	first singular
n-	second person
w-	third person
tʃ-	dual, first person
-dʒ	dual, second and third person
j-	plural
-n- before -jo	second person
-n- before number marker	non-first person
-j-	inclusive
-n-	exclusive

The second person marker *-n-* prefixed to *jo-* explains why in normal speech often the first syllable of the second person pronouns, *nə-*, is left out, whereas the third person pronouns must be used in their full form.

Interestingly, the first person dual forms do not take the regular dualis marker *-dʒ-*. Could the initial alveolar fricative be linked to the meaning of dualis, since *-dʒ-* and *-tʃ-* are close in articulation and the Jiāomùzú has a tendency to devoice initial consonants? This idea would be supported by the occurrence of the marker *-j-* in the same position as *-dʒ-*, and the obvious link with the plural marker *j-*, as described below.

Another point of interest is the second and third person plural forms. The plural marker *-jɔ* can be analysed as consisting of the elements *-n-*, *-j-* and the vowel *-o*. Of these elements, *-j-* clearly marks plural. The marker *-n-* occurs in the same position, before the number marker, not only in the plural, but also in the dual forms of second and third person. I conclude that this *-n-* marks the meaning 'non-first person' in the dual and plural categories. This, as well as the irregular forms of the first person versus the regular forms of the second and third person pronouns, is an indication that in Jiāomùzú there may be a split of first versus second and third person, rather than a first versus second versus third contrast. The normal marker *-jɔ*, affixed to nouns etc., can be interpreted as meaning 'non-first person, plural'.

Suffix *-jo* carries the meaning 'human'. It occurs in all the pronouns that are used for humans, but not in the demonstratives, which are used for animate but non-human categories (such as animals) as well as inanimate referents. As shown above, the third person personal pronoun *wujo* cannot be used to refer to animate beings apart from humans or inanimate objects. The suffix can humanise a non-human referent, as in (85). In this sentence *-jo* is suffixed to a string of locatives to indicate the people that are there:

- (85) ata-j ata-j ata-j-jo ʃi to-kə-cəs k^honə...
 above-LOC above-LOC above-LOC-HUM always PFT-NOM-say CON
 "Hey you people up there, up there, the ones up there!" he called over and over,
 but....

Interestingly, the category 'human' can include supernatural, superhuman and spiritual beings. In example (85) the creatures addressed by the caller are a family of demons, see Text 1 at the end of this study.

These conclusions are supported by the Jiǎomùzú verb paradigm for person and number. I give the paradigm for simple transitive and intransitive verbs here:

person, number	intransitive verb		transitive verb	
s 1		-ŋ		-ŋ
2	tə-	-n	tə-	-w
3				-w
d 1		-dʒ		-dʒ
2	tə-	-ndʒ	tə-	-ndʒ
3		-ndʒ		-ndʒ
p 1		-j		-j
2	tə-	-jn		-jn
3		-jn		-jn

In the verb paradigm the second and third person dual and plural are all marked with the *n* for 'non-first person', as in the free pronouns. In the plural forms the order has been reversed, with the *j* for 'plural' before the *n* of 'non-first person'. However, in Lín Xiàngróng's description of Zhuōkèjī⁹⁶ the plural forms for second and third person all end in palatal nasals, as would be expected from the analysis of the pronouns. Jīn⁹⁷ gives a palatal nasal for the second person dual and plural for the Suōmò dialect. However, third person forms in his description are not suffixed at all. The Jiǎomùzú verbs behave mostly in the same way as the pronouns, though it is not clear why the order of the suffixed *n* and *j* has become inverted. Maybe ease of pronunciation is a reason.

3.2 *Possessive pronouns*

The Jiǎomùzú dialects have two sets of possessives, one bound set and one set of free possessive pronouns. Both sets are derived from the free personal pronouns.

⁹⁶ Lín (1993: 198).

⁹⁷ Jīn (1958: 102).

a. Bound possessive pronouns

	single	dual	plural
1	ŋ-	tʃ-	j-
2	n-	(nənʝo)ndʒ-	ɲ-
3	w-	wuʝondʒ-	wuʝɲ-
honorific	ɲ-		ɲ-

Genitives in Jiāomùzú express a possessive, as in 'the boy's book', or some other similarly close connection as in 'a winter's day'. The bound pronouns are prefixed to nouns, replacing the normal noun markers *ta-* and *tə-*, to form genitive constructions. Note that the vowels of the noun markers remain. Third person forms tend to be realised as [u] rather than [ə], as in [wuskruʔ] for /wəskruʔ/, 'body'. Inclusive and exclusive distinctions are not marked:

(86)		tə-skruʔ	N-body	ta-miʔ	N-leg
s	1	ŋ-əskruʔ	my body	ŋ-amiʔ	my leg
	2	n-əskruʔ	your body	n-amiʔ	your leg
	3	w-əskruʔ	his body	w-amiʔ	his leg
d	1	tʃ-əskruʔ	our body	t-amiʔ	our leg
	2	(nʝo)ndʒ-əskruʔ	your body	(nʝo)ndʒ-amiʔ	your leg
	3	wuʝondʒ-əskruʔ	their body	wuʝondʒ-amiʔ	their leg
p	1	j-əskruʔ	our body	j-amiʔ	our leg
	2	ɲ-əskruʔ	your body	ɲ-amiʔ	your leg
	3	wuʝɲ-əskruʔ	their body	wuʝɲ-amiʔ	their leg
HON		ɲ-əskruʔ	his body	ɲ-amiʔ	his leg

Nouns that do not have a noun marker are prefixed by the entire first syllable of the appropriate pronoun:

(87)	sandzət	upbringing	wu-sandzət	his upbringing
	spen	glue	ji-spen	our glue
	k ^h afpa	frog	nə-k ^h afpa	your frog
	məntoʔk	flower	ɲi-məntoʔk	your (p) flower

The second person dual form is usually shortened to *ndʒ-*, unless there is potential for confusion. The third person dual form is usually used in its complete form *wuʝondʒ-*, though in fast speech the first part may be omitted, if there is no danger of ambiguity with the second dual form.

Ambiguity can be avoided in two ways. Either a free personal pronoun, clarifying the referent, is inserted in the relevant slot, or the full form of the bound possessive pronoun is used:

- (88) wuʃondʒ ndʒ-ənge ka-nəsacəmdo kə-rgaʔ-ndʒ 'nə-ŋos
 3d 3d:GEN-clothes NOM-swap NOM-like-3d EV-be
 They like to wear each other's clothes.

- (89) wuʃondʒ-ənge ka-nəsacəmdo kə-rgaʔ-ndʒ 'nə-ŋos
 3d:GEN-clothes NOM-swap NOM-like-3d EV-be
 (They) like to wear each other's clothes.

Honorific forms use *ni-* for all persons. The honorific prefix is either used with the standard form of a noun, for respectful address, or with the honorific form of a noun, to express the highest respect. Note that for a noun that does not have a noun marker, such as *ʒap*, 'leg', the full form *ni-* is prefixed to the noun. For nouns that have noun marker *ta-* the consonant is replaced by *n-* while the vowel *a-* remains in place:

(90a) tamiʔ leg leg	(90b) jontan w-amiʔ Yon.tan 3s:GEN-leg Yon-tan's leg
(90c) sloppən n-amiʔ teacher 1s:HON:GEN-leg the teacher's leg	(90d) blame ni-ʒap lama 3s:HON:GEN-leg:HON the lama's leg

As discussed earlier in section 3.1 on free personal pronouns, various referents in a sentence can be left out as long as it is clear what or who the referent is from the conversational context and the bound possessive pronouns are in place, for example:

- (91) ŋa wu-picipən rna-ŋ 'kə-səso-ŋ
 1s 3s:GEN-notebook borrow-1s PRIMP-want-1s
 I want to borrow his notebook.
- (92) kʰut kʰut wu-saʃup w-ərka-j ŋos
 can can 3s:GEN-bed 3s:GEN-top-LOC be
 No problem. It's on his bed.

b. Free possessive pronouns

Used less frequently than the bound set, Jiăomùzú nevertheless has a complete set of free possessive pronouns, expressing such meanings as 'mine', 'his', etc. These pronouns consist of the pronominal prefix as used in the bound set and the morpheme *je-*, which takes the place of the root word. I give the full set in the table below:

	single	dual	plural
1 incl.		tfəŋo tfəje	jijə jije jino jije
excl.	ŋa ŋəje	tfəno tfəje	jiji jije jini jije
2	nəŋo nəje	nəŋondzije	jinŋo nije jinji nije
3	wuŋo wuje	wuŋondzije	wuŋo nije wuji nije

The following examples clarify the use of the free possessive pronouns:

- (93) tami? ŋ-ami? tami? tə ŋa ŋə-je ŋos
leg 1s:GEN-leg leg C 1s 1s-POSS be
leg my leg The leg is mine.

- (94) tfə? si wu-je ŋos jontan wu-je ŋos
this who 3s-POSS be Yon-tan 3s-POSS be
Whose is this? It's Yon-tan's.

In normal speech the free personal pronoun is often left out, especially the second and third person ones:

- (95) tət^ha ndə tə ŋəje ŋos
book that C 1s-POSS be
That book is mine.

- (96) tfə? səŋup tə wuje ŋos
this bed C 3s-POSS be
This bed is his.

c. Genitive constructions

The process of affixing morphemes to words to express a certain relationship, as described above for genitive constructions, is an important feature of the Jiāomùzú dialects. Different word classes can be affected by this process to express a wide range of meanings and relationships, such as goal or purpose, destination, referent of an interrogative or demonstrative, kinship relations and many more. Verbs have post-fixed pronominal morphemes expressing person and number. This includes adjective-like words like stative verbs, see sections 7.1 and 7.2 of the chapter on verbs. Nouns are prefixed as described above for genitives. Here are a few examples of the range of meanings and relationships covered by genitives in Jiāomùzú. Examples (97 and 98) show the close relationship of family and peer group while (99) signals reason or purpose. Sentence (100) has a relative clause connected to the head with a genitive construction:

- (97) η-ajze w-arjaʔp
 1s:GEN-older.brother 3s:GEN-wife
 My older brother's wife.
- (98) təza ʒi-tʃiŋsəʔ wu-hawʂuʔ tʰistok ɲos
 man 3p:GEN-dorm 3s:GEN-number how.many be
 What is the number of the men's dorm?
- (99) kərtsu ka-ndza w-əspe
 winter NOM-eat 3s:GEN-material
 (foods stored) for eating in winter
- (100) ɲa mdzorge ka-ŋgo wu-pʰjawʔ ku-ŋ
 1s Ruðěrgài⁹⁸ NOM-go.up 3s:GEN-ticket buy-1s
 One ticket to Mdzod-dge, please.

Note that in (98) *təza*, 'man', does not take the plural marker *-no*. The plural is expressed by the bound possessive *ʒi-* prefixed to the noun. Likewise *təza* already makes clear that a third person construction is involved, so there is no need for the full third plural bound form *wuʃiʒi*. However, the bound possessive, in shortened or full form, must appear, it cannot be omitted. Logically, the relationship between third person interrogatives and demonstratives and their referents is expressed by third person bound possessives:

- (101) tʃəʔ w-əndʒa 'na-mpʃar
 this 3s:GEN-picture OBS-beautiful
 This is a beautiful picture.

⁹⁸ 若尔盖, མཛོད་དགེ mDzod-dge.

(102) tʃəʔ tʰi w-əjmbak 'nə-ŋos
 this what 3s:GEN-leaf EV-be
 What kind of leaves are these?

(103) si w-ətha ŋos
 who 3s:GEN-book be
 Whose book is (this)?

Beside these obvious uses, genitive constructions can also be used to create adverbials, relative clauses and in certain contexts occur as role markers, especially for adpositions. I give here just a few examples. More extensive descriptions follow in sections 5.6 and 8.2.

(104) ŋə-ka-nəpʃu təza ki tʃəʔ kə-ŋu ŋos
 1s:GEN-NOM-know man IDEF this NOM-live be
 A man whom I know lives here.

(105) tərka cəktse w-ərka-j
 top table 3s:GEN-top-LOC
 top on the table

(106) tacep j-acep
 between 1p:GEN-between
 between between us

(107) j-acep-j cəktse w-ərka-j tətha ki ndoʔ
 1p:GEN-between-LOC table 3s:GEN-top-LOC book IDEF have
 There is a book on the table between us.

In examples (105) and (106) nouns with a clear locative meaning are first marked for genitive and then adverbialised. They can be interpreted as meaning 'the place...', which would still keep the original sense of the noun, e.g. for (106): 'the place between us'. Some of these nouns in genitive format have entered the lexicon:

(108) w-əŋgu w-əmpʰi
 3s:GEN-inside 3s:GEN-out
 in, inside out, outside

(109) bawbawᵛ w-əŋgu
 bag 3s:GEN-inside
 in the bag

- (110) jontan 'nə-mi? o w-əmp^{hi} ji-r̥ji
 Yon.tan EV-not.have MD:CF 3s:GEN-outside PFT-go₂
 Yon-tan isn't here, he went out.

I have not found any native speakers that were able to give the root noun of commonly used adpositions such as 'in' and 'out', without the third person singular marker. Other forms do exist:

- (111) naŋ-j-əŋgu tanhwa
 in-1p:GEN-in speak
 talk among ourselves (have a discussion with insiders or family members)

These forms do have roots based in nouns, like the other nouns with strong locative meanings mentioned above. This can be demonstrated with the following example:

- (112) bawbaw^ʔ w-əŋgu-j tət^{ha} ndo?
 bag 3s:GEN-in-LOC book have
 There is a book inside the bag.

bawbaw^ʔ w-əŋgu tə kampu? ɲos
 bag 3s:GEN-in C cloth be
 The inside of the bag is (made of) cloth.

The contrast marker *tə* signals that the noun phrase *bawbaw wəŋgu* is a unit: the referent is 'the inside of the bag', not 'inside' as the location of certain things.

3.3 *Demonstrative pronouns*

There are two definite demonstrative pronouns in the Jiāomùzú dialects of rGyalrong: *tʃəʔ* and *ndə*. The demonstrative *tʃəʔ* is used to refer to animate or inanimate objects that are close to the speaker. It roughly translates to the English 'this'. The demonstrative pronoun *ndə* is used the same way, but refers to objects a little further away from the speaker. It can be translated as 'that'. Though there is a relative difference in distance between these two demonstratives, the basic connotation for both of them is proximity to the speaker. Both are used most often to refer to fairly small objects, usually within a few meters from the speaker. A house, for example, is such a large object that it is not usually referred to by *tʃəʔ* or *ndə*. Logically *tʃəʔ* and *ndə* are used most often to refer to objects within a house or a building, since the speaker is inside, in an environment with limited distances. When the speaker is outside mostly spatial words for middle or far distance are used. A bowl or a book can easily be referred to by *tʃəʔ*, but a house is usually not.

The demonstrative pronouns can occur independently as the head of a noun phrase, for example in subject or object position:

- (113) *tʃəʔ tʰi ˈnə-ŋos* *tʃəʔ tətʰa ŋos*
 DEM what EV-be DEM book be
 What is this? This is a book.
- (114) *ndə ŋa ŋ-ajze* *ŋos*
 DEM 1s 1s:GEN-older.brother be
 That is my older brother.
- (115) *picipən^ᶻ wu-sajup w-ərka-j ŋos ndə to-tə-ndɿu-w jok*
 notebook 3s:GEN-bed 3s:GEN-top-LOC be DEM PFT-2-take-2s allow
 The notebook is on his bed, you can just take it.

The demonstratives can also be used adjectivally. In adjectival position they can occur either before or after the word they refer to:⁹⁹

- (116) *tʃəʔ ʃokʃoʔk ŋa ŋə-je ŋos*
 DEM paper 1s 1s-POSS be
 This paper is mine.
- (117) *ʃokʃoʔk tʃəʔ ŋa ŋə-je ŋos*
 paper DEM 1s 1s-POSS be
 This paper is mine.

However, there is only one slot for an adjectival after the root word of a phrase. The demonstratives cannot occur together with an adjective after the root word:

- (118a) **ʃokʃoʔk kəpraʔm tʃəʔ ŋa ŋəje ŋos*
- (118b) *tʃəʔ ʃokʃoʔk kə-praʔm ŋa ŋə-je ŋos*
 DEM paper NOM-white 1s 1s-POSS be
 This white paper is mine.

⁹⁹ Though some native speakers, especially people hailing from Jiǎomùzú Mùchǎng, insist that the demonstrative, when used adjectivally, can only occur in the slot before the noun it modifies. So *tʃəʔ tərmu*, 'this person' is correct, but *tərmu tʃəʔ* is ungrammatical. However, the majority of speakers from Jiǎomùzú seem to agree to the outline as given in the body of the text.

The demonstrative pronouns can be marked for number:

(119)	ndə	ndə-ndʒ	ndə-ndʒ	ŋa ŋə-je	ŋos
	DEM	DEM-3d	DEM-3d	I 1s-POSS	be
	that	that-3d		Those two are mine.	

When a demonstrative modifies a noun the number marker is suffixed at the end of the noun phrase, since number marking covers the scope of the noun phrase:

(120a)	tət ^h a ndə-ndʒ	tət ^h a ndə-ŋo	tərmu tʃəʔ-ŋo
	book DEM-d	book DEM-p	person DEM-p
	those two books	those books	these people

(120b)	* ndəndʒ tət ^h a	* tət ^h andʒ ndə

Native speakers are divided in their opinion about the possibility of having the demonstrative after the noun in a noun phrase. Some maintain that forms like *tət^ha ndəndʒ*, ‘those two books’ in (120a) are less correct than *ndə tət^handʒ*, but both forms occur regularly in normal speech.

Interestingly, the demonstratives in isolation do not take the plural marker *-ŋo* when used in an honorific sense. Honorific can only be marked on nouns, not on demonstratives. For referring to, for example, a sacred painting or image, simply *tʃəʔ*, *tʃəʔ tə*, *ndə*, or *ndə tə* is used. If the demonstrative is used adjectivally the honorific covers the scope of the noun phrase and is suffixed to it:

(121a)	tʃəʔ t ^h əŋke-ŋo	tʃəʔ skə-ŋo
	DEM religious.painting-3s:HON	DEM religious.statue-3s:HON
	this religious painting	this religious statue

It is possible to have honorific marking on noun phrases where the demonstrative follows the head noun, though, as with normal number marking, some native speakers feel these forms are less correct. But both kinds of constructions occur in normal speech:

(121b)	t ^h əŋkə	tʃəʔ-ŋo	blame ndə-ŋo
	religious.painting	DEM-3s:HON	lama DEM-3s:HON
	this religious painting		that lama

Of course, it depends on the context whether *-ŋo* should be interpreted as a plural marker or as an honorific marker. When the demonstrative is marked with *-ŋo* and followed by a noun, the marker can be interpreted only as plural, not as honorific:

- (121c) ndə-ɲo blame wastop 'na-haw
 DEM-p lama very OBS-good
 The lama of those [people] is very good.
 * that lama (HON)

To form an honorific in such cases, -ɲo has to occur at the end of the noun phrase as well, with the first marker indicating plural, and the second marking honorific:

- (121d) ndə-ɲo blame-ɲo wastop 'na-haw
 DEM-p lama-3s:HON very OBS-good
 The lama of those [people] is very good.

In situations where the demonstratives are used in subject positions, without nouns to affix the honorific marker to, the respect due in such a case is expressed with appropriate hand gestures rather than marked in the language.

The demonstratives *tʃəʔ* and *ndə* regularly do duty as a third person personal pronoun, see section 3.1.b on person distinctions for free personal pronouns above. Though Jiāomùzú has and in some cases uses gender distinctions, see chapter on nouns, they are not marked on the demonstratives.

I discuss other spatial words in section 5.6 in the chapter on adverbs and section 7.3 of the verbs chapter.

3.4 *Interrogative pronouns and other question words*

There are three interrogative pronouns in the Jiāomùzú dialects, *tʰi*, *kətə* and *sí*, meaning 'what', 'which' or 'who' and 'who' respectively. They can be used either independently, e.g. in subject or object position as in (122), or adjectivally as in (123b):

(122)	tərmu	tʃəʔ	tə	si	'nə-ɲos	tʃəʔ	tə	tʰi	'nə-ɲos
	person	DEM	C	INT	EV-be	DEM	C	INT	EV-be
	Who is that?					What is this?			

(123a)	kətə	w-ətʰa	(123b)	tətʰa	kətə	'nə-ɲos
	who	3s:GEN-book		book	which	EV-be
	whose book?			Which book is it?		

Interrogative pronoun *kətə* occurs frequently in greetings where it functions as an adverbial of place, such as:

- (124) *kətə tə-tʃʰi-n*
 where 2-go-2s
 Where are you going?

In such cases the use of *kətə* is perhaps best understood as meaning ‘which place’, with ‘place’ implicit.

If an independent interrogative pronoun is used as the possessor of a term, the relationship between the interrogative pronoun and the head must be made clear by the use of a genitive construction, as in example (123) above and in the following:

- (125) *tʃəʔ si w-ətʰa 'nə-ŋos*
 DEM INT 3s:GEN-book EV-be
 Whose book is this?
- (126) *nənʃo nə-bawbawꝰ tʰi w-əmdoʔk 'nə-ŋos*
 2s 2s:GEN-bag INT 3s-:GEN-colour EV-be
 What colour is your bag?

The interrogative pronouns do not inflect for gender, but number does get marked. Like *fee* pronouns interrogative pronouns can be marked for prominence with *kə*, as in (127b):

- (127a) *si-ndʒ si-ŋo*
 who-2,3d who-p
- (127b) *tʰi-ndʒ*
 what-2,3d
- tʰi-ŋo kə ka-pso ka-maʔk kə-ŋos ma-kə-ʃi-jn 'nə-ŋos*
 what-p PR NOM-compare NOM-not.be NOM-be NEG-NOM-know-3p EV-be
 They do not know right from wrong. (They do not know how to behave.)
- (127c) *kətə-ndʒ kətə-ŋo*
 which-2,3d which-p

There are no separate forms of the pronouns for direct and indirect questions:

- (128) ndə t^{hi} 'nə-ŋos
 DEM INT EV-be
 What is that?

- (129) pkraʃis kə ndə t^{hi} 'nə-ŋos na-t^hoʔ-w
 bKra.shis PR DEM INT EV-be PFT-ask-3s
 bKra-shis asked what that is.

Interrogatives can be used to form constructions that express indefinite meanings, see section 3.1.e on indefinite pronouns above.

3.5 *Relative pronouns and other relative words*

There are no special relative pronouns or other relative words in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. Relative meaning can be expressed in two different ways, by using either the contrast marker *tə* or a genitive construction. Below are some examples, first of the use of *tə* and then of the possessives. The complement of (130), *laktʃe kəku*, turns into a relative clause in (131). Relative clauses are often marked, after their head, with contrast marker *tə*, or have a genitive construction as in (134), or both:

- (130) tapuʔ laktʃe kə-ku ji-rʃi
 child thing NOM-buy PFT-go₂
 The child went to the store.

- (131) laktʃe kə-ʃi-ku tapuʔ tə si 'nə-ŋos
 thing NOM-VPT-buy child C INT EV-be
 Who is the child that went to the store?

- (132) k^hapriʔ kə no-mtʃuk-w
 snake PR AF/PFT-bite-3s
 A snake bit him.

- (133) k^hapriʔ kə kə-pʃa-sə-mtʃuk-w
 snake PR PFT-REFL-CAUS-bite-3s
 He was bitten by a snake.

- (134) ɲa k^hapriʔ kə na-kə-pja-sə-mtʃuk-w w-ərmu ki
 1s snake PR PFT-NOM-REFL-CAUS-bite-3s 3s:GEN-person IDEF
 I saw someone who was bitten by a snake.

na-məto-ŋ
 PFT-see-1s

A more detailed discussion of relative clauses can be found in section 8.2 of the chapter on sentences.

CHAPTER 4

NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter I describe nouns and noun adjuncts as used in Jiǎomùzú. Nouns can be the head of a noun phrase. In order to facilitate the discussion of nouns and noun adjuncts I give an overview of how the noun phrase is constructed in section 4.1.

Section 4.2 discusses features of nouns in three subsections. Subsection 4.2.a describes the nature of the noun and nominal prefixes. Jiǎomùzú has four nominal prefixes. My hypothesis is that prefixes *ta-* and *tə-* show the relation of the speaker with his environment. Objects in closer proximity to the speaker are marked with *tə-* and objects more distal or unrelated have prefix *ta-*. The animal prefixes *k^h-* and *k-* mark non-mammal and mammal, respectively. Subsection 4.2.b looks at distinctions in nouns. Beyond common and proper nouns Jiǎomùzú also distinguishes for animacy and countability of nouns. Both are expressed through number marking. Collectivity and definiteness are not marked distinctions for Jiǎomùzú nouns. The third subsection, 4.2.c, discusses derivational morphology. Derivation of nouns is common and employs both compounding and nominalisation. Compounding puts two words, most often nouns, together to form a new noun. Nominalisation makes use of nominalising prefixes *kə-*, *tə-*, *sa-* and suffix *-pa* to change words from other categories, such as verbs, into nouns, or to form new nouns out of already existing ones. Derivational morphology also marks gender and diminutives. There are no inherent gender categories but nouns are marked for gender when needed with the use of indigenous markers *-za* and *-mu* for male and female respectively, or with borrowed markers from Tibetan. Diminutives are formed with suffix *-pu?*, from 'child' or *-tsa*, 'small'. Inflectional morphology, described in subsection 4.2.d, marks for number (including honorifics) as well as employing pronominal marking to form genitives. Number marking derives from the personal pronouns. Singular remains unmarked, dual employs *-ndʒ* and plural has *-ɲo*. Plural marking is also used to form honorifics. For vocatives nouns that express kinship terms are used, with the nominal prefix of the noun replaced by *a-*. Genitives, marked by a pronominal prefix on the noun, can express a host of different relations between two arguments. The first term in a genitive is the possessor while the second term, the noun on which the head marking appears, is the head and the possessed.

The last section of the chapter, 4.3, deals with noun adjuncts. The Jiǎomùzú dialects have a contrast marker, discussed in subsection 4.3.a, and a marker for indefiniteness which is described in subsection 4.3.b. Subsection 4.3.c deals with numerals and quantifiers, while subsection 4.3.d describes classifiers. Subsection 4.3.e contains a discussion of a discourse marker, the prominence marker *kə*. Contrast marker *tə* distinguishes a constituent from all other objects in the environment. Indefiniteness marker *ki* derives from a numeral meaning 'one' and is used in the sense of 'a' or 'one'.

The marker also functions to introduce new topics in a discourse. Jiǎomùzú has a range of indigenous numerals and quantifiers. Depending on the context, speakers also often use Tibetan or Chinese numerals. Though Jiǎomùzú has classifiers, there are not many. Often nouns or other words are pressed into service when a classifier is needed. Discourse marker *kə*, finally, is a prominence marker which gives emphasis or prominence to one or more constituents in a sentence. Prominence marking also ensures that the subject keeps prominence, even if it is not in subject position, and it tracks prominence in complex sentences with switched subjects. The marker *kə* is usually considered an ergativity marker in other studies on rGyalrong. In Jiǎomùzú *kə* can and does mark ergativity, but it is also used to signal other functions, such as prominence and tracking of referential continuity. I have chosen to call it a ‘prominence marker’ rather than ‘ergativity marker’.

4.1 *Building a noun phrase*

Before the head of a noun phrase there can be different constituents, usually locatives or the first term of a genitive construction, the possessor. The head of the noun phrase can be followed by adjectivals, which in turn can be modified by adverbs and expressives, and by numerals, quantifiers and classifiers. After these follow demonstratives. The noun phrase concludes with a contrast marker or an indefiniteness marker. All of these building blocks are optional. Only the head of the noun phrase is obligatory. The entire noun phrase can be marked for number by suffixing a number marker to the final building block of the phrase. Finally, a noun phrase can be marked by prominence marker *kə* which indicates the prominence of the noun phrase in the sentence.

Nouns, demonstratives and certain quantifiers can function as the head of a noun phrase. In this chapter I use nouns as the head of noun phrases, as in (1), where *tapu?* ‘boy’ is the head of *tapu? kətsə*, ‘the little boy’, which is the subject, and *popot^han*, from Chinese 泡泡糖 *pàopàotáng*, ‘bubblegum’ is the object:

- (1) *tapu? kətsə nə popot^han to-ndza-w.*
 child small CON bubblegum PFT-eat-3s
 The small child chewed gum.

Nouns can also be the predicate of a sentence with a copula:

- (2) *ndə-ŋo sloppən ŋos-jn*
 that-p teacher be-3p
 They are teachers.

In example (2) *sloppən*, ‘teacher’, is the predicate connected to the subject *ndəŋo*, ‘they’, by the linking verb *ŋos*, ‘be’.

Noun phrases have to occur before the verb phrase in a sentence:

(3)	təzapu? bebe boy noodles The boy is eating noodles.	'na-ndza-w OBS-eat-3s	* təzapu? 'na-ndza-w bebe * bebe 'na-ndza-w təzapu? * 'nandza-w təzapu? bebe

The subject and object in a simple declarative sentence occur in first and second position respectively. But topicalisation occurs frequently if there is no danger of ambiguity, see the section on topicalisation in section 8.1 of the chapter on sentences.

The smallest noun phrase consists of one noun, which is the head. The head can then be modified in a variety of ways by noun adjuncts. Terms that modify the head noun are placed after the noun. Usual modifiers are numerals and adjectives. Adjectives are nominalised forms of stative verbs, which I discuss in section 7.1 of the chapter on verbs:

(4)	paktsa piglet	paktsa kəsam piglet three three piglets	paktsa kə-ne?k piglet NOM-black black piglets

Numerals occur after adjectivals. Several adjectivals can occur in one noun phrase. They are placed in a sequence that cannot be interrupted by a word from another lexical category such as a numeral. The positions of the terms that qualify the head noun are interchangeable if the terms are of the same lexical category. For example, in (5) *kəne?k* and *kəsanərga?*, both nominalised stative verbs that function as adjectives here, can change position, with 'black' in second and 'cute' in first, without changing the meaning of the sentence. Changing the internal order of the sequence of adjectives makes no difference in meaning:

(5)	paktsa kə-ne?k piglet NOM-black	kə-sa-nərga? NOM-CAUS-cute	kəsam ndo? three have
- There are three black, cute piglets.

paktsa kə-sa-nərga? piglet NOM-CAUS-cute	kə-ne?k NOM-black	kəsam ndo? three have

There are three cute, black piglets.

* paktsa kəsanərga? kəsam kəne?k ndo?

There is no syntactic limit on how many terms can be added, though the naturalness of an utterance becomes strained usually somewhere around the point of three or four terms.

Adjectives can be modified by adverbs, such as adverb of degree *makəndʒa*, 'very' in (6) or expressives, as *ŋk^hukŋk^huk*, 'an ugly kind of black resembling the colour of pitch', in example (7).

Modifiers of adjectives are placed after the adjective and cannot be separated from it by other constituents:

- (6) paktsa kə-neʔk makəndʒa kəsam ndoʔ
 piglet NOM-black very three have
 There are three very black piglets.

* paktsa kəneʔk kəsam makəndʒa 'ndo

- (7) paktsa kə-neʔk ŋkʰukŋkʰuk kəsam ndoʔ
 piglet NOM-black like.ugly three have
 There are three piglets so pitch-black that they're ugly.

* paktsa kənək kəsam ŋkʰukŋkʰuk ndoʔ

Adverbials only cover the scope of the adjective after which they are positioned. In (8) *makəndʒa*, 'very' only covers *kəneʔk*, 'black'. And *tsa*, 'very' in (9) only covers *kəsanərgaʔ*, 'cute', not the other adjectives *kəneʔk* and *kətsʰo*, 'fat'. If the adverb should modify all stative verbs it has to be repeated after each one. In (10) *h-* in *hana*, 'down there' is a distal marker:

- (8) paktsa kə-neʔk makəndʒa kə-tsʰo kə-sa-nərgaʔ tə
 piglet NOM-black very NOM-fat NOM-CAUS-cute C
 I'll sell the fat, cute, very black piglet.

ŋa kə-mpʰel-ŋ ŋos
 I NOM-sell-1s be

- (9) tʰuŋgu w-əŋgi-j paktsa kə-neʔk kə-tsʰo kə-sa-nərgaʔ
 stable 3s:GEN-inside-LOC piglet NOM-black NOM-fat NOM-CAUS-cute
 The very cute, black and fat piglets that are in the stable are bKra-shis'.

tsa tə pkraʃis wu-paktsa 'nə-ŋos
 very C bKra.shis 3s:GEN-piglet EV-be

- (10) h-ana tʃe paktsa kəsam tə kə-sa-nərgaʔ tsa 'nə-ŋos
 D-down.there LOC piglet three C NOM-CAUS cute very EV-be
 The three piglets over there are very cute.

Nouns can be modified by quantifiers such as *wuvjot*, 'many', which come after adjectives and are in most cases mutually exclusive with numerals because of semantic clashes:

- (11) *paktsa kə-neʔk* *wuvjot ndoʔ*
 piglet NOM-black many have
 There are many black piglets.

* *paktsa kəneʔk kəsam wuvjot ndoʔ*

Classifiers modify nouns, often occurring after numerals:

- (12) *ʃokʃoʔk kəsam p^hjar ndoʔ*
 paper three CL have
 There are three sheets of paper.

Though demonstratives can either be placed in front or after the noun, the preference is to place them in front if there are many other noun adjuncts in the noun phrase. If the demonstrative comes first, it links to the head noun with a genitive construction, as shown in the examples under (13):

(13) <i>ndə ma-'nə-haʔw</i> DEM NEG-OBS-good That is not good.	<i>tət^ha ma-'nə-haʔw</i> book NEG-OBS-good The book is not good.
<i>ndə w-ət^ha ma-'nə-haʔw</i> DEM 3s:GEN-book NEG-OBS-good That book is not good.	<i>tət^ha ndə ma-'nə-haʔw</i> book DEM NEG-OBS-good That book is not good.

Demonstratives come after numerals, adjectives, quantifiers and classifiers. But if the head noun is modified by numerous other terms, the demonstrative usually appears before the noun rather than at the end. It often forms a genitive construction with the noun:

- (14) *ʃokʃoʔk kə-neʔk kəsam p^hjar tʃəʔ tə ɲa ɲə-je ɲos*
 paper NOM-black three CL DEM C I 1s-POSS be
 These three sheets of black paper are mine.
- tʃəʔ wu-ʃokʃoʔk kə-neʔk kəsam p^hjar tə ɲa ɲə-je ɲos*
 this 3s:GEN-paper NOM-black three CL C I 1s-POSS be
 These three sheets of black paper are mine.

A noun phrase with its head noun and several noun adjuncts can be modified by contrast marker *tə* or indefiniteness marker *ki*. The markers are mutually exclusive. Also, *ki* does not occur with numerals or demonstratives, though *tə* can occur with both:

- (15) raʔs kə-neʔk ŋk^hukŋk^huk tə wuvjot ndo?
 cloth NOM-black like.ugly C many have
 There is a lot of ugly black cloth.

- (16) paktsa kə-neʔk makəndʒa ki ndo?
 piglet NOM-black very IDEF have
 There is a very black piglet.

- * paktsa kəneʔk makəndʒa kəsam ki ndo?
 * paktsa kəneʔk ki tə ndo?
 * paktsa kəneʔk tə ki ndo?
 * paktsa kənək ndə ki ndo?

Other arguments such as locatives can be incorporated into a noun phrase. Such arguments are added before the head noun if they modify the entire noun phrase. An argument that modifies only the head noun will be placed after the noun. Complex noun phrases can be topicalised by putting them in the first slot in the sentence, as shown in (17):

- (17a) [tʰuŋgu w-əŋgi-j paktsa kə-neʔk kə-ts^ho kə-sa-nərgaʔ
 stable 3s:GEN-inside-LOC piglet NOM-black NOM-fat NOM-CAUS-cute
 The very cute, black, fat piglet that is in the stable, I will sell it.

tʰa tə] ŋa mp^hel-ŋ¹⁰⁰
 very C I sell-1s

- (17b) soʃnu ŋa [tʰuŋgu w-əŋgi-j paktsa kəsam kə-neʔk
 tomorrow I stable 3s:GEN-inside-LOC piglet three NOM-black
 Tomorrow I will sell the three black fat very cute piglets that are in the stable.

kə-ts^ho kə-sa-nərgaʔ makəndʒa kə-mp^hel ŋos-ŋ
 NOM-fat NOM-CAUS-cute very NOM-sell be-1

¹⁰⁰ The verb *kamp^hel*, ‘sell’ has a dialect variant *kamp^her* which is used on the Jiăomùzú grasslands. In this study I use only *kamp^hel*.

- (17c) soŋnu ɲa [tʰuŋgu w-əŋgi-j sonam wu-je paktsa kəsam
 tomorrow I stable 3s:GEN-inside-LOC bSod.nams 3s-POSS piglet three
 Tomorrow I will sell bSod-nams' three black fat very cute piglets that are in the
- kə-neʔk kə-tsʰo kə-sa-nərgaʔ makəndʒa] kə-mpʰel ɲos-ɲ
 NOM-black NOM-fat NOM-CAUS-cute very NOM-sell be-1s
 stable.

- (17d) * sonam wuje paktsa tʰuŋgu wəŋgi kəneʔk kətsʰo kəsam tə ɲa kəmpʰelɲ ɲos

Placement of terms is flexible and depends on the meaning a speaker wants to express.

A term only modifies the term right before or after it, not other terms that are on the same level:

- (18a) ɲa sonam wu-je tʰuŋgu w-əŋgi-j paktsa kəsam tə
 I bSod.nams 3s-POSS stable 3s:GEN-inside-LOC piglet three C
 I'll sell the three piglets that are in bSodnam's stable.

kə-mpʰel-ɲ ɲos
 NOM-sell-1s be

- (18b) ɲa tʰuŋgu w-əŋgi-j sonam wu-je paktsa kəsam tə
 I stable 3s:GEN-inside-LOC bSod.nams 3s-POSS piglet three C
 I'll sell bSod-nams' three piglets that are in the stable.

kə-mpʰel-ɲ ɲos
 NOM-sell-1s be

In example (18a) *sonam wuje* modifies *tʰuŋgu*, 'stable', while in (18b) it modifies *paktsa*, 'piglet'.

4.2 Features of nouns

- a. The concept of noun in Jiăomùzú

Consider the following example:

- (19) coktsə w-ərka-j tətʰa ndoʔ
 table 3s:GEN-surface-LOC book have
 There are books on the table.
 There is a book on the table.

The noun *tət^ha*, 'book' in (19) signals the class of all objects that qualify as 'book'. The information conveyed by the sentence is simply that the category 'book' is present on the table. The notion of 'book' here does not refer to a specific member of the category 'book' but rather to the concept of 'book', as opposed to all other possible objects. It is impossible to render sentences such as (19), which are exceedingly common in Jiǎomùzú, adequately in English, where some degree of definiteness, expressed by articles and number marking, is obligatory. Only if a speaker wants to give details about the one or several objects on the table that represent the category 'book' do number marking and other specifics occur in a sentence. In the following examples (20a) and (20b) show the use of a noun in its generic sense, representing an entire class of objects. Example (20c) shows the same noun but referring to individual entities of the class:

- (20a) *təjmoʔk ka-ʒgu w-əʒak ji-^la-vi*
 mushroom INF-mature 3s:GEN-time PFT-NEV-come₁
 The mushrooms are ripe.

- (20b) *pejvaʔ təjmoʔk 'na-məca*
 this.year mushroom OBS-many
 This year there are many mushrooms.

- (20c) *ndʒ-əjmoʔk-ɲo nə-nə-kro-ndʒ*
 3d:GEN-mushroom-p PFT-EREFL-divide-3d
 The two of them divided up their mushrooms.

In examples (20a) and (20b) the speaker makes general observations about mushrooms. It is mushroom season, and there are many of them this year. In both cases it is clear that his statement includes the entire population of mushrooms within the speaker's frame of reference. Undoubtedly there are individual mushrooms that are not ripe yet. There may also be some places where mushrooms are less abundant than in others. But since the speaker disregards the differences between individual mushrooms and gives a statement about the overall situation, the noun is understood to cover the concept of 'mushroom'. Rather like a collective noun, *təjmoʔk*, 'mushroom', remains unmarked for number. Example (20c) gives a different situation. Here two people have gone out to pick mushrooms. At the end of the day they divide their harvest between them. Now it concerns individually known and countable mushrooms. Accordingly, *təjmoʔk* is marked for plural. Note that the possessive is marked by third person dual *ndʒ-* prefixed to the noun. In light of the character of the Jiǎomùzú nouns as described above, it is not surprising that the Jiǎomùzú dialects do not have articles.

The nominal prefixes: ta-, tə-, k^h- and k-

Jiǎomùzú nouns come in two formally distinguished categories, those that have nominal prefixes and those that do not. Earlier studies on rGyalrong all mention the occurrence of noun markers.¹⁰¹ The use of noun prefixes *ta-* and *tə-* is attested for a wide range of dialects throughout the rGyalrong language area. Lín Xiàngróng, for Zhuōkèjī in the Central rGyalrong dialect area, reports the use of both *tə-* and *ta-*, which he considers variant forms of one prefix.¹⁰² Mansier, who wrote a phonology of the Southern rGyalrong dialect of Xiǎojīn, gives *tə-* as well as *ta-*, as does Jacques for the Northern rGyalrong dialect of Japhug (Chábǎo), though there the phonetics are slightly different.¹⁰³ Sun¹⁰⁴ noticed for Cǎodēng, a Northern rGyalrong dialect, that most body part terms occur with *tə-* while *qa-* often occurs in animal and plant names, but thinks that the prefixes are semantically empty and their distribution random. However, every other affix in rGyalrong studied so far does carry meaning. It would be unexpected for the prefixes of a major category such as nouns to be semantically empty. To test this idea I checked the occurrence of nominal prefixes in the Jiǎomùzú dialects in a wordlist that I originally used for phonological data. The list was not designed for semantic analysis, and a full study of the noun prefixes from data properly classed according to semantic domains is beyond the scope of this study. But, considering my very preliminary findings, such a study might well be worthwhile.

The Jiǎomùzú dialects have many nouns that are prefixed by either *ta-* or *tə-*. Considered here are only those nouns that have a prefix *ta-* or *tə-* that can be replaced by a pronominal marker to form a genitive construction, which is the test for noun markers:

(21)	ta-wo	head	tə-ntok	beak
	ta-rmoʔk	thunder	tə-rnok	brains
	ta-pa	father	tə-mgri	arrow
	ta-sti	bladder	tə-rpa	axe
	ta-ru	thread	tə-ʃuʔ	berry

Beside the use of *ta-* and *tə-* I found that many animal names have prefix *k^h-* or *k-*:

(22)	k ^h -orok	ant	k-əmbuʔ	calf
	k ^h -ajpololo	butterfly	k-artseʔs	deer
	k ^h -əna	dog	k-əwas	fly
	k ^h -anʃararaʔ	cicada	k-ət ^h we	fox
	k ^h -alʃu	hawk	k-əpar	jackal

¹⁰¹ Lín (1993: 161, 162), Nagano (2003: 471), Huáng 1993, Jin (1958: 72-76), Sun 1998.

¹⁰² Lín (1993: 626-730).

¹⁰³ Mansier (1983:171-288); Jacques (2004: 483-519).

¹⁰⁴ Sun (1998: 112).

But there are also numerous nouns that have no prefix at all:

(23)	peʔs	badger	patʃu	bird
	ts ^h ar	bharal	vaŋar	buzzard
	zdi	stone wall	mbotan	ball
	ʒbruʔ	coracle	spoʔs	incense
	zgrok	bracelet	ardi	coloured material braided into a man's hair

Some words can occur with or without prefix. For these words the use of the prefix apparently depends on the speaker's preference:

(24)	tək ^h ŋbe	viscera	k ^h ŋbe	viscera
	k ^h ərŋamɔŋ,	camel	rŋamɔŋ	camel
	kərŋamɔŋ			

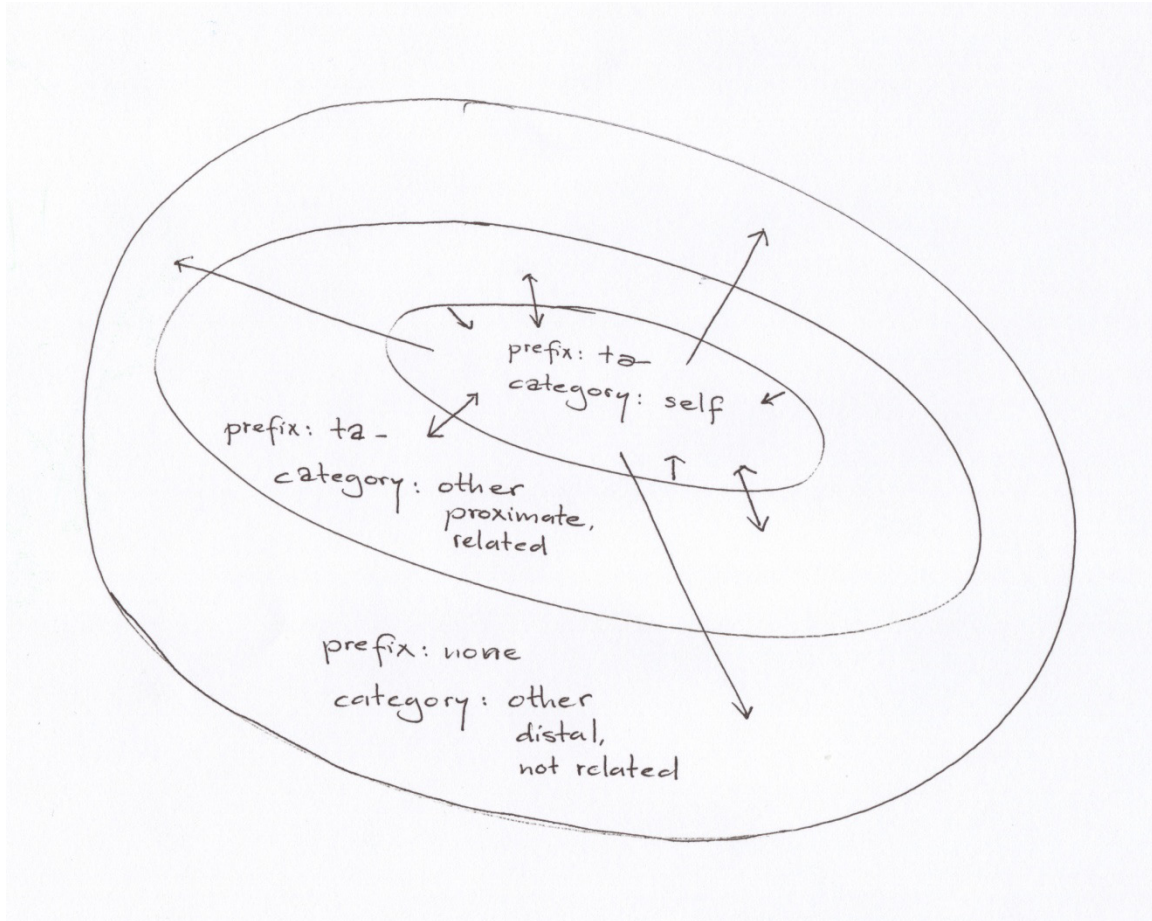
Working with a wordlist of 998 nouns I found no phonological constraints for the occurrence of *ta-* and *tə-*, but the noun prefixes have an intriguing distribution. Occurrences of the prefixes *ta-* and *tə-* represent only 34% of the total wordlist. The percentages for the individual prefixes are nearly the same, with 16% for *ta-* and 18% for *tə-*. This is significantly different from the Jiāomùzú verbs, which are consistently marked by the verbal prefixes *ka-* and *kə-*. The hypothesis of earlier studies that most nouns are prefixed with either *tə-* or *ta-* turns out to be false for the Jiāomùzú dialects and must be discarded. The obvious next question is where these prefixes do occur and if they pattern in any significant way. I have found that, in my list of nouns, prefixes *tə-* and *ta-* do not occur with names of animals, apart from the word for 'bear', *təwaʔm*. The prefixes do appear in body parts, which are also used for humans, such as *tajiʔk*, 'paw, hand, arm'. Hardly any nouns that refer to temporal or spatial concepts have *ta-* or *tə-*. The category of abstract nouns consists of only sixteen words, which probably renders percentages of prefixes not meaningful. For other categories of nouns, the distribution of the prefixes is uneven. The table below shows the distribution of *ta-* and *tə-* in different categories of nouns, given as percentage of the total number of nouns in that category:

category	<i>tə-</i> , %	<i>ta-</i> , %	<i>ta-</i> and <i>tə-</i> , %
abstract nouns	19	0	19
animals		təwaʔm (bear)	[17.5] body parts
human body	50	27	77
daily life	17	17	34
human affairs	15	25	40
nature	10	21	31
plants, agriculture	12	15	27
miscellaneous	0	0	0
temporal and spatial	5	15	20

The category of nouns that refer to the human body has by far and away the highest occurrence of *ta-* and *tə-*, at 77%, with the categories of human affairs and daily life in second and third place respectively. The human affairs category predominantly contains nouns that cover human relations such as kinship terms. The daily life category covers most of domestic life in and around the house and in the village, with nouns for many objects used in daily life. The first tentative conclusion is that the meaning of *ta-* and *tə-* should be sought in the closest circle of life of a rGyalrong speaker, with the speaker at the centre. This interpretation is consistent with the analysis of *tə-* in the pronoun *təʃo*, 'self, oneself, one', see section 3.1.e of the chapter on pronouns. If the pronominal prefix *tə-* is connected to the meaning of the prefix *tə-* that co-occurs with nouns, then maybe it is not a coincidence that this prefix occurs so often with nouns referring to the human body and body parts, implying the body as the locus of 'self'. In the category human body half of the nouns have the prefix *tə-*, emphasising the link between oneself and one's own body. In all other categories *tə-* occurs in far smaller percentages only. Maybe also important in this context is contrast marker *tə*, see below, which functions to define and set apart one person or object from all possible other persons and objects, creating a sphere of 'self' as opposed to 'other'. If this interpretation of nominal prefix *tə-* is correct, it is also understandable that the categories that score the next highest percentages for occurrence of *tə-* are the category of nouns referring to daily life and the category of human affairs. For the farming population of Jiāomùzú apparently the prefix *tə-* is used predominantly with those nouns that describe the closest circle of life, body, house, village and fields, as the most intimate, one's very own, the in-category, so to speak.

So what about prefix *ta-*? Though the overall percentages of occurrence for *ta-* and *tə-* are similar, their individual distribution is not. In fact, in the three main categories for these prefixes their distribution is almost complementary. For the category human body *ta-* scores only 27%, whereas *tə-* stands at 50%. The prefixes are evenly distributed in the category for daily life. And for the category of human relationships *ta-* scores 50% while *tə-* only has 15%. My hypothesis is that prefix *ta-* mostly occurs with words that refer to entities that are outside of the category 'self', but with which the person at the centre of the category 'self' has a certain kind of relationship, such as family

members or relatives as expressed in the human relations category. Words prefixed with *ta-* belong in the category 'other', but it is still a category closely connected with the inner circle of 'self' as expressed by *tə-*. Support for this hypothesis comes from the categories of nouns referring to daily life and plant and agriculture respectively. For the daily life category the percentages for *ta-* and *tə-* are the same at 17% each, with *ta-* slightly more prevalent than *tə-* in the category of plants and agriculture. Outside of the direct sphere of the human body, where *tə-* scores very high because it concerns the physical reality of the category 'self', the spheres of domestic life and domesticated nature in the form of agriculture and plants are part of the self's immediate environment, where the category 'self' can be projected outward, but also includes many instances of relationships and objects that are in the category 'other, but connected' marked by *ta-*. In the category that groups nouns referring to nature at large, this division is emphasised even more. Prefix *tə-* scores only 9%, indicating most of the words in this category are not seen as part of the 'self' category and are perceived by speakers as outside of the circle of their domestic world. They are 'other'. Prefix *ta-* however scores 21% in this category, showing that many things of nature are in the category 'other, but connected'. My theory is that the Jiǎomùzú dialects preserve, in the nominal prefixes *tə-* and *ta-*, a system of marking all entities, objects and relations in a speaker's world according to concentric circles. Words marked with *tə-* form the smallest circle. Words with *ta-* are the middle circle, overlapping to some extent with the inner circle. And in the outer circle are all the words that are 'other, not connected'. Prefix *tə-* puts boundaries between oneself and all else, emphasising an inward focus. Prefix *ta-* signals the relation between two disparate entities, emphasising an outward focus.



GRAPH 1: NOUN PREFIXES *ta-* AND *tə-*

This is not to say that in the innermost circle there are no unprefix nouns or nouns with *ta-*, or that *tə-* does not occur outside the smallest circle. It is rather a matter of clustering, with the heaviest concentration of *tə-* in the smallest circle, *ta-* in circle two, and unprefix nouns predominant in the boundless outer rim.

How do the prefixes *k^h-* and *k-* relate to the view of the world as set out above? Both *k^h-* and *k-* occur here and there in the wordlist, throughout the different categories. In some cases it concerns the nominaliser *kə-*, as in *kəfmo*, 'thief', literally 'the one who steals' and *kəspət*, 'livestock', literally 'the ones that are bred'. Prefix *k^h-* occurs occasionally, for example in *k^həza?*, 'bowl'. However, there is one category where the prefixes are remarkably prevalent: roughly half of all animal names are prefixed by either *k^h-* or *k-*. A quick check shows that *k-* occurs mostly with mammals, while *k^h-* indicates all other categories of animal such as insects, amphibians, snakes, birds:

(25)	k ^h oro?k	ant	kəmbu?	calf
	k ^h ajpololo	butterfly	kət ^h we	fox
	k ^h apri?	snake	kartse?s	deer
	k ^h ovulolo	tadpole	kəru?k	lynx
	k ^h alju	sparrow hawk	kala?	rabbit

There are some notable exceptions to this rule. In the category mammals the word for 'dog', *k^həna*, has the aspirated marker. A possible explanation for this is that *k^həna* may be cognate to literary Tibetan ཁྱི *khyi*, 'dog' or a loan from Tibetan. Other words are less easily explained. For example, there are in my list two aberrant forms with *k-*: in *karma*, 'crossoptilon' (a kind of bird) and *kəwas*, 'fly'. In the *k^h-* category I found *k^həpuk*, for 'pika' and *k^həʃp^heʔt*, 'marmot'. I have not found an explanation for these aberrant forms.¹⁰⁵ Also I have no explanation for the fact that about half of the vocabulary of animal names has neither *k^h-* nor *k-*. In any case, there are more than enough words with the 'animal prefixes' *k^h-* and *k-* to sustain the hypothesis that these prefixes are part of a system of noun prefixes which includes the concentric circles of 'self', 'other but related or near' and 'other and far' as well as the category 'animals', subdivided in mammal and non-mammal. The category for animals does not necessarily fit the idea of proximate and distal that is expressed in *tə-* and *ta-* but rather shows that nouns in this category belong to sentient beings, excluding humans. The suffix *-jo* which occurs only in pronouns that refer to humans, as discussed in section 3.1 of the chapter on pronouns, supports the idea that the Jiǎomùzú dialects distinguish between the categories of 'human' and 'other'. In essence, *ta-* and *tə-*, *k^h-* and *k-* are not really noun markers. They do not just mark the category noun, but signal specific meaning. However, for ease of reference I will refer to these four as noun markers.

The Jiǎomùzú dialects have borrowed vocabulary from Chinese as well as Tibetan. Loanwords from Chinese and Tibetan often occur without the common Jiǎomùzú noun prefixes. In fact, I have in my data only two Chinese loans that have a nominal prefix, *təpeki*, 'bedding', from Chinese 铺盖 *pūgai*, 'bedding, bedclothes' and *tacən*, 'injection', from Chinese 针 *zhēn*, 'needle, injection'. In the case of 'needle' *ta* may actually not be a nominal prefix but rather a phonologically adapted form of the Chinese verb 打 *dǎ*, 'hit', which combines with 'needle' to form the verbal compound *dǎ zhēn*, 'give an injection'. In Jiǎomùzú such verbal compounds when borrowed are frequently interpreted as nouns, so that they then occur with a verb like *kaleʔt*, 'hit'. Loans from Tibetan occur with a noun marker more frequently, see the examples below. Example (26) shows Jiǎomùzú common nouns that are loans from Tibetan and Chinese:

¹⁰⁵ Guillaume Jacques has pointed out that there may be historical reasons for the aberrant forms. The Central rGyalrong dialects do not have uvulars, but the Northern dialects have uvulars as well as velars. The word for 'fly', *kəwas*, has a velar in Ja-phug (βyaza, 'fly') but most animal names there have a uvular, apparently without distinguishing between mammal and non-mammal: qachya, 'fox'; qala 'rabbit'; qapri, 'snake' (Jacques, personal communication). It may be that Jiǎomùzú had velars as well as uvulars historically and that some of the aberrant synchronic forms have their roots in forms that have disappeared.

(26)	mbron	wild yak	literary Tibetan: འབྲོང་ <i>'brong</i>
	rjaŋkə wumdoʔk	green	literary Tibetan: ལྗང་ཁུ <i>ljang-khu</i>
	blame	monk, lama	literary Tibetan: བླ་མ <i>bla-ma</i>
	rgambə	box	literary Tibetan: སྒམ <i>sgam</i>
	rjaŋmoŋ	camel	literary Tibetan: རྩ་མོང་ <i>rnga-mong</i>
	tɕ ^h aʔ	tea	Chinese: 茶 <i>chá</i>
	hajtsoʔ	chili pepper	Chinese: 辣椒 <i>làjiāo</i>
	p ^h isijaŋ	leather chest	Chinese: 皮箱 <i>píxiāng</i>
	jaŋxwo	matches	Chinese: 洋火 <i>yánghuǒ</i>
	banteŋ	stool, bench	Chinese: 板凳 <i>bǎndèng</i>

Here are some examples of loans from Tibetan that do take the normal noun prefixes:

(27)	təsem	thought	literary Tibetan: བསམ་བློ <i>bsam-blo</i>
	təlaʔs	fortune, fate	literary Tibetan: ལས་དབང་ <i>las-dbang</i>
	təskaʔt	language, sound	literary Tibetan: སྐད་ <i>skad</i>
	təŋgo	beginning, head	literary Tibetan: བཏོག་ <i>mgo</i>
	zak , tazak	time	literary Tibetan: ཞག་ <i>zhag</i>
	təlo	(animal symbol of) year	literary Tibetan: ལོ་ <i>lo</i>

All loanwords, including the ones from Chinese, do fit into the regular Jiǎomùzú patterns of morphology in that they inflect for number and take head marking to form genitives, see below.

b. Distinctions in nouns

Jiǎomùzú nouns can be grouped according to three distinctions. There is first of all the large division between common nouns and proper nouns. Beyond that nouns can be grouped together in a category of animate and inanimate nouns and a category of count and non-count nouns. The distinctions between these categories are signalled by differences in number marking and, to some extent, by the scope of marking for definiteness. The distinctions are not indicated by differences in the form of the noun itself. A noun can belong to more than one category. For example, the noun *tarni*, 'gold', is a common noun as well as a non-count noun. In this section I give an overview of the different distinctions. There are no nouns that are inherently definite or indefinite. Indefiniteness is marked predominantly by the marker *ki*, while the contrast marker *tə* distinguishes, and thus defines, an entity from all other possible entities. The section finishes with a brief discussion of collective and

distributive nouns, leading to the conclusion that Jiǎomùzú does not distinguish for this category in its nouns.

Proper nouns and common nouns

Jiǎomùzú distinguishes between proper nouns and common nouns. Proper nouns indicate one specific member of the noun class such as *ɽʃakar*, 'India', *lhamo*, 'lHa-mo', or *renbamila*, '[the House] Renbamila'. Common nouns indicate any member of a subgroup of nouns, such as *tət^ha*, 'book' or *k^həna*, 'dog'. Common nouns inflect for number:

- (28) *k^həna* dog
 k^həna-ndʒ two dogs (d)
 k^həna-ŋo dogs (p)

Proper nouns are frequently marked for associative plural, in which number marking occurs with a person's name, indicating not that there are several persons of the same name, but that there are several persons in the company of the person mentioned by name:

- (29) *pkraʃis* bKra-shis
 pkraʃis-ndʒ bKra-shis and one other person
 pkraʃis-ŋo bKra-shis and several other people

Number marking does not normally occur on proper nouns that indicate geographic locations, such as names of countries. Constructions such as 'two Indias, one rich, one poor' cannot be formed with the use of dual marking:

- (30) * *ʃakarndʒ ndoʔndʒ*

If the situation requires a dual or plural form of such names, a numeral is used. The following example shows the use of two place names that often cause confusion:

- (31) *daŋba kəŋes kə-ndoʔ miʔ kerek tə gandzə danba*
 Dānbā two NOM-have not.have one C Gānzī Dānbā
 There are no two Dānbā's; there is one Dānbā in Gānzī and
- kərek tə maerk^haŋ daŋba ŋos*
 one C Mǎěrkāng Dǎngbà be
 one Dǎngbà in Mǎěrkāng.

It is possible to use number marking on House names.¹⁰⁶ The noun then indicates the people of the house rather than several houses of the same name:

- (32) zwaŋli zwaŋli-po 'mə-tə-ndoʔ-jn
 The House Zwaŋli Zwaŋli-p Q-2-have-2p
 People of the house of Zwaŋli, are you here?

Sentences such as example (32) are commonly used at village gatherings or in any other setting where the leader takes a head count and checks if all participants are present.

The number marking on the noun also occurs on the verb. The Jiăomùzú dialects can leave implicit who exactly is with bKra-shis, giving only the number of people in the number suffix. The English gloss requires an explicit mention of who is with bKra-shis or resorts to constructions such as 'bKra-shis' party', 'the people with bKra-shis':

- (33) pkraʃis-ndʒ ma-vi-ndʒ
 bKra.shis-3d NEG-come₁-3d
 bKra-shis and [his friend] are not coming.
- (34) harʒa-po tascok kə-leʔt tʃʰi-jn 'nə-ŋos
 lHa.rgyal- p letter NOM-write go₁-3p EV-be
 lHa-rgyal [and his friends] are going to write letters.

In case the speaker wants to make clear who exactly will come with lHa-rgyal he can add the names of the company. Note that number markers are attached to the last syllable of the noun or noun phrase that they dualise or pluralise:

- (35) pkraʃis skalbzəŋ harʒa-po tascok kə-leʔt tʃʰi-jn 'nə-ŋos
 bKra.shis sKal.bzang lHa.rgyal-p letter NOM-write go₁-3p EV-be
 bKra-shis, sKal-bzang and lHa-rgyal are going to write letters.

For more on number marking, see section 4.2.d on inflectional morphology below.

Both proper nouns and common nouns form genitive constructions:

¹⁰⁶ Traditional rGyalrong society is centred on the House. A House is a social unit which encompasses the House's buildings, land, and, in the past, taxes and labour service owed to the *tŭsī*. Terms such as 'family' or 'household' are not adequate, so I use the traditional term 'House' to refer to such extended family and economic structures.

- (36) *ni-sloppən* your teacher (2p)
 w-əskaʔt his voice (3s)
 ŋ-amiʔ my leg (1s)
- ni-pkraʃis* your bKra-shis (2p)
 wuʃoŋo ni-lhamo their lHa-mo (3p)
 ji-comco our Jiăomùzú (1p)
 jini ji-adəŋtəŋ our [House] Adingting

For more on genitives, see section 4.2.d on inflectional morphology below.

Animate and inanimate nouns

The Jiăomùzú dialects distinguish the category of animacy for nouns. The difference shows in the number marking on the verb. Animate nouns require number marking, whereas inanimate nouns do not:

- (37) *tət^ha ndoʔ* *tət^ha kəsam ndoʔ* * *tət^ha kəsam ndoʔjn*
 book have book three have
 There is a book. There are three books.
 There are books.

- (38) *ŋ-ajze ndoʔ*
 1s-older.brother have.
 I have an older brother.
 I have older brothers.

ŋ-ajze kəsam ndoʔ-jn
 1s:GEN-older.brother three have-3p
 I have three older brothers.

- **ŋajze kəsam ndoʔ*
- (39) *w-əŋk^huʔ nə wu-k^hakpe-ŋi kə-ndoʔ*
 3s:GEN-after CON 3s:GEN-story-p NOM-have
 Later, there were stories about him.

(40) pak kəsam ndoʔ-jn pig three have-3p There are three pigs.	* pak kəsam ndoʔ
məntoʔk kəsam ndoʔ flower three have There are three flowers.	* məntoʔk kəsam ndoʔjn

(41a) ? mǎntoʔk-ŋo na-məca
flower-p PFT-many
(41b) mǎntoʔk kəzu tə na-sna
flower all C PFT-good
All the flowers were good.

(42) nənʒo tʰistok ʒeʔm tə-ndoʔ-jn kəʒes-zʒi-kəmŋi ʒeʔm caʔm ndoʔ-jn
you how.many house 2-have-2p two-twenty-five house about have-3p
How many houses are there [in your village]? About twenty-five.

Though Jiǎomùzú employs an animacy hierarchy which influences the morphology of the verb in several ways, there is no marked difference in ranking between animate nouns and inanimate nouns, nor any difference between human and non-human. I discuss the animacy hierarchy extensively in section 7.2 of the chapter on verbs.

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that the Mùchǎng pastoralists, who are bilingual in rGyalrong and a variety of nomad Amdo Tibetan, are influenced by the Tibetan verb system, which does not mark number on the verb.

Count and non-count nouns

Countable nouns are those that can be divided into individual entities, such as 'book, dog, flower'. Non-count nouns are considered continuous entities that have no natural boundaries, such as 'butter, information'. The usual rules for classifying nouns as count or non-count, namely whether a noun takes plural marking or can occur with an article or quantifier, can be applied with success to most words in Jiǎomùzú. However, in a number of cases the rules do not work very well. Most common animate nouns can be marked for plural. However, the plural marking changes the meaning of the root noun if it is a non-count noun. Instead of marking a number of three or more of the original entity, plural marking on a non-count noun breaks up the original entity into smaller parts. The following examples illustrate this with the use of the noun *makmə*, which can mean 'soldier' or 'army'. When plural marking occurs on *makmə* it is always understood to signify 'soldiers', the parts of a larger whole. It cannot mean 'armies':

(43)	makmə soldier, army	makmə-po soldier-p soldiers *armies

The plural of 'army' can only be expressed with the use of a classifier such as *təp^hok*, 'group', as in the following example:

(44)	makmə kəpəs təp ^h ok na-ndo? ju?-k ^h a p ^h ari 'nə-ŋos army two group PFT-have river-bank across EV-be Two armies faced each other across the river.

Note that the numeral *kəpəs* here modifies the classifier, not the noun. Classifiers are normally used with non-count nouns that do not obviously consist of smaller parts, though not always. If it is clear from the context that the speaker is referring to bottles of water or ingots of gold, for example, the classifier may be dispensed with. However, not all native speakers consider this kind of construction correct:

(45)	təju? water	? təju? kəsam water three three [bottles of] water	təju? kəsam p ^h iŋ ^ʷ water three bottle three bottles of water
	tarni gold	? tarni kəsam gold three three [ingots of] gold	tarni kəsam rdok gold three ingot three ingots of gold

This type of sentence is like the English usage for example in a restaurant, where a waiter may tell the kitchen that table 5 needs 'three waters, a small beer and a lemonade', though there too normally a classifier or quantifier such as 'glass' or 'bottle' is required.

The plural marker *-no* can occur with non-count nouns to express certain specific meanings. For example, when talking about the infrastructure of a village, a speaker may ask about the quality of the gas, electricity or water supply by using plural marking. In the speaker's mind, the non-count nouns have become countable since there is a separate feed into each house in the village:

- (46) *təjuʔ-no ʃen^ɛ-no tʃ^hi^ɛ-no mə-'na-k^hut*
 water-p electricity-p gas-p Q-OBS-ok
 How is the supply of water, electricity and gas?

Note that the plural marker here occurs with the Chinese loanwords 电 *diàn*, 'electricity' and 气 *qì*, 'gas'. Plural marking is also used to specify and set apart a certain amount of a non-countable substance or entity as distinguished from the rest or other quantities of this substance. Take the case of *tamar*, 'butter'. Normally, *tamar* is a non-count noun that requires a classifier to specify quantity:

- (47) *tamar ? tamar kəsam tamar kəsam lor*
 butter butter three butter three ball
 three [balls of] butter three balls of butter

However, the plural marker can occur with *tamar*, if the speaker refers to a certain quantity of butter that has been talked about earlier but that may not include all butter that is possibly around. For example, when a family invites monks to perform a ritual, much butter is needed. A neighbour, coming to help with the preparations and rummaging through the kitchen cabinets, may ask where the butter that has been set apart for use in the ritual is kept:

- (48) *tamar-no mə-ndoʔ*
 butter-p Q-have
 Do you have [the] butter?
 Where is [the] butter?

In this case it is clear, from the use of *-no*, that the women have discussed a certain quantity of butter and that the neighbour refers to this specific amount of butter now. She is not asking about all the other butter that may be in the store room. Along the same lines are the following examples:

- (49) *tarni-no ŋ-ambe nə-'k^ham-n*
 gold-p 1s:GEN-toward IMP-give-2s
 Give me the gold!

- (50) tarni ɲ-ambe nə-'k^ham-n
 gold 1s:GEN-toward IMP-give-2s
 Give me [the] gold!

The speaker in (49) refers to a certain amount of gold, a number of ingots, that both the speaker and the hearer know about. There may be other gold around which is not included in the *tarnijo* demanded by the speaker. In example (50) the speaker demands that he be given gold, either all the gold that is available, or gold as opposed to other valuables such as silver or jewels. But there is in this case no previous understanding with the hearer about the amount or even the availability of gold.

- (51) wu-poŋeʔj-ɲo mə-'na-rtak
 3s:GEN-money-p Q-OBS-sufficient
 Does he have enough money?

- (52) wu-poŋeʔj mə-'na-rtak
 3s:GEN-money Q-OBS-sufficient
 Does he have enough money?

In sentence (51) the speaker asks if the amount of money that the person referred to carries with him is sufficient, indicating by the use of *-ɲo* that this is not all the money possibly available. In (52) the speaker simply asks if the money carried by the person referred to is sufficient, without linking that amount to other quantities of money.

Definite and indefinite nouns

Jiǎomùzú nouns are not lexically definite or indefinite. However, different degrees of definiteness are signalled by the presence or absence of the contrast marker *tə* and the indefiniteness marker *ki*, as required by the situation. The marker *tə* references entities as opposed to and excluding all other entities. Often it can be glossed as 'the'. The meaning of *ki* encompasses 'one' or 'a', rather like an indefinite article. But it can also be used to broaden a definition of an entity or object. I discuss these markers in sections 4.3.a and 4.3.b below.

Collective and distributive nouns

Collective nouns are words that can be seen as a single collective entity or as a collection of individual entities, such as English 'committee' or 'government'. I have not found such a distinction in Jiǎomùzú, despite the odd example that seems to indicate otherwise. In example (53) *wutwan*, 'dance troupe' is a loan from Chinese 舞团 *wǔtuán*. The indigenous term for 'dancer' is *tarŋaʔ kəva*. Suffixing with *-ɲo* for plural forms 'dancers' as well as, by extension, 'dance troupe'. At first sight the marking on the verb for plural and singular indicates that *wutwan* is indeed a collective noun:

- (53a) wutwan^Ꞥ ji-məndə
 dance.troupe PFT-arrive
 The dance troupe has arrived.
- (53b) wutwan^Ꞥ ji-məndə-jn
 dance.troupe PFT-arrive-3p
 The dance troupe have arrived.
- (53c) wutwan^Ꞥ-po ji-məndə-jn
 dance.troupe-p PFT-arrive-3p
 The dance troupe have arrived.
- (53d) wutwan^Ꞥ kəsam təp^hok ji-məndə-jn
 dance.troupe three group PFT-arrive-3p
 Three dance troupes have arrived.

Native speakers agree that sentences (53a), (53b) and (53c) are all grammatical. But since a troupe consists of several dancers, examples (53b) and (53c), which have plural marking, are much preferred. Native speakers apparently do not think in abstract terms of a group or troupe but rather mark for the number of people that make up the group. The concept of 'group' is inherently plural. To express that several troupes have arrived, a quantifier or classifier is used, as in (53d), and according to the treatment of non-count nouns discussed above. In light of the lack of indigenous vocabulary that exhibits the characteristics of collective and distributive nouns it seems best to regard Jiăomùzú as lacking this category.

c. Derivation of nouns.

A morphological process is derivational if it creates new words with meanings that differ from the meaning of their root words, though those meanings can be related. In Jiăomùzú there are several important processes for the creation of new words from old roots. In compounding two words, usually nouns, combine in various ways to make one new noun. For the process of nominalisation the Jiăomùzú dialects employ several prefixes that are attached to verbs. Gender is not normally marked on Jiăomùzú nouns. Though there are words that use entirely different forms to express certain categories such as male and female in gender, I have not found forms that use morpho-phonemic alternations alone (as in 'man' and 'men'). Diminutives are formed with the suffixes *-pu?* or *-tsa*. Below follows an overview of the most commonly used ways of forming compound nouns and of nominalisation. The sections after that describe gender marking and diminutives.

Compounds

Compound nouns are very common in Jiǎomùzú. The four most common ways of forming compounds are as follows:

* Two complete words combine to make a new word:

(54)	təʒba	cheek
	ʃarə	bone
	təʒba ʃarə	cheek bone
	tarmoʔk	dragon
	k ^h əluʔ	insect, worm
	tarmoʔk k ^h əluʔ	centipede
	təvok	intestines, belly
	kətsə	small
	təvok kətsə	lower abdomen, belly

* One noun of the compound retains its full form while the second noun of the compound loses its prefix:

(55)	təpʃiʔ	excrement
	tərboʔ	drum
	təpʃirboʔ	fart
	pkwaʔ	chicken
	tapuʔ	child, offspring, young
	pkwaʔpuʔ	chick
	tawo	head
	tarɲi	hair
	taworɲi	hair (of the head)
	kam	door
	təmp ^h i	the outside
	mp ^h ikam	gate

* The prefixes of both words that make up the compound disappear:

(56)	təpnak	eye
	tərɲi	hair
	mpakrɲi	eyelash
	tamar	butter
	kəser	fresh
	marser	fresh, newly churned butter
	tastoʔk	bean
	kəktu	big
	stoʔkkutu	broadbean

* A noun is modified as part of a genitive construction:

(57)	mbroʔ	horse
	tarmbok	mane
	mbroʔ w-armbok	mane ('the mane of the horse')
	horse 3s:GEN-mane	
	təmtʃ ^h u	mouth
	tərɲi	hair
	təmtʃ ^h u w-ərɲi	beard ('the hair of the mouth')
	mouth 3s:GEN-beard	
	təʃmi	tongue
	tawo	head
	təʃmi w-awo	tongue tip ('the head of the tongue')
	tongue 3s:GEN-head	

It can be quite unclear which part of a compound is the head. A good test is to turn the compound into a genitive construction. The pronominal affix is prefixed to the head of the compound, in (58) *təmto*, 'forehead', not *tərɲi*, 'hair':

(58)	təmto	tərɲi	təmtorɲi
	forehead	hair	fringe, bangs
	w-əmtorɲi	* təmtə wərɲi	
	3s:GEN-fringe		
	his fringe		

The last form, *təmtə wəŋɿ*, is only grammatical in the sense of 'hair on the forehead', but not in the normal meaning of 'fringe'. This in contrast to the forms in (57), where the head is the second part of the compound rather than the first.

In compounding, changes of vowel can occur:

(59)	c ^h e	liquor	l ^h e	deity
	tələ	yeast	bzova	maker, artisan
	c ^h alə	distiller's yeast	lhabzo	thangka painter

Finally, there are also compounds that combine a non-noun such as an interrogative with a verb or a nominalised verb to express adverbial meanings such as 'everywhere' and 'all kinds of':

(60)	kətʃe	where	t ^h i	what
	kəndoʔ	have (nom)	ndoʔ	have
	kətʃe kəndoʔ	everywhere, wherever	t ^h i ndoʔ ndoʔ	all kinds; all possible, whatever

(61)	wuʃo	t ^h indoʔndoʔ	nə-kə-pcər	tə	w-əmdoʔk	'na-kə-mpʃer
	he	all	PFT-NOM-make	C	3s:GEN-colour	OBS-NOM-beautiful
	All that he made was beautiful in colour.					

'nə-ŋos
EV-be

(62)	ŋa	kətʃe	kə-ndoʔ	pok	to-kə-natso-ŋ	stʃi
	I	where	NOM-have	all	PFT-NOM-look-1s	be:CD
	I've looked everywhere!					

Nominalisers

Jiāomùzú employs different kinds of nominalisers. The nominalisers *ka-* and *kə-* are employed in participant nominalisation and action nominalisation. Participant nominalisation forms objects, including those with a patient or recipient role, by prefixing a root with *ka-*, while subjects of intransitive verbs and agents of transitive verbs are formed by prefixing a verb root with *kə-*. I describe this kind of nominalisation extensively in section 7.1 of the chapter on verbs. Here I just give a few examples. The subscript number 1 with 'write' in example (64) indicates verb root 1 for infinitive:

(63)	agent noun		patient noun	
	ka-ʃmo	steal	kə-ʃmo	thief
	ka-lok	herd	kə-lok	herder
	ka-nətʰe	drink; get drunk	kə-nətʰe	drunk

(64)	citation form		patient noun	
	ka-vəja	fetch	ka-vəja	that which is fetched
	ka-cop	burn	ka-cop	that which is burned
	tascok ka-leʔt	write ₁	ka-laʔt	that which is written

This kind of nominalisation is especially productive with verbs that can form noun-verb compounds, such as *kataʔ*, 'put', *kaleʔt*, 'hit' and *kava*, 'do':

(65)	tatpe ka-taʔ	have faith	tatpe kə-taʔ	believer
	k ^h orlo ka-leʔt	drive a car	k ^h orlo kə-leʔt	driver
	tarngaʔ ka-va	dance	tarngaʔ kə-va	dancer

Also frequently used is the oblique nominaliser *sa-*, which forms nouns that signal places or instruments:

(66)	tascok ka-leʔt	write (letter + hit)	
	tascok sa-leʔt	writing material, an object that facilitates writing	
	ka-mp ^h el	sell	
	sa-mp ^h el	place for selling goods, a place that facilitates selling	

Note that the meaning of the nominalised construction with *sa-* is very broad and does not necessarily refer to a specific object. The nominalised form of *kanəʃup*, 'sleep' does not actually mean 'bed', though beds are included in the meaning. Any place or object where a person may sleep is called a *saʃup*, from hammocks to beds to patches of sidewalk. In the same way, *tascok saleʔt*, 'writing materials', includes pens, paper, brushes, ink, and any other object that may be used for writing. And *samp^hel*, 'place for selling', may refer to a shop, a stand on a market, or a piece of cloth on which a hawker displays his wares. Earlier studies of rGyalrong have not always made this distinction, leading to glosses such as 'paper' for *saleʔt*, which is generally correct of course, but rather too narrow.¹⁰⁷

Unlike other rGyalrong varieties, Jiăomùzú does not have a nominaliser *tə-*. I discuss the case of *tə-* in section 7.1 on nominalisation of the verbs chapter.

According to Jin and Lín¹⁰⁸ the aspectual prefix *to-* can be used as a nominaliser in constructions such as *tokanapu*, 'adopted child, foster child', from *kanapu*, 'adopt' (I use Jin's transcriptions here for his examples). Jin and Lín interpret the prefix as a perfective marker. The Jiăomùzú dialects differ in this respect from Zhuōkèjī and Suōmò. In Jiăomùzú it is not the appearance of past

¹⁰⁷ Nagano (2003: 471) correctly describes the meaning of nominalised constructions with *sa-* as 'a place/utensil to do something' but then gives examples in which the glosses are too narrow. For example, *sa-top* (from *ka-top*, 'hit') does not mean 'hammer' as Nagano glosses it, but 'object for hitting'. The word for 'hammer' is *k^hatʃak*.

¹⁰⁸ Jin (1958: 74), Lín (1993: 163).

imperfective aspect marker *to-* but the presence of *kə-* that nominalises this type of construction. The appearance of *to-* in past tense sentences simply signals past imperfective, while *na-* marks perfective, as shown in the following pair:

- (67) *k^halat* *ka-ndza* *na-səjoʔk-w*
 rtsam.pa NOM-eat PFT-finish-3s
 He finished eating *rtsam-pa*.
- k^halat* *ka-ndza* *to-səjoʔk-w*
 rtsam.pa NOM-eat PSTIMP-finish-3s
 He finished off the *rtsam-pa*.

This distinction remains in nominalised constructions such as the pair in (68). The first sentence signals an action, the taking along of the donkey, about which more remains to be said, while the second sentence conveys the meaning that the taking along of the donkey happened and is now finished.

- (68) *tarke* *tə w-apsi* *na-kə-ndʁu-w* *ʼnə-ŋos*
 donkey C 3s:GEN-with PFT-NOM-take-3s EV-be
 He took the donkey with him.
- tarke* *tə w-apsi* *to-kə-ndʁu-w* *ʼnə-ŋos*
 donkey C 3s:GEN-with PSTIMP-NOM-take-3s EV-be
 He took the donkey with him.

The examples above show that *to-* cannot be the nominaliser of the construction, since the same construction with *na-* is still nominalised. Nominalisation here is caused by *kə-*, not by the aspect markers.

Both Lín and Nagano¹⁰⁹ mention the prefix *a-* as a converter of nouns into terms of endearment or vocatives as in *apa*, 'dad' from *tapa*, 'father' and as a nominaliser for direction markers. In Jiăomùzú vocatives indeed mostly have *a-* as initial, while their root nouns have noun prefix *ta-*, see section 4.2.d on vocatives below. But for the orientational nouns, though they do have *a-* as initial, see section 7.3 on orientation in the verb chapter, *a-* does not function as a nominaliser. Nagano gives *ta* for 'upward' and *ʔata* for '(the) above'. But in Jiăomùzú the directional words for the set meaning 'vertically up' are as follows:

¹⁰⁹ Lín (1993: 162), Nagano (2003: 471).

(69)	vertically up	ata	noun	the place on high, the high place
		sto	adverb	above, high
		kat ^h o	verb	go up
		to	direction marker	upwards

The direction marker *to* differs from and cannot be the root of *ata*, which is a noun. There is no separate root **ta* which functions as a direction marker. Prefix *a-* does not work as a nominaliser in Jiăomùzú.

Finally, Jiăomùzú employs the nominaliser *-vu* to derive nouns from nouns forming the meaning 'person that is from...':

(70)	wuʃo	j-ərpe-vu	ɲos
	he	1p:GEN-village-NOM	be
	He is from our village.		

	wuʃo	mk ^h ono-vu	'nə-ɲos
	he	Kǒnglóng-NOM	EV-be
	He is from Kǒnglóng.		

Sometimes Jiăomùzú speakers use the Tibetan nominaliser *-pa*. This nominaliser only occurs with Tibetan loan words. Sometimes a reduplication of this nominaliser occurs, as shown in the following example. There are two terms for 'trader' that regularly occur in Jiăomùzú. In (71a) the noun of the noun-verb compound *ts^hoŋ kava*, 'do business' is borrowed from Tibetan *tshong*, 'trade'. Nominalisation of this compound results in *ts^hoŋ kəva*, literally 'doer of trade'. The second term, as shown in (71b) is *ts^hoŋpe*, 'trader', a direct loan from Tibetan *tshongpa*, in which the suffix *-pa* is a nominaliser. In Jiăomùzú yet one more nominaliser *-pa* is suffixed to the entire form. In Amdo Tibetan, the nominaliser *-pa* is realised as [pa] or [wa], depending on the phonetic environment. In Jiăomùzú I have only found the form *-wa*:

(71a)	Jiăomùzú		literary Tibetan
	ts ^h oŋ ka-va	do business	ཚོང་རྒྱུ། <i>tshon rgyag</i>
	ts ^h oŋ kə-va	trader	
(71b)	ts ^h oŋ-pe	trader (loan from Tibetan)	ཚོང་པ། <i>tshong-pa</i>
	ts ^h oŋ-pe-wa	trader (loan from Tibetan re-nominalised with <i>-pa</i>)	

A final example is (71c). The loan *mbrokpe*, which already has the Tibetan nominaliser *-pa*, is re-nominalised with *-wa*:

- (71c) mbrokpe nomadic herder, from literary Tibetan འབྲོག་པ་ *'brog-pa*
mbrokpewa nomadic herder

Gender

The default for Jiǎomùzú nouns is to remain unmarked for gender. There are also no articles or verb endings that indicate gender. When the need to distinguish gender arises Jiǎomùzú can employ one of three different kinds of marking. Some nouns express gender by using entirely different forms for the three categories of male, female and young or offspring:

(72)	tərmu	person	təza	man, male
			təmu	woman, female
			tapu?	child, young
	kəʃo?	sheep	sarna	ram
			ʃomo, moluk	ewe
			papa	lamb

Other nouns take suffix *-mu* or *-za*, from *təmu*, 'female', and *təza*, 'male', to mark gender for female and male respectively:

- (73) tapu? child
 tapu?-mu a female child
 tapu?-za a male child

However, in most cases *təza* and *təmu* are used in their full form adjectivally to express gender:

(74)	sloppən		teacher
	* sloppənza	sloppən təza	a male teacher
	* sloppənmu	sloppən təmu	a female teacher

In some cases loanwords can mark gender with suffixes based on the native terms for male and female but normally the entire gender word is used. Speakers from different dialects may disagree on which words can or cannot be suffixed with the gender markers:

- (75) lawsə^ɕ teacher, from Chinese 老师 *lǎoshī*, 'teacher'
 lawsə^ɕ təmu female teacher
- Jiăomùzú: * lawsəmu
 Běnzhen: lawsəmu female teacher
- (76) lawsə^ɕ təmu zik ndo? lawsə^ɕ tɛza zik ndo?
 teacher woman also have teacher man also have
 There are male as well as female teachers.

A third way of marking gender is through suffixing with the Tibetan markers for male and female, *-p^{ho}* and *-mo* respectively:

(77)	pkwaʔ	chicken	k ^h oŋ	tiger
	pkwaʔ-mo	hen	k ^h oŋ-mo	tigress
	pkwaʔ-p ^h o	rooster	k ^h oŋ-p ^h o	male tiger

One of my language consultants said that these days younger native speakers tend to use *təza* and *təmu* also with nouns that traditionally take Tibetan gender markers, so that one can also hear things like *k^hoŋ təmu* for 'tigress'.¹¹⁰ For some words, borrowed gender markers do not occur as a pair. In example (78) the female gender marker is *-mo* but the male gender marker is *-jo* rather than *-p^ho*:

- (78) pak pig
 pak-mo sow
 pak-jo boar

The borrowed gender markers cannot be attached indiscriminately to any noun. Most native nouns by far only take the native gender markers *-mu* and *-za*, either in full or shortened form, while the Tibetan gender markers apparently occur mostly with loanwords from Tibetan:

¹¹⁰ Namkha, personal communication.

(79)	rta	horse, from literary Tibetan རྟ <i>rta</i>
	rta-mo, rgonme	mare, literary Tibetan: རྟ་གོང་མེ <i>rta rgod-ma</i>
	rta-p ^h o	stallion, literary Tibetan: རྟ་གཤེད <i>rta-gseb</i> , or རྟ་ཕྱི <i>rta-p^ho</i> , 'male horse'
	mbro?	horse
	* mbro?-p ^h o	
	* mbro?-mo	
	mbro? təmu	mare
	mbro? təza	stallion

Interestingly, the word normally used for 'horse' is the indigenous *mbro?* rather than Tibetan *rta*. But when it comes to gender distinctions, *rtamo* and *rtapo* often occur.

In some cases, the borrowed gender markers occur as prefixes rather than suffixes. In example (80) *holək*, 'ram' follows the Amdo nomad pronunciation of gender prefix *p^ho-*, while *p^holək* follows the more formal literary Tibetan form:

(80)	k ^h əna	dog	kəʃo?	sheep
	p ^h o-tʃ ^h ə	male dog	p ^h o-lək, holək	ram
	mo-tʃ ^h ə	bitch	mo-lək	ewe

Note that not only does the gender marker become prefixed, but also the root used is a Tibetan loan rather than the root of the native word, as in literary Tibetan ཁྱི *khyi*, 'dog' and literary Tibetan ལུག *lug*, 'sheep'. In some cases the root changes to something not recognizably Tibetan or native:

(81)	lolo	cat	literary Tibetan: ཞི་མི <i>zhi-mi</i>
	p ^h o-rə, horə	tom cat	
	mo-rə	female cat	

It may be that there was an indigenous term for 'cat' with the root *-rə*, which is now replaced with *lolo*. The word *lolo* may be more of an areal term, since it occurs in one form or another throughout south-west China.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Katia Chirkova, personal communication.

Diminutives

Many diminutives are formed by adding a third person possessive form of *tapu?*, 'child, young', to the noun. The resulting diminutives are syntactic constructions rather than morphologically derived:

(82)	k ^h oŋ	tiger	k ^h oŋ w-apu?
			tiger 3s:GEN-child
			tiger cub
	kəzu	monkey	kəzu w-apu?
			monkey 3s:GEN-child
			young of a monkey
	k ^h apri	snake	k ^h apri w-apu?
			snake 3s:GEN-child
			young of a snake

Some nouns can be simply suffixed with *-pu?*, from *tapu?*:

(83)	təmu	woman	təmu-pu?	girl, daughter
	təza	man	təza-pu?	boy, son
	pwa?	chicken	pwa?-pu?	chick
	sarna	ram	sarna-pu?	young ram, male lamb
	k ^h əna	dog	k ^h əna-pu?	pup

Some nouns can be modified by either form:

(84)	lolo	cat
	lolo-pu?	kitten
	lolo w-apu?	kitten

Note that *-pu?* always indicates a relationship between a mature member of people or animals and their offspring. It conveys the meaning of 'born of...'. It cannot be used to form diminutives for inanimate nouns:

(85)	tət ^h a	book	* tət ^h a-pu?
	taji?k	hand	* taji?k-pu?
	mənto?k	flower	* mənto?k-pu?

The meaning 'small' is marked by the suffix *-tsa*, which forms diminutives mostly for inanimate nouns, though some animate nouns also require this suffix. Sometimes this leads to derived meanings, as in *kamtsa*, 'window', which literally means 'small door':

(86)	pak	pig	pak-tsa	piglet, small pig
	rgambe	box	rgambe-tsa	small box
	kam	door	kam-tsa	window

Some nouns can take either suffix. Usually the distinction between the meanings 'small' and 'offspring of' remains, as in (86), but not always. Some nouns take only one or the other suffix, as in the examples for 'pig' and 'chicken':

(87)	k ^h əna	dog
	k ^h əna-pu?	pup, young of a dog
	k ^h əna-tsa	pup, small dog
	pwa?	chicken
	pwa?-pu?	chick, small chicken
	* pwa?tsa	
	pak	pig
	pak-tsa	piglet, small pig
	* pakpu?	

It is not possible to have both *-tsa* and *-pu?* to generate meanings like 'a small boy':

(88)	təza	man, male
	təza-pu?	boy
	* təzaputsa	

Meanings like 'a small girl' are formed with the use of a diminutive prefix plus *kətsə*, 'small':

(89)	təmu	woman, female
	təmu-pu?	girl
	təmu-pu? kətsə	a small girl
(90)	pak	pig
	pak-tsa	piglet
	pak-tsa kətsə	a small piglet

The diminutive suffix *-tsa* cannot occur with any and all nouns. In fact by far the most nouns do not take *-tsa* but have to be modified by *kətsə*, 'small', to express diminutives:

(91)	tət ^h a	book	* tət ^h a-tsa	tət ^h a kətsə	a small book
	təʃna	nose	* təʃna-tsa	təʃna kətsə	a small nose
	k ^h əzaʔ	bowl	* k ^h əzaʔ-tsa	k ^h əzaʔ kətsə	a small bowl
	məntoʔk	flower	* məntoʔk-tsa	məntoʔk kətsə	a small flower

d. Inflectional morphology

Apart from the class and subclass markers *tə-*, *ta-*, *kə-*, *k^h-* and *k-*, which have been discussed in section 4.2.1 above, the Jiăomùzú dialects use bound affixes to mark person and number, genitive constructions and locatives. Person and number are expressed by suffixes on the noun. Jiăomùzú uses both special vocabulary and person and number marking to form honorifics. Terms of endearment are formed by adding *lelej* after a kinship term or noun. I treat this term as a separate word rather than as a suffix. Genitive constructions employ prefixes based on pronouns to mark person. Locatives are discussed extensively in section 5.6 of the chapter on adverbs.

Number

The Jiăomùzú dialects mark nouns for dual and plural. The default is the unmarked form, which denotes either the entire category of entities referred to by the noun or one entity of that class, as discussed in section 4.2.a on the nature of the Jiăomùzú noun above. Dual is marked by *-ndʒ* and plural with *-ɲo*, as familiar from the non-first person pronominal marking described in section 3.1 of the chapter on pronouns:

(92)	tət ^h a	book	tərmu	person
	tət ^h a-ndʒ	two books	tərmu-ndʒ	two people
	tət ^h a-ɲo	books	tərmu-ɲo	people

The dual marker means 'exactly two'. The plural marker specifies 'three or more'. The plural cannot be used to simply indicate 'more than one', nor can the dual mean 'two or more' or 'two out of many'. The numeral *kəʃnes*, 'two', cannot occur with a noun marked for dual, since dual marking already specifies that there are two and only two of a certain thing. Consider the following examples, which are all imperatives:

(93a)	tət ^h a-ndʒ	to- ^l ku-w
	book-d	IMP-buy-2s
	Buy the two books!	

- (93b) tət^ha kəɲes to-'ku-w
 book two IMP-buy-2s
 Buy two books!

* tət^handʒ kəɲes tokuw

- (93c) tət^ha-ɲo to-'ku-w
 book-p IMP-buy-2s
 Buy books!

In example (93a) there are two and only two books. The speaker demands that the hearer buys those two books. In (93b) there are many books, and the speaker asks that the hearer buys two out of the many that are available. Example (93c) exhorts someone to buy three or more books. Note that the plural marker does not occur if the noun is modified by a numeral:

- (94a) k^həna-ɲo to-'ku-w
 dog-p IMP-buy-w
 buy the dogs!

- (94b) k^həna kəmɲi to-'ku-w
 dog-p five IMP-buy-w
 buy five dogs!

Plural marking with *-ɲo* can be used to mark the wider meaning of 'et cetera, and such, the like', as in example (95):

- (95) kant^hak-j ka-ndza kə-mp^her wuvjot 'na-ndo? swej-ɲo pakʃu-ɲo
 market-LOC NOM-food NOM-sell many OBS-have barley-p apple-p
 In the market there are many foodstuffs for sale, [grains] like barley and such,
 [fruit] like apples and so on.

Whether a noun can take number marking or not depends on distinctions such as animacy and countability, and modification of the noun by quantifiers, classifiers etc., as discussed above. The presence or absence of number marking also influences the degree of definiteness conveyed by a form, see section 4.3.b on indefiniteness marking below.

The number markers are clitic postpositions. When a noun phrase consists of more than one word the number marker is attached to the last constituent in the noun phrase, even if that constituent is not a noun. For example, in (96) the third person dualis marker *-ndʒ* is suffixed to the contrast marker *tə*, the final constituent of the noun phrase:

- (96) [h-ato təmu-pu? tə-ndʒ] ndʒa-vlu 'na-ndʒa
 D-up.there girl C-3d 3d:GEN-age OBS-like
 Those two girls are the same age.

Number marking occurs after the last constituent also when several noun phrases are coordinated:

- (97) jino swej jima? taji-no 'kə-ji-j manʒu? ʒugolor pakʃu ndo?
 we:e barley corn wheat-p PRIMP-grow-1p besides walnut apple have
 We grow barley, corn and wheat as well as walnuts and apples.

The placement of the number marker in a noun phrase can signal subtle shades of meaning or emphasis:

- (98a) pak-no tə təjeʔm w-əŋgi ka-sə-tsʰi ma-kʰut kəne
 pig-p C house 3s:GEN-in NOM-CAUS-go NEG-can MD:C
 Pigs are not allowed inside the house.

- (98b) pak tə-no təjeʔm w-əŋgi ka-sə-tsʰi ma-kʰut kəne
 pig C-p house 3s:GEN-in NOM-CAUS-go NEG-can MD:C
 Pigs are not allowed inside the house.

In (98a) the speaker simply states that pigs are not allowed inside the house. In the second example the speaker is more emphatic about the pigs: *they* can't come into the house, but other animals, such as the cat, can. In the examples above *kəne* is a mood marker which conveys that the speaker thinks that the fact stated, here that pigs are not allowed in the house, should be obvious to the listener. Number is marked on the last constituent of the second noun phrase if two noun phrases are linked:

- (99) [[tʃəʔ w-aʃasto] manʒu? [ndə w-əŋgi]-ndʒ] ndʒə-vu 'na-kəktu
 this 3s:GEN-shirt also that 3s:GEN-inside-3d 3d:GEN-price OBS-big
 Both this shirt and the one inside are expensive.

Because number marking does not occur for singular nor in general statements like the ones in example (100), it is not always clear if a speaker refers to one or many of a particular entity, as discussed above in section 4.2.a on the nature of the Jiāomùzú nouns:

- (100) coktse w-ərka-j tətʰa ndo?
 table 3s:GEN-top-LOC book have
 There is a book on the table.
 There are books on the table.

Example (100) gives a general statement about what is on the table. The speaker makes clear that he is talking about the entity 'book' but he does not specify whether he talks about one or more books. The relevant information in the statement concerns the nature of the item or items on the table, not their number. The ambiguity of such statements can be resolved by adding numerals, quantifiers or classifiers, or one of the markers *tə* and *ki* which define the degree of definiteness of a noun. Plural marking can be used in accordance with the rules for animacy and countability of nouns that govern such marking, see above. If the speaker wants to specify the number of books on the table, if there is only one, he has to use a numeral like *kərek*, 'one', or *ki* which can mean 'one' or function rather like an indefinite article, similar to English 'a':

- (101a) coktse w-ərka-j tət^ha kerek ndo?
 table 3s:GEN-top-LOC book one have
 There is one book on the table.

- (101b) coktse w-ərka-j tət^ha ki ndo?
 table 3s:GEN-top-LOC book IDEF have
 There is a book on the table.

If a speaker wants to convey information about the number of books on the table, if there are more than one, he can use a numeral:

- (102) coktse w-ərka-j tət^ha kəsam ndo?
 table 3s:GEN-top-LOC book three have
 There are three books on the table.

Note that no plural marking occurs on *tət^ha*, 'book', when a numeral occurs. Plural marking also does not occur when there is another word specifying quantity in the sentence:

- (103) coktse w-ərka-j tət^ha kə-məca ndo?
 table 3s:GEN-top-LOC book NOM-many have
 There are many books on the table.

- (104) wuʃo k^həza? təɡnəs me mi?
 she bowl few only not.have
 She has only a few bowls.

Number marking on the noun phrase can also be omitted if marking on the verb makes clear how many people or objects are involved and the noun phrase lists them. There is no difference in marking for proper nouns and common nouns in this respect:

- (105a) pkraʃis-ndʒ ʃintəhu ɲu-ndʒ
 bKra.shis-3d Chéngdū live-3d
 bKra-shis and [his friend] live in Chéngdū.
- (105b) pkraʃis narə w-andʃiʔ ʃintəhu ɲu-ndʒ
 bKra.shis and 3s:GEN-friend Chéngdū live-3d
 bKra-shis and his friend live in Chéngdū.
- (105c) pkraʃis narə lhamo-ndʒ ʃintəhu ɲu-ndʒ
 bKra.shis and lHa.mo-3d Chéngdū live-3d
 bKra-shis and lHa-mo live in Chéngdū.
- (105d) rənbamila-ndʒ ʃintəhu ɲu-ndʒ
 Renbamila-3d Chéngdū live-3d
 The two people of the house Renbamila both live in Chéngdū.
- (105e) ŋ-andʃiʔ-ndʒ ʃintəhu ɲu-ndʒ
 1s:GEN-friend-3d Chéngdū live-3d
 My two friends live in Chéngdū.
- (105f) * ŋandʃiʔ ʃintəhu ɲu-ndʒ
- (105g) * ŋandʃiʔndʒ ʃintəhu ɲu

The examples above all involve two persons living in Chéngdū. In (105a) there is, along with bKra-shis, one unspecified person. Examples (105b) and (105c) show that number marking can be dispensed with if the number is clearly marked on the verb and the parties referred to are listed in the noun phrase. Example (105b) does not have marking on the noun phrase, which leaves the number of people unspecified since the hearer does not know how many friends are with bKra-shis. But the noun phrase lists bKra-shis as well as at least one friend, and the number marking on the verb for third person dual signals that there is only one. Example (105c) does mark number on the noun phrase. Both (105b) and (105c) are grammatical. Example (105d) shows that number marking for what in essence is an entity that cannot be counted, the house of Renbamila, is divided up in countable quantities by the use of a number marker. As discussed above, sentence (105d) also indicates that there are two and only two people of the house of Renbamila, and that they both live in Chéngdū. If there were more people in the house, two of which lived in Chéngdū, the numeral *kəpɛs*, 'two', would occur instead of the dual marker. Example (105e) and (105f) show that marking on the noun phrase cannot be omitted if the parties referred to in the noun phrase are not listed, even though number is marked on the verb. Number marking on the verb has to agree with the number marking on the noun phrase if that noun phrase is the referent of the verb.

Loanwords retain native number marking:

(106)	k ^h ajswep ^h iŋꣳ	thermos.flask	Chinese:
	k ^h ajswep ^h iŋꣳ-ndʒ	thermos.flask-d	开水瓶 <i>kāishuǐpíng</i>
	k ^h ajswep ^h iŋꣳ-ŋo	thermos.flask-p	
	dijanʂəꣳ	television	Chinese:
	dijanʂəꣳ-ndʒ	television-d	电视 <i>diànshì</i>
	dijanʂəꣳ-ŋo	television-p	
	rjarpo	king	literary Tibetan:
	rjarpo-ndʒ	king-d	རྒྱལ་པོ་ <i>rgyal-po</i>
	rjarpo-ŋo	king-p	
	ts ^h oŋpe	businessman	literary Tibetan:
	ts ^h oŋpe-ndʒ	businessman-d	ཚོང་པ་ <i>tshong-pa</i>
	ts ^h oŋpe-ŋo	businessman-p	

Honorifics

Honorifics are high register forms of common nouns which are used when speaking of or addressing a person of higher social rank than oneself. Both the dismantling of traditional rGyalrong society with its royal houses and the more egalitarian approach to relationships favored over the last few decades has caused a lapse in use of honorifics and polite forms of address. Still, honorifics do occur regularly in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. Predominantly they are used in connection with all persons to whom respect is due. This includes people from the religious establishment such as lamas, monks and incarnations, people that hold positions of authority in secular society, such as teachers and government officials, and any other people in roles that merit honour, such as elderly people and guests. Honorifics are formed by simply suffixing a noun with the plural marker *-ŋo*:

(107)	blame-ŋo	k ^h ezaʔ-ŋo	təʂeʔm-ŋo
	lama-3s:HON	bowl-3s:HON	house-3s:HON
	honoured lama	bowl (HON)	house (HON)

A noun marked for honorific also requires plural marking on the verb:

(108)	smonbe-ŋo	ʃintəhu	tə-ŋu-jn	me
	Doctor-3s:HON	Chéngdū	2-live-2s:HON	INTR
	Honoured doctor,	do you live in Chéngdū?		

Proper nouns as well as common nouns can be marked for honorific:

- (109) amɲi zɡordəŋ-ɲi kə w-awo-j ʃamtok kərek
 A.myis Sgo.ldung-3s:HON PR 3s:GEN-head-LOC iron.hammer one
 A-myis Sgo-ldung dealt him a blow with the iron hammer.
- to-leʔt-jn
 PFT-hit₂-3s:HON

Honorific marking is not obligatory on nouns, but it is on verbs:

- (110) bdət tə kə tərmu ʃi kə-ndza na-kə-ŋos-jn 'nə-ŋos
 demon C PR person often NOM-eat PFT-NOM-be- HON EV-be
 The demon often ate people.

In this example the demon is an entity that in and of itself requires the speaker's utmost respect. The noun *bdət*, 'demon' is singular and does not need to be marked for honorific, but the verb shows honorific marking in the plural suffix *-jn*. Example (111) is along the same lines, with *jarpo*, 'king', not inflected for number while the plural *-jn* on the verb marks honorific:

- (111) jarpo kə nə kə-mak kə-ndoʔ miʔ na-cəs-jn
 king PR CON NOM-other NOM-have not.have PFT-say-3s:HON
 The king said: "There is no other!"

Genitive constructions also mark honorifics through prefixing the plural marker to a noun or other constituent. The honorific marker used in genitives is *ɲi-*, see section 3.1 of the chapter on pronouns. When an honorific marker replaces a nominal prefix the consonant of the nominal prefix is replaced but not the vowel:

- (112) jarpo kə ʃamto ɲi-apk^he nə-kə-nərko-jn 'nə-ŋos.
 king PR iron.hammer 3s:HON:GEN-fold PFT-NOM-put-3s:HON EV-be
 The king put the iron hammer in the fold of his robe.

Nouns marked for honorific in a genitive construction, such as *ɲapk^he*, 'his fold' in (112), show respect for the possessor, in this case the king, rather than to the marked noun, here the fold of the robe, itself.

Some nouns have a special honorific equivalent of their common form. This kind of honorific does not take the plural marker *-no*. Mostly these honorific forms are loanwords from Tibetan. This is understandable since traditionally Tibetan was both the language of religion, in its literary form, and the language of high prestige used for occasions where high register was required, such as events at the royal courts. The higher the register, the more Tibetan loanwords are inserted in speeches, rituals

etc. Though rGyalrong society no longer has royalty or nobility, Tibetan loanwords are still frequently used when a situation requires high register or very polite forms of speech. At present, Tibetan loans employed as honorifics most often occur in connection with persons from the religious establishment such as monks, lamas and incarnations, and in speeches held on important occasions such as new year's celebrations, weddings etc. Here are some examples of common nouns with their honorific equivalents:

(113)	low register	high register, HON	Tibetan	gloss
	tajiʔk	tap ^h jak	ཕྱག <i>phyag</i>	hand
	təndze	gsolve	གསོལ་བ <i>gsol ba</i>	food
	taworɲi	skra, gtr̥a	སྒ <i>skra</i>	hair
	tamiʔ	taʒap	ཞམ <i>zhab</i>	leg
	tawo	wə	དབུ <i>dbu</i>	head
	təmpnak	spjen	སྟེན <i>spyen</i>	eye

Honorifics based on loans do form genitives and inflect for number like other nouns:

(114a)	tap ^h jak	hand	ɲi-p ^h jak	your hand (HON)
	təmpnak	eye	ɲi-spjen	your eye (HON)
	tʂ ^h aʔ	tea	ɲi-gsolʂa	your tea (HON)

(114b)	ɲi-p ^h jak-ɲo	your hands (HON, p)

In (114b) there is no distinction between second person plural and second person singular, so that the listener cannot know if it concerns the hands of only one respected person or of more than one. See also part on status, forms of address and honorifics in the chapter pronouns.

Vocatives

Vocatives are used in direct address and convey social position or speaker attitude. Jiăomùzú vocatives are derived from kinship terms, most of which have noun prefix *-ta*. The nominal prefix is replaced with vocative prefix *a-*:

(115)	noun		vocative	
	ta-pa	father	a-pa	dad
	ta-mo	mother	a-ma, a-mo	mum
	ta-jze	older brother	a-jze	older brother
	ta-ja	older sister	a-ja	older sister

Most often vocatives occur marked for genitive, even when used as a term of address when speaking directly to the person indicated by the term of address. In example (116) a son addresses his father as ‘my father’:

- (116) aha ŋ-apa n-aka-j ʒik kənəmdok ki wu-gzək
 oho 1s:GEN-father 2s:GEN-bottom-LOC also strong IDEF 3s:GEN-build
 “Oh boy, dad, there is someone out there who is stronger than you,

 kəmdok ki 'nə-ŋos to-kə-cəs na-'a-ŋos
 strong IDEF EV-be PFT-NOM-say PFT-NEV-be
 handsome and well-built, his strength is greater!”

For more on status and terms of address, see section 3.1 of the chapter on pronouns.

Genitive constructions

Genitive constructions in the Jiāomùzú dialects link a head noun, the possessed, to a modifying noun, the possessor. The genitive marker is prefixed to the head noun or possessed. Genitives can signal a broad variety of grammatical relationships. Close relationships such as possessives and many varieties of time and place references are all expressed through genitive structures. To form genitives, pronominal markers are prefixed to the noun that is the head of the construction. All genitive markers derive from the free personal pronouns, including, for some special cases, the generic personal pronoun *təʃo*, ‘self, one’. I discuss bound and free possessive forms more extensively in section 3.2 of the chapter on pronouns. Here I just give a short overview of the pronominal markers and the manner of their prefixation to the noun.

For nouns that are prefixed with *ta-* or *tə-* the pronominal prefix replaces the consonant of these prefixes, while the vowel remains. Genitive marking does not distinguish between inclusive and exclusive forms, though the distinction does occur in the pronouns.

The plural marker *-po* for nominals, which derives from the verbal non-first plural marker *-jn*, is used to form honorifics, see section 4.2.d on honorifics above. The genitive marker is the common variant of *po-*, *pi-*. As for the other genitive markers, the consonant of the noun prefix is replaced while the vowel remains. Here is the overview of markers:

(117)	person marker	tə-t ^h a	book	ta-ʃu	key
1s	ŋ-	ŋ-ət ^h a	my book	ŋ-aʃu	my key
1d	tʃ-	tʃ-ət ^h a	our book	tʃ-aʃu	our key
1p	j-	j-ət ^h a	our book	j-aʃu	our key
2s	n-	n-ət ^h a	your book	n-aʃu	your key
2d	(nʃo)ndʒ-	(nʃo)ndʒ-ət ^h a	your book	(nʃo)ndʒa-ʃu	your key
2p	ɲ-	ɲ-ət ^h a	your book	ɲ-aʃu	your key
3s	w-	w-ət ^h a	his book	w-aʃu	his key
3d	wuʃondʒ-	wuʃondʒ-ət ^h a	their book	wuʃondʒ-aʃu	their key
3p	wuʃɪɲ-, wuʃɔɲ-	wuʃɪɲ-ət ^h a wuʃɔɲ-ət ^h a	their book	wuʃɪɲ-aʃu wuʃɔɲ-aʃu	their key
HON	ɲ-	ɲ-ət ^h a	his book	ɲ-aʃu	his key

The second person dual form is usually shortened to *ndʒ-*, while the third person dual *wuʃondʒ* mostly occurs in full. Third person plural forms *wuʃɔɲo* and *wuʃɪɲo* both occur, apparently without difference in meaning. A special case is the indefinite personal pronoun *təʃo*, 'self, one, one self'. It can be used in genitive constructions and some native speakers do accept such forms as *tətət^ha*, 'one's own book'. Note that in such cases the noun marker *tə-* is not replaced, so that it is actually not a standard form of genitive construction. Mostly genitives derived from *təʃo* occur with limited semantic scope or carry different meanings. I discuss some cases below, but, because of the special features of this kind of form, I do not list them in the tables with the genitive forms of free pronouns. Nouns that do not have noun marker *tə-* or *ta-* are prefixed with the entire first syllable of the appropriate pronoun, as shown in the following example for *məntoʔk*, 'flower':

(118)	1s	ŋa-	ŋa-məntoʔk	my flower
	1d	ʈə-	ʈə-məntoʔk	our flower
	1p	ji-	ji-məntoʔk	our flower
	2s	nə-	nə-məntoʔk	your flower
	2d	(nəŋjo)ndʒ-	(nəŋjo)ndʒ(ə)-məntoʔk	your flower
	2p	ɲi-	ɲi-məntoʔk	your flower
	3s	wu-	wu-məntoʔk	his flower
	3d	wuʃondʒ-	wuʃondʒ(ə)-məntoʔk	their flower
	3p	wuʃɲi-	wuʃɲi-məntoʔk	their flower
	HON	ɲi-	ɲi-məntoʔk	his flower

The animal prefixes k^h - and k - also are not replaced when a pronominal marker is prefixed to the noun, maybe because replacing the markers would cause the loss of the distinction between 'mammal' and 'non-mammal', expressed in k - and k^h - respectively. Or maybe the prefixes have become fully lexicalised and are no longer productive:

(119)	k^h alʃu	ŋə- k^h alʃu	kalaʔ	wu-kalaʔ
	hawk	1s:GEN-hawk	rabbit	3s:GEN-rabbit
		my hawk		his rabbit

Nouns marked with *wu*- for third person singular are commonly used to form adverbial or adjectival meanings, mostly pertaining to place or time. Genitive constructions of nouns that indicate location in space or time can be modified by locative markers. Such nouns can have a wide range of meanings, as exemplified by *wəŋk^huʔ*, which can mean 'after', 'behind' or 'later', depending on the context in which it is used:

(120)	tə-ŋk ^h uʔ	back (n)	back, as in 'the back of a chair or building'
	w-əŋk ^h uʔ	3s:GEN-back	the back of an entity, the time after an event
	kəsam ʃnu	w-əŋk ^h uʔ	təʃeʔm w-əŋk ^h uʔ
	three day	3s:GEN-back	house 3s:GEN-back
	after three days		the back of the house
	təʃeʔm w-əŋk ^h uʔ-j	tə	
	house 3s:GEN-back-LOC	C	
	The one at the back of the house. (The one behind the house.)		

I discuss genitives used to mark location in time and space in section 5.6 of the chapter on adverbs.

Genitives can be formed with a noun phrase the head of which is modified by other words:

- (121) ηa [tʃəʔ tə sok w-əmdoʔk] nərgaʔ- η
 I [this C like 3s:GEN-colour] like-1s
 I like a colour like this one [has].
- (122) pkraʃis [tʰi ki w-ətʰa] to-ku-w
 bKra.shis [what IDEF 3s:GEN-book] PFT-buy-3s
 bKra-shis bought a book about something or other.

Genitives can be part of another genitive construction:

- (123) tʃəʔ w-aka-j wu-ʃwetʃʰiɹ
 this 3s:GEN-bottom-LOC 3s:GEN-semester
 last semester

Below are some examples of the kinds of relationships that are commonly expressed with genitives:

- benefactive: (124) ηa pkraʃis w-ətoʔn to-kə-va- η ɲos
 I bKra.shis 3s:GEN-matter PFT-NOM-do-1s be
 I did it for bKra-shis.

- (125) ηa nəŋʃo nə-tʃʰe ta-kə-va- η ɲos
 I you 2s:GEN-reason 1/2-NOM-do-1s be
 I did it for you.

- dative: (126) tʃəʔ pkraʃis w-əmba-j nə-ʼmbuʔ-w
 this bKra.shis 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC IMP-give-3s
 Give this to bKra-shis.

source:

If there is a source in the sense of a giver as well as a specified recipient the source and recipient are marked on the verb, often with occurrence of prominence marker *kə*. Otherwise a genitive construction is used:

- (127) tʃəʔ tə kəʃoʔ w-əsmok 'na-ɲos
 this C sheep 3s:GEN-wool OBS-be
 This is wool from a sheep.

comitative:

Comitatives are formed with *tapso*, 'together'. A comitative can be negated only through negative marking on the verb, not on *tapso*:

- (128) *ŋa pkrɒʃsi w-apso ʃi-rʃi-ŋ*
 I bKra.shis 3s:GEN-together PFT-go₂-1s
 I went with bKra-shis.

- (129) *pkrɒʃis ŋa ŋ-apso ʃi-vu*
 bKra.shis I 1s:GEN-together NEG/PFT-come₂
 I went without bKra-shis. (Literally: bKra-shis did not come with me)

- circumstance: (130) *ana tʃe tapuʔ w-ajiʔk kə-ŋkər ki 'na-ndoʔ*
 there LOC child 3s:GEN-hand NOM-dirty IDEF OBS-have
 There is a child with dirty hands.

- (131) *ana tʃe tapuʔ w-əktsa kə-miʔ ki 'na-ndoʔ*
 there LOC child 3s:GEN-shoe NOM-not.have IDEF OBS-have
 There is a child without shoes.

possessives:

There is no difference in marking for alienable and inalienable possession:

- (132) *tapuʔ w-amiʔ tapuʔ w-ətʰa*
 child 3s:GEN-leg child 3s:GEN-book
 The child's leg. The child's book.

There is also no difference in possessive marking for things that are temporarily possessed or those that are permanently possessed. Such differences, if marked at all, are shown in the use of verb:

(133) ndə wu-je paktsa ki ndo?
 that 3s-POSS piglet IDEF have
 He has a piglet.

ndə wu-paktsa ki ndo?
 that 3s:GEN-piglet IDEF have
 He has a piglet.

ndə paktsa ki na-varo-w
 he piglet IDEF PFT-own-3s
 He had a piglet.

ndə wu-je paktsa ki 'na-varo-w
 that 3s-POSS piglet IDEF OBS-own-3s
 He owns a piglet.

ndə wu-paktsa ki 'na-varo-w
 that 3s:GEN-piglet IDEF OBS-own-3s
 He has a piglet.

There is no difference between present and past tense marking:

(134) wu-paktsa ki 'na-varo-w
 3s:GEN-piglet IDEF OBS-own-3s
 He has a piglet.

wu-paktsa ki na-varo-w
 3s:GEN-piglet IDEF PFT-own-3s
 He had a piglet.

quality: (135) ana tʃe w-əvok kə-ktu ki 'na-ndo?
 there LOC 3s:GEN-stomach NOM-big IDEF OBS-have
 There is a [man] with a big stomach.

(136) ana tʃe tɔʃla ma-kə-ʃpa? ki 'na-ndo
 there LOC joke NEG-NOM-can₁ IDEF OBS-have
 There's a [man] without humour.

Note that the nominalised verb in (136) remains unmarked for person and number since the verb is used in a generalised sense.

- (137) ana tʃe tərnu wu-jontan makəndʒa
 there LOC person 3s:GEN-knowledge not.the.same
 The knowledge of that person is great.

purpose: (138) ɲa tamaʔ ka-va-j ɲə-ka-ptʃo ɲos
 I work NOM-do-LOC 1s:GEN-NOM-use be
 I use it for my work.

- (139) wuʃo tarngaʔ ka-va w-əŋge nə-və-ɲeʔ-w
 he dance NOM-do 3s:GEN-clothes PFT-VPT-borrow₂-3s
 He borrowed the clothes for the performance.

In example (139) *və-* is a viewpoint marker, which indicates that the action is perceived from the perspective of the speaker: the subject came, maybe to the speaker's house, to borrow the clothes needed for the performance. I discuss viewpoint marking in section 7.7 of the chapter on verbs.

function: (140) kʰajtʃak w-ascək jilək to-va-ɲ
 hammer 3s:GEN-change stone PFT-do-1s
 I used a stone as a hammer.

- (141) wu-sarʃup w-əŋge kə-miʔ
 3s:GEN-bed 3s:GEN-clothes NOM-not.have
 Since he had no blankets on his bed he used his clothes as a blanket.

w-əŋge saʃup w-əŋge to-va-w
 3s:GEN-clothes sleeping.place 3s:GEN-clothes PFT-do-3s

reference: (142) wuʃo kə kəʃmo wu-tanxwa na-va-w
 she PR thief 3s:GEN-talk PFT-do-3s
 She talked about the thief.

- (143) wuʃo kə poŋeʔj w-ətʃʰat kə sonam w-ascok
 he PR money 3s:GEN-reason PR bSod.nams 3s:GEN-letter
 He wrote to bSod-nams about the money.

na-laʔt-w
 PFT-write₂-3s

part and whole: (144) ʃu w-awo kʰə w-ajmiʔ
 tree 3s:GEN-head dog 3s:GEN-tail
 the top of the tree the tail of the dog

price: (145) poŋeʔj kəŋes mp^hjar w-əvə to-ku-ŋ
 money two CL 3s:GEN-price PFT-buy-1s
 I bought it for two yuan.¹¹²

value: (146) ŋa poŋeʔj pərʒa wu-piru ki ndoʔ
 I money hundred 3s:GEN-coral IDEF have
 I have a piece of coral worth one hundred yuan.

(147) piru poŋeʔj kətʃoʔk-pərʒa w-əvə ki ndoʔ
 coral money six-hundred 3s:GEN-price IDEF have
 A piece of coral worth six hundred yuan.

extent: (148) lijəŋsəju^ㄣ w-əʃeʔm w-ambro kərsəcə tascək 'nə-ŋos
 grain.bureau 3s:GEN-house 3s:-high eight layer EV-be
 The building of the grain bureau is eight floors high.

(149) ana tʃe sogle kə-k^hi w-askriʔn 'na-ndoʔ
 there LOC saw one-metre 3s:GEN-long OBS-have
 There is a one metre long saw.

4.3 *Noun adjuncts*

Noun adjuncts modify nouns or other words that can be the head of a noun phrase, such as demonstratives and certain quantifiers. In this section I discuss contrast marker *tə*, indefiniteness marker *ki*, quantifiers and numerals, classifiers and prominence marker *kə*. Numerals occur after a noun and its adjectivals and cover the scope of the noun phrase. Quantifiers also cover the noun phrase, occurring after the head noun, adjectivals and numerals. The markers *tə* and *ki* occur after and cover the scope of the noun phrase. Prominence marker *kə* is actually a discourse marker. The marker is placed after and covers the scope of the entire constituent to which it is attached.

a. Marking contrast: *tə*

Contrast marker *tə* does not determine a referent as such but specifies a referent in its environment, as I will show below. The marker only occurs when a speaker wants to convey information about the specific relation of certain objects to their environment. It is not obligatory. The form of the contrast marker does not vary according to distal or proximal relationship between an object and the speech participant, since the marker defines only the relationship between an object and its

¹¹² The *yuan* (圓) is the basic unit of the Chinese currency. One *yuan* is divided into ten *jiǎo* (角).

environment, not between speaker and object. Contrast marker *tə* can modify any word that can be the head of a noun phrase. The marker occurs immediately after the constituent it modifies, whether it is a single word or a phrase. Contrast marking can modify all sorts of nouns, including proper nouns and abstract nouns:

- (150) pkraʃis w-əmp^hi w-ərmu ɲos
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-outside 3s:GEN-person be
 bKra-shis is an outsider.

pkraʃis tə w-əmp^hi w-ərmu ɲos
 bKra.shis C 3s:GEN-outside 3s:GEN-person be
 bKra-shis is an outsider (as opposed to other people there who are insiders).

sonam tə-ɲo w-əmp^hi w-ərmu ɲos-ɲn
 bSod.nams C-p 3s:GEN-outside 3s:GEN-person be-3p
 bSod-nams and his people are outsiders (as opposed to other people there who are insiders).

- (151) wu-ɲəgzu tə ma-^lnə-haʔw
 3s:GEN-hatred C NEG-OBS-good
 Hatred is not a good thing (as opposed to other qualities that may be talked about).

Contrast marker *tə* cannot occur independently:

- (152) tət^ha kəsam tə ɾjaŋkə w-əmdoʔk ^lnə-ɲos
 book three C green 3s:GEN-colour EV-be
 The three books are green.

* tə ɾjaŋkə wəmdoʔk nəɲos

But *tə* can modify a noun phrase in which the head is implicit, as in the first clause of (153), where the head of the noun phrase, 'burden', only occurs in full form in the second clause:

- (153) pəʃnu tə na-^la-ɲo ɲ-əpkor tə na-^la-ɲo
 today C PFT-NEV-light 1s:GEN-burden C PFT-NEV-light
 Today[^ls burden] has become light, my burden has become light.

Nagano analyses *tə* as a component of the definite demonstrative pronouns and calls it a 'referential indefinite demonstrative pronoun'.¹¹³ However, unlike a pronoun *tə* cannot occur by itself in pronoun position:

- (154) tʃəʔ ʃokʃoʔk ɲos * tə ʃokʃoʔk ɲos
 this paper be
 This is paper.

nəɲʃo mə-tə-tʃʰi-n * tə 'mətətʃʰi-n
 you Q-2-go₁-2s
 Are you going?

It also cannot replace a pronoun in adjectival position:

- (155) ndə kʰəzaʔ nəɲʃo nə-je mə-ɲos * tə kʰəzaʔ nəɲʃo nəje məɲos
 that bowl you 2s-POSS Q-be
 Is that bowl yours?

Though it is possible to have *tə* after the noun or pronoun, it does not replace the head there but rather carries specific contrasting meaning as discussed extensively in the section below:

- (156) kʰəzaʔ ndə nəɲʃo nə-je mə-ɲos
 bowl that you 2s-POSS Q-be
 That bowl is yours, right?

kʰəzaʔ ndə tə nəɲʃo nə-je mə-ɲos
 bowl that C you 2s-POSS Q-be
 That bowl (as opposed to other bowls present) is yours, right?

kʰəzaʔ tə nəɲʃo nə-je mə-ɲos
 bowl C you 2s-POSS Q-be
 That bowl (as opposed to other objects present) is yours, right?

Since *tə* does not signify any referent as such, it is empty of referential meaning and cannot occur by itself. In the Jiāomùzú dialects it is not a pronoun.

Contrast marker *tə* can modify demonstratives:

¹¹³ Nagano (2003: 473).

- (157) tʃəʔ tə ʃokʃoʔk ɲos
 DEM C paper be
 This is paper.

There can be several contrast markers within one larger noun phrase, modifying smaller noun phrases that are nested within the larger phrase:

- (158) ɲa [[tʃəʔ tə] sok w-əmdoʔk tə] to-ku-ɲ
 I this C manner 3s:GEN-colour C PFT-buy-1s
 I bought the one that is similar to this one in colour.

The following examples further illustrate the use of *tə*. In the first set example (159) shows that contrast marker *tə* can define its referent, unlike the marker for indefiniteness *ki*. Markers *tə* and *ki* are incompatible, see example (188) below. Examples (160) show how *tə* can be used to determine different sentence constituents, allowing for subtle differences in meaning.

- (159) tərmu tə tərmu ki
 person C person IDEF
 the, that person a person

- (160) nəŋʝo təjeʔm h-ato-j mə-ɲos
 you house D-up-LOC Q-be
 Is your house up on the mountain?

nəŋʝo təjeʔm hato tə mə-ɲos
 you house D-up C Q-be
 Is your house the one up on the mountain?

h-ato təjeʔm tə nəŋʝo nə-je mə-ɲos
 D-up house C you 2s-POSS Q-be
 The house up on the mountain, is that yours?

Actually the main function of *tə* is not to define a constituent, but rather to signal that the constituent it refers to is unique in its semantic environment.

- (161) tʃəʔ ʃokʃoʔk ɲos tʃəʔ tə ʃokʃoʔk ɲos
 DEM paper be DEM C paper be
 This is paper. This is paper.

The first sentence in (159) indicates that there is paper, without saying anything about what else might be there. There might be more or different paper, or there might be other things. It is unclear

to the listener and apparently not relevant to the speaker. The second sentence however specifies that there are other things around, and that they are not paper. The sentence might be paraphrased as 'This here is paper, as opposed to the other things around'. Another example of the determining and excluding function of *tə* is:

- (162) *tʃəʔ ʃokʃoʔk tə ɲos*
 DEM paper C be
 This is the paper [that, which....]

There might be other paper around, but there is only one kind of paper that the speaker obviously had referred to earlier, to the exclusion of other kinds of paper.

- (163a) *təza tʃəʔ ɲa ɲ-ajze ɲos*
 man DEM I 1s:GEN-older.brother be
 This man is my older brother.

- (163b) *təza tə ɲa ɲ-ajze ɲos*
 man C I 1s:GEN-older.brother be
 The man is my older brother.

- (163c) *təza tʃəʔ tə ɲa ɲ-ajze ɲos*
 man DEM C I 1s:GEN-older.brother be
 This man is my older brother.

Example (163b) indicates that in a group of people there is only one man, and that this man is my older brother. Sentence (163a) is the most general statement, pointing out a person in a group of people about the composition of which the speaker gives no clarification. In (163c) the speaker points out the older brother in a group about which nothing further is known, but it is clear that the brother has been referred to earlier in a conversation between the speaker and the listener.

- (164a) *tʃəʔ məntoʔk kəsam 'na-mpʃar*
 DEM flower three OBS-beautiful
 These three flowers are beautiful.

- (164b) *tʃəʔ məntoʔk kəsam tə 'na-mpʃar*
 DEM flower three C OBS-beautiful
 These three flowers are beautiful.

In (164a) three flowers out of many are singled out as beautiful. In (164b) there are only three flowers among perhaps a variety of other things. The flowers are described as beautiful in contrast to the other things, which are implied to be not beautiful. In some instances this use of *tə* is best

interpreted as a way to give emphasis, especially when it is used to modify personal pronouns. In English intonation the stress is on 'you' in (165) and (166):

- (165) nəŋɔ tə kətʃe ji-kə-tə-vu-n ɲos
 you C where PFT-NOM-2-come₂-2s be
 Where do you come from?

- (166) k^haʃpa tə kə nə nəŋɔ tə təŋgli na-tə-va-w to-kə-cəs-w ɲos
 frog C PR CON you C lie PFT-2-do-2s PFT-NOM-say-3s be
 "You are [the one who] lied!" said the frog.

The presence or absence of *tə* can be used to signal genericness, as shown in the following examples. In (167a), the most generic form, there is no additional information about other possible animals or other possible cats:

- (167a) lolɔ kə-neʔk ɲos
 cat NOM-black be
 The cat is black./The cats are black.

Example (167b) sets the black cat in opposition to other cats that are all of different colours, while (167c) sets a black cat in opposition to other animals, which are not black.

(167b) tʃəʔ tə lolɔ kə-neʔk ɲos this C cat NOM-black be <i>This</i> is a black cat.	(167c) lolɔ tə kə-neʔk ɲos cat C NOM-black be <i>The cat</i> is black.

Sentence (167d) contrasts the black cat to other cats that did not eat sausage: 'The one who ate the sausage is the black one':

- (167d) paʒgar kə-ndza tə lolɔ kə-neʔk tə 'nə-ɲos
 sausage NOM-eat C cat NOM-black C EV-be
 This is the black cat that ate the sausage. (The sausage eater is the black cat.)

And (167e) shows that cats like to eat sausage, as opposed to other possible animals such as birds:

- (167e) lolɔ tə-ɲo paʒgar ka-ndza kə-rgaʔ-jn ɲos
 cat C-p sausage NOM-eat NOM-like-3p be
Cats like to eat sausage.

The last example in this series, below, does not give information about other possible animals around that may or may not like to eat sausage. But the speaker makes clear that some specified cats like to eat his sausage, though not his other food.

- (167f) lolo-no ɲa ɲə-paʒgar tə ka-ndza 'na-rgaʔ-jn
 cat-p I 1s:GEN-sausage C NOM-eat OBS-like-3P
 The cats like to eat *my sausage*.

b. Marking indefiniteness: *ki*

Marker *ki* derives from numerals *kərek* and *kərgi*, meaning 'one'. In sentences *ki* can mean 'one' or can be used to mark indefiniteness, forming meanings similar to the English indefinite article *a* or signalling 'a certain', 'some...':

(168a) tət^ha ndo? book have There are/is a book(s).	(168b) tət^ha ki ndo? book IDEF have There is a book. There is one book. There is a certain book.

The difference between the statements in (168) is that in (168a) the speaker doesn't know the quantity - or doesn't say anything about it, while in (168b) he specifies that there is one. Like contrast marker *tə*, indefiniteness marker *ki* can modify any head of a noun phrase. The marker occurs in the final slot of a noun phrase and cannot occur independently:

- (169) cokrtse w-ərka-j tət^ha ki ndo?
 desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC book IDEF have
 There is a book on the desk.

* cokrtse wərkaj ki ndo?

The indefiniteness marker only occurs directly after the constituent it modifies and cannot be placed in the middle of a syntactical unit:

- (170) [təza w-əvok kə-ktu ki] 'na-ndo?
 man 3s:GEN-stomach NOM-big IDEF OBS-have
 There's a man with a big belly.

* [təza ki wəvok kəktu ki] 'nando?

* [təza ki wəvok kəktu] 'nando?

- (171) [təjam kəsam zəm kə-ndʒəʔt ki] 'na-ndo?
 pot three litre NOM-hold IDEF OBS-have
 There is a pot of three litres.

Marking with *ki* is not obligatory. In (171), for example, it is possible to leave out *ki*. If the marker is there the speaker is not entirely certain that the pot will be adequate for the job at hand. A sentence without *ki* conveys that the speaker does not doubt that the pot will do. He simply directs the listener to the pot that the speaker knows is there and wants to use.

Indefiniteness cannot be marked on non-singular nouns, as demonstrated in the following examples. Sentence (172a) shows the generic or non-specific sense of *kəʃoʔ*, 'sheep', while (172b) refers to sheep known to the speaker:

- (172a) pəzar kajve kəʃoʔ 'na-ndo?
 summer meadow sheep OBS-have
 Sheep graze in the meadow in summer.

- (172b) pəʃnu kajve kəʃoʔ 'na-ndoʔ-jn
 today meadow sheep OBS-have
 The sheep are grazing in the meadow today.

The second example indicates that all the sheep are in the meadow. If a speaker wants to specify some sheep over other possible animals he has to use contrast marker *tə*: the sheep are in the meadow, but not the cows. In (172b), adding *tə* after *kəʃoʔ* can also indicate that at some other point in time these particular sheep were not in the meadow, but now they are. It is also possible to have *kəʃoʃno*, which agrees with the plural marking on the verb. These strategies all make more specific and immediate the sheep that the speaker is referring to. However, modifying *kəʃoʔ* with *ki* signals that there is only one sheep in the meadow. Number marking cannot occur:

- (173) pəʃnu kajve kəʃoʔ ki 'na-ndo?
 today meadow sheep IDEF OBS-have
 A/one sheep is grazing in the meadow today.

* pəʃnu kajve kəʃoʔ ki 'nandoʔjn

With non-count nouns, as in the examples above, it is number marking, not the indefiniteness marker, that indicates generalness and non-specificness. When number marking is used to indicate generalness the meaning is often best translated with an anaphoric pronoun:

- (174) sətʃwan-j tʃʰaʔɿ kə-ji ndoʔ-jn
 Sìchuān-LOC tea NOM-grow have-3p
 Tea grows in Sìchuān. (They grow tea in Sìchuān.)

In (175) *tə* can be omitted but *ki* cannot occur to mark generalness:

- (175) tʃʰaʔɿ kəsna tə w-əjmbak kə-tsətsə ɲos
 tea good C 3s:GEN-leave NOM-small be
 A good tea has very small leaves.

* tʃʰaʔɿ kəsna ki wəjmbak kətsətsə ɲos

- (176) tamar kə-haʔw tə serpo ɲos
 butter NOM-good C yellow be
 Good butter is yellow.

* tamar kəhaʔw ki serpo ɲos

tamar serpo lenlen tə kə-haʔw ɲos
 butter yellow EXPR C NOM-good be
 Pure yellow butter, that is good butter.

* tamar serpo lenlen ki kəhaʔw ɲos

There is only one marker for indefiniteness, *ki*. To distinguish between referential and non-referential indefinites other strategies have to be employed:

- (177a) pkraʃis tətʰa to-ku-w
 bKra.shis book PFT-buy-3s
 bKra-shis bought a book/books.

- (177b) pkraʃis tətʰa ki to-ku-w
 bKra.shis book IDEF PFT-buy-3s
 bKra-shis bought a book.

- (177c) pkraʃis tʰi w-ətʰa to-ku-w
 bKra.shis what 3s:GEN-book PFT-buy-3s
 bKra-shis bought some book or other.
- (177d) pkraʃis tʰi kə w-ətʰa to-ku-w
 bKra.shis what PR 3s:GEN-book PFT-buy-3s
 bKra-shis bought a book about something or other.
- (177e) *pkraʃis tʰi wətʰa ki tokuw
- (177f) pkraʃis tʰi w-ətʰa tə to-ku-w
 bKra.shis what 3s:GEN-book C PFT-buy-3w
 bKra-shis bought some book or other.

Of the examples above, the first sentence (177a) is the most general. The speaker does not indicate how many books bKra-shis bought. The emphasis is on the entity 'book', as opposed to other things. Sentence (177b) specifies that it was one book, or a book, as opposed to more than one. Example (177c) specifies that the speaker does not know which kind of book or books bKra-shis bought. Sentence (177d) shows that bKra-shis bought a book for sure, but the speaker does not know what the book is about. Prominence marker *kə* here gives prominence to *tʰi*, 'what', which indicates the speaker's lack of knowledge about the contents of the book. Example (177e) has an undefined referent. Adding *ki* doubles the indefiniteness marking, which is ungrammatical in Jiǎomùzú. Adding *tə* though is possible, as evidenced by (177f). The contrast marker *tə* here does not make it any clearer what book bKra-shis bought but rather defines bKra-shis' purchase as 'some book' rather than 'some other object'.

The marker for indefiniteness, *ki*, can occur after numerals to express the meaning 'about, around, some':

- (178) ndə wu-je kəʃoʔ kəbdu kəmɲi ki ndoʔ
 that 3s-POSS sheep four five IDEF have
 He has a handful of sheep.

The marker *ki* can also modify a numeral already modified by a quantifier such as *caʔm*, 'no more than, at most', as in the following example. The speaker is not sure of the exact amount of money, but he knows it does not exceed fifty, and that it is somewhere close to that amount:

- (179) poŋeʔj kəmɲi-zʃi caʔm ki ndoʔ
 money five-ten at.most IDEF have
 There is something like fifty [yuan], no more.

Note that if the numeral is exact, without modifying quantifier or other indication of indefiniteness, *ki* cannot occur:

- (180) *ŋa pakʃu zʒi caʔm ki ndoʔ*
 I apple ten at.most IDEF have
 I have about ten apples, no more.

* *ŋa pakʃu zʒi ki ndoʔ*

The same sense of *ki* occurs when it is used with nouns to express the speaker's lack of clarity about a fact. In these cases *ki* can occur with common nouns as in (181a) as well as with proper nouns, as in example (181b). Note that marking the proper noun with *ki* does not generate a meaning such as ‘in Chéngdū or some other place’ but rather ‘somewhere in Chéngdū’:

(181a) <i>ndə makmə ɲos</i> that soldier be He is a soldier.	(181b) <i>ndə makmə ki ɲos</i> that soldier IDEF be He is a soldier or something.
(182a) <i>lhamo ʃintəhu na-ɲu</i> lHa.mo Chéngdū PFT-live lHa-mo lived in Chéngdū.	(182b) <i>lhamo ʃintəhu ki na-ɲu</i> lHa.mo Chéngdū IDEF PFT-live lHa-mo lived somewhere in Chéngdū.

The indefiniteness marker is used also on the discourse level, when a new person or topic is introduced in a conversation or a story:

(183a) <i>ndə ɲilək to-vəja-w</i> that stone PFT-pick-3s He picked up the stone.	(183b) <i>ndə ɲilək ki to-vəja-w</i> that stone IDEF PFT-pick-3s He picked up a stone.

The constructions in (183) are both correct, but used in different situations. Sentence (183a) without *ki* is a simple statement, used in a known context. The stone that he picked up has already been mentioned before. The listener does not necessarily expect to get more information. Sentence (183b) with *ki* introduces the stone as a new twist in the plot or as a new topic, and sets the listener up to anticipate more information about the stone. By the same logic, at the beginning of a story, *ki* must occur:

- (184) *kəsce kəsce tərmu ki ʃintəhu ji-kə-vu 'nə-ɲos*
 before before person IDEF Chéngdū PFT-NOM-come₂ EV-be
 Long long ago a man came from Chéngdū.

* *kəsce kəsce tərmu ʃintəhu jikəvi nəɲos*

Indefiniteness can be marked with nouns marked for plural or other words expressing plural such as 'many, much, all':

- (185) jino pakʃu wuvjot ki na-k^hit-j
 we:e apple many IDEF PFT-pluck-1p
 We picked lots of apples.

In this sort of sentence *ki* conveys a feeling of amazement or surprise. In (183) the speaker is amazed that they picked such a large quantity of apples.

The marker *ki* can also express 'small quantity, a little', either together with a quantifier or by itself:

- (186) jino k^halet ki to-ndza-j
 we:e rtsam-pa IDEF PFT-eat-1p
 We ate a little rtsam-pa.

jino k^halet kə-tsətsə ki to-ndza-j
 we:e rtsam-pa NOM-little IDEF PFT-eat-1p
 We ate a little rtsam-pa.

jino k^halet kə-tsətsə to-ndza-j
 we:e rtsam-pa NOM-little PFT-eat-1p
 We ate a little rtsam-pa.

- (187) hajtso ki kə-sə-raʔm-j
 chili.pepper IDEF PFT-CAUS-dry-1p
 We dried a few chili peppers.

The contrast marker *tə* cannot occur together with *ki*:

- (188a) təza w-əvok kə-ktu ki 'na-ndo?
 man 3s:GEN-stomach NOM-big IDEF OBS-have
 There is a man with a big stomach.

- (188b) təza w-əvok kə-ktu tə kətʃe w-ərmu ɲos
 man 3s:-stomach NOM-big C where 3s:GEN-person be
 The man with a big stomach, where is he from?

* təza wəvok kəktu ki tə 'nando?

* təza wəvok kəktu tə ki 'nando?

c. Numerals and other quantifying words

Numerals

Jiǎomùzú numerals are based on the decimal system. There are few classifiers in the Jiǎomùzú dialects (see below). Numerals follow the noun which they modify, though they can appear by themselves, if the speech participants know the entity referred to:

(189)	tərnu kəsam ndo? person three have There are three people.	kəsam ndo? three have Three. (There are three.)

There is no term to express zero or nought. If needed literary Tibetan ཐུག *thug* is used. Numerals from one through to nine are all prefixed by *kə*:

(190)	kərek	1	kətʃoʔk	6
	kəʔes	2	kəʃnəʔs	7
	kəsam	3	kərsat	8
	kəbdu	4	kəngu	9
	kəmni	5	zɿ	10

The prefix *kə-* is used with nouns and classifiers to express the meaning 'one of...'. Note that in the last two examples in this series nouns such as *k^həzaʔ*, 'bowl' and *təʃnu*, 'day', function as classifiers:

(191)	mp ^h jar	sheet
	kə-m ^h jar	one sheet of...
	ʃokʃoʔk kə-m ^h jar	one sheet of paper
	ʃokʃoʔk kəbdu mp ^h jar	four sheets of paper
	k ^h əzaʔ	bowl
	kə-k ^h əzaʔ	one bowl of...
	k ^h rəʔw kə-k ^h əzaʔ	one bowl of rice
	k ^h rəʔw kəsam k ^h əzaʔ	three bowls of rice
	təʃnu	day
	kə-ʃnu	one day
	kəsam ʃnu	three days

There are three words in Jiǎomùzú that express the number one. The word *kərek* is used throughout the township. The two other words are *kərgi* and its dialect variant *kərtok* or *kərdok*:

(192)	k ^h əna kərek	one dog
	k ^h əna kərtok	one dog
	k ^h əna kərgi	one dog

Neither *kərgi* nor *kərtok* can be used in counting:

(193)	kərek, kənes, kəsam....
	*kərgi, kənes, kəsam....
	*kərtok, kənes, kəsam....

But the roots of these numerals can be used as classifiers:

(194)	kərgi	təmpok	kəbdu	rgi
	one	bread	four	CL
		four pieces of bread		
	kərtok	tarni	kesam	rtok
	one	gold	three	CL
		three ingots of gold		

These numerals have a grammaticalised function as marker of indefiniteness, in the shortened form of *ki*, which often translates as 'one' or indefinite article 'a', but has some other uses besides. I discuss *ki* more fully in section 4.3.b on definiteness marking above.

Numerals from 11 through 19 are formed by adding a numeral without *kə-* to *zji*, 'ten'. Note that for the numerals 11, 12, 13 and 18 the /i/ of *zji* becomes /a/:

(195)	zjatek	11	zjitɕoŋk	16
	zjaŋes	12	zjiŋnəʔs	17
	zjasam	13	zjarscat	18
	zjibdu	14	zjingu	19
	zjimŋi	15	kənes-zji	20

Numerals for multiples of 10 up to 90 are formed by adding *zji* to numbers 2 through 9:

(196)	zji	10	kəɕoŋk-zji	60
	kənes-zji	20	kəŋnəʔs-zji	70
	kəsam-zji	30	kərscat-zji	80
	kəbdu-zji	40	kəngu-zji	90
	kəmŋi-zji	50	pərja	100

Adding a number from 1 through 9 forms numerals up to one hundred:

(197)	kesam-zji-kəsam	33
	kəʃnuʔs-zji-kətʃoʔk	76
	kəʃnes-zji-kəmŋi	25
	kəʃscat-zji-kəngu	89
	kəngu-zji-kərek	91

Larger numbers are formed along the same principles:

(198)	300	kəsam-pərja	stəŋtso	1000
	500	kəmŋi-pərja	krətso	10,000
	425	kəbdu-pərja-kəʃnes-zji-kəmŋi	krətso-zji; mbəmkter	100,000
	687	kətʃoʔk-pərja-kəʃscat-zji-kəʃnəʔs	krətso pərja	1,000,000

Other often used terms for 'one million', *pfawa* and *saja* are derived from literary Tibetan སྐྱལ *sa-ya*.

Numerals come after nouns but before classifiers. This is an important distinction especially for those nouns that also function as classifier:

- (199) məntoʔk kəsam ndoʔ
 flower three have
 There are three flowers.

- (200) ŋa kəsam tətʃhot na-ta-naʃo-n
 I three hour PFT-1/2-wait-2s
 I waited for you for three hours.

- (201) tətʃhot kəsam tʃe ji-məndə
 hour three LOC PFT-arrive
 [The bus] arrived at three o'clock.

(202)	təza kəsam	tavlu kəmŋi pa vi	lo kəsam pa
	man three	age five CL come ₁	year three CL
	three men	be five years old	three years old
- * kəsam lo vi kəsam pa vi be three years old
 * kəsam lo wəŋk^{hu}? tʃe kəsam pa wəŋk^{hu}? after three years.

I have not found ordinal numbers. When counting, for example, in ritual offerings of liquor a speaker will use normal numerals as in *kərek tə...*, *kəʃnes tə...*, *kəsam tə...* for 'the first one...', the second one..., the third one...'. When the speaker uses a high register of language, he may use loans

from Tibetan for ordinal numbers, such as *taṅbo* from literary Tibetan དང་པོ *dang-po*, 'first' and *nipa* from གཉེས་པ *gnyes-pa*, 'second'.

I have not found native terms for fractions other than 'half' and percentages. If need be words like 'part, share, half' or otherwise quantities like 'a bowl' or 'a bucket' are used. Apparently in the past mathematical functions like addition, subtraction and multiplication were expressed using Jāomùzú.¹¹⁴ But these days the use of Chinese has replaced rGyalrong in this semantic domain.

Indefinite numerals with meanings such as 'about, approximately' can be formed in several ways. The prefix *wa-* combined with a numeral gives the meaning 'at least':

(203)	<i>zji</i>	<i>wa-zji</i>
	ten	at.least-ten

Prefix *wa-* cannot occur with nouns or quantifiers, unless the quantifier is based on a numeral:

(204)	<i>təvek</i>	* <i>wavek</i>	<i>wuvjot</i>	* <i>wawuvjot</i>
	half		many	

(205)	<i>kəkərgi</i> ¹¹⁵	some (Q)
	<i>wa-kəkərgi</i>	at least some

<i>laktʰe</i>	<i>ɲi-ɲi</i>	<i>wa-kəkərgi</i>	<i>ma-'nə-ʃpaʔ-ŋ</i>
thing	p:GEN-name	at.least-some	NEG-REFL-can ₁ -1s

I don't know some of the names for things.

The meaning 'at most' is generated by qualifying a numeral with quantifier *caʔm*, 'at most':

(206)	<i>tətʰa</i>	<i>kəbdu</i>	<i>kəmɲi</i>	<i>caʔm</i>
	book	four	five	at.most
- at most four or five books.

A noun can occur between the numeral and the quantifier if that noun functions as a classifier:

(207)	<i>kəɲes-zji-kəmɲi</i>	<i>jeʔm</i>	<i>caʔm</i>	<i>ndoʔ-jn</i>
	two-ten-five	house	at.most	have-3p
- There are at most twenty-five households.

¹¹⁴ Tshe-dbang sGron-ma, personal communication.

¹¹⁵ The quantifier *kəkərgi* also occurs as *kərgirgi*, see example (231).

Combining a numeral with the noun *təro*, 'surplus, extra' forms the meaning of 'more than':

(208)	zji	təro	zji-ro
	ten	extra	more than ten

Prefix *wa-* and quantifier *caʔm* are semantically incompatible and cannot be used to modify the same numeral:

- (209) * wazji caʔm

But *wa-* and *caʔm* can occur individually to modify a numeral already modified by *təro*:

(210)	wa-zji-ro	(211)	jigə-ʃiŋtʃiʔ-ro	caʔm
	at.least-ten-extra		one-week-extra	at.most
	definitely more than ten		More than one week but less than two weeks	

Numerals in daily life

Though Jiăomùzú numerals occur regularly in conversations, there are many situations in which native speakers find it more convenient to use Chinese numerals, which are shorter. Code-switching between Chinese and Jiăomùzú is common. For some time references in contemporary contexts there is no proper Jiăomùzú equivalent, in which case a Chinese numeral is used. For example, day, month and year tend to be all in Chinese numerals:

- (212) ndə aʃliŋliŋjoʔ nijanʔ ndə w-əpa na-kə-sci 'nə-ŋos
that 2009 year that 3s:GEN-CL PFT- NOM-be.born EV-be
He was born in 2009.

In (212) *aʃliŋliŋjo nijan* is loaned from Chinese 二零零九年, *èr líng líng jiǔ nián*. It is possible to use Jiăomùzú numerals to express the year. In more formal situations or among older people one might still hear something like (213):

- (213) lo stontso-kənes-kəngu w-əpa
year thousand-two-nine 3s:GEN-CL
[in] the year 2009.

However, in traditional time reckoning the Tibetan twelve year cycle is used. The symbols of the years are the equivalents of the Tibetan symbols, but rGyalrong names are used, except for the Year of the Tiger, which uses the Tibetan word for 'tiger', ཐག *stag*, instead of the indigenous *kʰoŋ*.

(214)	pak-lo	year of the pig	tarmok-lo	year of the dragon
	mbro-lo	year of the horse	k ^h ə-lo	year of the dog
	stag-lo	year of the tiger	mbala-lo	year of the ox
	kəʃoʔ-lo	year of the sheep	pəʃu-lo	year of the rat
	kəzu-lo	year of the monkey	kalaʔ-lo	year of the rabbit
	k ^h apri-lo	year of the snake	patʃu-lo	year of the bird

Jiăomùzú has no names for months, but rather uses seasons to indicate time within the year. There are two seasons, winter and summer. If there is a need for more detail or precision to pinpoint an event in time, usually the speaker will use a recurring event that takes place around that time as his reference point:

(215)	ndə	pəzar	ndzamləŋ	sci-psəŋ	tʃe	na-kə-sci	'nə-ŋos
	that	summer	world	birth-offering	LOC	PFT-NOM-be.born	EV-be
	He was born in summer, at the time of the Festival of Creation.						

The agricultural year revolves around a lunar cycle of twelve months, each of which has thirty days. The first half of the month, in which the moon is waxing, is called *kət^ho* or *t^howa*. The second half, with the waning moon, is called *kəmbot* or *ʃowa*. Days are counted in native numerals:

(216)	kət ^h o	kəsam	the third day of the waxing moon
	ʃowa	kəʃes	the second day of the waning moon

For dates as required for horoscopes and certain types of divination, the Tibetan system of counting months is used, simply saying 'the first month, the second month...'. The word for 'month, moon' as well as the numerals are loans from:

(217)			literary Tibetan
	zlawa	danbo	the first month
	zlawa	nespa	the second month
	zlawa	səmba	the third month
			ཇལ་བ་དང་པོ་ <i>zla-ba dang-po</i>
			ཇལ་བ་གཉིས་པ་ <i>zla-ba gnyes-pa</i>
			ཇལ་བ་གསུམ་པ་ <i>zla-ba gsum-pa</i>

There are also no names for the day of the month. Dates can be expressed either in Jiăomùzú numerals or in Chinese:

(218)	pəʃnu	kəsam-zʃi	ŋos
	today	three-ten	be
	Today is the thirtieth.		

- (219) ndə tə tə kəsam-zji-kərek w-əʃnu na-kə-sci 'nə-ŋos
 that C C three-ten-one 3s:GEN-day PFT-NOM-be.born EV-be
 He was born on the thirty-first.

When using the traditional lunar calendar rather than the modern calendar days are counted by *tsepsa*, the classifier for dates, with the Jiāomùzú numeral from one through to thirty:

- (220) tsepsa kərek the first day (of the month)
 tsepsa kənes the second day
 tsepsa kəsamzji the thirtieth day

To express things like 'weekend' or 'Monday' native speakers use Chinese terms, sometimes with an adapted meaning:

- (221) pəʃnu ʃiŋtʃʰiɿ 'nə-ŋos kə-rətʰa ma-ra
 today day EV-be NOM-read NEG-need
 Today it is the weekend, we don't need to go to school.

In example (221) *ʃiŋtʃʰi* is a loan from Chinese 星期 *xīngqī*, 'day', which in rGyalrong areas is now widely used in the sense of 'weekend', and by extension 'holiday, day off, break'. For workdays the Chinese names are used:

- (222) ʃiŋtʃʰijiɿ ka-rətʰa
 Monday INF-go.to.school
 go to school on Monday

In (222) *ʃiŋtʃʰiji*, from Chinese 星期一 *xīngqīyī*, literally 'day-one' is used for Monday, the first working day of the week.

In formal circumstances, such as the drawing up of a horoscope in the monastery or the yearly divination that take place at New Year, the monk will ask for year and time of birth, using Jiāomùzú vocabulary:

- (223) tʰi w-əlo tʰi w-əʒak
 what 3s:GEN-year what 3s:GEN-time
 What year, what date?

For birth year speakers make use of the traditional twelve year cycle of the Tibetan calendar with its animal symbols, or simply use Chinese, as they do for the date:

- (224) stag-lo wuꞌ jweꞌ sanꞌ hawꞌ
 tiger year five month three number
 The third day of the fifth month of the year of the tiger.

In (224) *wu jwe san haw* are from Chinese 五月三号 *wǔ yuè sān hào*.

Days are divided into several periods that each have their own name, beyond the normal morning, afternoon and evening, such as *fark^{ha}*, 'the time when the cock crows; the crack of dawn' and *tanam*, 'when the sun comes up; very early morning'. Traditionally rGyalrong also divided the day into set periods of hours, with a name for each period, still mentioned by some of the texts in the Collection Āwàng.¹¹⁶ These time references are, to my knowledge, no longer current among native speakers.

In telling time the use of Jiǎomùzú numerals is common, both for hours and minutes:

- (225) wuꞌo tətshot kəsam tʃe ji-rʃi
 he hour three LOC PFT-go₂
 He went at three o'clock.
- (226) xwotseꞌ tətshot kəsam təvek tʃe ji-məndə
 train hour three half LOC PFT-arrive
 The train arrived at half past three.
- (227) kəmɲi hənꞌ w-əŋk^{hu}? tʃe kə-rət^{ha} ra
 five minute 3s:GEN-back LOC NOM-study need
 Class will start in five minutes.

The word for minute, *hen*, is a loan from Chinese 分 *fēn*. Note that *hen* functions as a classifier, with the numeral preceding, while *təts^{hot}*, 'hour', behaves like a noun.

Prices of goods etc. can be given in Chinese but are often in Jiǎomùzú numerals. Often the price precedes the quantity. The classifier is not obligatory:

- (228) kərsat [mp^hjar] tʃe kə-tərpa 'nə-ŋos
 eight [CL] LOC one-pound EV-be
 It's eight (yuan) per pound.

Phone numbers are exclusively in Chinese, including emergency numbers:

- (229) ka-ŋalalat mə-na-ndo? rə jawjawliŋꞌ ka-nak^{ho}
 NOM-fight COND-PFT-have CON one-one-zero INF-call
 If there is a fight, call 110.

¹¹⁶ Zànlā Āwàng Cuòchéng and Prins 2006.

The emergency number here, 110, is from Chinese 一一零 *yāoyāolíng*. Numbers of public transportation such as busses or trains, hotel rooms, dorms, and house numbers most often use Chinese numerals but, especially if they are small numbers that are convenient to pronounce, Jiāomùzú numerals can occur. Age tends to be expressed with Jiāomùzú numerals more often than with Chinese numbers, though either one is acceptable.

There is no way to distinguish partitive and non-partitive numerals in Jiāomùzú. Adding contrast marker *tə* defines the entity as opposed to other entities around. However, the presence of *tə* does not single out some part of a whole, as the English 'some of the...' construction does. In (230a) the listener cannot know if there are more boys beside the two who went running, if only 'some of the boys' went running:

- (230a) *təzapu? tə kə-rjə?k ji-rji-ndʒ*
 boy C NOM-run PFT-go₂-3d
 The two boys went running.

- (230b) *təzapu? kə-rjə?k ji-rji-ndʒ*
 boy NOM-run PFT-go₂-3d
 Two boys went running.

Other quantifying words

Non-numeral quantifiers are modifiers of nouns and pronouns that indicate quantity or scope, such as English 'many, much, few, all, some'. Here is an overview of the most frequently used quantifiers in Jiāomùzú:

(231)	<i>wuvjot</i>	much, a lot, many	<i>rere...kaka</i>	each...one
	<i>təgnes</i>	(a) few	<i>ndo?mi?</i>	about; approximately
	<i>kəʒu</i>	all	<i>kətəp^hok</i>	several
	<i>kəmcok</i>	some, several	<i>t^homat^ho</i>	about; more or less
	<i>kəkərtokrtok</i>	some	<i>ndo?ndo?</i>	all; every
	<i>ca?m</i>	at most	<i>kərgirgi</i>	some
	<i>stamce</i>	all, entire	<i>kəmənʒu</i>	all, whole
	<i>tsat</i>	a little		

Some of the quantifiers derive from numerals, classifiers or verbs. Most often compounding or reduplication form quantifiers derived from other words:

(232)	ndo?	have (verb)	təp ^h ok	group (CL)
	mi?	not have (verb)	kə-	one
	ndo?mi?	about, approximately	kətəp ^h ok	several
	kərgi	one (numeral)	kərtok	one (numeral)
	kərgirgi	some, a few	kəkərtokrtok	some

Quantifiers occur after the noun they modify or stand alone as the head of a noun phrase. Marking for plural does not influence the place of the quantifier. But markers for indefiniteness or contrast cannot occur between the noun and the quantifier if the quantifier precedes the noun:

(233)	kəru?	kəzu tə	kəzu kəru?-no	
	Tibetan	all C	all Tibetan-p	
	all Tibetans		all Tibetans	
	kəzu kəru?-no	tə	kəru?-no kəzu tə	* kəzu tə kəru?no
	all Tibetan-p	C	Tibetan-p all C	
	all the Tibetans		all the Tibetans	

Some quantifiers have a prefix *kə*, as do non-process verbs. However, the quantifiers do not inflect for verbal categories like evidentiality and person and number. By this distinction *kəzu*, 'all' is a quantifier but *kəməca*, 'many' is a stative verb:

(234)	kəzu	all	* 'nazu	* 'nazujn
	kəməca	many	'na-məca	'na-məca-jn
			OBS-many	OBS-many-3p

Here are some sample sentences:

(235)	ts ^h e	wuvjot	'na-ndo?	tət ^h a	təgnes	ki	'na-ndo
	salt	much	OBS-have	book	few	IDEF	OBS-have
			There is a lot of salt.				There are a few books.
	tət ^h a	kəmcok	ndo?	ʃu	kətəp ^h ok	na-p ^h o-jn	
	book	several	have	tree	several	PFT-cut-3p	
			There is a pile of books.			Several trees were cut.	
	tandzam	w-ətɹə	tsat	tʃe	ɲos		
	bridge	3s:GEN-front	little	LOC	be		
			It's just before the bridge.				

Quantifiers can stand alone, like numerals, and be the head of a noun phrase:

- (236) kəʒu na-cu ɲa kəmcok kaku ɲ-əsi 'na-vi
 all PFT-rot I some buy 1s:GEN-heart OBS-come
 All were rotten. I want to buy some.

Quantifiers can occur with markers of indefiniteness and contrast:

- (237) ndoʔndoʔ tə ji-jo^ɔ kəmɲi kaka 'nə-ɲos
 all C one-jiăo five each EV-be
 Each one is five jiăo.

- (238) wuvjot ki na-k^{hit}-j
 many IDEF PFT-pick-1p
 We picked an amazingly large amount.

They also occur with prominence marker *kə*:

- (239) piʒo^ɔ w-apkap kəkərtokrtok kə nə mbərzaʔ kə 'na-vəja-jn
 beer 3s:GEN-cap some PR CON knife PR OBS-fetch-3p
 Some open beer bottles with a knife,

 kəkərtokrtok kə nə ɲ-əʃwa kə 'na-ci-jn
 some PR CON 3p:GEN-tooth PR OBS-open-3p
 some use their teeth.

There is no difference between partitive and non-partitive quantifiers in Jiăomùzú.

- (240a) təza-ɲo w-əvek tə comco-vu 'nə-ɲos
 boy-p 3s:GEN-half C Jiăomùzú-person EV-be
 Some of the boys are from Jiăomùzú.

- (240b) təza-ɲo laŋtʃin ka-leʔt kərgaʔ kə-təp^hok
 boy-p ball NOM-hit NOM-like one-group
 Some boys like football.

In (240a) *təvek* literally means 'half', but it can be used to express 'a part of', as can *kətap^hok*. There are also no special partitive negative quantifiers. If such a difference in meaning has to be expressed normally it is done through number marking, the use of contrast or indefiniteness markers or other strategies:

(241a) tʃəʔ jirpe tapuʔ-no kərtok ʒik ʃi-'a-rət^ha-jn
 this village boy-p one also NEG-NEV-study-3p
 None (not even one) of the boys of this village went to school.

(241b) təzapuʔ ji-kə-vu miʔ-jn
 boy PFT-NOM-come₂ not.have-3p
 No boys came.

It is possible to indicate a difference in meaning through word order:

(242a) kətəp^hok təza-no mbotan ka-leʔt 'na-rgaʔ-jn
 several boy-p ball NOM-hit OBS-like-3p
 Some of the boys like to play football.

(242b) təza kətəp^hok mbotan kaleʔt kərgaʔ makəndra 'na-ndoʔ
 man several ball hit NOM-like very OBS-have
 Some guys love to play basketball.

If the quantifier is emphasised by putting it before the noun, as in (242a), the sentence implies that there are other boys in the context of the conversation who do not like to play. Sentence (242b), in which the quantifier occurs after the noun, is a general statement without any reference to a specific group of guys, some of whom love to play.

d. Classifiers

Classifiers mark lexical items as belonging to the same semantic class, based on features like shape, size, colour, animacy, movability etc. They occur when a noun is also modified by a numeral, demonstrative or certain non-numerical quantifiers. The Jiăomùzú dialects have both bound classifiers, which cannot occur independently, and free classifiers based on nouns, though Jiăomùzú does not very frequently employ them. Most nouns by far do not require a classifier and are modified by a numeral or quantifier only:

(243) tapuʔ kəsam three children
 mbotan kəmɲi five balls

For those nouns that do take a classifier, the use of the classifier is often optional, as for *məntoʔk*, 'flower'. The classifier comes after the numeral:

(244)	məntoʔk kəsam	məntoʔk kəsam pʃu	kəsam pʃu
	flower three	flower three CL	three CL
	three flowers	three stems of flowers	three stems

The classifier here is *pʃu*, which is used with objects of long thin shape. Nouns that take *pʃu* include *məntoʔk*, 'flower', *ʃopʃop*, 'fish', *kʰapri*, 'snake', *takʰu*, 'cigarette', *ɲangən*, 'river' and *scape*, 'sword' - but not *mbərzaʔ*, 'knife'. Other commonly used classifiers in Jiăomùzú are:

(245)	mpʰjar	sheet, layer; for flat rectangular things
	bəm	pair
	pʃu	for long thin things
	kor	pack load (animals as well as humans, carried on the back)
	tʰən	for food; meal
	kpʰu	for trees
	tʃʰe	set; for clothes
	cʰa	time; turn
	mpʰrəm	line, row, queue
	rdok	piece

The classifiers are unmarked when used with a numeral but are prefixed by *kə-*, which derives from the numeral *kərek* or *kərgi*, 'one', when they express the meaning 'one of...'. Classifiers follow the noun they modify, with numerals inserted before the classifier:

(246)	mpʰjar	classifier for flat rectangular things, 'sheet', 'unit of money'
	poŋeʔj kə-mpʰjar	poŋeʔj zʃi mpʰjar
	money one-CL	money ten CL
	one yuan	ten yuan
	ʃokʃoʔk kəsam pʰjar	* ʃokʃoʔk kəsam kəmpʰjar
	paper three CL	
	three sheets of paper.	

Frequently only a numeral and a classifier are used, with the head noun implicit:

(247)	tʰistok kə ra	kəmɲi mpʰjar
	how.many PR need	five CL
	How many do you want?	Five (sheets).

In some cases it is also possible to have just the numeral without the classifier, but it seems to depend on the classifier. A classifier such as *mp^hjar*, which is extensively used in daily conversation, will rarely be omitted. Some non-numeral quantifiers can be modified by classifiers, as in (248) where quantifier *wuvjot*, 'many', is modified by classifier *c^ha*, 'time'. Quantifiers, like numerals, are placed before the classifier. Note that the classifier in its turn is modified by locative marker *-j*:

- (248) *ndə tange wuvjot c^ha-j to-'a-ku-w*
 that clothes many CL-LOC PFT-NEV-buy-3s
 He often bought clothes. (He bought clothes many times.)

Nouns can be used as classifiers, especially those nouns that measure volume, time or distance. This subset of classifiers is often called measure words. Because the nouns in this subset behave like other classifiers I call them all classifiers in this study. As with other classifiers, *kə-* is prefixed to the noun to express 'one'. The prefix does not replace the normal noun prefixes *tə-* and *ta-*:

(249)	<i>k^həza?</i>	<i>k^hrə?w kə-k^həza?</i>	<i>k^hrə?w kebdu k^həza?</i>
	bowl	rice one-CL	rice four CL
		one bowl of rice	four bowls of rice
	<i>tərpa</i>	<i>pakʃu kə-tərpa</i>	<i>pakʃu kəpəs tərpa</i>
	pound	apple one-CL	apple two CL
		one pound of apples	two pounds of apples

Unlike quantifiers classifiers cannot indicate greater measure by reduplication of the root. For example, doubling the root *jam* of 'pot' does not form the meaning 'many pots':

(250)	<i>tajam</i>	pot	* <i>tajamjam</i>	* <i>tajam tajam</i>
	<i>k^həza?</i>	bowl	* <i>k^həza?za?</i>	* <i>k^həza? k^həza?</i>

It is, however, possible to use reduplication or repetition of classifiers when they are marked with *kə-* for 'one':

- (251) *wuʃo k^hrə?w kə-k^həza? kə-k^həza? to-ndza-w*
 he rice one-CL one-CL PFT-eat-3s
 He ate bowl after bowl of rice.

Sometimes a noun is modified by another classifier which can, in its turn, be modified by a numeral to express volume or measure, as in (252):

- (252) *təjam kəsam zəm kə-ndʒəʔt ki 'na-ndoʔ*
 pot three litre NOM-hold IDEF OBS-have
 There is a pot of ten litres. (There is a pot that holds ten litres.)

Traditionally distance is not expressed by standardised units of ten, as in the metric system, but by nouns derived from geographical features, as is the system of geographical direction marking:

- (253) *kəʃpət kandʒek kənes tanənes stəki na-ndrek-ŋ*
 livestock chase two stretch like.that PFT-pursue-1s
 I chased the cow for some two kilometres.

- (254) *kəʃoʔ kərtok na-p^ho k^honə ŋa ʒigəʒiga wuvjot na-ndʒek-ŋ*
 sheep one PFT-flee CON I bend many PFT-pursue-1s
 One sheep ran away and I chased it all over the place.

- (255) *ʒiga kəsam na-ndʒek-ŋ k^honə ka-vəja ʒi-c^ha-ŋ*
 bend three PFT-chase-1s CON NOM-catch PFT/NEG-able-1s
 I chased it for a distance of three bends but I could not catch it.

In (253) *tənənes*, 'stretch', literally means 'resting point'. Since in the rGyalrong area traditionally all distances were travelled by foot, there were resting points at regular intervals along the road, such as a convenient rock or a shady tree. By extension, the distance between two resting points became called *tənənes*, the stretch of road one can walk before one needs a break. The word *ʒiga*, 'bend' in (254) and (255) literally means bend in a river or road. It is also used as a measure of distance in a known environment to indicate how far things are in relation to one another. The measure has direct relation to the road or the river it refers to. It cannot be used for just any river or road, since it is then unclear how long the distance between bends is or even if there are bends at all. Another traditional measure of distance in Jiāomùzú is *təmbriʃam*, which is a length of twenty meters. The measure is used to express distance between two villages as well as shorter measures, such as the width of a house. Other frequently used classifiers of this type are *təʃə*, 'one lap', for a distance back and forth, *c^ha*, 'time, turn', *təjam*, 'pot'.

Classifiers can modify the head of a genitive construction:

(256)	<i>tsəla</i>	<i>kə-tsəla w-əp^hok</i>
	moon, month	1-CL 3s:GEN-salary
		a month's salary
	<i>təpa</i>	<i>kə-pa w-ərkok</i>
	year	1-CL 3s:GEN-grain.harvest
		a year's worth of grain

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1039-1043.

- Time words can function as classifiers, with the numeral before the classifier:

- For some time words there is a noun as well as a separate classifier, which cannot be used interchangeably. For example, Jiǎomùzú borrowed the noun for 'year', *təlo*, from Tibetan ལོ *lo*. But the classifier used with *təlo* is *pa*:

- The same principle holds for the noun and classifier 'moon' or 'month'. Jiǎomùzú uses *tsəla* for 'moon' as well as 'month':

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In some instances classifiers borrowed from Chinese become nouns in Jiǎomùzú, as in (263). The Chinese classifier 角 *jiǎo*, 'one tenth of one unit of money', is in Sìchuān dialect pronounced as [ʃo]. Prefixed with the Chinese numeral 一 *yī* for 'one' the construction occurs as a noun followed by a numeral:

- (263) ndoʔndoʔ tə jʃoᵛ kəmŋi kaka ʼnə-ŋos
 each C one.jiǎo five each EV-be
 Each one is five jiǎo.

Some of these reinterpreted classifiers then require a classifier of their own, although such constructions have a syntactic twist:

- (264) ndə arliŋliŋɣuᵛ nɪjanᵛ ndə w-əpa na-kə-sci ʼnə-ŋos
 that 2009 year that 3s:GEN-CL PFT-NOM-be.born EV-be
 He was born in 2009.

In example (264) *arliŋliŋɣu nɪjan* is borrowed from Chinese 二零零九年 *èrlínglíngjiǔ nián*, 'the year 2009', where *nián* is a classifier. In the Jiǎomùzú sentence the Chinese numeral with the Chinese classifier occur followed by the Jiǎomùzú classifier for 'year', *pa*. The Chinese construction of numeral plus classifier is clearly treated as a unit and considered a noun by native speakers. But unlike the normal classifiers *-pa* in (264) occurs as the head of a genitive construction, with the demonstrative *ndə* as the possessor. The whole construct is perhaps best translated as 'He was born in 2009, [in] that year'.

e. Prominence marker *kə*

The Jiǎomùzú marker *kə* usually occurs in previous studies on rGyalrong labelled as 'case marker' or 'ergativity marker'. In Jiǎomùzú *kə* can be used to mark ergativity and to disambiguate subject and object, as well as for the marking of prominence of one or more constituents in a clause or sentence and tracking of subjects to ensure referential continuity across clause and sentence boundaries. But actually all those uses are rather a by-product of the marker's overarching function. The primary function of prominence marking with *kə* is to apportion prominence to a constituent relative to the prominence of other constituents in the sentence. Prominence marking functions as a watchdog: it keeps track of the prominence of each constituent in the clause or sentence relative to the prominence of all other constituents. Jiǎomùzú constituents each have their own level of prominence, based on their position in the sentence and on the Jiǎomùzú animacy hierarchy. When the prominence due a certain constituent is lost to another constituent, due to operations that influence speaker empathy or change prominence of constituents such as topicalisation and attention low marking, prominence marker *kə* occurs to even out the imbalance. In some cases adjustment of the prominence balance must occur. In these cases marking with *kə* is obligatory. In other cases,

when the basic balance of constituents is not in danger, a speaker can use *kə* to give prominence to one or more constituents of his choice. The Jiāomùzú marker *kə* is a discourse marker rather than a case marker. But because most authors discuss the equivalent of Jiāomùzú *kə* in terms of case, and because this grammar does not have a separate chapter on information structure, I discuss *kə* here in the section on noun adjuncts. The following subsection gives an overview of the functions of *kə*, first as a marker of prominence used at the speaker's discretion, and then as the obligatory marker of prominence in situations where constituents' relative prominence needs adjusting. The second subsection contains a discussion of ergativity and case, and the role of *kə* as described in previous studies of rGyalrong varieties.

For the purposes of the following discussion I define 'discourse' as a structural series of sentences, the development of which constitutes a coherent whole and is recognised as such by speakers of a language. A conversation and a story are different forms of discourse. A 'context' is a situation defined by the interlocutors: a set of circumstances given a cultural interpretation.¹¹⁷ I base my definitions of empathy, topic-comment and focus-presupposition on Avery Andrews' overview of pragmatic functions of the noun phrase and on the work of Lambrecht.¹¹⁸ I define 'empathy' as the point of view taken by the speaker on the situation under discussion. The 'topic' in a sentence is the matter of current interest which indicates what the sentence is about while 'comment' is the remainder of the sentence which is relevant to and provides information about the topic. The body of a sentence is the 'presupposition', which represents a situation with which the hearer is presumed to be familiar, or old information. The 'focus' noun phrase gives the identity of an unpredictable participant that is chosen to supply the missing argument in an open proposition.

The use of prominence marker kə

Jiāomùzú has a prominence marker *kə*, which occurs when a speaker wants to give prominence to one or several constituents in a sentence. In Jiāomùzú sentences, which have a basic subject-object-verb order, the first slot has inherently more prominence than the second slot. In neutral sentences the first slot is occupied by the subject, the second slot by the object. In a neutral sentence, that is a sentence in which each constituent has prominence according to its normal place in the sentence, no marking with *kə* occurs. By marking a constituent with *kə* a speaker gives prominence to that particular constituent. Marking with *kə* can be used to signal subtle differences in meaning by shifting the focus from one constituent to another. Consider the following examples:

(265a) *nənʃo ɲa ko-top-ŋ*
 you I 2/1-hit-1s
 You will hit me.

(265b) *nənʃo kə ɲa ko-top-ŋ*
 you PR I 2/1-hit-1s
 You will hit me.

Say, for instance, that the object *ɲa*, 'I' in (265a) anticipates being hit if a certain task is not done to the satisfaction of the subject *nənʃo*, 'you'. Sentence (265a) without *kə* is a simple statement. The

¹¹⁷ These definitions follow Foley and Van Valin (1996: 282-283).

¹¹⁸ Andrews (1996: 77-80); Lambrecht (1994: 117-131, 206-218, 334-340).

sentence provides information about what ‘you’ will do. It answers the question ‘What will you do next?’ The subject is also the topic, *nəŋɔ*, ‘you’. The comment is *ŋa kotopɪ*, ‘will hit me’. In terms of focus, the question that is answered by (265a) is ‘Who will you hit (if the task is not performed properly)?’ The presupposition is that ‘you will hit x’, the missing argument or focus is ‘me’. The only difference between the two sentences of (265) is the occurrence of *kə* with the subject *nəŋɔ*, ‘you’. Sentence (265b) is not the answer to ‘What will you do next?’ The question answered by (265b) is ‘Who will hit me?’ The presupposed information here is ‘x will hit me’. The focus of (265b) is *nəŋɔ*. In sentence (265b), where the subject is marked by *kə*, the speaker gives prominence to the subject which is in focus. This sentence might be uttered by someone who either is incredulous that ‘you’ can have the nerve to think ‘you’ can hit him, or by someone who is scared and does not want to go near ‘you’ because he knows or anticipates that ‘you’ will hit him. Another example along these lines is (266):

(266a) <i>ŋa nəŋɔ ta-top-n</i> I you 1/2-hit-2s I will hit you.	(266b) <i>ŋa kə nəŋɔ ta-top-n</i> I PR you 1/2-hit-2s I will hit you.

The first sentence, (266a), is the neutral form. The subject *ŋa*, ‘I’ is also the topic. Sentence (266a) provides information about what the topic *ŋa* will do. Focus is on *nəŋɔ*, ‘you’, as (266a) answers the question ‘Who will I hit?’ The second sentence (266b) with *kə* can be used in situations where ‘I’ am near losing my temper, maybe because ‘you’ have been pestering me for a long time. The presupposition in (266b) is ‘x will hit you’. The question answered by (266b) is ‘Who will hit you?’ The focus in (266b) has shifted from *nəŋɔ*, ‘you’ to *ŋa*, ‘I’. In all these cases the presence of *kə* signals focus on the subject. It would be tempting to consider *kə* as a focus marker. But note that topicalisation by switching the object *nəŋɔ*, ‘you’ to the first slot in the sentence puts prominence on the object, implying that there may be other people around who ‘I’ will not hit. Still *ŋa*, ‘I’ is marked with *kə* :

- (266c) *nəŋɔ ŋa kə ta-top-n*
you I PR 1/2-hit-2s
You I will hit.

In the case of (266c) *kə* is obligatory and occurs to give due prominence to the syntactic subject, to balance the prominence obtained for the object by moving it into the first slot. I discuss constructions in which *kə* is obligatory later in this section. Here I will just note that *kə* does not exclusively mark focus, so that focus marker is not an appropriate term. I have chosen to call *kə* a prominence marker. For more on topicalisation, see section 8.1 of the chapter on sentences.

It is possible to have two or even several prominence markers that give prominence to different constituents in one sentence. In example (267) both the subject *wuɔ*, ‘he’ and the reason for the writing, *poŋeʔj*, ‘money’, occur with *kə*. In (268) the speaker gives prominence to the subject and agent *amɲi*, ‘ancestor’ as well as the instrument *ʃamtok*, ‘hammer’:

(267) wuʃo kə poŋeʔj w-ətʃʰat kə sonam w-ascok na-laʔt-w
 he PR money 3s:GEN-reason PR bSod.nams 3s:GEN-letter PFT-write₂-3s
 He wrote to bSod-nams about the money.

(268) ampi kə nə ʃamtok kə wuʃo w-awo-j kərek
 ancestor PR CON hammer PR he 3s:GEN-head-LOC one
 The ancestor dealt him a blow with the iron hammer.

to-kə-laʔt-jn 'nə-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s:HON EV-be

It is entirely up to the speaker which constituents he chooses to highlight. For example, in (269) two constituents are given prominence, both of which give reasons why the implicit subject fell asleep:

(269a) karama ʃi kə təspap kə w-əmɲak na-ʃu
 work much PR exhaustion PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-sleep
 Exhausted by the hard work [he] fell asleep.

The logical order of the sentence is 'because he had worked hard he was exhausted, and because he was exhausted, he fell asleep'. It is possible to leave out the first marker, so that *karama ʃi*, 'much work' and *təspap*, 'exhaustion' form one unit giving the reason for the subject falling asleep. But omitting only the second marker gives an ungrammatical construction:

(269b) karama ʃi təspap kə w-əmɲak na-ʃu
 work much exhaustion PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-sleep
 Exhausted by the hard work he fell asleep.

(269c) * karama ʃi kə təspap wəmɲak naʃu

Example (269c) is ungrammatical because without *kə* the logical link between the immediate reason, which is his exhaustion, and the action expressed by the verb, his falling asleep, is no longer there. Prominence marking can give prominence not only to subjects and objects, but also other constituents such as adverbials:

(270) ɲa nəŋʃo nə-pʰa-j kə tətʰa nə-kʰam-ŋ
 I you 2s:GEN-vicinity-LOC PR book PFT-pass-1s
 I handed you a book.

In example (270) *nəŋʃo* looks like an indirect object but actually the constituent here is *nəŋʃo nəpʰaj*, 'to the place in your proximity, towards you', which is a locative. The semantics of the verb *kakʰam*, 'hand, pass' imply that the book will be passed on to a third person, it cannot remain with the person

it was handed to. The locative in (270) expresses a location which the book passes on its way to its final destination, a person or place beyond the scope of the sentence.

Prominence marking is used to give prominence to constituents that express a variety of semantic roles, such as agent, instrument, cause, reason, source, manner and translativ, as well as subject and object. Marking depends on the importance or relevance the speaker accords the specific information of the marked constituent in relation to the information given in the other constituents of the sentence. Below are some examples of *kə* marking different constituents and different roles. The first sentence shows *kə* giving prominence to the subject and agent *amɲi*, 'ancestor':

- (271) amɲi kə nə wuɟo w-awo-j ʃamtok kərek to-kə-laʔt-jn
 ancestor PR CON he 3s:GEN-head-LOC hammer one PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s:HON
 The ancestor dealt him a blow with the iron hammer.
- 'nə-ŋos
 EV-be

Example (272) has a topicalised object which is also marked for focus:

- (272) pakʃu kə lhamo pkraʃis nə-mbuʔ-w
 apple PR lHa.mo bKra.shis PFT-give-3s
 An apple is what lHa-mo gave bKra-shis.

Example (273) highlights the means or manner or implement with which something is done, marking the instrument *k^hajcak*, 'hammer':

- (273) k^hajcak kə tərmu na-sə-top-ŋ
 hammer PR person PFT-CAUS-hit-1s
 I hit him with a hammer.

Translatives, constructions in which a subject causes an object to take action or acquire a position, can be marked with *kə*:

- (274) jino kə wuɟo j-ascok kə-leʔt to-sə-ve-j
 we:e PR he 1p:GEN-letter NOM-write₁ PFT-CAUS-do-1p
 We appointed him as secretary.

Note that often in sentences with *kə* marking agent or instrument the verb will be marked for indirect causativity by *-sə* or *-sa*, indicating that there is an outside agent or instrument that causes the action on the recipient or goal, rather than the subject acting directly on the object. The literal meaning of sentence (274), for example, is 'I caused him to be hit by using a hammer'. For more on the use of different causativity markers, see section 7.8.h and 7.8.i in the chapter on verbs.

Prominence marker *kə* can occur with constituents that signal cause of an action, a reason or a result. In these situations the marked constituent is often an adverbial phrase or other constituent rather than the subject or object:

- (275) tamk^hu kə-neʔk tə k^halu kə to-kə-va-w k^honə
 cloth NOM-black C wind PR PFT-NOM-do-3s CON
 Because the wind blew, the black cloth made a flapping sound in the wind.

tʃəʔ sok vej-vej-vej to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 this like flap-flap-flap PFT-NOM-say EV-be

- (276) w-apa nə w-əʒder kə w-aʃcu nə-ʃlak tʃəʔ tʃe nə...
 3s:GEN-father CON 3s:GEN-afraid PR 3s:GEN-urine PFT-pass this LOC CON
 When his father wet his pants out of fear....

- (277) karama ʃi təspap kə w-əmpak kə-ʃu
 work much exhaustion PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-close
 Exhausted by the hard work he fell asleep.

To give prominence to source, marker *kə* also can appear:

- (278) tamar təlo kə nə-ka-va 'nə-ŋos
 butter milk PR PFT-NOM-do EV-be
 Butter comes from milk.

Marker *kə* also occurs with constituents signalling manner:

- (279) w-əza w-ajiʔk w-əŋk^huʔ-j təʃuʔ c^hot c^hot kə-cəs kə
 3s:GEN-son 3s:GEN-hand 3s:GEN-back-LOC water plink plink NOM-say PR
 The water dripped onto his son's hand, making a plinking sound.

na-kə-vu na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-conme₂ PFT-NEV-be

Another example for manner is (280). The speaker gives prominence to the way things are done:

- (280) karts^he kəngu w-əngem tə w-ap^hispo-j ka-rko
 deer nine 3s:GEN-corpse C 3s:GEN-armpit-LOC NOM-put
 He put the nine dead deer under his armpit, that's how he managed.
- ndə sok w-ərca tə kə to-kə-c^ha na-kə-ŋos 'nə-ŋos
 that like 3s:GEN-likeness C PR PFT-NOM-able PFT-NOM-be EV-be

The second clause in the previous example shows that prominence marker *kə* can occur with noun phrases modified by contrast marker *tə*. Unlike contrast marker *tə*, prominence marker *kə* does not cover just the scope of a noun phrase but rather indicates how the speaker wants the hearer to interpret the importance of different sentence constituents in relation to each other. Prominence marking functions on the level of the sentence or clause. Prominence markers occur after *tə*. The function of *kə* and *tə* can seem rather similar. But there are subtle differences of meaning depending on which marker is used:

- (281a) pkraʃis pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
 bKra.shis apple PFT-give-3s
 bKra-shis gave apples.
- (281b) pkraʃis tə pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
 bKra.shis C apple PFT-give-3s
 [Only] bKra-shis gave apples.
- (281c) pkraʃis kə pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
 bKra.shis PR apple PFT-give-3s
 bKra-shis gave apples.
- (281d) pkraʃis tə kə pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w (manʃi tərmu-ŋo t^hi ʒik
 bKra.shis C PR apple PFT-give-3s (other person-p what also
 bKra-shis gave apples (the other people did not give anything at all).
- nə-mbuʔ-jn miʔ)
 PFT-give-3p not.have)
- (281e) *pkraʃis kə tə pakʃu nəmbuʔw

The five sentences above all express the same idea: bKra-shis gave apples. They may be used in the context of people discussing the gifts that different guests brought for the birth of a baby. The neutral sentence is (281a). In (281a) the topic is bKra-shis. The sentence gives information about

what bKra-shis did in the comment *pakfu nambu?w*, ‘give apples’. The sentence does not give any indication about possible other guests and what they did or did not give. In sentence (281b) the subject bKra-shis is marked with contrast marker *tə*. The contrast here is between bKra-shis and his gift and all the other guests and their gifts. The sentence indicates that there were other people who also gave things, but only bKra-shis gave apples, see the discussion on contrast marking in section 4.3.a. The question answered by (281b) is ‘What did bKra-shis give?’, with the answer *pakfu*, ‘apples’, being the focus of the sentence. In sentence (281c) prominence marker *kə* gives prominence to the giver, bKra-shis, as the source of the apples. The question answered by (281c) is ‘Who gave apples?’, with focus on bKra-shis. The question answered by example (281d) is ‘Who gave the apples?’, indicating the focus of the sentence is on bKra-shis. Note that this sentence is normally followed by another clause or sentence, in which information about the other guests is forthcoming. The marking with *kə* gives prominence to bKra-shis as a giver of a gift, indicating that the other guests did not give gifts. This is one case in which the scope of *kə* goes beyond the noun phrase. For a discussion on marking with *kə* as a referential tracking device, see the discussion of example (294) below. Contrast marker *tə* in this context, since bKra-shis is the only person in the company who gives a gift, indicates that bKra-shis gave apples, rather than some other kind of fruit, or tea, or butter. Sentence (281e), in which the place of *tə* and *kə* is inverted, is not grammatical.

Marking with *kə* is normally a matter of the speaker's discretion. But marking becomes obligatory when the hearer's attention is with an unmarked constituent in the sentence rather than with the constituent which, in the normal course of events, would be the more prominent and thus be the locus of the hearer's attention. In such sentences the prominence marker *kə* must occur with the constituent that by rights should be the most prominent, to balance the unmarked constituent which has drawn the hearer's attention and restore the internal relative prominence of constituents in the sentence. I have found four scenarios which trigger the obligatory use of *kə*. They all involve the syntactic subject of a sentence or clause, which is normally the most prominent constituent in a sentence and the locus of the hearer's attention.

In the first scenario, a change of constituent order through topicalisation causes the constituent that normally occupies the first slot, the subject, to be in the second slot. As mentioned before, in sentences with a neutral word order, in which the subject occupies the first slot, followed by the object, the arguments remain unmarked, no matter the person of the argument, unless the speaker wants to give prominence to one or the other constituent. However, the arguments in a neutral sentence do not have equal prominence. The subject is in the first slot, and has most prominence, meaning that the hearer's empathy is with the subject. The object is in the second slot and is less prominent, that is to say, the empathy of the hearer is less with the object than with the subject. Topicalisation reverses constituent order, putting the object in the first slot with subject in the second, for the express reason of giving more prominence to the object. The hearer's empathy accordingly is with the constituent in the first slot, which is now the unmarked object, while the subject in second slot is less prominent. This still does not matter much if the hearer is clear which constituent is the subject, and thus the appropriate locus of his empathy. As discussed in section 8.1 of the chapter on sentences, in most cases, person and number marking on the verb as well as the semantic context of the sentence is enough for the hearer to pick the right constituent as the subject.

But in some situations neither the marking on the verb nor the constituent order give enough indication for the hearer to know which constituent is the subject. In the Jiǎomùzú dialects in such situations the subject must be marked with prominence marker *kə*, to show that it is inherently the most prominent constituent in the sentence, even though it is in the second slot. This kind of ambiguity only occurs in sentences with two third person arguments. The examples in (282) clarify this issue. Sentence (282a) has neutral constituent order, with the subject *bSod-nams* in the first slot, so no marking occurs. But in a topicalised sentence such as (282b), with object *bSod-nams* in the first slot and subject *bKra-shis* in the second slot, the subject is marked with *kə*:

- (282a) sonam pkraʃis na-sat-w
 bSod.nams bKra.shis PFT-kill-3s
 bSod-nams killed bKra-shis.
- (282b) sonam pkraʃis kə na-sat-w
 bSod.nams bKra.shis PR PFT-kill-3w
 It was bSod-nams that bKra-shis killed.

If *kə* does not occur in such situations, the hearer will automatically think of the argument occupying the first slot as the most prominent and thus as the subject. Prominence marking with *kə* functions to disambiguate sentences in which syntactic roles have become ambiguous because of topicalisation. The object remains in the first slot and so receives emphasis. The prominence due to the subject is ensured by marking with *kə*.

A second situation in which marking with *kə* is obligatory is when the object in a sentence attracts more attention than the subject because it ranks higher on the animacy hierarchy which the Jiǎomùzú dialects employ. In the verb chapter I show that Jiǎomùzú has the following animacy hierarchy: 1 > 2 > 3 human > 3 animate, non-human > 3 inanimate. Transitive relations which have an object that outranks the subject are marked on the verb as inverse. To some extent the animacy hierarchy also influences the occurrence of prominence marker *kə*. In sentences with a third person human subject and a first person human object, subject marking with *kə* is optional. Since the hearer's attention will rest with the object rather than with the subject, even though the subject is in the first slot, the verb is often marked for passive with *ŋo-*, as in (283):

- (283) pkraʃis [kə] ŋa ŋo-mbuʔ-ŋ
 bKra.shis [PR] I PAS-give-1s
 [It] will be given to me by bKra-shis.

However, third person non-human subjects must be marked with *kə*- if they occur with first person objects:

- (284) *təwaʔm kə ɲa no-najo-ŋ* * *təwaʔm ɲa nonajon*
 bear PR I AF/PFT-wait-1s
 The bear waited for me.

Example (284) shows a sentence with a third person subject and a first person object. The subject is in the first slot, the most prominent slot. Still marking with *kə* occurs. However, it is a third person animate subject, while the object is first person human. The prominence marker appears to offset the loss of prominence at the subject slot because the hearer's attention is drawn to the first person human, which outranks third person animate, in the object slot. Sentence (285) shows again a third person subject with a first person object. Marking with *kə* appears even though the subject is in the first slot. Clearly the demon, though animate, is considered less than human:

- (285) *tʃəʔ tə bdət tə kə jji-ɲo pəʒək wu-veravla-j konə*
 this C demon C PR we:1-p again 3/1:INV-destroy-1p MD
 This demon will once again destroy us all!

In my data the only instances of obligatory marking of a third person subject with *kə* due to a higher ranking object as defined by the animacy hierarchy is for third person non-human subjects with first person objects and third person inanimate subjects with third person human and animate objects. All other third person subjects can occur with first and second person objects without triggering obligatory marking with *kə*, as in (286), which has an example of a third person subject with a second person object:

- (286) *pkraʃis nənʒo to-najon-n me*
bKra.shis you 3/2-wait-2s INTR
 Will bKra-shis wait for you?

A third situation in which marking with *kə* is obligatory is when an unmarked constituent attracts unwarranted prominence because that constituent undergoes or experiences an action which draws the empathy of the hearer, taking prominence away from the rightful locus, the first constituent in the sentence. In such cases also the constituent that naturally would be most prominent, the constituent in the first slot of a neutral sentence, must be marked by *kə*. Example (287) shows such a sentence. The sentence is not topicalised, the subject is in the first slot. There is no ambiguity as to which constituent is subject or object. Also there is no problem with the person hierarchy, since the subject is first person. Still marker *kə* occurs with subject *jino*, 'we', drawing the hearer's empathy there. Though there is no unclarity here about syntactic roles, *kə* cannot be omitted:

(287a) *jino kə wuʃo j-ascok kə-ləʔt to-sə-va-j*
 we:e PR he 1p:GEN-letter NOM-write₁ PFT-CAUS-do-1p
 We appointed him as secretary.

* *jino wuʃo jascok kəleʔt tosavaj*

The issue in this sentence is one of double action. In this simple sentence with just one clause the hearer's empathy is with *wuʃo*, 'he', because he is involved in an action, he is changing and becoming something else, a secretary. However, the actual agent of the action, the cause of the change in status that *wuʃo* is experiencing or undertaking, is *jino*, 'we'. The speaker must mark *jino* with *kə* so that the hearer will give appropriate prominence to the actual agent of the main action in the clause, with is *tosəvaj*, literally 'caused to do'. It is not ambiguity about syntactic or semantic roles that makes use of *kə* here obligatory, but unclarity about which is the main event in the clause: the becoming of secretary or the causing to become secretary. The same sentence without prominence marking becomes grammatical only when there is a second clause giving the hearer more information about *wuʃo*, firmly establishing *wuʃo* and his actions as the topical constituent for the hearer. It is for example possible to have (287b):

(287b) *jino wuʃo j-ascok kə-ləʔt to-sə-va-j koronə*
 we:e he 1p:GEN-letter NOM-write₂ PFT-CAUS-do-1p but
 We appointed him as our secretary,

kə-haʔw ma-ʔnə-ʃpeʔ-w
 NOM-good NEG-OBS-able₃-3s
 but he doesn't do a very good job.

In a sentence with two clauses the hearer finds out more about *wuʃo* and how the action of becoming secretary panned out. The hearer, who put his empathy with *wuʃo* in the first clause, is vindicated, in knowing that indeed the main locus of the action is *wuʃo* and what happens to him. The grammatical subject *jino* is what caused the events but it is not the topic. Prominence marker *kə* does not need to appear. If there is only one clause, as in (287a), no more information on *wuʃo*, 'him' is forthcoming and the speaker needs to give prominence to *jino*, 'we' to balance the constituents. The use of prominence marking in (287a) and (287b) shows that *kə* does not mark syntactic prominence for subject or semantic prominence for agent, but rather it marks what the speaker thinks is important about an action or event if the hearer's empathy may be with another constituent because the locus of the action is there. Marker *kə* functions as a tracking device for prominence with a scope larger than just the constituent it marks. Marking *wuʃo* for prominence also leads to ungrammaticality:

(287c) * *jino wuʃo kə jascok kəva tosavaj*

The sentence is ungrammatical because marking with *kə* links *wuʃo* with the main action of *tosəvaj*. But the person and number marking on the verb as well as the genitive marking on *jascok*, 'letter' agree with first person *jino*, not with third person *wuʃo*. Verb agreement in this case might be considered inconclusive, since Jiăomùzú verbs agree with object if there is a third person subject, as shown in (287d). Note that *wuʃo* is now in the first slot, the subject position, and *tascok*, 'letter' is not marked for genitive. The sentence is ungrammatical if *tascok* is marked for first person plural genitive with *j-*:

- (287d) *wuʃo kə jino tascok kə-va to-sə-va-j*
 he PR we:e letter NOM-do PFT-CAUS-do-1p
 He made us secretaries.

- (287e) * *wuʃo kə jino jascok kəva tosəvaj*

And finally, the sentence is ungrammatical if *jino* is in the proper subject slot, *wuʃo* is marked for prominence with *kə* and the genitive marking on *tascok* is *w-* for third person singular rather than *j-* for first person plural:

- (287f) * *jino wuʃo kə wascok kəva tosəvaj*

Third person *wuʃo* cannot be marked for prominence unless there is agreement on the other constituents.

This sort of referent tracking is also common in quotes, in which the subject is almost always marked with *kə*. Jiăomùzú quotes are always direct, which means that the action takes place in the complement clause. The empathy of the hearer is drawn back to the subject of the main clause by prominence marker *kə*. Note that *kə* occurs not only with transitive verbs but also with intransitives like *kacəs*, 'say':

- (288) *nəŋʃo kə ŋa ma-tʃʰi-ŋ na-tə-cəs-n*
 you PR I NEG-go₁-1s PFT-2-say-2s:vi
 You said that you won't go.
 You said: "I won't go."

The following sets of examples in (289) and (290) illustrate the same principle of assigning prominence by marking with *kə* to a constituent that, though naturally prominent in a sentence, has lost the empathy of the hearer in favour of another constituent. In both examples the subjects or agents are rather intangible forces while the results of the action on the objects are very prominent. In the three sentences of (289) the empathy of the hearer naturally is drawn to the objects because of the terrible things that have happened to them, the burning of respectively *təjeʔm*, 'house', *patʃu*, 'chicken' and, maybe most horrific of all, *bKra-shis*. The hearer gives little or no empathy to the actual cause of the burning, the syntactic subject and semantic agent *təmtʃuk*, 'fire'. The speaker

must restore this imbalance by giving prominence to *təmtʃuk* with prominence marker *kə*, so that the subject and agent of the sentences is given, as it were, its proper due. It could be argued that the animacy hierarchy comes into play here, since the objects in (289b) and (289c) are animate while the subject is not. But that still leaves (289a), which has an inanimate object, unaccounted for:

(289a) *təmtʃuk kə təjeʔm kəmənʃu tə kə-^la-cop*
 fire PR house entire C PFT-NEV-burn
 The fire burned up the entire house.

(289b) *təmtʃuk kə patʃu kəʒu tə kə-^la-cop*
 fire PR chicken all C PFT-NEV-burn
 The fire burned all the chickens.

(289c) *pkraʃis təmtʃuk kə-ktu kə kə-^la-cop*
 bKra.shis fire NOM-big PR PFT-NEV-burn
 The fire burned up bKra-shis.

Note that in sentences with a human object and a non-human subject the preference is for the object to occur in the first slot of the sentence. However, topicalisation in such cases is only preferred, not obligatory, as shown by (290b). Somewhat less dramatic but still following the same principle of marking for inherent prominence are the sentences in example (290). The tendency is for a hearer to give empathy to the result of the action signalled in the verb phrase on the objects, respectively the overturned car, the fallen bKra-shis and the sand that is now gone. The speaker must restore proper prominence on the logical cause of all this by marking the subject *k^halu*, 'wind' with *kə*. Once again, neither the animacy hierarchy nor object prominence explains the occurrence of *kə* in the first sentence:

(290a) *k^halu kə k^horlo kə-^la-tʃ^hwek*
 wind PR vehicle PFT-NEV-overturn
 The wind blew the car over.

(290b) *k^halu kə pkraʃis na-^la-tʃap*
 wind PR bKra.shis PFT-NEV-push
 The wind blew bKra-shis down.

(290c) *k^halu kə p^hjema ji-^la-tsep*
 wind PR sand PFT-NEV-take
 The wind blew the sand away.

Marker *kə* occurs in sentences with implicit arguments:

- (291) pkraʃis kə no-kə-mbuʔ-ŋ ŋos
 bKra.shis PR AF-NOM-give-1s be
 bKra-shis gave it [to me].

In sentence (291) the object, I, is implicit, though it is marked with *-ŋ* for first person singular in the verb phrase. Still the hearer's empathy is with the implicit object rather than with the subject *bKra-shis*, because the first person object ranks higher than the third person subject in the person hierarchy. Furthermore, the attention flow marker *no-* in the verb phrase lets the hearer perceive the action of giving from the perspective of the receiver, 'I'. Though the neutral sentence would simply state that 'bKra-shis gave [it] to me', attention flow marking and person hierarchy make the object the locus of the hearer's empathy. An English translation that reflects this more appropriately would be 'I got [it] from bKra-shis'. In order to ensure that the subject does retain the prominence it should have it is marked with *kə*, even though it is already in the first slot of the sentence.

In some sentences the occurrence of *kə* is the only indication of the syntactic role of the constituent. In (292) for example, the subject is implicit. No marking appears with *wuʃo*, 'he'. But when the implicit subject becomes explicit marking appears, even though the object is implicit as in (292b):

- (292a) wuʃo lhabzo kə-va kə-skoʔr-w
 he:O thangka.painter NOM-do PFT-hire-3s
 [She] hired him as a thangka painter.

- (292b) wuʃo kə lhabzo kə-va kə-skoʔr-w
 he:AG PR thangka.painter NOM-do PFT-hire-3s
 He hired [someone as] a thangka painter.

The presence of *kə* in (292b) makes clear that *wuʃo*, 'he' is the subject, whereas in example (291a), which has an implicit subject, *wuʃo* is the object. Marker *kə* does not occur independently to represent an implicit argument:

- (292c) * kə wuʃo lhabzo kəva kəskoʔrw

Also in sentences that have an implicit object or subject but have clear agreement marking on the verb *kə* still appears:

- (293) pkraʃis kə kʰəzaʔ soʃnu wu-mbuʔ-ŋ
 bKra.shis PR bowl tomorrow 3/1-give-1s
 bKra-shis will give me the bowl tomorrow.

Note that the agreement marking on the verb is for a third person subject and a first person second object, 'I', not the first object 'bowl'.

The fourth situation in which marking with *kə* is obligatory occurs when the subject of an event or action switches in a complex sentence. For example, in the first clause of (294) the empathy of the hearer is with *patʃu*, 'chicken', the constituent in the first slot and the subject. But in the second clause the subject is no longer the chicken, but *lolo*, 'cat'. Besides, the chicken, now the object, is implicit in the second clause. The speaker disambiguates the sentence by marking the subject of the second clause with prominence marker *kə*, assigning it due prominence. It is not the chicken who chases the cat but rather the cat chases the chicken. Without *kə* to mark *lolo* the sentence means that the chicken came in through the window and is now chasing the cat. Note that the attention flow marker *no-* in the verb phrase of the second clause ensures that the hearer's attention remains with the chicken. The hearer's perspective is, as it were, with the chicken while it comes down through the window as the subject in the first clause, and stays with the chicken while it is being chased by the cat, even though the cat is now the grammatical subject and the speaker has made that clear through the use of prominence marker *kə*. For more on attention flow, see section 7.6 in the chapter on verbs.

- (294) *ntoməndə rə patʃu kamtsa sku ka-vi rə*
 originally CON chicken window down NOM-come₁ CON
 Originally a chicken had come in through the window and
- lolo kə no-na-ndʁek-ndʁek-w*
 cat PR AF-PFT-RED-chase-3s
 [now] the cat was chasing it back and forth.

In this section I have shown that prominence marker *kə* serves several functions. It gives prominence to one or several constituents in a sentence. Marker *kə* also ensures due prominence for the syntactic subject of a clause, sometimes by disambiguating the syntactic roles of constituents. And lastly *kə* functions as a tracking device to ensure referential continuity for the syntactic subject in discourse over the scope of several clauses. Since the functions of discourse marker *kə* all involve the marking of prominence, I call it a prominence marker.

Prominence marker kə and case

In previous studies of rGyalrong scholars have interpreted *kə* and its variant forms as a case marker, marking ergativity in a split-ergative system. Given the use of *kə* in the Jiăomùzú dialects as described in the previous section, case is not the most appropriate category for *kə* in these dialects. In this section I first test if Jiăomùzú marks for case in the traditional sense of the word at all. Then I give an overview of earlier analyses of markers like *kə* to see if they can apply to the Jiăomùzú data.

In a nominative-accusative case system marking of the subject or agent of transitive and intransitive verbs differs from marking for the object. The marking can be inflection on the argument or

morphologically independent. Since the goal of the exercise is to clarify the function and meaning of marker *kə* I do not look at marking on the verb phrase, only at markers that occur with constituents that are subjects and objects. In Jiăomùzú there is no difference in marking for subjects and objects on the noun phrase or on the pronoun, as the following examples make clear. The sentences in (295) show no difference in inflection, form or marking for subject and object:

(295)	ɲa nənɲo ta-top-n I you 1/2-hit-2s I will hit you.	nənɲo ɲa ko-top-ɲ you I 2/1-hit-1s You will hit me.

Topicalisation, as in (296) where the object is in the first slot of the sentence, does also not trigger marking:

- (296) tapuʔ-ɲo ɲa ʃi-sə-rwe-ɲ
 child-p I VPT-CAUS-rise-1s
 The kids I'll wake.

Clearly Jiăomùzú does not employ a nominative-accusative marking system for the subject or object. In an ergative-absolutive system the expectation is for the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb to show the same marking, as opposed to the subject of a transitive verb. The Jiăomùzú dialects do not evidence such a system of marking on noun phrases or pronouns. In the examples of (297) below, the intransitive subject *ɲa*, 'I' in (297a) and the object *ɲa*, 'me' in (297c) both remain unmarked and unchanged in their pronominal form, as does the transitive subject *ɲa*, 'I' in (297b):

(297a)	ɲa ʃintəhu tʃʰi-ɲ I Chéngdū go ₁ -1s I'll go to Chéngdū.	(297b)	ɲa nənɲo ta-top-n I you 1/2-hit-2s I will hit you.	(297c)	nənɲo ɲa ko-top-ɲ you I 2/1-hit-1s You will hit me.

Scott DeLancey, working with a limited set of data from Jin's monograph on Suōmò,¹¹⁹ proposed that rGyalrong, like several other languages in the Tibeto-Burman family, is a split ergative language which marks third person transitive agents for case, while first and second person agents remain unmarked.¹²⁰ DeLancey links marking for split ergativity on noun phrases with *kə* to a person hierarchy in which first and second person rank higher than third person. His evidence for

¹¹⁹ Jin 1958.

¹²⁰ DeLancey (1980: 7).

such ranking comes from the agreement system on the verb, which marks for first and second person objects if the subject is a third person but for subject if the object is a third person. DeLancey's analysis covers the second scenario of obligatory marking with *kə* in Jiăomùzú, which is linked to the animacy hierarchy, as I have described above. But it cannot account for obligatory marking with *kə* occurring with a first or second person subject and a third person object. However, the Jiăomùzú data do have such examples, shown in the third scenario above. DeLancey then introduces the psychological notion of viewpoint, which is the perspective from which an event is viewed.¹²¹ In a situation with natural viewpoint a first or second person is preferred over a third person, and no marking appears. If viewpoint rests with a third person, rather than with a first or second person, an ergative marker *kə* appears after the third person argument.¹²² When a prototypical viewpoint locus is the starting point of an action or event the first or second person argument is not marked. That is to say, when the speaker presents an interaction between subject and object in the most neutral way, with subject and object in the first and second slot respectively, which in the viewpoint hypothesis is the unmarked situation. But when a less natural viewpoint locus is the starting point, it must be marked for its role. Marker *kə* occurs when and only when the more natural viewpoint is not the starting point.¹²³ So *kə* marks viewpoint, and the split-ergative system in rGyalrong marks semantic roles rather than syntactic case. DeLancey's viewpoint resembles the interpretation of *kə* as a prominence marker, that is as a marker that draws the empathy of the hearer to the marked constituent. The notion of viewpoint can account for the first scenario above, in which a subject ends up in the second slot of a sentence because of topicalisation, and the second scenario in which first and second person constituents outrank a third person subject. However, viewpoint cannot account for the other situations in which obligatory marking with *kə* occurs in Jiăomùzú, and it clearly is no solution for the numerous cases of non-obligatory occurrence of *kə* with a variety of constituents, especially not if two or more markers occur in the same sentence.

Jackson Sun, in his study of Cǎodēng nominal morphology, describes an ergative-instrumental case marker *-kə*.¹²⁴ The marker is, he notes, frequently subject to ellipsis. Nominals bearing patient or recipient roles are usually not case-marked. But generally speaking, Cǎodēng has a split-ergative system where the applicability of the ergative-instrumental marker *-kə* is determined by the relative ranking of the agent and patient-recipient arguments on an animacy-empathy hierarchy. The major function of the ergative case is to indicate marked agency such that ergative marking is required if and only if the patient argument outranks the agent argument on the hierarchy, which runs as follows: speaker > hearer > non-participant > non-human animate > inanimate, with the speaker having the highest rank. In Sun's hierarchy first and second person outrank third person, which accounts for the occurrence of an ergativity marker with third person subjects in constructions with a first or second person object, as covered by DeLancey's split-ergativity hypothesis and my

¹²¹ DeLancey (1981: 626).

¹²² DeLancey (1980: 33).

¹²³ DeLancey (1981: 642).

¹²⁴ Sun (1998: 129-133).

scenario two. The system cannot account for Jiǎomùzú data in which a first person subject, in Sun's hierarchy the speaker, still occurs with *kə*, as in Jiǎomùzú quotes with a first person subject or in cases of tracking for referential continuity for subject over the scope of several clauses or even sentences. As I have shown above, the animacy hierarchy has only limited influence on prominence marking with *kə* in Jiǎomùzú. Compare the sentences in examples (289) and (290) above. In the first series, (289), *təmtʃuk*, 'fire' is the inanimate subject. Prominence marker *kə* occurs in each sentence, even though the object in one case is inanimate, in the second animate but not human, and in the third case human. If the animacy hierarchy were responsible for prominence marking in Jiǎomùzú, *kə* would not occur in sentences with an inanimate agent and an inanimate patient, such as the first sentence of (289). Another example makes this even clearer:

- (298a) *pak kə kam na-sənjət-w*
 pig PR door PFT-open-3s
 The pig opened the door.

In sentence (298a) animate subject *pak*, 'pig' is marked with *kə*, even though there is an inanimate object. However, the marker disappears if there is a second clause in which the speaker gives more information about *kam*, 'door', along the principles set out in scenario three and four:

- (298b) *pak kam na-sənjət-w rənə kam*
 pig door PFT-open-3s CON door....
 The pig opened the door and then the door....

Furthermore, if the object is human and the subject is animate, the object ranks higher on the animacy hierarchy than the subject but *kə* is not obligatory, contrary to the expectation:

(299a) <i>təwaʔm tərmu na-sat-w</i> bear person PFT-kill-3s The bear killed a man.	(299b) <i>təwaʔm kə tərmu na-sat-w</i> bear PR person PFT-kill-3s The bear killed a man.

Both sentences in (299) are perfectly grammatical. If the animacy hierarchy would be the only trigger for marking with *kə* the sentence without *kə* would be ungrammatical.

Also, *kə* can occur with subjects of all persons when the third person argument is inanimate, as in direct speech quotations:

- (300) *ŋa kə nəŋjo kə-nəndze katʃʰi ra na-cəs-ŋ*
 I PR you NOM-have.a.meal go need PFT-say-1s
 "You should go and have a meal," I said.

Sun does make the important observation that for constituents which do not have obligatory marking with ergative marker *-kə*, the marker can still be used to give emphasis to that particular constituent.

Though Sun's analysis only deals with subjects and objects, his understanding that *-kə* can mark emphasis beside ergativity goes a long way towards explaining the non-obligatory marking with *kə* that occurs so frequently in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. However, a split-ergative system cannot account for the occurrence of several markers in one sentence. Sun remarks that in Cǎodēng it is not possible to have two ergativity markers in one sentence.

Lín Xiàngróng, writing about Zhuōkèjī, reports on a marker *kə* which can mark a number of different semantic roles. He lists agent, instrumental, cause, and reason. Lín calls this marker 'agentivity marker' but avoids the term 'case'. Lín notes that marking does not occur with first and second person constituents, unless the speaker wants to emphasise that constituent, and that topicalisation of the non-agent triggers marking on the agent. His examples for topicalised sentences include sentences in which an animate subject is marked with *kə* while the object is inanimate.¹²⁵ Animacy-empathy hierarchy as described by Sun for Cǎodēng is clearly not the only determining factor in Zhuōkèjī. This affirms the conclusions for Jiǎomùzú, as does the obligatory marking for third person subjects when they occur with a first or second person object and the non-obligatory marking to emphasise a constituent. However, Lín's agentivity marker cannot deal with scenario three and four in the Jiǎomùzú data, nor does he list the possibility of having more than one marker in a sentence.

One of the most recent descriptions of a rGyalrong dialect is Guillaume Jacques' description of Chábǎo. Jacques recognises that case is not a very appropriate term to cover the meaning or function of markers like *kə*, but since other scholars work with the category he retains it in his description. The Chábǎo dialect has an ergative marker *ku* which can mark agent and instrumental. The ergativity marker rarely occurs with first or second person and can be used to emphasise a particular constituent. The marker can also mark reason, and can be reinterpreted as a sentence connector. There can be two markers in one sentence.¹²⁶ The Chábǎo marker *ku* seems quite close to Jiǎomùzú's prominence marker *kə*, in that it is used to prominence to constituents, it can occur with more than one constituent in a sentence, and it occurs more frequently with third person agents than with first or second person agents.

In view of the usage of *kə* in Jiǎomùzú, case, even in the sense used by other scholars, is not the right syntactic category. Marker *kə* is best categorised as a discourse marker.

¹²⁵ Lín (1993: 336-338).

¹²⁶ Xiàng (2008: 162-167).

CHAPTER 5

ADVERBS AND ADVERBIAL PHRASES

5.0 *Introduction*

For the purposes of this chapter I define adverbs in the traditional functional way as modifiers of verbs, adjectivals, or other adverbs. In order to also include adverbs that modify entire sentences or entire verb phrases I use the rule of thumb that adverbs function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns. There is a class of single word, non-derived adverbs in Jiǎomùzú. There are words from other classes, such as nouns, that can function as adverbs. And there are quite a few adverbs that are derived from other words such as nouns or verbs. There are also adverbialisers that turn a word, phrase or clause into an adverbial. In my data there are several kinds of adverbs. Adverbs of degree often modify verbs, especially stative verbs, or other adverbs. Epistemic adverbs generally express the speaker's attitude toward the event being spoken of. But because speakers tend to use illocutionary force or mood markers at the end of a sentence rather than epistemic adverbs, this kind of adverb is rare. I discuss mood markers in the next chapter on smaller word classes. Adverbs of manner, time and place commonly modify verbs or verb phrases. Manner adverbs are rare in the Jiǎomùzú dialects, since speakers mostly use expressives to describe manner. Expressives function like adverbs but have very specific forms. I discuss them in the next chapter on smaller word classes. And there are interrogative adverbs, which express meanings such as *when*, *how*, *where* and *why*. A few of the Jiǎomùzú adverbs can function not only on the constituent or phrase level but also on the clause level. These adverbs, when used to connect two clauses, are conjunctive adverbs.

In section 5.2 I discuss the general properties of adverbs. Jiǎomùzú adverbs occur before verbs and other adverbs but after adjectivals. Some adverbs can occur in adjectival roles themselves. A sentence can have more than one adverb, and adverbs can modify other adverbs within one constituent. Some adverbials can be modified by indefiniteness marker *ki* or prominence marker *kə*. Section 5.2 concludes with an overview of adverbs that are derived from other words. The rest of the chapter consists of separate sections which each describe a different type of adverb and its usage.

5.1 *General properties of adverbs*

Position of adverbs in a sentence

Adverbs and adverbial phrases are not obligatory in the Jiǎomùzú sentence. Since the verb phrase is the final constituent in a Jiǎomùzú clause or sentence, the last possible position of an adverb is right before the verb phrase. Adverbs occur before verbs or other adverbs, but after adjectivals. Example (1) shows the different options for the placement of the epistemic adverb *kɛŋ*, 'perhaps'. The first

sentence (1a) simply states that the weather in Chéngdū was terrible yesterday. The following sentences, (1b-g) are all modified in different ways by *kreŋ* and are all grammatical:

- (1a) pəʃur ʃintəhu tʃe təmu kə-ktu makəndʒa na-leʔt-w
yesterday Chéngdū LOC rain NOM-big very PFT-hit₂-3s
Yesterday it rained very hard in Chéngdū.
- (1b) kreŋ pəʃur ʃintəhu tʃe təmu kə-ktu makəndʒa na-leʔt-w
perhaps yesterday Chéngdū LOC rain NOM-big very PFT-hit₂-3s
Perhaps *yesterday* it rained very hard in Chéngdū.
- (1c) pəʃur kreŋ ʃintəhu tʃe təmu kə-ktu makəndʒa na-leʔt-w
yesterday perhaps Chéngdū LOC rain NOM-big very PFT-hit₂-3s
Perhaps *in Chéngdū* it rained very hard yesterday.
- (1d) pəʃur ʃintəhu tʃe kreŋ təmu kə-ktu makəndʒa na-leʔt-w
yesterday Chéngdū LOC perhaps rain NOM-big very PFT-hit-3s
Perhaps *it rained* very hard in Chéngdū yesterday.
- (1e) pəʃur ʃintəhu tʃe təmu kreŋ kə-ktu makəndʒa na-leʔt-w
yesterday Chéngdū LOC rain perhaps NOM-big very PFT-hit₂-3s
It rained, perhaps very *hard*, in Chéngdū yesterday.
- (1f) pəʃur ʃintəhu tʃe təmu kə-ktu kreŋ makəndʒa na-leʔt-w
yesterday Chéngdū LOC rain NOM-big perhaps very PFT-hit₂-3s
It rained, perhaps *very* hard, in Chéngdū yesterday.
- (1g) pəʃur ʃintəhu tʃe təmu kə-ktu makəndʒa kreŋ na-leʔt-w
yesterday Chéngdū LOC rain NOM-big very perhaps PFT-hit₂-3s
It rained hard in Chéngdū yesterday, perhaps it rained very hard.

Note that by changing the placement of *kreŋ* the speaker can express a variety of meanings. In (1b) the speaker guesses that yesterday it rained, not the day before. In example (1c) he thinks it rained in Chéngdū, not Mǎěrkāng. Sentence (1d) points to the kind of weather in Chéngdū: rain rather than snow. Note that *təmu kaleʔt*, 'rain' is a verbal compound. The adverb *kreŋ* must be understood to modify the verbal compound rather than the noun *təmu*, 'rain' by itself. Sentence (1e) indicates the speaker's opinion about the amount of rain that fell - probably a lot. The last two sentences show in (1f) the speaker's attitude about the way all that rain came down: most likely in a rather violent manner, whereas in (1g) the speaker observes, maybe having seen clouds over the city from a distance, that possibly a great rainstorm raged over the city.

Other constituents cannot be placed in between the adverb and the constituent it modifies. For example, in (2) a degree adverb, *zet*, 'little, quite', modifies the verb *kavaʒdor*, 'surpass'. Placing other constituents between *zet* and the verb leads to ungrammaticality. The adverb *zet*, 'little' is often used in the sense of 'a lot', see section 5.3:

- (2) *ndə c^he ka-moʔt zet 'na-va-ʒdor*
 that liquor NOM-drink little OBS-CAUS-surpass-3s
 He drinks way too much alcohol.

**zet ndə c^he kamoʔt 'navəʒdor*

**ndə zet c^he kamoʔt 'navəʒdor*

The following examples show the same issue for interrogative adverb *kəʃtɹə*, 'when':

- (3) *nəŋʝo kəʃtɹə tə-vi-n*
 you when 2-come-2s
 When will you come?

**kəʃtɹə nəŋʝo təvin*

Of course the scope of the adverb, and therefore its placement, depends on the sort of adverb used. An epistemic adverb, which expresses the speaker's opinion about an entire event, will often occur in first position in the sentence and thus cover the scope of the entire sentence. But adverbs of degree such as *zet* and interrogative adverbs modify verbs, and have to be placed right before the verb.

Adverbs of manner and of degree can modify verb phrases as well as adjectivals in a noun phrase. If they modify a verb phrase, they are placed immediately in front of the verb phrase. If they modify an adjectival term within a noun phrase, they occur after the term they modify. Examples (4a) and (4b) show the difference.

(4a) <i>təʝeʔm wastop 'na-kəʃo</i> house very OBS-clean The house is very clean.	(4b) <i>təʝeʔm kə-ʃo tseŋtseŋ</i> house NOM-clean sparkling A sparkingly clean house.

In (4a) the adverb of degree *wastop*, 'very' modifies the stative verb *kəʃo*, 'clean'. The adverb occurs before the verb. In example (4b) *kəʃo* is used in an adjectival position, modifying the noun *təʝeʔm*, 'house'. The adjectival occurs after the noun. The expressive *tseŋtseŋ*, 'in a shining or sparkling manner' which functions as a manner adverb, modifies *kəʃo*. Since *kəʃo* is in adjectival position *tseŋtseŋ* occurs after it, not before. Reversing the order of the constituents in these sentences leads to ungrammatical constructions:

- (4c) * təjeʔm 'nakəʃo wastop (4d) * təjeʔm tseŋtseŋ kəʃo

Adverbs in adjectival roles

Some adverbs can also function in adjectival roles, modifying a noun or other word that is the head of a noun phrase. In (5) the manner adverb *sok*, 'manner', modifies the verb phrase, so it occurs in front of the verb. Sentence (6) shows *sok* modifying the nominal head *tʃəʔ*, 'this', with *sok* placed after the head. Demonstrative *tʃəʔ* itself is part of a genitive construction with *təmdoʔk*, 'colour' as its head. Note that *nərgaʔŋ*, 'like' in (6) is a verb expressing fondness for a certain colour, not an adverb meaning 'similar, in like manner':

- (5) makmə-po [sok na-vəʔti-jn]
 soldier-p manner PFT-walk-3p
 The soldiers marched like this.
- (6) ŋa [[tʃəʔ tə sok] w-əmdoʔk] nərgaʔ-ŋ
 I this C manner 3s:GEN-colour like-1s
 I like a colour like [the colour of] this one.

Likewise, in (7a) the quantifier *wuvjot*, 'many, much', modifies the noun *kʰəna*, 'dog', while the adverb of degree *makəndʒa*, 'very' in (7b) modifies *natopw*, 'hit'. In (7c) *makəndʒa*, when it modifies *wuvjot* and is thus part of the nominal phrase, occurs after the constituent it modifies, but it occurs before the stative verb *kəməca*, 'much, many, a lot' in (7d) when modifying the verb phrase:

- (7a) [kʰəna wuvjot] na-top-w (7b) kʰəna [makəndʒa na-top-w]
 dog many PFT-hit dog very PFT-hit-3s
 He hit many dogs. He hit the dog a lot.
 * He hit the dog much, a lot. * He hit many dogs.
- (7c) [kʰəna wuvjot makəndʒa] na-top-w
 dog many very PFT-hit-3s
 He hit an amazingly large number of dogs.
- (7d) kʰəna [makəndʒa kəməca] na-top-w
 dog very much PFT-hit-3s
 He hit the dog many, many times.

The following examples show two commonly used ways of expressing manner through verbs of long duration, or stative verbs. The first way employs a stative verb to form the verb phrase expressing manner while a nominal constituent elsewhere in the sentence expresses the action. In example (8) the stative verb *kəmpfer*, 'beautiful', forms the verb phrase while the verbal compound

tarnga? *kava*, 'dance', is nominalised. The adverb of degree *makəndʒa* modifies the verb phrase 'nampfer'.

- (8) ndə təmu tə tarnga? kə-va [makəndʒa 'na-mpfer]
 that woman C dance NOM-do very OBS-beautiful
 That woman's dancing is very beautiful.

A second option to express manner is by nominalising the stative verb:

- (9) ndə təmu tə tarnga? [kə-mpfer makəndʒa] na-va-w
 that woman C dance NOM-beautiful very PFT-do-3s
 That woman danced very beautifully.

The examples below show that in cases such as example (9) *makəndʒa* modifies the nominalised stative verb, in (10) the construction *tarnga? kəva kəmpfer*, 'beautiful dancing'. The verb phrase, at the end of the sentence, is not modified by an adverb:

- (10) ndə təmu tə tarnga? kə-va kə-mpfer makəndʒa ɲos
 that woman C dance NOM-do NOM-beautiful very be
 That woman's dancing is very beautiful.

In example (11) *kəmpfer* cannot be inflected for verbal categories such as evidentiality or tense, showing that *kəmpfer* is a nominalised form here, modified by *makəndʒa* in an adjectival role:

- (11) * ndə təmu tə tarnga? kəva 'nampfer makəndʒa ɲos

Like epistemic adverbs, adverbs of time and place tend to cover the scope of the entire statement and so are not bound to occur before the particular constituent they modify. However, a speaker's desire to emphasise a particular constituent may cause adverbs of time and place to occur in a particular place in the sentence, a liberty not allowed adverbs of manner and adverbs of degree. In (12a) *sofnu*, 'tomorrow', is emphasised because it is in the first slot of the sentence. In (12b) the emphasis is on *ɲa*, 'I' and in (12c) on *nətʰa*, 'your book':

- (12a) sofnu ɲa n-ətʰa kʰam-ɲ
 tomorrow I 2s:GEN-book hand-1s
 Tomorrow I'll give you your book.

- (12b) ɲa sofnu n-ətʰa kʰam-ɲ
 I tomorrow 2s:GEN-book hand-1s
 I'll give you your book tomorrow.

- (12c) ηa $n-\text{ət}^h a$ $\text{sof}nu$ $k^h am-\eta$
 I 2s:GEN-book tomorrow hand-1s
 I'll give you your book tomorrow.

In a similar fashion, in example (13) sentence (13a) is the neutral sentence, (13b) emphasises *coktse wərka-j*, 'on the desk' by putting it in first position, in (13c) emphasis is on *ηa*, 'I' and in (13d) on the topicalised object *nət^ha*, 'your book':

- (13a) ηa $n-\text{ət}^h a$ $coktse$ $w-\text{ər}ka-j$ $na-taʔ-\eta$
 I 2s:GEN-book desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC PFT-put₂-1s
 I put your book on the desk.
- (13b) $coktse$ $w-\text{ər}ka-j$ ηa $n-\text{ət}^h a$ $na-taʔ-\eta$
 desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC I 2s:GEN-book PFT-put₂-1s
 I put your book on the desk.
- (13c) ηa $coktse$ $w-\text{ər}ka-j$ $n-\text{ət}^h a$ $na-taʔ-\eta$
 I desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC 2s:GEN-book PFT-put₂-1s
 I put your book on the desk.
- (13d) $n-\text{ət}^h a$ ηa $coktse$ $w-\text{ər}ka-j$ $na-taʔ-\eta$
 2s:GEN-book I desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC PFT-put₂-1s
 I put your book on the desk.

More than one adverb in a sentence

Several adverbs can occur in one sentence. The examples in (14) show references to time and place such as *sofnu*, 'tomorrow' and *wərka-j*, 'on top of' as well as an epistemic adverb, *kreŋ*, 'perhaps' and an adverb of degree, *makəndʒa*, 'very'. Though adverbs of time and place are very flexible in their placement, adverbs of time generally occur before adverbs of place:

- (14) * ηa $n-\text{ət}^h a$ $coktse$ $w-k\text{ər}-j$ $\text{sof}nu$ $teʔ-\eta$
 I 2s:GEN-book desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC tomorrow put₁-1s
- * $coktse$ $w-\text{ər}ka-j$ $\text{sof}nu$ ηa $n-\text{ət}^h a$ $teʔ-\eta$
 desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC tomorrow I 2s:GEN-book put₁-1s

Adverbs that modify other adverbs

Adverbs can modify other adverbs. In such cases it almost always concerns an adverb of manner or an expressive modified by an adverb of degree. In (15) the expressive *lali*, 'slowly' modifies the verb *kat^hi*, 'go'. The adverb of degree *wastop*, 'very' modifies *lali*. Note that the adverb of degree occurs in front of the manner adverb or expressive it modifies:

- (15) wastop lali katʃʰi * lali wastop katʃʰi
 ADV EXP V
 very slowly go
 go very slowly

The order of occurrence is important, as shown in (16). The epistemic adverb *ndʒondʒo*, 'truly, really', is an expression of the speaker's attitude about the manner of walking. It covers the scope of the clause or sentence and must come before *lali*, 'slowly', the expressive which modifies only the verb phrase:

- (16) ndʒondʒo [lali katʃʰi] * lali ndʒondʒo katʃʰi
 truly slowly go
 truly go slowly

Example (16) may be the comment of someone after a bus that was stuck in mud really begins to slowly move again. The same principle is demonstrated in (17), which combines an expressive, an adverb of degree and an epistemic adverb. Brackets in the first sentence show the scope of the constituent modified by the respective adverbs. Placing the adverbs in positions other than in front of the constituent they modify leads to ungrammaticality. Example (17) may be used by someone who comments during a hike that such-and-sow is really moving very slowly:

- (17) ndʒondʒo [[wastop lali] katʃʰi]
 truly very slowly go
 Truly go very slowly.

- * ndʒondʒo lali wastop katʃʰi
 * wastop lali ndʒondʒo katʃʰi
 * wastop ndʒondʒo lali katʃʰi
 * lali wastop ndʒondʒo katʃʰi
 * lali ndʒondʒo wastop katʃʰi

*Modification of adverbs with ki, tə or kə*¹²⁷

The exception to the rule that an adverb must occur in the position immediately before the constituent modified is that the adverb may be separated from this constituent by the indefiniteness marker *ki*, the contrast marker *tə* and the prominence marker *kə*. The indefiniteness marker can occur after adverbs of manner and degree, and before the constituent modified by those adverbs. Native speakers say the addition of *ki* makes little difference in meaning but emphasizes the adverb. In the examples below, *wastop*, 'very' is an adverb of degree while *raŋpa* is a manner adverb:

¹²⁷ Guillaume Jacques has found for Chábăo that adverbs can be modified by the local equivalents of *ki* and *kə*, *ci* and *ku* respectively (Jacques, personal communication).

(18)	wastop na-vətʃi	wastop ki	na-vətʃi
	very PFT-walk	very	IDEF PFT-walk
	walked and walked		walked on and on without end

(19) təju? w-əŋgi raŋpa na-kə-məzaʔk-w ʔnə-ŋos
water 3s:GEN-in intentionally PFT-NOM-jump₂-3s EV-be
He jumped into the water on purpose.

ŋa raŋpa ki məzeʔk-ŋ to-kə-səso-w
I intentionally IDEF jump₁-1s PFT-NOM-think-3s
"I'll just jump [in] on purpose!" [he] thought.

Contrast marker *tə* can occur after adverbials, especially conjunctive adverbs such as *maʃki*, ‘until’:

(20) k^horlo ma-vi maʃki tə tʃəʔ to-^lva-w
 bus NEG-come₁ until C this IMP-do-2s
 Do this until the bus arrives.

Indefiniteness markers and contrast markers normally function as noun adjuncts, that is, as modifiers of nouns or noun phrases. This raises the question if words such as *wastop* and *raŋpa* in the examples can be considered proper adverbs when occurring with *ki*. It is tempting to think of *ki* here as a sort of adverb of degree. But that violates the rule that an adverb modifying another adverb occurs before that adverb, not after it. Another possibility is to think of *wastop* and *raŋpa* somehow as nominals - but there is no indication that they behave like nominals in this sort of construction. It is not possible to replace *ki* in this sort of structure with *kərek*, 'one', a numeral that is the root of *ki* and that can function as an adverb of degree meaning 'to a great degree':

(21)	ɲa kərek to-ndza-ŋ	ɲa wastop to-ndza-ŋ
	I one PFT-eat-1s	I very PFT-eat-1s
	I ate with gusto.	I ate with gusto.
	ɲa wastop ki to-ndza-ŋ	*ɲa wastop kərek tondzan
	I very IDEF PFT-eat-1s	
	I ate with great gusto.	

Adverbs and adverbial phrases, like noun phrases, can also be modified by the prominence marker *kə*:

(22) ၵာ ဃာဃာဃာꣳ [pəʃur̥nu mo] kə to-kə-ku-ŋ ၵဝ
I bag yesterday not.longer.ago.than PR PFT-NOM-buy-1s be
I bought the bag just yesterday.

In example (22) the speaker emphasizes how recently he bought the bag by adding a prominence marker to the time reference 'just yesterday'. The sentence is perfectly grammatical also without *kə*. For more on the use of prominence marker *kə*, see section 4.3.e of the chapter on nouns.

Derived adverbs

Words belonging to other word classes, such as nouns, demonstratives and verbs, can function as adverbials. This is especially true for words that refer to time or place. Some nouns do double duty, such as *tawo*, which can mean either 'head' when it occurs as a noun, or 'early' when it functions as an adverb:

(23)	<i>tawo</i> head (noun)	<i>k^həna w-awo 'na-kəktu</i> dog 3s:GEN-head OBS-big The dog has a big head.
	<i>tawo</i> immediately; soon; early; first (adverb)	<i>tawo ts^hat ji-'vi-n</i> early little IMP-come ₁ -2s Come a little early!
		<i>tawo ŋa-məmto-dʒ</i> soon REC-see-1d See you soon!

Note that words from other word classes, when they function as adverbials, retain characteristics of their own word class. For example, *tawo* when used in its adverbial sense of 'early', cannot form genitives as a noun would, but the adverb of degree *ts^hat* occurs after it, functioning as an adjectival. Many nouns, expressives and verbs in Jiǎomùzú can be reduplicated either in part or as a whole to intensify their meaning. Single word non-derived adverbs cannot be reduplicated in that way, but adverbs that are derived from words of either the noun or the verb class can:

(24)	<i>ʒik</i> also (adverb) <i>manʃuʔ</i> besides, more so (adverb) <i>ʃo</i> always (adverb)	<i>* ʒikʒik</i> <i>* manʃuʔmanʃuʔ</i> <i>* manʃuʔʃuʔ</i> <i>* ʃoʃo</i>
(25)	<i>tawo</i> head (noun) <i>early</i> (adverb)	<i>tawowo</i> very early

Some adverbs can combine with words from other word classes to form adverbial compounds. The following examples show adverbial compounds based on interrogative pronouns and nouns respectively:

- (26) t^hi what (interrogative pronoun)
 sok way, manner (adverb)
 t^hisok how, in what way (interrogative manner adverb)
- (27) təʃnu day (noun)
 pu now (adverb)
 pəʃnu today (adverb)

5.2 *Manner adverbs*

There is a paucity of manner adverbs in the Jiāomùzú dialects, since expressives are usually employed to indicate manner or result of an action or event. I have found one multi-purpose manner adverb, *sok*, 'like, manner, about, so'. The adverb *sok* derives from the noun *təsok*, 'manner':

- (28) stəŋ kətsə sok 'na-kəktu
 SUP small manner OBS-big
 The smallest one is about this big (has a similar size as this one).

- (29) tamaʔ tʃəʔ tə sok tə-va-w ra
 work this C manner 2-do-2s need
 You need to do this job in this manner.

- (30) nəŋʝo ndə sok kəməca na-kə-tə-nə-vla-w tə
 you that manner much PFT-NOM-2-EREFL-spend-2s C
 Spending that much, you're lying!
- təŋgli na-tə-va-w
 lie PFT-2-do-2s

The only other single word manner adverb I have found so far is *raŋpa*, 'intentionally, on purpose':

- (31) təʃuʔ w-əŋgi raŋpa na-kə-məzaʔk-w 'nə-ŋos
 water 3s:GEN-in intentionally PFT-NOM-jump₂-3s EV-be
 He jumped into the water on purpose.

Some verbs and nouns can modify verbs to express manner:

- (32) kaŋana (verb) kaŋana kavətʃi
 speed, hurry hurry walk
 walk hurriedly
- tazə (noun) tazəzə kam kacu
 secret quietly door open
 open the door quietly, without making a sound
- t^haptʃ^hak (noun) tamaʔ t^haptʃ^hak kava
 middling, so-so work so.so do
 do a less than stellar job

And finally manner can be expressed either by constructions in which a verb phrase expresses manner while a nominal constituent elsewhere in the sentence expresses the action or through nominalisation of a stative verb, as shown in examples (8) and (9) in section 5.1 on general properties of adverbs above.

5.3 *Adverbs of degree*

Equality of degree, quantity, opinion etc. is expressed by the adverb *ʒik*, 'also':

- (33) ɲa tət^ha kə-va ɲos-ɲ ɲa ʒik ɲos-ɲ
 I book NOM-do be-1s I also be-1s
 I'm a student. Me too.

Meanings such as 'none at all', 'not even one' are also formed with *ʒik*, combined with *kərek*, 'one' or *t^hi*, 'what', plus a negative verb:

- (34) t^hi ʒik 'kəva-ɲ miʔ
 what also PRIMP-do-1s not have
 I'm not doing anything at all.
- (35) kərek ʒik ma-ndoʔ
 one also NEG-have
 There is not even one.

Degrees of quality can be expressed by simply placing an adverb in front of the verb. There are several adverbs of degree that all signal small measure. However, the smallness of the measure

differs for each one. In order of increasing magnitude they are *ts^hət*, *zet*, *kəndzok*, *jaspe* and *dʒamən*. All can also be used to politely indicate 'to a large degree'. Their usage is comparable to Sīchuan Chinese 一点 *yī diǎn*, which literally means 'a little' but often expresses 'to a large extent or degree'. Some of these adverbs can modify all verbs, some only occur with stative verbs. They are all single word adverbs. These adverbs cannot be reduplicated to intensify their meaning, apart from *jaspe* which can occur as *jaspespe*, 'really quite...'. The adverbs occur in front of the verbs they modify:

- (36) *ts^hət* 'naməʃtak * *ts^hət* na-va-w
 little OBS-cold little PFT-do-3s
 a wee bit cold: freezing
- (37) *tʃəʔ* wu-jeʔm sweniᵛ tsam kə-miʔ 'nə-ŋos
 this 3s:GEN-house concrete little NOM-not.have EV-be
 This house was built without any concrete.
- (38) *zet* 'na-kəktu *zet* ma-kəndʒa
 quite OBS-big quite NEG-same
 quite big: huge quite different: not at all the same
- (39) *kamtsa* *kəndzok* kəktu ŋos tak^hu *kəndzok* va-w
 window quite big be smoke quite do-3s
 The window is quite big. It smokes quite a bit.
- (40) *jaspe* 'na-ts^ho
 quite OBS-fat
 [He is] rather fat.
- (41) *dʒamən* kəhaʔw kəruʔskaʔt dʒamən kaʃpaʔ
 little good Tibetan little able
 quite good: excellent know a little Tibetan: be proficient in Tibetan

The stative verb *kətsə*, 'small' also can be used as an adverb of degree. Used in this manner, *kətsə* can have a double root to intensify its meaning. It can modify process as well as non-process verbs:

- (42) *kətsə* *kətsə-tsə* ma-kəndʒa *kətsə* na-rjo-jn
 small a.little-RED NEG-similar a.little PFT-talk-3p
 a bit different: not at all alike [They] talked some.

One very commonly used adverb, *wastop*, means 'very, to a large degree':

- (43) w-əkʃet wastop 'na-kəktu
 3s:GEN-strength very OBS-big
 He is exceedingly strong.

Two other words that often occur as adverbs of degree with the same meaning as *wastop* are *makəndʒa* and *kəmtsar*. All three are commonly used, though *wastop* and *kəmtsar* are more particularly the vocabulary of Kǒnglǒng. Though used often in an adverbial role, *kəmtsar* and *makəndʒa* are actually verbs of duration, *kəmtsar* meaning 'strange' while *makəndʒa* is a negative form of *kəndʒa*, 'similar, alike, same':

- (44) jini tsəlaɣsweɣ ndoʔ kəmtsar kənipa
 we:e running.water have very convenient
 We have running water, very convenient.

- (45) ndə tə pəʃurtʃə kʰəna makəndʒa na-top-w
 that C the.other.day dog very PFT-hit-3s
 The other day he hit the dog terribly.

Equality is expressed by the verb *kəndʒa*, 'same, similar'. Note that person and number have to be marked on the quality to be compared, as well as on the subject. Number and person are suffixed to the subject, but prefixed to the quality to be compared, whether verb or noun. They can be, but not necessarily are, marked on the equality marker *kəndʒa* as well:

- (46) tʃəʒo tʃ-ambro 'na-ndʒa-dʒ
 1d 1d:GEN-tall OBS-EQ-1d
 We two are the same height.

- (47) tʃəʔ wu-ʃasto manʃuʔ ndə w-əŋgi-ndʒ ndʒ-əvu kəndʒa 'nə-ŋos
 this 3s:GEN-shirt also that 3s:GEN-in-3d 3d:GEN-price EQ EV-be
 This shirt and that one in [the shop] are equally expensive.

Comparative degree is expressed by a genitive form of the noun *taka*, 'bottom, underside', which becomes a locative when inflected with the adverbialiser *-j*. The whole construct, literally meaning 'at the bottom of' is then used metaphorically, meaning something like 'the standard to compare with'. Note that the marking for genitive depends on the person. In the example below it is *w-* for third person singular. For more on genitive structures, see the chapters on nouns and pronouns:

- (48) tʃəʔ tə w-amaʔ-ŋo kərə w-amaʔ w-aka-j 'na-haʔw
 this C 3s:-work-p other 3s:-work 3s:-bottom-LOC OBS-good
 This work is better than the other work.

Number of the quality to be compared is prefixed to the adverb. Note that marking for plural on the noun is optional, since number marking is obligatory on the adverb of comparative degree. I use the abbreviation COMP to indicate comparative degree:

- (49) ŋa ŋ-ajze ŋ-aka-j kəpdu pa kəktu
 I 1s:GEN-older brother 1s:GEN-COMP-LOC four year big
 My older brother is four years older than me.

- (50) pkraʃis w-apuʔ ŋa ŋ-apuʔ ŋ-aka-j 'na-məca
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-child I 1s:GEN-child 3p:-COMP-LOC OBS-many
 bKra-shis has more children than I do.

- (51) ndə w-apuʔ-ŋo tʃəʔ w-apuʔ-ŋo ŋ-aka-j 'na-ŋaʒgro-jn
 that 3s:GEN-child-p this 3s:GEN-child-p 3p:GEN-COMP-LOC OBS-fast-3p
 Those children are faster than these ones.

Negative comparisons are formed by affixing a negation marker to the verb:

- (52) lhamo pkraʃis w-aka-j ma-mbro
 lHa.mo bKra.shis 3s:GEN-COMP-LOC NEG-tall
 lHa-mo is not as tall as bKra-shis.

- (53) tʃəʔ wu-pakʃu h-anu wu-pakʃu w-aka-j ma-kəktu
 this 3s:GEN-apple D-downriver 3s:GEN-apple 3s:GEN-COMP-LOC NEG-big
 These apples are not as big as those ones.

The adverb for superlative degree or superabundance is *ston*, 'most, highest'.¹²⁸ This adverb is used in comparisons as well as in other expressions of superabundance such as compounds with time references expressing 'every':

- (54) ston 'na-kəktu ston kəmtsar
 SUP OBS-big SUP strange
 (the) biggest (the) strangest

¹²⁸ The adverb *ston* has a dialect variant *stij*. I use both forms interchangeably in this study.

- (55) təfnu (day) təpa (year)
 stəŋ-fnu stəŋ-pa
 every-day every-year
 daily yearly
- (56) ŋa ŋ-əmo tə w-əmpɔk va stɪŋ kəmem ŋos
 I 1s:GEN-mother C 3s:GEN-bread make SUP tasty be
 My mother makes the best bread.
- (57) wuʃo ɲi-pramze kantʃʰak-j kə-ndoʔ ɲ-əŋgi stɪŋ kə-haʔw ŋos
 3s 3p:GEN-carpet market-LOC NOM-have 3p:GEN-in SUP NOM-good be
 Their carpets are the nicest ones in the market.

Note that in (57) the third person singular *wuʃo* is used to single out one shop, while *pramze*, ‘carpet’ is marked for plural to indicate the shopkeepers. This sort of disconnect is common in Jiāomùzú, see also the chapters on pronouns and nouns.

The numeral *kərek*, ‘one’ can express superabundance when used as an adverbial. In such instances *kərek* expresses meanings rather like ‘too...’ or the English ‘one’, in which *one* expresses degree, for example, *that’s one tall tree!* or ‘too, extremely’:

- (58) kərek 'na-mbro kərek ma-'nə-nəʃit
 too OBS-tall extremely NEG-OBS-comfortable
 too tall extremely uncomfortable.

ndə-ɲo kʰəna kərek 'na-kəktu ki na-varo-ɲn
 that-p dog one OBS-big IDEF PFT-possess-3p
 They had one big dog there.

The adverbs *me*, ‘only, merely, just’ and *kəro*, ‘to a great extent, very’ occur in negative sentences only:

- (59) ndə pɔŋeʔj kəmɲi mpʰjar tə me ma-'nə-varo-w
 that money five CL C only NEG-OBS-possess-3s
 He has no more than five yuan.
- (60) pkraʃis lhamo w-aka-j kətsə-tsə me ma-kəktu
 bKra.shis lHa.mo 3s:GEN-COMP-LOC little-RED only NEG-big
 bKra-shis is only a little bigger than lHa-mo.

As with other adverbs of degree, *kəro* can be used to politely express the opposite of what the speaker says:

- (61) *krəŋ kəro ʃi-'a-ŋin* * *kəro 'nəŋin*
 maybe very NEG/PFT-NEV-serious
 Maybe it was not too bad: it was not at all serious
- kəro ma-'nə-ts^ho* * *kəro 'nats^ho*
 very NEG-OBS-fat
 not very fat: pretty fat
- kəro ma-'nə-va-w* * *kəro 'na-va-w*
 very NEG-OBS-do-3s
 He doesn't do that much: he doesn't lift a finger

5.4 Interrogative adverbs

There are several interrogative adverbs in the Jiāomùzú dialects. Interrogative adverbs of time and place are *kəʃtɕə*, 'when' and *kətʃe*, 'where'.

- (62) *nənʃo kəʃtɕə tə-vi-n* *tʃəʔ kəʃtɕə kasəjoʔk ra*
 you when 2-come₁-2s this when finish need
 When will you come? When does this have to be finished?
- kətʃe to-kə-tə-ku-w ɲos* *skarma kətʃe 'nə-ɲos*
 where PFT-NOM-2-buy-2s be sKar.ma where EV-be
 Where did you buy it? Where is sKar-ma?

There are also some interrogative adverbs that are combinations of *t^{hi}* and another word, usually a noun: *t^{hi}wuzak*, 'what time'; *t^{hi}istok*, 'how many, how much'; *t^{hi}wutʃ^{he}*, 'why'; *t^{hi}isok*, 'how'. In these compounds *t^{hi}*, 'what' is combined with *zak*, 'time', *sok*, 'like, manner', *tʃ^{he}*, 'reason' or *stok*, 'many'. Compounds based on nouns need to be marked for genitive.

- (63a) *t^{hi}isok kava ra ma-'nə-ʃi-ŋ* *t^{hi}isok tə-va-w*
 how do need NEG-OBS-know-1s how 2-do-2s
 I don't know how to do it. How do you make that?
- (63b) *wu-gon t^{hi}ista ɲos* *t^{hi}istok ki kəra mə-ɲos*
 3s:GEN-price how.much be how.much IDEF need Q-be
 How much does it cost? How much do you need?

- (63c) pkraʃis ma-vi ɲos o tʰiwutʃʰe
 bKra.shis NEG-come₁ be oh why
 bKra-shis won't come. Oh, why not?
- (63d) ɲa nə-tʃiŋʂəɔ̃ vi-ɲ tʰiwuʒak tʃe
 I 2s:GEN-dorm come₁-1s what.time at
 I'll come to your dorm. What time?

5.5 Epistemic adverbs

Epistemic adverbs express the speaker's attitude regarding the statement he or she is making, or the speaker's degree of certainty or intensity regarding the action or event. There are few epistemic adverbs in Jiǎomùzú, since many epistemic meanings are expressed through the use of mood markers. I describe mood markers in the next chapter on smaller word classes. The most frequently used epistemic adverbs in the Jiǎomùzú dialects are *ndʒondʒo*, 'truly, really', *loski*, 'of course', *kreŋ*, 'perhaps, maybe'.

- (64) nə-bawbawɔ̃ ndʒondʒo 'na-mpʃar
 2s:GEN-bag truly OBS-beautiful
 Your bag is truly beautiful.

kəʃmo kava loski ma-'nə-haʔw
 thief do of.course NEG-OBS-good
 Of course it's bad to be a thief!

jontan kreŋ ma-vi
 Yon.tan maybe NEG-come₁
 Perhaps Yon-tan will not come.

Some other forms, often compounds of an adverb and another word, can express epistemic meanings. In the following example *tʰi nəŋos* expresses the speaker's commitment to his promise to go:

- (65) tʰi 'nə-ɲos ɲa tʃʰi-ɲ
 what EV-be I go₁-1s
 In any case (whatever happens), I will go.

For other meanings such as 'certainly' and 'actually', which in English are usually expressed by epistemic adverbs, Jiǎomùzú uses clause connectors or loanwords from Chinese. For clause connectors, see section 8.2 of the chapter on sentences. Below is an example of the use of a Chinese loan. The adverb *kʰaŋtiŋ* derives from Chinese noun 肯定 *kěndìng*, 'certainty':

- (66) jontan k^hantiŋꞑ ma-vi
 Yon.tan surely NEG-come₁
 Surely Yon-tan will not come.

5.6 *Adverbs of time and place*

Locatives are adverbials that situate an action or event in place or time. As with other categories of adverb, there are specific single word, non-derived adverbs of time and place, such as *pu*, 'now'¹²⁹, *ʃi*, 'continuously, all the time', *ʃo*, 'always', *pije*, 'immediately', *t^haʔm*, 'in a while' and *pəʃk^ha*, 'just now, just a while ago':

- (67) jontan t^haʔm vi
 Yon.tan in.a.while come₁
 Yon-tan will come in a while.
- (68) ŋa pəʃk^ha to-nəndza-ŋ
 I a.while.ago PFT-have a meal-1s
 I just ate.

Beyond this there is a range of markers that can turn constituents such as a noun phrase into adverbials of time or place. In the first subsection, 5.6.a, I give an overview of the use of these markers. Then follow sections 5.6.b and 5.6.c in which I discuss adverbs of time and adverbs of place respectively.

a. *Adverbialisers for references to time and place*

My data contains a set of four locative markers that can mark either time or place:

- (69) tʃe at
 -j at, towards
 c^ho about, somewhere, sometime
 k^ho just then, as soon as, beyond

A sixth marker, *-s*, also signals 'from' but is in use only in certain places in Jiăomùzú. Perhaps it is a shortened form of *sta*, 'origin'. I give some examples of its usage below. Together the markers in this set beautifully cover all common directions for any given centre in time and space.

¹²⁹ The adverb *pu* also occurs as *pi*, a dialect variant. I use both forms interchangeably in this study.

The most frequently occurring locative markers are *tʃe* and *-j*. The locative markers occur at the end of the constituent they modify. Locative *-j* is suffixed to the last syllable of the constituent. Marker *-j* may be derived from the general marker for orientation, *ji-*. I discuss orientation marking extensively in section 7.3 of the chapter on verbs. Locative *tʃe* is probably based in the noun of the same form which means 'here, this place' or 'this time', as in (70). Note the possessive marking on *tʃe*.

- (70) kərek na-ʃi-natso-w wu-tʃe....
 one PFT-VPT-look-3s 3s:GEN-time...
 The time that he looked....

Both markers turn a reference to an entity in time or space into an adverbial:

- (71) tawo tʃe mdzorge kaŋgo ra
 head LOC mDzod.dge go.up need
 First you must go up to Mdzod-dge.

tawo-j mdzorge kaŋgo ra
 head-LOC mDzod.dge go.up need
 First you must go up to Mdzod-dge.

(72)	tambat	w-ərka	tʃe	tambat	w-ərka-j
	mountain	3s:GEN-top	LOC	mountain	3s:GEN-top-LOC
	on (the) top of the mountain			on (the) top of the mountain	

Locatives *tʃe* and *-j* can also be used in the sense of 'when, while, during':

- (73) ŋa tamaʔ kava-j ka-ptʃo w-əspe ŋos
 I work do-LOC NOM-use 3s:GEN-material be
 I use it for my work.

An exceedingly common process is the turning of nouns into adverbials by suffixing them with locative marker *-j*. Often these nouns modify another noun or pronoun in genitive constructions:

(74)	təŋk ^h u?	back (noun)
	w-əŋk ^h u?	təjeʔm w-əŋk ^h u?
	3s:GEN-back	house 3s:GEN-back
	the back of....	the back(side) of the house
	w-əŋk ^h u?-j	təjeʔm w-əŋk ^h u?-j
	3s:GEN-back-LOC	house 3s:GEN-back-LOC
	at the back of...	at the back of the house; behind the house

Such constructions are best glossed in English with prepositions such as 'at, over, on, behind, before, in, out' etc. Most of these constructions form adverbials of place but they do occur as well as adverbials of time, as in the case of *wəŋk^huʔj* in the example above, which can mean 'afterwards, later' as well as indicate geographical position. I discuss genitives with locative marking more extensively in section 5.6.c on adverbs of place below.

Both locative markers have the same meaning but *-j* functions on the phrase level or below while *tʃe* can mark all constituents from the phrase up to the clause level. On the clause level *tʃe* is an adverbial conjunction, see below in section 5.7 on adverbial conjunctions and section 6.4 on conjunctions in the next chapter on smaller word classes.

A speaker can use locative markers to turn a reference to an entity of time or place into an adverbial phrase. In (75a), for example, there is no locative marking. The noun *ato*, 'high place', refers actually to the house that is there rather than to the geographical location, though 'the house' is implicit. It functions as the subject of the sentence, not as an adverbial. But in (75b) the speaker links a specific location to a house that is at that spot, turning the reference into an adverbial:

(75a)	ato	ŋjilək-jeʔm	'nə-ŋos
	high.place	stone-house	EV-be
	[The house on] the height is made of stone.		
(75b)	ato	tʃe ŋjilək-jeʔm	ki 'na-ndoʔ
	place.above	LOC stone-house	one OBS-have
	There on the height is a house of stone.		

Along the same lines, *tambat wərka* in (76) is a noun phrase that functions as the subject. It indicates the top of the mountain, which is difficult to walk on (maybe because the terrain is steep or rocky). In (76b) *təjva*, 'snow' is the subject while *tambat wərkaj* is an adverbial:

(76a) *tambat w-ərka ka-tʃʰi sakʰa*
 mountain 3s:GEN-top NOM-go₁ difficult
 The top of the mountain is difficult to walk on.

(76b) *tambat w-ərka-j təjva na-ndo*
 mountain 3s:GEN-top-LOC snow PFT-have
 There was snow on top of the mountain.

(77a) *dəŋməŋᵛ kətsə 'na-kəskriʔn*
 Eastgate little OBS-long
 The Eastgate is a bit far (from here)

(77b) *dəŋməŋᵛ w-arnam tʃe kaŋaməmtə-j*
 Eastgate 3s:GEN-near LOC meet-1p
 I'll see you at the Eastgate.

Of those references to time and place that function as adverbials, some have obligatory locative marking and others do not. Which do and which don't, apart from the semantic difference described above, has to be learned:

(78) *ŋa soʃnu vi-ŋ*
 I tomorrow come₁-1s
 I'll come tomorrow.

<i>* ŋa soʃnu-j</i>	<i>vi-ŋ</i>	<i>* ŋa soʃnu tʃe vi-ŋ</i>
I tomorrow-LOC	come ₁ -1s	I tomorrow LOC come ₁ -1s

(79) <i>ŋa tətʰot kəsam tʃe vi-ŋ</i>	<i>* ŋa tətʰot kəsam viŋ</i>
I hour three LOC come ₁ -1s	
I'll come at three o'clock.	

The meaning of such constructions as *soʃnuj* would be something like 'on tomorrow'. The construction in the second ungrammatical sentence is actually possible, if *tʃe* is taken as an adverb meaning 'here' rather than as a modifier of *soʃnu*, yielding 'I'll come here tomorrow' rather than 'I'll come tomorrow'. I describe habitual locative marking with time references below.

The indefinite locative marker *cʰo* means 'somewhere, sometime':

(80) *kʰa-j cʰo kə makəndʒa w-əzgre ki na-ndoʔ*
 living.room-LOC LOC PR strange 3s:GEN-sound IDEF PFT-have
 A strange sound came from somewhere around the living room.

- (81) pəʃurtɕə c^ho pkraʃis ʃenxwa^ʌ na-leʔt-w
 a.few.days.ago LOC bKra.shis phone PFT-hit₂-3s
 Sometime a few days ago bKra-shis called.

Note that adverbialisers such as *c^ho* can mark a constituent that is already marked for time or space, as in (80).

The marker *k^ho*, like *tʃe*, can function as an adverbialiser of phrases or smaller constituents as well as a conjunctive adverb. The marker signals meanings like 'the utmost, to the farthest extent, beyond, surpassing', which can be used to indicate geographical space or, more metaphorically, the surpassing degree of a quality or event. In space, the marker indicates that one has reached the farthest limit; one literally has run out of space and into some limiting factor:

- (82) ndə k^ho kə-mi tə na-vətʃi-ŋ korə ʃi-məto-ŋ
 that beyond NOM-not.have C PFT-walk-1s CON NEG/PFT-see-1s
 I walked until I could not go any further, but I did not find [it]. (I searched high and low through the land, but I did not find it.)

- (83) kəŋan ndə k^ho ma-kə-k^hut
 bad that beyond NEG-NOM-can
 It is impossible to be more evil [than this]. (This is evil to an extent impossible to surpass)

Locative *k^ho* can also indicate that two actions or events follow each other very closely in time or even that the end of the first action overlaps with the beginning of the second:

- (84) k^hrəʔw nə-ʃnu k^ho drolma to-məndə
 rice PFT-cook LOC sGrol.ma PFT-arrive
 sGrol-ma arrived just as the rice was done.

- (85) ʃenxwa^ʌ kaleʔt k^ho katʃ^{hi}
 telephone hit LOC go
 Go as soon as one has made a call.

A good example is sentence (86). This example gives in one long sentence a complex event, recognisable to anyone who has ever spent time on the Tibetan grasslands, which are infested with fierce dogs of a huge size: bKra-shis, while taking a leak, is surprised by a dog. He spins around in order to flee but since his trousers are around his ankles he drops to the ground in a heap. The speaker chops up this complex event, which consists of a number of actions, into smaller segments with the use of various conjunctions:

- (86) pkraʃis kə kʰə kəndzok na-məsem tʃe w-əŋkʰu? her na-məʒər
 bKra.shis PR dog barking PFT-hear LOC 3s:GEN-after EXPR PFT-turn
 bKra-shis, after he had heard the barking of the dog, spun around preparing to

kʰo kəpʰo to-ʼa-lo? korə kaŋsnem karaʃi
 CON flee PFT-NEV-prepare but trousers pull.up
 run but, having had no time to pull up his trousers he fell to the ground

ʃi-ʼa-tso kʰo məla-j sprep na-ʼa-ndɽwaʔp-w
 NEG/PFT-NEV-have.free.timeCON ground-LOC EXP PFT-NEV-fall-3s
 in a heap.

In this great example there are two coordinated sentences linked by *korə*, 'but'. In the first sentence bKra-shis hears the dog, spins around and prepares to flee. The hearing of the dog is expressed by an adverbial clause marked by locative *tʃe*, 'at the time, when'. The two other actions, spinning around and preparing to flee, are linked by *kʰo*, indicating that they take part one right after the other and that they are considered as a cluster that signals one event by the speaker. In the second sentence the fact of the trousers being around bKra-shis ankles and his falling to the ground are linked by *kʰo* as well, forming a second cluster that signals one complex event.

Locative marker *sta*, 'from, origin' derives from the noun *tasta*, 'origin' and is often used together with adverb *maʃki*, 'until':

- (87) ŋa ʃijweꞌ sanꞌ haʔwꞌ sta tə wuꞌ haʔwꞌ maʃki ɲu-ŋ
 I January three number from C five number until stay-1s
 I'll stay from January third until January the fifth.

- (88) mborkʰe sta tə mkʰono maʃki na-vətɽi-ŋ
 Mǎěrkāng from C Kǒnglóng until PFT-walk-1s
 I walked from Mǎěrkāng to Kǒnglóng.

b. Location in time

Absolute time

Absolute time is normally expressed by unmodified nouns and numerals:

- (89) *təts^hot kəsam* *zlawa daŋbo*
 hour three month one
 three o'clock the first month (in the Tibetan calendar)

təts^hot kəpdu təvek
 hour four half
 (it is) half past four.

But when the time reference is tied to a specific action or event, usually *tʃe* or *-j* occurs. The locative marking alters a constituent's meaning from a reference to a quantity of time to a specific point in time. Example (90a) shows a reference to absolute time, *təts^hot kəsam*, 'three hours', the amount of time the subject spent waiting. There is no marking on the time reference. But in (90b) the absolute time reference *təts^hot kəsam* is linked to a specific event, namely the point in time at which the subject 'he' came. The time reference is linked to his coming by locative *tʃe*:

- (90a) *təts^hot kəsam na-nanjo-ŋ*
 hour three PFT-wait-1s
 I waited for three hours.
- (90b) *təts^hot kəsam tʃe ndə-j ji-vu*
 hour three LOC that-LOC PFT-come₂
 He came there at three o'clock.

Time of day, period of day, day of the week and month all use *tʃe*. With references to 'year' as a unit of time *tʃe* or *-j* only appears if the speaker wants to emphasise that a certain event happened at that particular time. For references to the day of the month normally a genitive construction is used.

time of day	(91)	<i>təts^hot kəsam tʃe</i>	<i>təts^hot kəfnəs tʃe</i>
		hour three LOC	hour seven LOC
		at three o'clock	at seven o'clock
period of day	(92)	<i>saksəŋk^hu? tʃe</i>	<i>tamor tʃe</i>
		noon-after LOC	evening LOC
		in the afternoon	in the evening

- day of the week (93) ʃiŋʃiji^ɕ tʃe smonbe katʃ^{hi}i
Monday LOC doctor go
Go to the doctor on Monday.
- (94) ʃiŋʃitʃan^ɕ tʃe maʃaŋ^ɕ kaleʔt
Sunday LOC májiàng hit_i
Play májiàng on Sunday.
- day of the month (95) ndə tə kəsam-zji-kərek w-əʃnu na-kə-sci 'nə-ŋos
that C three-ten-one 3s:GEN-day PFT-NOM-be.born EV-be
He was born on the 31st.
- month of the year (96) zlawə daŋbo tʃəʔ tʃe karət^{ha} ma-ra
month one this LOC study NEG-need
This January we don't need to go to school.
- year (97) 2001 nijan^ɕ ŋa ʃintəhu na-ŋos-ŋ
2001 year I Chéngdū PFT-be-1s
In 2001 I was in Chéngdū.
- (98) 1976 nijan^ɕ tʃe ŋa kə-rət^{ha} na-ŋos-ŋ
1976 year LOC I NOM-study PFT-be-1s
In 1976 I was a student.

For festivals and seasons either *tʃe* or *-j* is used, often after the addition of a genitive form of *təʒak*, 'time, day', forming the meaning of 'at the time of...' Also common is the use of *t^{ha}aʔm*, 'period, time, while' :

- (99) loser w-əʒak-j ŋa to-nəja-ŋ
New.Year 3s:GEN-time-LOC I PFT-go home-1s
I went home at New Year's.
- (100) rəmtʃ^{hot} w-əʒak tʃe təmu kəsu
mountain.offering 3s:GEN-time LOC sky clear
At the time of the festival for the mountain deity the weather was good.

(101)	kərtswu winter (noun)	kərtswu-j winter-LOC in winter	kərtswu tʃe winter LOC in winter
		kərtswu tʰaʔm winter time in winter	kərtswu wu-tʰaʔm winter 3s:GEN-time in winter

kərtswu-j makəndʒa kəməʃtak
winter-LOC very cold
In winter it is very cold.

kərsɕup tʰaʔm karama kəməca
harvest time work much
The harvest season is a busy time.

Relative time

Relative time ties the time reference to the time of speech. General relative time is expressed by adverbs such as *pu*, 'now', and *kəsce*, 'before, ago, first'. Some single word adverbs can be used to form compounds, such as *pəʃni*, 'today', from *pu*, 'now' and *təʃni*, 'day' or *tʃəʔpu*, 'still now, at the moment', from *tʃe*, 'here' and *pu*, 'now'. Some nouns and verbs can also be used adverbially, such as *wəŋkʰuʔ*, 'later, later on, afterwards', and *tawo*, 'early, first'. These adverbials can be modified by other adverbials, like *ston kəməŋkʰuʔ*, 'finally', from the verb *kəməŋkʰuʔ*, 'late' and the adverb *ston*, 'most'.

(102)	mə-to-tə-nəndza-n Q-PFT-2-have.a.meal-2s Have you eaten?	pu miʔ now not.have Not yet.
(103)	kəsce ɲa diansəʔ ʃo before I TV always I used to do a lot of watching TV, but now I stopped watching.	kə-namɲo-ŋ na-ŋos-ŋ kʰo NOM-experience-1s PFT-be-1s CON now TER-experience-1s

In example (103) *məto-* indicates terminative aspect. I describe aspect in section 7.4 of the chapter on verbs below.

Specific relative time is expressed by nouns like *soʃnu*, 'tomorrow' and *saksəŋkʰuʔ*, 'afternoon'. Specific relative time can point forward, from the time of speech to a point in the future:

- (104) soʃnu ɲaməmtə-j
tomorrow meet-1p
See you tomorrow!
- (105) ɲa tʃəʔ w-əŋkʰuʔ ʃiŋtʃiwuʔ tʃe tʰo-ŋ
I this 3s:GEN-after Friday LOC ascend-1s
I'll come up next Friday (the Friday after this).

Or the speaker can refer back from the time of speech to a point in the past:

- (106) pəʃur təmor kətʃe ji-tə-rji-n
yesterday evening where PFT-2-go₂-2s
Where did you go last night?
- (107) tətʰot kəpəs w-aka tʃe ɲa tʃe-j na-ŋos-ŋ
hour two 3s:GEN-bottom LOC I here-LOC PFT-be-1s
I was here two hours ago.

There is also a set of three locative markers, *no*, *ro* and *mo*. Locative marking with *no* means 'at the latest', the last moment after the reference point referred to by the speaker:

- (108) pəʃnu-ŋkʰuʔ no kava səjoʔk ʃi
today-back LOC:at.the.latest do finish MD:C
[It] will be finished at the latest at the end of today.

Locative *no* cannot be reduplicated and an adverbial with *no* cannot be modified by prominence marker *kə*. Locative marker *mo* means 'just, recent, just at that time':

- (109) ndə mo-mo mo kə wuʃo-ɲo kə tʃəʔ tascok tə na-laʔt-jn
that LOC-LOC LOC:recent PR 3-p PR this letter C PFT-hit₂-3p
Only just now, this very minute, did they write this letter.
- (110) mbarkham joarʔ nienʔ tʃe mo kə ji-'a-tʃʰi....
Măĕrkāng 1992 year LOC LOC:recent PR PFT-NEV-go
He went to Măĕrkāng in 1992 just at that time.....

Note that *mo* behaves differently from *no* in that it can be reduplicated for emphasis and adverbials modified by *mo* can be modified in their turn by prominence marker *kə*, though use of *kə* is not obligatory:

- (111) drolma ndə mo to-məndə
 sGrol.ma that LOC:recent PFT-arrive
 sGrol-ma arrived just now.

drolma ndə mo kə to-mənde
 sGrol.ma that LOC:recent PR PFT-arrive
 Just now sGrol-ma arrived.

Also frequently used is *ro*, 'later than', from the noun *təro*, 'surplus, extra, leftover'.

- (112) ŋa tətshot kəsam ro vi-ŋ
 I hour three LOC:later.than come₁-ls
 I'll be there a bit after three o'clock.

Continuous time

Continuous time expresses actions or events that persist over a space of time. The most frequently used adverbs are *fo*, 'always', *fi*, 'constantly, all the time' and *wamu*, 'usually, originally':

- (113) tʃəʔ tə tapuʔ kʰəna fo ka-nəmbri ŋos
 this C child dog always NOM-play be
 This child always plays with dogs.

- (114) tʃəʔ tə tapuʔ kʰəna fi ka-nəmbri ŋos
 this C child dog constantly NOM-play be
 This child plays with the dog constantly, all the time.

The difference between (113) and (114) is that in (113) the speaker knows from experience over a longer period of time, a year say, that the child likes to play with dogs. In (114) the speaker has watched the child play over a continuous stretch of time, e.g. one afternoon).

- (115) wamu wuʃo stiŋ kəməntʃə kəmpʰrəm tʃe kə-ŋu ŋos
 usually he SUP front row LOC NOM-sit be
 He usually sits in the first row.

Meanings such as 'incessantly', 'for a long time', 'constantly' are expressed with verbs or nouns, sometimes in combination with adverbs like *zakrəŋ*, 'for a long time, often':

- (116) ma-ka-nəna tə kava 'na-cʰa
 NEG-NOM-rest C do OBS-able
 [He] is able to go on doing [this] without stopping, incessantly

- (117) pkraʃis ʒakrəŋ tə kwatsəɕ kə-ndza-w ʃi 'nə-ŋos
 bKra.shis long.time C sunflower.seeds NOM-eat-3s constantly EV-be
 bKra-shis constantly eats sunflower seeds.
- (118) ʒak kəskriʔn ki kʰarʒak na-va-w
 time long IDEF song PFT-do-3s
 [He] sang for a long time.

Durative time

Durative time indicates the time over which an event takes place. For a general indication of a period of time, without a clear statement of beginning and end of the period, there is no marking:

- (119) ŋa ʃintəhu-j kəmŋi pa na-ŋu-ŋ
 I Chéngdū-LOC five year PFT-live-1s
 I lived in Chéngdū for five years.
- (120) ŋa kəsam ʃnu to-tsoʔs-ŋ
 I three day PFT-spend-1s
 I spent three days.

For a reference to a stretch of time between two given points, the marker *ʃ-* appears prefixed to the locative construction that signals the relationship between the two points of time:

- (121) tʃəʔ w-aka ʃiŋtʃiɕ kəmŋi ʃ-əŋkʰuʔ-j tʰi kəpsə
 this 3s:GEN-before week five DUR-back-LOC what compare
 Nothing happened after last Friday (between last Friday and now).
- na-miʔ-s
 PFT-not have-PST:3s
- (122) ʃiŋtʃiwuɕ ʃ-əŋkʰuʔ-j tʰi kərut miʔ
 Friday DUR-back-LOC what serious not.have
 Nothing is going to happen until Friday (between now and coming Friday).
- (123) ʃiŋtʃijiɕ ʃ-əmpʰu-j ŋa tʃəʔ-j ʃnu-ŋ ʃi
 Monday DUR-outside-LOC I this-LOC stay-1s MD:C
 I'll be here from Monday (after Monday) for sure.
- (124) tətʰot kəpəs ʃ-əŋgu-j vi-ŋ
 hour two DUR-inside-LOC come₁-1s
 I'll be back within two hours.

Iterative time

Iterative time expresses events that are repeated, usually on a regular basis. Actions or events that take place with predictability, that is to say, they always happen at the stated time, are expressed by a general statement with a time reference that is unmarked:

- (125) $\text{ʃiŋtʃiji}^{\text{ㄙ}} \quad \text{kəru}^{\text{ㄋ}}\text{-t}^{\text{h}}\text{a} \quad \text{ka-slep} \quad \text{ndo}^{\text{ㄋ}}$
Monday Tibetan-book NOM-study have
On Mondays we have Tibetan class.

- (126) $\text{saksəŋk}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{\text{ㄋ}} \quad \text{sejnok} \quad \text{kava}$
afternoon weed do
In the afternoons we weed [the garden].

To express that a situation occurred only once, the Jiǎomùzú dialects use $kəc^{\text{h}}a$, 'once, one time', formed of classifier $c^{\text{h}}a$, 'time, turn' and $kə-$, 'one'.

- (127) $\text{kə-c}^{\text{h}}a \quad \text{tʃe} \quad \text{təwa}^{\text{ㄋ}}\text{m} \quad \text{na-}^{\text{h}}\text{a-sat-w}$
one-CL LOC bear PFT-NEV-kill-3s
He killed a bear once.

- (128) $\text{wu}^{\text{ㄋ}}\text{o-jno} \quad \text{lhase} \quad \text{kə-c}^{\text{h}}a \quad \text{ji-}^{\text{h}}\text{a-tʃ}^{\text{h}}\text{i-jn}$
3-p Lhasa one-CL PFT-NEV-go₁-3p
They went to Lhasa once.

The difference between 'only one time' and 'once, at some point in time' can be expressed by modifying $kəc^{\text{h}}a$ with the indefiniteness marker $kɪ$:

- (129) $\text{wu}^{\text{ㄋ}}\text{o} \quad \text{lhase} \quad \text{kəc}^{\text{h}}a \quad \text{kat}^{\text{h}}\text{o} \quad \text{rəm}^{\text{ㄋ}}\text{no}$
he Lhasa one.time go.up experience
He has been to Lhasa one time.

- (130) $\text{kəc}^{\text{h}}a \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{wu}^{\text{ㄋ}}\text{o} \quad \text{lhase} \quad \text{to-}^{\text{h}}\text{a-tʃ}^{\text{h}}\text{i}$
one time IDEF he Lhasa PFT-NEV-go
Once (upon a time) he went to Lhasa.

The classifier $c^{\text{h}}a$ can be used to count the number of times a single event or action occurs:

- (131) $\text{stonmoŋ} \quad \text{kəpəs} \quad \text{c}^{\text{h}}a \quad \text{na-}^{\text{h}}\text{a-va-w} \quad \text{pə}^{\text{ㄋ}}\text{ʒər} \quad \text{nə-ŋanəŋka-jn}$
wedding two CL PFT-NEV-do-3s again PFT-divorce-3p
She married twice and divorced again.

If an action or event is repeated only once or a few times at most, adverbs are employed. The most frequently used adverbs that can express repetition are *pəʒəʔ*, 'again' as in example (131) above and *maŋjuʔ*, 'again, still, also, once more, moreover', as in the following example:

- (132) varʃi mo kə kawʂəʔ na-va-w
 last year recent PR exam PFT-do-3w
 He took the test just last year,
- piva maŋjuʔ na-'a-va-w
 this year once more PFT-NEV-do-3w
 and again this year.

c. Location in space

The Jiǎomùzú dialects employ a set of adverbs that references place only. This set is linked to the specific orientational grid used in Jiǎomùzú. For discussion and examples of use, see section 7.3 on orientation in the verb chapter. Here I just give the set of adverbs:

- (133) sto vertically up
 na vertically down
 ro towards the mountain
 ri towards the river
 sku upstream
 nu downstream

Beside the adverbs in this set Jiǎomùzú uses the locative markers *tʃe* and *-j* as described above to modify a variety of constituents. Location in space in Jiǎomùzú follows the same pattern of marking as location in time. General references to a geographic location are unmarked:

- (134) ŋa ʃintəhu sloppən to-va-ŋ
 I Chéngdū teacher PFT-do-1s
 I was in Chéngdū as a teacher.
- (135) sonam kunmɿŋ kə-rama 'nə-ŋos kə-mjer 'nə-maʔk
 bSod.nams Kūnmíng¹³⁰ NOM-work EV-be NOM-visit EV-not be
 bSod-nams was in Kūnmíng as a worker, not as a tourist.

¹³⁰ 昆明.

Locative marking is obligatory when a speaker refers to a location as the locus where an action or event takes place:

- (136) pkraʃis kantʃʰak tʃe laktʃʰe 'na-ku-w
 bKra.shis street LOC thing OBS-buy-3s
 bKra-shis is in the market buying some stuff.

* pkraʃis kantʃʰak tʃe laktʃʰe 'nakuw

Exceptions to the rule are loanwords, especially from Chinese, that usually remain unmarked:

- (137a) tʃədzanᵛ bus station, from Chinese 车站, *chēzhàn*

ŋa ʃiməntʃədzanᵛ tʃʰi-ŋ
 I West.gate.bus.station go₁-1s
 I'll go to the Westgate bus station.

ŋa pʰjawᵛ tʃədzanᵛ to-ku-ŋ
 I ticket bus.station PFT-buy-1s
 I bought the ticket at the bus station

- (137b) ʃimənᵛ Westgate, of Chinese 西门, *xīmén*

wu-baŋgoŋᵛ minjwənᵛ ʃimənᵛ 'na-ndo?
 3s:GEN-office Mínyuàn West.gate OBS-have
 His office is at the Westgate of Mínyuàn.

The meaning of suffix *-j* encompasses adessive meanings such as 'at' as well as allative meanings such as 'toward a place', as shown in the following examples of answers to questions commonly used as greetings, such as 'where are you going?' when two acquaintances meet in the street:

(138)	kətə tə-tʃʰi-n	kantʃʰak-j	ʃintəhu-j
	which 2-go₁-2s	market-LOC	Chéngdū-LOC
	Where are you going?	I'm going to town.	To Chéngdū.

In some of the Jiǎomùzú dialects, such as Púzhi, there is yet another locative suffix, ablative *-s*, signalling 'movement from'. Unlike locative *-j*, which modifies references to time as well as place, *-s* occurs, to my knowledge, only with references to geographical location:

- (139) prak w-ərka-s na kambət manʃu? kaŋak^hu nanəmdap
 rock 3s:GEN-top-LOC down fall also scream at.the.same.time
 Screaming he fell down from the rock.

- (140) tamar bawbaw^ʔ w-əŋgu-s kak^hit
 butter bag 3s:GEN-inside-LOC pull
 Pull butter out of a bag.

The other Jiāomùzú dialects use *-j* in combination with verbs and orientational adverbs as listed in (133) to signal ablative ‘movement from’. It may be that Jiāomùzú used to have three locatives, *tʃe* for location at rest, *-j* for movement towards a location and *-s* for movement from a location. The use of both *-s* and *-j* to form locatives is also attested in the Central rGyalrong dialect of Zhuōkèjī, as evidenced by examples in the work of Lín Xiàngróng and Lin You-Jing.¹³¹ It may be that in the past all the Jiāomùzú dialects used both suffixes, as is still the case in other places, but are now in a process of losing the use of *-s* with *-j* doing double duty, signalling ‘towards’ as well as ‘from’. Or it might be that Jiāomùzú always employed different ways of forming locatives in different communities. According to some of my language consultants it is a matter of a speaker's individual preference.

Jiāomùzú employs nouns in genitive constructions to show a range of relationships between two entities. For more on genitives, see the chapters on nouns and pronouns. As mentioned in the general section on locatives, 5.6.a, genitives can in turn form locatives of place by suffixing them with *-j* or, depending on dialect and speaker preference, *-s*. These constructions are similar in meaning to English postpositions:

- (141) tərka
 top, surface

coktse w-ərka	coktse w-ərka-j
table 3s:GEN-surface table	3s:GEN-surface-LOC
the top of the table	on the table

- (142) təŋk^hu?
 back (n)

təjeʔm w-əŋk ^h u?	təjeʔm w-əŋk ^h u?-j
house 3s:GEN-back	house 3s:GEN-back-LOC
the back of the house	at the back of the house
	behind the house

¹³¹ Lín (1993: 186, 187), Lin (2002: 29).

Huáng notes that *tə-* prefixed to words with a directional meaning signals 'the place...in relation to me', with 'me' as the centre. For example, *təŋk^hu?* means 'behind (me)'.¹³² Apparently Huáng considers *tə-* in this sort of combination as a nominaliser for directional words. It is not helpful to have 'me' at the centre in determining direction in such words. As shown in the examples above, the direction depends on the head noun of the adverbial phrase, which in most cases will not be 'me'. However, since *tə-* is one of the four common noun markers, these words can simply be understood as nouns, as shown in the examples above.

The more common ones often occur without the actual referent of the adverbialised genitive, as in (143) where the answer 'inside' is marked for third person singular by *w-* in *wəŋgi* but the entity, say the house, remains implicit:

(143)	pkraʃis	kətʃe	ŋos	w-əŋgi	w-əŋgi-j	ji-rɿi
	bKra.shis	where	be	3s:GEN-inside	3s:GEN-inside-LOC	PFT-go ₂
	Where is bKra-shis?			Inside.	He went inside.	

Locatives formed of nouns which are heads of genitive constructions anchor the concept of location. To indicate motion to and from and positions relative to the location that is expressed in the meaning of the noun that is the root of the locative, *-j* or *-s* are suffixed and a variety of motion verbs is used:

(144)	interior	noun	t-əŋgi	the inside	
	in(side)	location	w-əŋgi 3s:GEN-inside	inside	
	inside	motion to	w-əŋgi-j 3s:GEN-inside-LOC	karko put	put inside
	out of	motion from	w-əŋgi-j 3s:GEN-inside-LOC	kak ^h it take	take out of
	through	motion past	w-əŋgi-j 3s:GEN-inside-LOC	karwu pull	pull through

¹³² Huáng (1993: 28).

(145)	superior	noun	t-ərka	top, surface
	on, over, above	location	w-ərka 3s:GEN-top	on, on top on the surface over, above
	above	motion to	w-ərka-j 3s:GEN-top-LOC	kata? put on put
	from above		w-ərka-j 3s:GEN-top-LOC	katʃ ^h i go above go
	on to		w-ərka-j 3s:GEN-top-LOC	kata? put on top of put
	from above	motion from	w-ərka-s 3s:GEN-top-LOC	kavi come from come above
	off		w-ərka-s 3s:GEN-top-LOC	kavija take off (from) fetch
	over	motion past	w-ərka-s 3s:GEN-top-LOC	kando? be over, have above
	over, across		w-ərka-s 3s:GEN-top-LOC	kanemgla move cross across

Below is a list of the most frequently used locational postpositions, with their root nouns:

<u>noun</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>at rest</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>with motion verb (to, from, past)</u>
təʃkra	side	w-əʃkra	at, near	toward beside, from beside along, through past
təmba, təmp ^h a təp ^h jos	near	w-əmba w-əmp ^h a w-əp ^h jos	toward toward near	up to, to the side of away from
təŋgi	inside	w-əŋgi	in(side)	in(to) from through
təmp ^h i	outside	w-əmp ^h i	out(side)	
tap ^h uvek	side	w-ap ^h uvek	at the side of	
tətɽu	front	w-ətɽu	in front (of)	in front of from the front of
təŋk ^h u?	back	w-əŋk ^h u?	behind	behind from behind
			beyond	(from) beyond
tərka	top	w-ərka	above, over on off over, across	from above, over on (to)
təspoʔk	underside	w-əspoʔk	below, under	below, under from under
tsərə	this side	wu-tsərə	on this side	to this side of from this side of
p ^h arə	the other side	wu-p ^h arə	across	from across on the other side of
tarnam	place beside	w-arnam	beside	to the side of on the side of
tacep	gap	w-acep	between	
tək ^h a	mouth	w-ək ^h a	among	from among through
tətɽu p ^h arə	opposite side	w-ətɽu p ^h arə	opposite	from the other side opposite
taka	bottom	w-aka	under(neath)	

Note that the nouns *tsərə*, 'this side' and *p^harə*, 'the opposite side' are loans from Tibetan.¹³³ These nouns take head marking and can be modified by definiteness markers and a locative marker *-j* just like other locational nouns:

- (146) *tsərə-j kə-^hvi-n*
 this.side-LOC IMP-come₁-2s
 Come over here!

- (147) *tsərə tə jino ji-sat^he 'nə-ŋos*
 this.side C we:e 1p:GEN-land EV-be
 The land on this side is ours.

- (148) *ŋa ŋə-p^harə tə nənjo nə-tsərə 'nə-ŋos*
 I 1s:GEN-opposite.side C you 2s:GEN-this.side EV-be
 My 'that side' is your 'this side'.

5.7 Conjunctive adverbs

Jiāomùzú has a few adverbs that can function as conjunctions on the phrase, clause or sentence level. I discuss conjunctions in chapter 6 on smaller word classes. Here I just mention the most common conjunctive adverbs with a few examples.

I have found the inclusive conjunctive adverb *manju?*, 'moreover, as well as'. Locative marker *k^ho*, 'as soon as; to the utmost' can also occur as the exclusive conjunctive locative marker *k^ho*, 'besides, in addition to'. There is also *maŋki*, which signals 'until' in declarative sentences and 'unless' in negatives. Conjunctive adverb *mənə* signals a contrast between the two clauses it connects and the speaker's regret about an event or action. And finally there is the locative *tfe*, 'at'. Conjunctive adverbs often occur together with the conjunction *nə*, though not always:

- (149) *təju? w-əŋgi na-məzaŋk-ŋ tfe ŋ-əpkor tə 'na-jo*
 water 3s:GEN-in PFT-jump₂-1s LOC 1s:GEN-burden C OBS-light
 When I jumped into the water my burden became light.

- (150) *k^halu ro-va-w tfe nə k^horlo 'na-məzər*
 wind PFT-do-3s LOC CON wheel OBS-spin
 Once the wind blows, the wheel spins.

Prominence marker *kə* cannot occur between a conjunctive adverb and *nə*:

¹³³ From literary Tibetan མཚོར *tshur*, 'this side' and བར *phar*, 'thither, away, over there'.

- (151) k^hrəʔw nə-ʃnu k^ho nə drolma to-məndə
 rice PFT-cook LOC CON sGron.ma PFT-arrive
 sGron-ma arrived just when the rice was done.

* k^hrəʔw nəʃnu k^ho kə nə drolma toməndə

Here are some examples of the other conjunctive adverbs:

- (152) ɲa-ci lhase kat^ho rəmɲo mənə ɲa ma-rəmɲo-ɲ
 1s:GEN-younger.sibling lHase ascend experience CON I NEG-experience-1s
 My younger sibling has been to Lhasa but I, regrettably, have not.

- (153) pakʃu ʒik ndoʔ ʒugolor ʒik ndoʔ manʃuʔ tamar
 apple also have walnut also have beside butter
 There were apples and walnuts, as well as butter.

Note that in (153) the verb phrase of the second clause is implicit.

- (154) katop ma-¹nə-k^hut kasat manʃuʔ ma-¹nə-k^hut
 hit NEG-OBS-possible kill more.so NEG-OBS-possible
 Beating is not possible and killing is even more impossible!

- (155) sgrolma k^honə w-andʃiʔ təmu kəmɲi ¹na-ɲu-ɲn
 sGrol.ma CON 3s:GEN-friend girl five OBS-live-3p
 Five girls in addition to sGrol-ma live [in the dorm].

- (156) pkraʃis wuʃo ma-və-nəro-w maʃki tascok kavəja ma-k^hut
 bKra.shis he NEG-VPT-EREFL-take-3s unless letter fetch NEG-can
 Unless bKra-shis comes to get the letter himself, (you) can't take it.

- (157) k^horlo ma-vi maʃki tə tʃəʔ to-¹va-w
 bus NEG-come₁ until C this IMP-do-2s
 Do this until the bus arrives.

- (158) ma-ndza maʃki w-əkto ma-pki
 NEG-eat unless 3s:GEN-stomach NEG-full
 He won't get full unless he eats (he will be hungry if he doesn't eat)

- (159) ḡa tascok kaleʔt ma-səjoʔk-ḡ maʃki dienjiḡḡ kə-namḡo ma-tʃʰi-ḡ
 I letter write₁ NEG-finish-1s unless movie NOM-watch NEG-go-1s
 I won't go watch a movie unless I've finished this letter.

CHAPTER 6

EXPRESSIVES, INTERJECTIONS, FILLERWORDS, CONJUNCTIONS AND MOOD MARKERS

6.0 *Introduction*

In this chapter I discuss five smaller word classes, expressives, interjections, filler words, conjunctions and mood markers.

Section 6.1 describes expressives, which are best understood as manner adverbs with special phonological and morphological characteristics. Jiǎomùzú expressives come in three distinct morphological shapes. They can consist of one syllable, two identical syllables, or two identical syllables linked by *-nə-*. Repetition of an expressive signals a greater degree of intensity, speed or urgency. Multisyllabic expressives can be derived from single syllable ones, but which forms are grammatical depends on semantic factors and must be learned. Orientation markers, when used in a figurative sense, can be employed as expressives. There are some four syllable expressions that are partly meaning based. It is probably simplest to classify these as expressives also.

Section 6.2 gives a short overview of interjections. Jiǎomùzú interjections usually occur at the beginning of a sentence, but can also stand alone. Interjections express a speaker's emotional response to a certain event or situation, such as surprise, anger, excitement, fear, pain. Also included in this section are oaths and onomatopoeic expressions such as animal calls.

In section 6.3 I discuss filler words. Fillers are used to fill up a pause or hesitation in an utterance and can occur anywhere in the sentence. The more hesitant a speaker is, the more fillers tend to occur. The Jiǎomùzú dialects employ three distinct types of filler words. There are non-meaning based fillers as well as meaning based fillers. The third type consists of certain conjunctions that can do duty as filler words.

Section 6.4 contains a discussion of conjunctions. In Jiǎomùzú both concatenate constructions and constructions which employ conjunctions are common. On the clause level and below, conjunctions usually occur at the end of the first conjunct. On the discourse level a conjunction can signal a new topic, in which case it occurs at the beginning of the new segment in the discourse. There are coordinating as well as subordinating conjunctions in Jiǎomùzú. Coordinating subjunctions include *korənə*, *narənə* and *merə*, which semantically partially overlap with English 'but', 'and' and 'or' respectively, though the use of *narənə* is much more restricted than its English counterpart 'and'. The coordinating conjunction *rə* links conjuncts sequentially in a context of futurity while *rənə* links sets of completed events. The most frequently used subordinating conjunction is *nə*. This conjunction subordinates the conjunct it marks and turns it into a back-up or validation for the information that follows in the second conjunct. On the phrase level, with nominal constituents, *nə* can function rather like a topicaliser. The subordinating conjunction *wurənə* signals reason or result,

while *k^honə* indicates condition. There is a difference in the level of evidentiality expressed by these conjunctions, with *wurənə* signalling the greater certainty of the two. Jiǎomùzú also has adverbs which can serve as conjunctions. Some of these can occur with another conjunction like *nə*.

In the last section, 6.5, I discuss mood markers. These illocutionary force markers occur at the very end of a sentence, though they can be followed by a question marker. They are used very frequently in Jiǎomùzú, mostly to modify a statement or question with the appropriate emotional inflection or mood.

6.1 Expressives

Sun¹³⁴ defines expressives or ideophones as "a special type of words that depict all kinds of sounds, shapes, colors, qualities, and actions in a direct matching of sound and meaning to convey sensory experiences and attitudes". Another definition of ideophone, following Doke, is: "a word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualitative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity."¹³⁵ The Jiǎomùzú dialects have many expressives. Expressives are short words that pack very complex meanings. For example, the one syllable expressive *sprep* occurs with verbs that can signal actions such as falling, tripping or tumbling. The semantic load of *sprep* encompasses both the manner or reason of the fall, it being caused by clumsiness or lack of attention, and the result, namely the subject's ending up sprawling full length on the ground. The expressives are best understood as manner adverbs that have certain phonological and morphological qualities which distinguish them from other words. The abundance of expressives explains the paucity of manner adverbs in Jiǎomùzú. I discuss expressives as a separate word class rather than as adverbs because of their phonological and morphological distinctions.

Phonologically the Jiǎomùzú expressives can incorporate sounds and combinations of sounds that are not part of the regular phonology or that occur in loanwords only. For example, /ʃ/ normally is found only in loanwords. But it also occurs in expressives, as in *ʃonʃonʃ*, which indicates long and thin things, see example (1). The cluster /xw/ also does not normally occur, except in expressives:

- (1) xwenxwen bright and shiny and of a pure nature (expressive)

təŋge kə-vəɾni xwenxwen
clothes NOM-red EXP
bright red unicoloured clothes

tat^ho kə-psok xwenxwen
lamp NOM-bright EXP
a lamp that shines brightly and
illuminates a space without leaving dark
corners

¹³⁴ Sun (2004: 11).

¹³⁵ Doke 1935, quoted after Slachter (1996: 21).

The same goes for the cluster /gɾ/, which occurs in expressives only:

- (2) gɾəkɾək unbroken, in great quantity

w-əmɾak-ju gɾəkɾək na-lhok
 3s:GEN-eye-water EXP PFT-appear
 His tears ran like rivers.

And some expressives have double vowels or diphthongs, like *jiek*, '(sound of) sudden bursting open and spilling out', see example (3) below.

Expressives often are onomatopoeic, imitations of sounds:

- (3) jiek the sound of something bursting out from somewhere all at once, as of intestines falling out of an abdomen ripped open
 ʃkəkʃkək the sound of scrabbling and fast movement, as of rats running over a ceiling

From a morphological point of view, I have found three distinct forms of expressives, namely expressives consisting of a single syllable root, expressives made up of two identical syllables, and expressives in which two identical syllables are linked by *-nə-*.

Here are some examples of the first form, consisting of a one syllable root:

- (4) jiek (sound of) something bursting out all at once and completely

wu-naŋce jiek rə-kə-k^hit 'nə-ŋos
 3s:GEN-intestine EXP PFT-NOM-spill EV-be
 His intestines with a *blob* sound all at once spilled out entirely.

- (5) ler in one fell swoop, in one uninterrupted movement.

...w-əza ler na-sat-w
3s:GEN-son EXP PFT-kill-3s
 ...killed his son with one fell blow.

Some, but not all, one syllable roots can be reduplicated. The reduplicated root can indicate a faster or lower speed of action. Compare example (6) below, which has the reduplicated root *jiekjiek*, with sentence (4) above, in which there is only the single syllable form of *jiek*:

- (6) jiekjiek (sound of) something bursting all at once but then taking
 some time for the contents to finish dribbling out completely

wu-naŋce jiek-jiek rə-kə-kʰit 'nə-ŋos

3s:GEN-intestine EXP-RED PFT-NOM-spill EV-be

His intestines with a *blob* sound burst out [of his belly] and dribbled out completely.

Sentences (7) and (8) give another example for *zbək*, an expressive which signals a slamming sound. Reduplication of the root leads to a meaning which carries 'fast repeated action' as part of the semantic load. The marker *-ŋa-* in example (7) is an impersonalising prefix. I discuss this prefix in section 7.8.g of the chapter on verbs:

- (7) kʰalu kə-va nə kam zbək nə-ŋa-po
 wind NOM-do CON door EXP PFT-IMPS-shut
 Since there was a breeze the door slammed shut.

- (8) ŋa kam zbək-zbək na-po-ŋ
 I door EXP-RED PFT-close-1s
 I slammed the doors shut in quick succession one after the other.

Sometimes the original meaning of the one syllable root changes through reduplication. Usually the reduplicated form is related in meaning to the single root form, as in example (9). In the first sentence *zək* means 'come to a halt in mid-stride; pull up sharply'. The second sentence has *zəkHzək*, meaning 'immobilised, without the ability to move back or forth':

- (9a) kʰəna ŋa no-məto-ŋ tʃe zək na-ŋu
 dog I AF/PFT-see-1s LOC EXP PFT-stay
 The dog, when it saw me, pulled up sharply and stood still as a statue.

- (9b) təjva kə kʰorlo zək-zək na-'a-ndʒə-w
 snow PR car EXP-RED PFT-NEV-hold-3s
 The car was stuck in the snow and couldn't move an inch back or forth.

But such derived meanings can be quite different from the original, as in the case of *ler*, 'in one uninterrupted sweeping movement', see sentence (5) above. It is not possible to have **lerler* to express either a faster or slower sweeping movement, or to intensify the original meaning. But it is possible to have *lerler* with the meaning 'a fast, continuous rolling movement', as of a log rolling down a slope. The expressive with the reduplicated root still signals fast and sweeping movement, but there are the added aspects of rolling rather than striking and a longer duration of the action. In some cases a one syllable root cannot be reduplicated and maintain the same sense, though it is

possible to form a new root with a different meaning, as in example (10) below. In sentence (10a) *tsok* means 'just then, right at that moment' but the reduplicated form *tsoktsok* in (10b) indicates 'still and straight, without wriggling':

- (10a) η a kə-tʃ^hi- η to-lo- η tʃe tsok nə-məndə
 I NOM-go₁-1s PFT-prepare-1s LOC EXP PFT-arrive
 He arrived right at the moment when I was preparing to leave.

- (10b) tapuʔ-po tsoktsok na-pu-jn
 child-p EXP PFT-sit-3p
 The children sat up straight and still, without wriggling.

Example (11) shows the same principle for different morphological forms based on the expressive *sprep*. The underlying idea, maintained in all three variants, is a sense of wholeheartedness, a full commitment or abandon to the action. But the expressives differ from each other in general meaning:

- (11) *sprep* sprawling in full length as the result of clumsiness or lack of
 attention to where one is going (after a fall or tumble)
 sprepsprep the sound that feet or heels make at a dance when they are all
 put down rhythmically and in time
 sprepnəsprep indicates a whole community involved with enthusiasm and
 wholeheartedness, for example when a whole village turns out
 for a dance and goes at it with gusto for many hours

When the semantic distance between a one syllable root and a reduplicated form becomes so large it may be better to consider the multi syllable form as a different morphological pattern of expressive rather than as a derived form of the one syllable root.

The second morphological pattern for expressives consists of two identical syllables. This is maybe the most common form of Jiăomùzú expressives:

(12)	ŋk ^h ukŋk ^h uk	to a degree of ugliness	kə-neʔk	ŋk ^h ukŋk ^h uk
			NOM-black	EXP
			an ugly black	
	ʃəkʃək	deep, dark	kə-neʔk	ʃəkʃək
			NOM-black	EXP
			a deep black	
	tɹoktɹok	perfectly matched (for children's clothing)	kə-natsa	tɹoktɹok
			NOM-suitable	EXP
			lovely and matching (of an outfit)	
	xpoxpo	plump, rounded in a lovely way (of children)	kə-mpʃer	xpoxpo
			NOM-beautiful	EXP
			beautifully plump	

This kind of expressive cannot occur as a root of just one syllable and must be understood as fundamentally different from the reduplicated forms derived from one syllable roots discussed above:

(13) *ʃək *xpo *tɾok *ŋk^huk

However, in some cases the morphological shape of the expressive depends on whether it modifies a verb or an adjectival, see examples (25) and (26) below.

A third morphological pattern consists of two identical syllables connected by *-nə-*. Expressives of this form signal repeated intermittent action:

(14) lernəler repeated intermittent sweeping movement

tərmu lernəler na-sat-w
person EXP PFT-kill-3s
He killed people one after another, smiting each with one fell blow.

(15) jawnəjaw (sound of) repeated but intermittent calling

wu-k^hambu sto-j jawnəjaw ʃo to-kə-cəs 'nə-ɲos
3s:GEN-yard upward-LOC EXP always PFT-NOM-say EV-be
Off and on someone kept on calling from the yard upwards.

Expressives of these four morphological forms can be repeated several times to express repetitive action or a greater degree or intensity of action, or increasing speed or urgency of action. The entire

expressive is repeated. It is not possible to repeat only part of a root or to split and mix roots. Example (16) demonstrates this for some of the expressives discussed above:

(16)	ʃəkʃək	ʃəkʃək ʃəkʃək	* ʃəkʃək ʃək
	jawnəjaw	jawnəjaw jawnəjaw	* jawjawnəjaw
			* jawnəjawjawjaw

The following examples show expressives of different morphological patterns and their behaviour when repeated in sentences. There is, in principle, no limit on how often an expressive can be repeated. But in practice it is usually just two or three times. Example (17) has the single syllable expressive *c^hot*, 'sound of dripping liquid'. The repetition of the expressive indicates a continual, repeated dripping:

(17)	w-əza	w-ajiʔk	w-əŋk ^h uʔ	təʃuʔ	c ^h ot	c ^h ot	c ^h ot
	3s:GEN-son	3s:GEN-hand	3s:GEN-back	water	EXP	EXP	EXP
	Water, saying 'plink, plink, plink', dripped onto the back of his son's hand.						
	kə-cəs	kə	na-va-w				
	NOM-say	PR	PFT-do-3s				

Example (18) shows repetition of expressives which consist of a root made up of two identical syllables. The repetition of the expressives here signals action to a greater degree:

(18)	ʔapʔap kava	ʔapʔap ʔapʔap kava
	EXP do	EXP EXP do
	do something in a messy way	mess up badly, make a terrible hash of something
	tamaʔ tə siksik kava ra	tamaʔ tə siksik siksik kava ra
	work C EXP do need	work C EXP EXP do need
	The work must be done quickly.	The work must be done as fast as possible.

In (19) the expressive *verver*, '(sound of) a big item flapping in a stiff breeze' indicates increased speed when it is repeated, while the repetition of *vernəver*, '(sound of) and item slowly and intermittently flapping in the wind' signals a decrease of speed:

- (19) ...verver verver na-sə-cəs
 EXP EXP PFT-CAUS-say
 ...flapped loudly and with quick movements in the stiff breeze.
- ...vernəver vernəver na-sə-cəs
 EXP EXP PFT-CAUS-say
 ...flapped lazily back and forth, back and forth in the wind.

A one syllable root, if it has been reduplicated, can be repeated in full form, such as *lerler lerler*. Two of the morphological patterns of expressives, namely a root consisting of two identical syllables and roots made up of two identical syllables connected by *-nə-*, can derive from the most basic pattern, the one syllable root, as mentioned above. But this is not the case for all expressives. And for those expressives that do occur in derived morphological forms there may be restrictions on which of the two possible patterns is actually realised, depending on semantic constraints. For example, *jaw*, 'sound of calling' can occur as a single root and with *-nə-*, but the form of a root consisting of two identical syllables is ungrammatical:

- (20) jaw sound of calling
 * jawjaw
 jawnəjaw ongoing intermittent calling

For *ʃprak*, 'sound of something big falling down', only the one-syllable root is grammatical:

- (21) ʃprak sound of something big falling down
 * ʃprakʃprak
 * ʃpraknəʃprak

And for the expressive *ɬapɬap*, 'in a messy way', only the form which is made up of two identical syllables is valid:

- (22) ɬapɬap in a messy way
 * ɬap
 * ɬapnəɬap

For some expressives their morphological form depends on the word they modify, in terms of word class and semantics. Which morphological format is appropriate for which expressive has to be learned. Example (23) shows constraints on the form an expressive can take imposed by the semantics of the verb it modifies:

- (23) *grəkgrək* in an unbroken stream of great quantity or volume (EXP)

<i>grəkgrək</i>	<i>grəkgrək</i>	<i>kalhok</i>	<i>grəkgrək</i>	<i>kalhok</i>
EXP	EXP	appear	EXP	appear
appear, come out in streams (of tears)			appear intermittently, stop and start	

grəkgrək *kavavo*
EXP cry
cry with a wailing sound and with lots of tears

* *grəkgrək kavavo*

The last form is ungrammatical because, when crying with a wailing sound, one needs pauses for breathing. This makes it impossible to have an uninterrupted stream of sound.

The expressive *ŋk^huk*, indicating an ugly shade of black, is a good example of an expressive whose morphological shape is determined by the word class of the word it modifies. This expressive occurs only in a one syllable form before verbs, but must have two identical syllables when it modifies adjectivals. In example (24) *kəneʔk* functions as a verb, which can be marked for the category of observation (a form of evidentiality, see section 7.5 in the chapter on verbs), whereas in (25) *kəneʔk* is a nominalised stative verb that functions as an adjective. Both verb and adjective mean 'black':

(24)	<i>ŋk^huk</i>	<i>kəneʔk</i>	* <i>ŋk^hukŋk^huk</i>	<i>kəneʔk</i>
	EXP	black (V)	* <i>ŋk^hukŋk^huk</i>	'nanek
	ugly black			

təndʒa *kəmpʃer* *o* *koronə* *ŋk^huk* 'na-neʔk 'na-najin
picture beautiful MD:AF but EXP OBS-black OBS-pity
It is a nice picture really, just too bad that it's so dark.

(25)	<i>kə-neʔk</i>	<i>ŋk^hukŋk^huk</i>	* <i>kəneʔk</i>	<i>ŋk^huk</i>
	NOM-black (ADJ)	EXP		
	an ugly black			

nə-ŋge *kə-nəʔk* *ŋk^hukŋk^huk* *ŋos*
2s:GEN-clothing NOM-black EXP be
Your clothes are an unbecomingly, ugly black colour.

I have found only a limited number of expressives that behave in this remarkable way. Most of them keep the same morphological format no matter what kind of word they modify. Other examples of expressives that change their morphological shape are *seŋseŋ*, 'pure, unpolluted' *ʃəkʃək*, 'deep, dark'

Expressives serve as pictures composed of a number of related qualities rather than as an expression of just one quality or attribute. For example *son̩son̩* indicates something that is not only long but also thin or stretched.

- The same expressive can modify different words, indicating different shades of meaning:

- The same word can be modified by different expressives:

- Unlike interjections, expressives cannot stand alone. The verbs *kacəs*, 'say' and *kava*, 'do' occur if there are no other meaning carrying verbs or adjectivals in the sentence. Expressives function as adverbs of manner. Like manner adverbs they occur before verbs and verb phrases, as shown in (25), but after adjectivals, see example (26). In Jiǎomùzú stative verbs, usually nominalised, do service as adjectives:

- (31) *k^halu təŋtək təŋtək kava* the wind howls loudly
 wind EXP EXP do
- təjuʔ təntək təntək kavi* the water comes roaring
 water EXP EXP come₁
- təjva mormor kaleʔt* sleet
 snow EXP hit₁
- təmu lali kavətʃi* a person walks slowly
 person EXP walk
- (32) *təjeʔm kəʃo tseŋtseŋ* a sparkingly clean house
 house clean EXP
- ʃokʃoʔk kəpraʔm seŋseŋ* purely white paper
 paper white EXP

Also like adverbials, expressives can be modified by prominence marker *kə*, as in example (40) below. Furthermore expressives, like adverbs, can function as nominals. Expressives in nominal roles can be modified by markers that typically occur with nominals, such as contrast marker *tə* and indefiniteness marker *ki*, as shown in the following examples with the four syllable expressive *ʃniŋe ʃnirga*, 'delighted, happy'. Sentence (33a) is the neutral form. Sentence (33b) has *ki* modifying the expressive, and in (33c) contrast marking occurs with *ʃniŋe ʃnirga*. Sentence (33d) shows that the constituent modified by *tə* truly is a nominal:

- (33a) *təŋge ki nə-mbuʔ-ŋ ʃniŋe.ʃnirga na-va-w*
 clothing IDEF PFT-give-1s EXP PFT-do-3s
 [My friend] gave me a garment, which made me very happy.
- (33b) *pkraʃis kawʃəʔ kava na-c^ha kə ʃniŋe.ʃnirga ki na-məzaʔk*
 bKra.shis exam do PFT-able PR EXP IDEF PFT-jump₂
 bKra.shis, having past the exam, jumped for joy.
- (33c) *nəŋʃo [ʃniŋe.ʃnirga tə] 'na-ʒdor k^ho kawʃəʔ ʃi-'a-c^ha*
 you EXP C OBS-excessive CON exam NEG/PFT-NEV-able
 You're enjoying yourself too much, you won't manage to pass the exam.
- (33d) *nəŋʃo [c^he kə-mot tə] 'na-ʒdor k^ho nə-vok 'na-maŋam*
 you liquor NOM-drink C OBS-excessive CON 2s:GEN-stomach OBS-hurt
 Your drinking is excessive, your stomach will hurt.

Perhaps the best translation for (33c) is something like 'Your happy gallivanting around is excessive....' When an expressive functions as a nominal, it can occur by itself, just like a noun, as demonstrated by example (40) below. In this sentence *kə* modifies the expressive *ʃniŋe ʃniŋga*, with no other adjunct present. For more on adverbs employed as nominals, see section 5.1 of the chapter on adverbs.

Two final types of expressive deserve mention here. One type consists of two identical syllables that derive their meaning from verbal prefixes. They function as a mixture of adverbs of degree and manner, indicating both increasing degree and the manner in which an act takes place. Since they are meaning based, to some extent, they may not qualify as expressives proper. However, their morphological form matches the expressive category's standards. The other type is the four syllable expression. These expressions also are not true expressives since some of them derive from existing words and are therefore meaning based. However, because they have a set morphological pattern of four syllables, often linked through alliteration or other forms of rhyme, they are best considered expressives. Like expressives they function as manner adverbs. Below follows a short overview of both types.

Increasing degree is signalled by expressives that derive from the verbal markers for orientation discussed in the verb chapter. These expressives always occur with a root consisting of two identical syllables. Here is a list of expressives that are derived from orientation markers:

(34)	orientation marker	expressive
	to (up)	toto
	na (down)	nono
	ku (upstream)	kuku
	nə (downstream)	nənə

Note that the orientation marker indicating downwards movement, *na*, becomes *no* when used as an expressive. I have found no syntactic or semantic reason for this vowel change. The expressives retain their original orientational meaning though they can also be used in a figurative sense. The following examples show both the literal and the figurative use of the expressives:

- (35) *təʃuʔ w-əŋgi nono kaʃu*
 water 3s:GEN-inside EXP sink
 Sink deeper and deeper into the water.

- (36) *tətʰa kəhaʔw ma-^lnə-tə-va-w kʰonə tʃəʔ-pu nono nono 'na-tə-ju-n*
 book good NEG-OBS-2-do-2s CON this-now EXP EXP OBS-2-sink-2s
 You don't study hard, so you are doing worse and worse.

However, for many verbs the appropriate expressive has become lexicalised. The link between the original meaning of the expressive and the action or event signalled by the verb is less or even not there at all:

- (37) w-əkʃet nənə nənə 'na-lhok
 3s:GEN-strength EXP EXP OBS-appear
 He becomes stronger and stronger.

wu-ʃa kəkə kəkə 'na-raʔm
 3s:GEN-meat EXP EXP OBS-dry
 His body is becoming weaker and weaker, thinner and thinner; he is wasting away.

nənʃo nə-jinjuʔ nono ma-tə-c^ha
 you 2s:GEN-English EXP NEG-2-able
 Your English is getting worse (and worse).

pak tə toto 'na-ts^ho
 pig C EXP OBS-fat
 The pig is getting more and more fat.

Expressives derived from orientation markers do not occur after stative verbs when these are used in an adjectival role. For example, placing the expressive after the nominalised stative verb does not generate a meaning such as 'better and better':

- (38) bebe toto kəmem na-va-w
 noodles EXP tasty PFT-do-3s
 He made the noodles better and better (more and more tasty).

*bebe kəmem toto ɲos

It is possible to have a grammatical variant of (39) in which *toto* occurs after the stative verb but in that case it modifies *navaw*, 'made', rather than *kəmem*, 'tasty':

- (39) bebe kəmem toto na-va-w
 noodles tasty EXP PFT-do-3s
 He made larger and larger quantities of tasty noodles.

Four syllable expressives come in two kinds. The first kind consists of two identical syllables each of which is paired with a non-identical syllable, in patterns such as *a-b a-c* or *a-b c-b* or *a-b b-c*. Example (40) is derived from *təʃni*, 'heart', and maybe *rgaʔ* derives from *kargaʔ*, 'like':

- (40) ʃniŋe ʃnirga exceedingly happy and joyful

pkraʃis kawʃəʔ kava na-c^ha kə ʃniŋe.ʃnirga kə w-andʃiʔ-ŋo
 bKra.shis exam do PFT-able PR EXP PR 3s:GEN-friend-p
 bKra-shis, being delighted with having passed the test, took his friends

kə-nəndze ji-tsep-w
 NOM-have.a.meal PFT-take.along-3s
 out for dinner.

- (41) amə mərə with industry and zeal; dilligently

pkraʃis pəʃur tascok kəʒu tə tət^ha w-əŋgi amə.mərə
 bKra.shis yesterday writing all C book 3s:GEN-inside EXP
 bKra-shis wrote all the writing with religious zeal in the book yesterday.

na-laʔt-w
 PFT-write₂-3s

The second kind combines four dissimilar syllables:

- (42) səkpe ŋame wholeheartedly and sincere

səkpe.ŋame ta-kor-ŋ
 EXP 1/2-help-1s
 I'll help you, with all my heart!

In this expression there is actually an entire existing word, *səkpe*, 'sincerity' or 'sincere', combined with *ŋame* which has no independent meaning but intensifies *səkpe*.

6.2 *Interjections and oaths*

Interjections are words, often of an exclamatory character, that constitute utterances in and of themselves. Usually they have no syntactic connection to any other words that occur with them. They express a speaker's feelings about an item, event or action.¹³⁶ Jiăomùzú interjections can consist of one syllable but most of them have a prefix followed by a root consisting of two identical or nearly identical syllables. Many interjections are prefixed by *a-* or *o-*, but not all. A list of frequently occurring Jiăomùzú interjections follows in (43a). The list is not exhaustive:

¹³⁶ For good definitions of interjections see Crystal (1991: 180) and Slachter (1996: 58).

(43a)	p ^h ot	expression of strong disapproval and disgust
	je	expression of surprise
	xwetʃ ^h utʃ ^h u	expression of exhaustion
	polele	expression of misfortune, disapproval
	aha, haha	expression of embarrassment, disapproval, misfortune, disappointment, equivalent to 'oh boy, oh dear'
	ahaha	expression of disapproval
	atsatsa	expression of great pain
	ajojo	expression of disgust, normally for something dirty or filthy
	ovovo	expression of pity or compassion
	ohoho	expression of misfortune or disapproval
	hawə, hawo	o dear, oh boy, dear me: comment on or anticipation of a bad turn of events
	hamalele	used when pleasantly surprised
	a	expression of unbelief
	ŋəmalanʃaŋ	expression of surprise and dismay at sudden misfortune or pain

Most interjections can be used by men and women alike, but a few interjections are gender specific. Example (43b) shows interjections that are only appropriate for use by females:

(43b)	wij	used to warn others of danger
	'wuja	expression of unpleasant surprise and misfortune

I have so far not found equivalents for these interjections that are specifically for male use. Native speakers say that men use oaths in those cases where women use a typically female interjection such as *'wuja*. Interjections used by men tend to be shorter than those used by women. For example, *oho* and *ohoho*, both expressions of misfortune or disapproval, can be used by men and women alike. But *ohoho* will be used more often by women, while men will more often opt for the shorter form *oho*.

Interjections usually occur at the beginning of an utterance, as the speaker responds to his context. But they can be found in the middle of sentences as well, especially in narratives, when the narrator adds an interjection in mid-flow to colour or emphasise certain emotions. Below are some examples of interjections, all from direct speech situations:

(44)	aha	tʃə?	ʃə-nipa	ja
	INTJ	this	NEG/PFT-turn.out.well	MD: SUP
	Oh dear, this really did not turn out very well.			

- (45) ovovo nənʝo n-əŋgo pu ʝə-ptse me
 INTJ you 2s:GEN-illness still NEG/PFT-heal INTR
 Oh poor soul, you're still not better?
- (46) wij ɲjilək 'na-mbət
 INTJ stone OBS-fall
 Watch out! A rock is coming down!
- (47) hamalele tənʝe kə-mpʃer ki 'na-ndo? la
 INTJ clothing NOM-beautiful IDEF OBS-have MD:SA
 Wow, that's a nice outfit you have there!

Among all peoples of the Tibetan culture area the use of oaths is common both in negotiating life issues and in daily conversation. Jiăomùzú women tend to swear less than men, and the use of oaths is looked upon as rather rude, though perhaps also indicative of strength and independence. Oaths tend to have a religious content, since they have actual use in pledges taken before religious authorities, and are usually loans from Tibetan. Common oaths in Jiăomùzú are *jimalhase*, 'the sun of Lhasa, Lhasa's light' and *kanʃerstanʃər*, which invokes the authority of the Buddhist scriptures. Onomatopoeic expressions are used regularly, as described in section 6.1 on expressives. They also occur as interjections, especially in animal calls:

- (48) aŋ aŋ woof woof, sound of dog barking
 cuw cuw cuw chirp chirp, sound of small birds
 mbe baaaah, bleating of sheep
 ku'kuhaaa call of a rooster
 ɿhahaha whinnying of horse

6.3 Filler words

Filler words are used in a non-silent pause, that is a pause in the flow of speech which has been filled by some kind of vocalisation. The Jiăomùzú filler words can be divided in three groups. The first group consists of fillers that have no meaning in and of themselves, such as *ha*, *hə*, *a*, *ə* and *e*. The second grouping consists of the conjunctions *rə*, *nə*, and *rənə*. These conjunctions normally function to signal the relationship between the conjuncts they connect. The more hesitant the speaker is, the more these connectors will occur in his speech, to the point where they become superfluous fillers. Occasionally other conjunctions such as *narə*, 'and' and *wurə*, 'so, for' occur as fillers. A final group of fillers is made up of words or word groups that actually carry meaning. Very common is *mənaŋos*, 'if it is so', often followed by one of the conjunctions *nə*, *rə* or *rənə*. Less frequent is the use of *ana oranaŋos* 'if it is like that', and *tʰi nəŋos*, 'what is it'. Filler words are inserted in a sentence or clause at whichever point the speaker hesitates or wants to pause. It is possible for

several fillers to occur in one sentence. Some fillers can be repeated in a sequence of two or more during a single pause in the sentence. It is also possible to have two or more different fillers occur together to fill up one pause. It is a matter of speaker preference which filler words he uses and how frequently they occur in his speech. Here are some examples of fillers that are not meaning based:

- (49) ha owe to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 FIL alright PFT-NOM-say EV-be
 Eh, "Alright," he said.
- (50) a tʃə? w-əmp^hro tʃe t^hi nə-sapso to-kə-cəs nə...
 FIL this 3s:GEN-after LOC what EREFL-compare PFT-NOM CON
 Well, "what kind of match shall [we] have next," he said,...
- (51) ndə tə ə k^həvok kəngu taʃcək na-kə-cu-w 'nə-ŋos
 that C FIL hole nine storey PFT-NOM-open EV-be
 He, ah, made a hole of nine stories deep.
- (52) ha ŋ-andʃi? ŋa a təkʃet kə-nə-sapso ki kə-vu-ŋ
 FIL 1s:GEN-friend I FIL strength NOM-EREFL-compare IDEF PFT-come₂-1s
 Well, my friend, I eh have come to have a match to see who's stronger.....
- k^honə....
 CON

The following examples show conjunctions that function as filler words. In (53) the conjunction *rənə* appears in the middle of two nouns, a position possible for fillers but not for *rənə* in its normal function as conjunction, see section 6.4 on conjunctions below:

- (53) ndə tə jokmo narə rənə j-apa kərscaŋ-zʃi
 that C servant.woman CON FIL 1p:HON:GEN-old.man eight-ten
 The servant woman and eh her husband were already in their eighties,...
- kə-vi nə
 NOM-come₁ CON

- (54) ...na-kə-ŋjo rənə rə təju? ki na-kə-ndo? rənə rə
 PFT-NOM-slip FIL CON water IDEF PFT-NOM-have FIL CON
 ...he slipped and ah there was a river there and ah
- təju? w-əŋgi na-kə-mbət nə rənə...
 water 3s:GEN-inside PFT-NOM- FIL CON
 he fell into the river, eh, then....

Below is an example of the use of *rənə* to connect smaller constituents. Again, the conjunction functions as a filler rather than a conjunction proper:

- (55) tambat w-ərka ka-t^ho-ndʒ tʃe rənə
 mountain 3s:GEN-top NOM-ascend-3d LOC FIL
 When they went up to the top of the mountain, eh,
- ndʒ-tʃala? tə mənəŋos rənə kə-cor kə-cor rənə
 3d-road C FIL FIL NOM-narrow NOM-narrow FIL
 the road of those two [travellers], eh, well, it was terribly narrow,
- kə-mato ki na-kə-ŋos kə-saŋjo na-kə-ŋos
 NOM-steep IDEF PFT-NOM-be NOM-slippery PFT-NOM-be
 a steep one it was, and slippery.

Examples (56) and (57) show the use of meaning based word groups like *mənəŋos* and *ana* as filler words:

- (56) w-andʃi? tə mənəŋos nə bdət-mo haʃaŋ makə na-kə-ŋni 'nə-ŋos
 3s:GEN-friend C FIL CON demon-FL Haʃaŋ Makə PFT-NOM-call EV-be
 His wife eh, was called demoness Haʃaŋ Makə.
- (57) w-aŋa?p nə ana ndə bdətmə makəndʒa rənə...
 3s:GEN-wife CON FIL that demoness exceeding FIL
 His wife, well, she was a terribly [fierce] demoness ah....

There is a slight difference in meaning between a filler followed by *nə* and one followed by *rə* or *rənə*. The neutral form uses *nə* but occurrence of *rə* or *rənə* indicates that the speaker wants to make sure his point is clear:

- (58) pakʃu mənaŋos nə nəŋo nə-je ŋos tamar tə mənaŋos nə
 apple FIL CON you 2s-POSS be butter C FIL CON
 The apples are yours, the butter is bKra-shis'.

pkraʃis wu-je ŋos
 bKra.shis 3s-POSS be

- (59) pakʃu mənaŋos rə nəŋo nə-je ŋos tamar tə mənaŋos rə
 apple FIL CON you 2s-POSS be butter C FIL CON
 Let's be clear about this: the apples are yours, the butter is bKra-shis'.

pkraʃis wu-je ŋos
 bKra.shis 3s-POSS be

6.4 Conjunctions

a. Introduction

Conjunctions are words or markers that are used to connect words, phrases or clauses. Jiāomùzú often employs concatenative constructions in which conjuncts are coordinated without the use of a conjunction. But both coordinating and subordinating conjunctions also exist in the Jiāomùzú dialects. More than one conjunction can appear in a sentence. Complex events in Jiāomùzú tend to be expressed through long strings of clauses all linked by various types of conjunctions. Jiāomùzú conjunctions cannot occur by themselves or be the head of a constituent. On the clause level and below they occur after the conjunct they modify. On the discourse level conjunctions are placed at the beginning of a new segment or topic. Some conjunctions can function as filler words, rather like English 'and eh...'. The conjunctions most frequently used in this way are *rə*, *nə* and *rənə*, see section 6.3 on fillers.

Coordinating conjunctions assign equal rank to the conjoined elements. Jiāomùzú has five coordinating conjunctions. The conjunctions *rə* and *rənə* occur in situations that signal temporal links between the conjuncts. The conjunction *rə* sequentially links actions and events in a context of futurity or from an in-action perspective. A speaker uses *rənə* in narrations of completed actions and events, as in reports or stories. The coordinating conjunctions *narənə*, *korənə* and *merə* loosely correlate with the English 'and', 'but' and 'or'. Correlative coordinating conjunctions employ paired conjunctions that occur in each of the coordinated conjuncts. Correlative conjunctions use adverbial forms such as the adverb *ʒik*, 'also' to form the meaning 'both...and' while a conditional form of the verb *maʔk*, 'not be' is used to express 'either...or'.

Subordinating conjunctions are used to subordinate the conjunct modified by the conjunction. Jiāomùzú has three subordinating conjunctions. The conjunction *nə* subordinates the conjunct it

marks to a second conjunct, signalling that the first conjunct backs up or validates the information in the second conjunct. Conjunction *k^honə* signals condition while *wurənə* indicates reason or result. Both conjunctions also have an evidential aspect which signals to the hearer how reliable the information produced by the speaker is, with *wurənə* signalling the greater reliability or certainty. Often *k^honə* groups smaller actions into clusters that are together subordinated to a larger event. Jiăomùzú also employs conjunctive adverbs, such as *manju?*, 'moreover' and *mafki*, 'until, unless'. Conjunctive adverbs can occur together with another conjunction, very frequently *nə*. Section 6.4.b gives a brief look at concatenative constructions. Section 6.4.c discusses coordinating conjunctions. Subordinating conjunctions are described in 6.4.d. The overview of Jiăomùzú conjunctions finishes with a discussion of conjunctive adverbs in 6.4.e.

b. Concatenative constructions

Jiăomùzú regularly employs concatenative constructions, which coordinate conjuncts without the use of conjunctions. Both verbal and nominal constituents can be linked in this way. Example (60) comes from a narration by a boy who tells about his day. In the morning he gets up only after the sun has come up. Then:

- (60) tərstʃe kava təʃwa karstʃu
 wash do tooth wash
 [I] wash [my] face, brush [my] teeth.

Concatenative constructions do not tell the hearer anything about the time frame of the actions. For example, in (61) the speaker only informs the hearer that bKra-shis performed several actions but not in which order he did them. For all the hearer knows bKra-shis first piled books on one side of the room, then cleaned some desks, then moved on to pile more books in another corner:

- (61) pkraʃis kə tət^ha stamce to-'a-səŋataktak cəktse na-'a-k^hrət rənə
 bKra.shis PR book all PFT-NEV-stack desk PFT-NEV-wipe CON
 bKra-shis stacked all the books, wiped the desks and

 ji-'a-tʃ^hi
 PFT-NEV-go₁
 left.

Example (62) shows concatenative coordination of nominal conjuncts:

- (62) pakʃu təmjɔk c^he wu-bawbaw^ʔ w-əŋgi-j kəʒu tə na-ndo?
 apple bread liquor 3s:GEN-bag 3s:GEN-inside-LOC all C PFT-have
 apples, bread, liquor - his bag had everything in it.

c. Coordinating conjunctions

Futurity and open-endedness: rə

In direct speech and dialogues, the coordinating conjunction *rə* occurs in contexts linked to futurity. In example (63) the use of *rə* shows that it has not started to rain yet. The speaker concludes from his observation of the sky that a big rain storm will break soon, and infers that the expected visitor, because of that coming rain, will not come:

- (63) təmu makəndʒa kəktu 'na-laʔt rə ma-vi
 rain very big OBS-rain CON NEG-come₁
 It will rain very hard, he will not come.

Sentences with irrealis or real conditional constructions, which deal with a possible future event, also employ *rə*:

- (64) təmu mə-'na-laʔt rə ma-vi
 rain COND-OBS-hit CON NEG-come₁
 If it rains, he will not come.

In situations that indicate contexts other than futurity, *rə* does not occur. For example, the verb in the first conjunct of (65) is marked for present imperfective aspect. It is already raining, and the speaker infers, looking out of the window, that the visitor will not come. The coming of the guest is a future event, but the raining happens now. This prohibits the use of *rə*:

- (65) * təmu makəndʒa kəktu 'naleʔt rə mavi

The choice of conjunction is linked to the temporal perspective of the first conjunct rather than that of the second conjunct. This is a clear indication that Jiāomùzú conjunctions, even coordinating ones, have a stronger link to the first conjunct than to the second conjunct of the sentence they modify. Semantically linked to the sense of futurity, the use of *rə* also signals an on the ground or real-time perspective, especially in narratives, which often report actions and events that are already in the past. The linking of the conjuncts is sequential and chronological, so that the hearer is brought along step by step, clause by clause, as the action develops. A speaker's use of *rə* signals that the hearer cannot anticipate what will follow, only that there is more coming. The conjunction *rə* occurs as a

generic link between two or more conjuncts on all levels from the word or word group through to the discourse level. Though the underlying meaning of openness and unpredictability remains the same no matter at what syntactic level *rə* occurs, the conjunction behaves differently in different environments. On the word and the phrase level *rə* can occur with non-verbal as well as verbal constituents. In such situations *rə* functions as a question marker. Questions with *rə* typically ask ‘how about...’, ‘what if...’ or ‘what happened to....’. The answer to such an open ended question can be just about anything as long as it links in with the topic raised in the question. The following examples illustrate the employment of *rə* with nominal constituents in (66) and (67) and with an adverbial phrase in (68):

(66)	pkraʃis rə bKra.shis CON [And] bKra-shis?	w-əmp ^h i ji-rʃi ma-ʃi-ŋ 3s:GEN-outside PFT-go ₂ NEG-know-1s He went out. No idea.
(67)	to-kə-nəno tə rə PFT-NOM-hurt C CON [What happened to] the guy that was hurt?	smonk ^h aŋ-j ŋos law hospital-LOC be MD:G He's in hospital, I would think.
(68)	pkraʃis ji-vu tʃəʔ tʃe rə bKra.shis PFT-come ₂ this LOC CON [And] when bKra-shis came?	

For more on interrogative sentences, see section 8.1 of the chapter on sentences below.

The following sentences show clearly the ungrammaticality of *rə* when it is used between non-verbal conjuncts that form a unit. Instead in such cases the subordinating conjunction *nə* can occur. I discuss *nə* in section 6.4.d on subordinating conjunctions below:

(69)	tʃəʔ tə nə nəŋʂo nə-je ŋos this C CON you 2s-POSS be This is yours.	tʃəʔ tə rə tʃəʔ tə nə..... this C CON this C CON And this? This [is].....

* tʃe tə rə nəŋʂo nəje ŋos

Linking of clauses with *rə* is exceedingly common in Jiăomùzú. The following example consists of two sentences from a story in which a small boy is frightened by a noise from the living room at night. Conjunction *rə* occurs at the end of the first conjunct of each sentence. There is often a slight pause after *rə*, before the speaker launches into the next conjunct:

- (70) η a to-nambəso- η $rə$ η -ajze to-nak^ho- η
 I PFT-be.afraid-1s CON 1s:GEN-older.brother PFT-call-1s
 I was afraid; I called my older brother.

patʃu kamtsa sku kavi $rə$ lolo kə no-nandʔek-ndʔek-w
 chicken window down come CON cat PR AF/PFT-chase.around-RED-3s
 A chicken having come in through the window, it was being chased around by
 the cat.

$rə$ patʃu narə lolo-ndʒ w-əmp^hi-j $rə$ -ca-dʒ
 CON chicken and cat-3d 3s:GEN-outside-LOC PFT-shoo-1d
 The two of us shooed the chicken and the cat outside.

Note that the speaker, here the small boy, tells the story from the perspective of a spectator and then participant in the action: the use of $rə$ shows that the boy cannot anticipate the contents of the next clause. Of course the boy, who is telling the story, knows very well what the outcome is and how the actions are ordered. But as a psychological device to give immediacy and openness in the telling of a story $rə$ keeps the listener on the edge of his seat, as it were. Note also that in this narrative there is only a simple linking of clauses, no subordination.

The conjunction $rə$ can also be employed in descriptions of behaviour, especially if the behaviour is habitual. For example, a speaker may describe how a certain person had a habit of unconsciously dipping his head when laughing, as in sentence (71). The dipping of the head is something the speaker notices but over which the subject in the sentence has no control - he dips his head as a matter of unconscious habit whenever he laughs:

- (71) wuʒo na-nari $rə$ w-awo lɲot na-səce
 he PFT-laugh CON 3s:GEN-head dip PFT-bow
 He laughed and unwittingly dipped his head.

On the discourse level the conjunction $rə$ can mark unanticipated or new information such as the beginning of a new topic or a new aspect of a topic, a change of perspective, etc. The story of Amyis Sgo-ldong, see Text 1 at the end of this study, has some good examples for this use of $rə$. The beginning of the story has an introduction that consists of several complex segments. In each segment the narrator introduces new information to set the stage for the story proper. The different segments, each containing a new topic, are connected by $rə$. Note that at this level there is usually a slight pause at the end of one segment or section. The conjunction $rə$ occurs at the beginning of the new segment rather than at the end of the previous one:

- (72) segment 1: sentence 1-6

Introduction of demon Chap-pa Lang-ring and how he oppressed all the peoples of the area.

- rə* segment 2: sentence 7, 8

How all the kings fought valiantly but went under; the enlightened ones decide to send a savior.

- rə* segment 3: sentence 9-14

One king had among those he ruled two old people. The old couple had a son, who actually was the promised savior. The little boy ate so much that his parents could not afford to feed him. They decide to abandon him in the forest. The father takes his boy into the forest.

- rə* segment 4: sentence 15 etc.

The old man deceives his son and abandons him in the forest, etc.

Some speakers use *rə* after a demonstrative, which seems to strengthen the link between the previous segment and what follows. Example (73) is from a about a king who had three sons, see Text 3 at the end of this study. After the introduction of king and sons, the speaker switches to a description of the conditions in which the sons lived:

- (73) *rdonra ts^haralpo wurənə w-əza kəsam na-kə-ndo? 'nə-ŋos*
Rdongra Tsharalpo CON 3s:GEN-son three PFT-NOM-have EV-be
 Now rDongra Tsharalpo had three sons.

ndə rə w-əza kəsam tə ndə t^hi sok na-ndo?-jn tʃə? tʃe nə...
that CON 3s:GEN-son three C that what manner PFT-have-3p this LOC CON
 [Having said that], for those three boys, what was life like at that time....

Sequencing completed events and actions: rənə

The conjunction *rənə* marks a sequence of actions or events in the context of a past or completed situation. Consider once more the example, familiar from section 6.4.c on *rə* above, about a rain storm preventing a guest from coming. The first conjunct is marked for past tense on the verb by *na-*. The rain is already over, and consequently the conjunction used is *rənə*.

- (74) *təmu makəndʒa kəktu na-laʔt rənə ʒə-vu*
rain very big PFT-hit₂ CON NEG/PFT-come₂
 It rained cats and dogs, he did not come.

As expected, *rənə* also appears with irrealis or real conditional structures, if they signal past tense:

- (75) *təmu makəndʒa kəktu mə-ji-laʔt* *rənə* *vi*
 rain very big COND-NEG/PFT-hit₂ CON come₁
 If it wouldn't have rained, he'd come.

The futurity of the second conjunct does not influence the choice of conjunction, as is clear from sentence (75). It has already stopped raining. The speaker, perhaps contemplating the dismal state of the path after heavy rain, concludes that the visitor will not come. In such a sentence employing *rə*, the coordinating conjunction used in future tense contexts, leads to ungrammaticality:

- (76) *təmu makəndʒa kəktu na-laʔt* *rənə* *ma-vi*
 rain very big PFT-hit₂ CON NEG-come₁
 It rained cats and dogs, he will not come.

* *təmu makəndʒa kəktu naleʔt rə mavi*

The conjunction *rənə* very often occurs in narratives such as reports and stories. It is roughly similar to the English '...and then...and then'. I repeat here example (71) from section 6.4.c on *rə* for comparison. In the example with *rə* the speaker described habitual action which he observed, conveying that the person who performs the laughing is unaware that he also dips his head. The same sentence with *rənə* simply tells the hearer that separate actions follow each other once each is completed:

- (71) *wuʒo na-nari* *rənə* *w-awo* *lɣot na-səce*
 he PFT-laugh CON 3s:GEN-head dip PFT-bow
 He laughed and then dipped his head.

Note that in such a sentence both the laughing, the action performed first, as well as the dipping of the head, which follows, are conscious actions of the agent. The speaker does not comment on the behaviour of the person who performs the actions, he simply reports what happens from an outsider's perspective. In English usually 'and' has to occur in such constructions. But in Jiāomùzú the meaning of *narənə*, 'and' does not contain a temporal sense. If a speaker wants to convey that actions or events take place chronologically one after the other *narənə* cannot be used.

The conjunction *rənə* often occurs in narratives like reports and stories, with the speaker catching an audience up on past events. The events in themselves may consist of several smaller actions expressed in clauses and phrases that are linked by the other conjunctions that can function on lower levels, such as *nə* and *kʰonə*. On the discourse level, segments of several sentences can be connected by *rənə*. A good example of the use of *rənə* on the discourse level is the story of how a thrush tricked a rabbit, see Text 2 at the end of this study. In the story, a thrush decides to gain the upper

hand over a rabbit, which is, in the Tibetan culture world, commonly seen as the smartest of animals. The structure of the story is simple:

- (77) segment 1: there are a thrush and a rabbit (sentence 1)

rənə

segment 2: the thrush sets up a trap and entices the rabbit to enter it (sentence 2-4)

rənə

segment 3: the rabbit dies in the trap, the thrush gloats (sentence 5-6)

Coordinating conjunctions that are not semantically linked to temporal aspects

The coordinating conjunctions *korənə*, *narənə* and *merə* translate into English roughly as 'but', 'and' and 'or' respectively. The conjunction *korənə* also appears as *korə* and even as just *ko*. Similarly *narənə* occurs also as *narə* but never, to my knowledge, as *na*. For *merə* I have not found abbreviated forms. But some speakers maintain that *me* can be used as a short form of *merə* in informal or low register situations.¹³⁷

The coordinating conjunction *narə* or *narənə*, 'and' occurs on the word, the phrase and the clause levels. The conjunction functions to coordinate two separate entities about which the speaker gives no further details. The hearer does not know how or even if the entities are linked. The conjunction *narənə* occurs often in listings or enumerations. In the following examples *narənə* links nouns:

- (78) *ŋə-tʂʰaʔ* *kʰalat* *narə kʰat* for *ŋos*
 1s:GEN-tea barley.meal and sour.vegetables be
 For breakfast I have barley meal and sour vegetables.

The conjunction *narənə* can link words that together form one constituent, as the noun phrase 'the chicken and the cat' in (80). Number marking occurs at the end of the noun phrase:

- (80) [*patʃu* *narə lolo*]-ndʒ *w-əmpʰi-j* *rə-ca-dʒ*
 [chicken and cat]-3d 3s:GEN-outside-LOC PFT-shoo-1d
 The two of us shooed [the chicken and the cat] out [of the house].

It is possible to coordinate verbal conjuncts with *narənə*. Such statements do not give any information about the temporal relation between the conjuncts. The coordinated constituents must have the same subject, as in (81). It is not possible to coordinate two different actions by two different subjects. Sentence (82) would be perfectly grammatical in English, forming the meaning 'bKra-shis went to Chéngdū and lHa-mo stayed home', but in Jiăomùzú it is not:

¹³⁷ Tshe-dbang sGron-ma, personal communication.

- (81) pkraʃis cɔktse nə-kʰrət-w narənə tərət na-va-w
 bKra.shis table PFT-wipe-3s and dirt PFT-do-3s
 bKra-shis wiped the tables and swept the floor.

- (82) *pkraʃis ʃintəhu jirʃi narənə lhamo təʃeʔm wəŋgi napu

If two clauses that have the same subject express different events or actions that are linked in time, it is not possible to use *narənə* to coordinate those actions. Example (83) shows *narənə* in a sentence in which the subject performs two individual actions, as does (81). The speaker does not give any other information. The hearer does not know how these actions are related temporally, for example if they are simultaneous or chronological:

- (83) wuʃo na-nari narənə w-awo lɣot na-səce
 he PFT-laugh CON 3s:GEN-head dip PFT-bow
 He laughed and he dipped his head.

If the conjunct actions are perceived as parts of one event, the conjunction *narənə* cannot be used. For example, in (84) there are two clauses not connected by any conjunction. In the Jiăomùzú view the situation is a sequence of two chronologically related events: bKra-shis first has to go to town in order for him to meet his friend there. Since the subject, bKra-shis, logically performs both actions one after the other *narənə* cannot occur, though in English the sentence would be rather unnatural without 'and':

- (84) pkraʃis kantʃʰak-j ji-rʃi w-andʃi? na-məto-w
 bKra.shis street-LOC PFT-go₂ 3s:GEN-friend PFT-see-3s
 bKra-shis went out into town [and] met his friend.

- *pkraʃis kantʃʰakj jirʃi narənə wandʃi? namətow

The conjunction does not occur between adjectivals. In example (85) *kətʃot*, 'clear' and *kəmpʃer*, 'beautiful' modify *tasco*, 'writing'. Note that the English free translation has to render the adjectives as an adverbial structure. Literally the sentence would translate something like 'he did clear and beautiful writing'. A sentence like (85) with *narənə* is perceived as unnatural by native speakers:

- (85) wuʃo tasco [kə-tʃot kə-mpʃer] na-laʔt-w
 he writing NOM-clear NOM-beautiful PFT-hit₂-3s
 He wrote clearly and beautifully.

- ?*wuʃo tasco kətʃot narənə kəmpʃer naleʔtw

But *narənə* has to occur between adjectivals when the nominal modified by the adjectives is itself embedded in a larger structure, as in (86). In this sentence *tascok kələʔt* is a unit meaning 'writer', one who writes'. The entire noun phrase *tascok kətʔot narənə kəmpʃer kələʔt*, 'one whose writing is clear and beautiful' modifies *wuʃo*, 'he':

- (86) *wuʃo tə [[tascok [kə-tʔot narənə kə-mpʃer] kə-leʔt] ki ɲos.*
 he C writing NOM-clear and NOM-beautiful NOM-hit_i IDEF be
 He is someone whose writing is clear and beautiful.

* *wuʃo tə tascok kətʔot kəmpʃer kələʔt ki ɲos.*

Instead of *narənə* a correlative construction can be used:

- (87) *pkraʃis w-əjeʔm kə-mbik ʒik kə-mpʃer ʒik ɲos*
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-house NOM-old also NOM-beautiful also be
 bKra-shis house is old as well as beautiful.

Conjunction *merə*, 'or' can link words, phrases, or clauses, for nominal as well as verbal constituents:

- (89) *pakʃu merə ʒugolor 'kə-tə-ku-w*
 apples or walnut PRIMP-2-buy-2s
 Are you buying apples or walnuts?
- (90) *kets^{he} kəktu tə 'nə-ɲos merə tsoŋba^ɔ 'nə-ɲos*
 bus big C EV-be or small.bus EV-be
 Is it a big bus or a small one?

Unlike *narənə* and *korənə* but similar to the conjunction *rə*, *merə* can occur at the end of a sentence, if the speaker makes a statement but wants to leave room for the hearer to interpret the statement as a question:

- (91) *nənʃo soʃnu tə-tʃ^{hi}-n merə*
 you tomorrow 2-go-2s or
 You'll go tomorrow, or...?

The speaker here is looking for a response from the hearer. If in constituents linked by *narənə* or *korənə* the second constituent is left implicit by the speaker, the sentence simply feels unfinished, but it does not solicit a response from the hearer.

The conjunction *korə*, 'but', occurs between verbal constituents usually on the clause level or at the beginning of a new sentence that comments on the previous sentence:

- (92) ḡa na-məto-ŋ ko ʃə-rjo-ŋ
I PFT-see-1s but NEG/PFT-talk-1s
I saw him but we didn't talk.
- (93) mbro? mə-tə-varo-w mi? korə patʃu narə pak ndo?
horse Q-2-own-3s not.have. but chicken and pig have
Do you have horses? No. But we have chickens and pigs.
- (94) pkraʃis to-^la-nətʃ^he korunə wu-gral kə-mi?
bKra.shis PFT-NEV-get drunk but 3s:GEN-rule NOM-not.have
bKra-shis was drunk but he did not do anything improper.
- ʃi-^la-va-w
NEG/PERF-NEV-do-3s

The conjunction *koronə* also occurs to link complements:

- (95) wu-sa-ɲu wu-goŋ kə-mbat 'nə-ŋos koronə kə-nəʃit
 3s:GEN-NOM-live 3s:GEN-price NOM-cheap EV-be but NOM-comfortable
 His place is cheap but very comfortable.
- makəndʒa 'nə-ŋos
 very EV-be

The conjunction can signal meanings such as 'though', 'in spite of'. There is in Jiǎomùzú no separate construction for concessive sentences:

- (96) təmu makəndʒa kəkʰtu na-laʔt korə ji-vu
rain very big PFT-hit₂ but PFT-come₂
Though it rained cats and dogs, he still came.

In sentence (97) a man, after hearing reports that medicinal plants are abundant, had gone out to collect medicinal plants on the mountain. However, torrential rain forced him to abandon his collection plans and return, despite the riches awaiting him on the mountain:

- (97) pemu^ɕ tə 'na-məca na-cəs o korə təmu makəndʒa
 baimu C OBS-much PFT-say MD:CF but rain very
 They said there was lots of baimu but since it rained cats and dogs

kəktu na-laʔt k^honə ji-vu
 big PFT-hit₂ CON PFT-come₂
 he came [back].

- (98) xwatoŋ^ɕ ma-'nə-k^hut korənə k^harʒas na-va-w
 microphone NEG-OBS-can but song PFT-do-3s
 She sang despite the bad microphone.

Paired conjunctions

There are a few paired coordinating conjunctions in Jiāomùzú. These conjunctions use the same form twice, each in a clause with a verb phrase. This type of conjunction uses either adverbs or irrealis structures. Example (99) shows the use of adverb *ʒik*, 'also' in forming a paired coordinating conjunction meaning 'both...and', 'as well as':

- (99) pakʃu ʒik ndoʔ təmpok ʒik ndoʔ
 apple CON have bread CON have
 There are both apples and bread.
 There are apples as well as bread.

Note that in such structures the verb phrase has to be repeated, even if the verb phrase in the first clause is identical to that in the second clause:

- (100) pkraʃis ʒik lhamo na-rgaʔ-w harʒa ʒik lhamo na-rgaʔ-w
 bKra.shis CON lHa.mo PFT-like-3s lHa.rgyal CON lHa.mo PFT-like-3s
 Both bKra-shis and lHa-rgyal liked lHa-mo.

It is possible to express that both boys liked lHa-mo through number marking, as in (101). But then *ʒik* cannot occur:

- (101) pkraʃis harʒa-ndʒ lhamo na-rgaʔ-ndʒ
 bKra.shis lHa.rgyal-3d lHa.mo PFT-like-3d
 bKra-shis and lHar-gyal, the two of them liked lHa-mo.

* pkraʃis harʒandʒ ʒik lhamo nargaʔndʒ

Another example of a paired coordinating conjunction employs the real conditional construction *mənamaʔk nə*, 'if that is not there' to express 'either...or':

- (102) mə-'na-maʔk nə təjeʔm ʃi-kə-ɲu ɲos
 COND-OBS- not.be CON house NEG/PERF-NOM be
 Either he was not at home, or he did not hear [us knock].

mə-'na-maʔk nə ʃi-kə-məsam 'nə-ɲos
 COND-OBS-not.be CON NEG/PERF-NOM-hear₂ EV-be

Instead of *nə* it is also possible to use the conjunction *rə* after the conditional. According to native speakers it does not make a difference in meaning which conjunction is used, though the use of *rə* gives more emphasis than the use of *nə*.

d. Subordinating conjunctions

Generic subordinating conjunction nə

The conjunction *nə* is a generic subordinating conjunction that can occur with nominal, adverbial and verbal constituents. Like other conjunctions, *nə* occurs at the end of the constituent it modifies. The conjunct marked by *nə* is the subordinated constituent. The conjunction's role is to connect two conjuncts, the second of which contains the pertinent information which the speaker wants to impress on the hearer. The first conjunct supports the statement or action of the second conjunct, in an almost adjectival role. In (103a) a speaker notes that the weather is bad, and presumes that 'he' will not come. In (103b) the speaker states that 'he' will not come, and backs up that claim with another statement that supports his point of view: the weather is just too bad for 'him' to do so:

- (103a) təmu 'na-leʔt ma-vi
 rain OBS-hit₁ NEG-come₁
 It's raining, he will not come.

- (103b) təmu 'na-leʔt nə ma-vi
 rain OBS-hit₁ CON NEG-come₁
 It's raining, he will not come.

The conjunction functions on the word, the phrase and the clause levels. Though the basic meaning of *nə* remains the same no matter where it occurs, there are differences in semantic load depending on the kind of conjunct with which *nə* occurs. A speaker's use of *nə* prepares the listener for a statement about the constituent modified by *nə*. The constituent marked by *nə* is not the most important part of the clause or sentence, but the anticipated information about that constituent is. If the expected information does not follow, the speaker's statement will be considered unfinished,

incomprehensible or ungrammatical. A clear example of this is (104b), where *nə* modifies a nominal constituent, *pkraʃis wandʒiʔ*, 'bKra-shis' friend'. Though the noun phrase *pkraʃis wandʒiʔ* in itself is perfectly grammatical, as shown in example (104a), the noun phrase modified by *nə* in (104b) only makes sense as part of a sentence:

- (104a) *pkraʃis w-andʒiʔ*
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend
 bKra-shis' friend
- pkraʃis w-andʒiʔ pəʃnu ma-vi*
bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend today NEG-come₁
bKra-shis' friend will not come today.

- (104b) * *pkraʃis wandʒiʔ nə*
- pkraʃis w-andʒiʔ nə pəʃnu ma-vi*
bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend CON today NEG-come₁
bKra-shis' friend will not come today.

The best free translation for the sentence with *nə* might be something like 'Concerning bKra-shis' friend, he is not coming today'. The crucial part of the sentence is the second one, containing the information that the friend is not coming. The first, subordinated part, simply points out that the information pertains to bKra-shis' friend, perhaps in the context of a conversation about which people will come to today's party. At first sight this usage looks as if *nə* functions as a determiner or topicaliser. Determiners co-occur with nouns to express some semantic contrast, like quantity or number. In Jiǎomùzú the mutually exclusive contrast marker *tə* and indefiniteness marker *ki* function as determiners. Contrast marker *tə* is a noun adjunct that modifies nominal phrases. It contrasts the head of the noun phrase with other, often unmentioned entities. But the role of *nə* is much broader. Unlike *tə*, conjunction *nə* does not signal contrast between the marked nominal constituent and some other constituent. It simply links the marked nominal constituent with the information about it which is forthcoming in the following parts of the clause or sentence. Contrast marker *tə* and conjunction *nə* can mark the same constituent:

- (104c) *pkraʃis w-andʒiʔ tə pəʃnu ma-vi*
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend C today NEG-come₁
 bKra-shis' friend will not come today.
- (104d) *pkraʃis w-andʒiʔ tə nə pəʃnu ma-vi*
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend C CON today NEG-come₁
 bKra-shis' friend will not come today.

Contrast marker *tə* in example (104c) shows that bKra-shis' friend will not come today, but another person, not mentioned in the sentence, will. In example (104d), where *tə* and *nə* co-occur, the speaker conveys that bKra-shis' friend will not come today, though there is another, unmentioned person who will come. Though the topic in both sentence is bKra-shis' friend, the prominent part of sentence (104d) is the predicate *pəʃnu mavi*, 'will not come today'. The salient information conveyed by *nə* is that bKra-shis' friend will not come today. It is, for whatever reason, important that the friend will not be here. Maybe the friend is really good company and the party will not be a success without him. Or perhaps the speaker had hoped to send a message with the friend, which he will now be unable to do. The conjunction *nə* subordinates the entire constituent it modifies. The contrast marker *tə* cannot occur after conjunction *nə*:

(104d) * *pkraʃis wandʔi? nə tə pəʃnu mavi*

For more on contrast marker *tə*, see section 4.3 of the chapter on nouns.

Prominence marker *kə* signals to the hearer which one or several constituent(s) of the sentence have prominence. Prominence marking is also used to disambiguate certain syntactic roles. A prominence marker can co-occur with *nə*, indicating subtle differences in meaning. Consider example (105). In (105a) *kə* answers the question why the subject 'he' fell asleep: exhaustion brought on by non-stop work:

(105a) *karama ʃi təspap kə w-əmpak na-ʃu*
 labour continuously exhausted PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-heavy
 Exhausted by the non-stop work, he fell asleep.

The constituent *karama ʃi*, 'continuous labouring', can occur with or without prominence marking. When a speaker uses *kə* after *karama ʃi* he gives prominence to the long hours of work in connection to the subject being exhausted and falling asleep. There is no semantic load in *kə* other than giving prominence to the constituent it modifies. Example (105b) answers the question 'What exhausted him and caused him to fall asleep?':

(105b) *karama ʃi kə təspap kə w-əmpak na-ʃu*
 labour continuously PR exhausted PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-heavy
 The non-stop work exhausted him and he fell asleep.

Conjunction *nə* can occur in either sentence to modify *karama ʃi*, but there is a difference in meaning. Conjunction *nə* does not give prominence to the constituent it modifies but uses that constituent to somehow validate, back up or emphasise the action expressed in the later constituents of the sentence. In (105c), *nə* links the pertinent information in the sentence, in this case that the subject was exhausted and fell asleep, to the fact that he or she had worked long and hard. The most important information, *təspap kə wəmpak naʃu*, 'exhausted he fell asleep' is backed up or validated by the added information conveyed by the constituent marked by *nə*, here *karama ʃi*.

- (105c) *karama fi nə təspap kə w-əmpak na-ju*
 labour continuously CON exhausted PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-heavy
 Exhausted by the long hard work he fell asleep.

When *karama fi* is marked both by *nə* and prominence marker *kə*, the speaker highlights the long hard work as the prominent element in the sequence of getting exhausted and falling asleep. The use of *nə* refers the hearer to the subject's action of falling asleep and validates that action:

- (105d) *karama fi kə nə təspap kə w-əmpak na-ju*
 labour continuously PR CON exhausted PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-heavy
 The long hard work having exhausted him, he fell asleep.

The conjunction cannot occur before the prominence marker:

- (105e) * *karama fi nə kə təspap kə wəmpak na-ju*

The same logic pertains in sentences where the use of *kə* is obligatory:

- (106a) *k^hajcak kə tərmu na-sə-top-ŋ*
 hammer PR person PFT-CAUS-hit-1s
 I hit someone with a hammer.

The use of *kə* in sentence (106) signals the instrument used, a hammer. But when *nə* is added, the meaning changes in a subtle way:

- (106b) *k^hajcak kə nə tərmu na-sə-top-ŋ*
 hammer PR CON person PFT-CAUS-hit-1s
 I hit someone - with a hammer, no less.

In the sentence with only a prominence marker the speaker simply gives prominence to the instrument rather than to the subject. But in sentence (106b) the use of *nə* shows that the main event is the hitting of a person, and the use of a hammer to do it tells the hearer that it was not just any old hitting, but an especially vicious or cruel or violent one. The speaker is trying to convey that there was something more to the hitting, and does so by pulling in the information about the instrument, connecting it to the action by the use of *nə*. For more on obligatory marking with *kə*, see section 4.3.e of the chapter on nouns.

The conjunction *nə* can modify constituents that are marked by both *tə* and *kə*. The conjunction always occurs after the other markers. I repeat here a sentence from the noun chapter which illustrates the use of contrast marking and prominence marking combined with *nə*:

- (107) pkraʃis tə kə nə pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
 bKra.shis C PR CON apple PFT-give-3s
 bKra-shis gave apples.

As discussed in section 4.3.e of the chapter on nouns, sentence (107) with only *tə* indicates that, among other people who gave other gifts, only bKra-shis gave apples. If the sentence contains both *tə* and *kə*, the speaker conveys that there is only one giver, namely bKra-shis, and that he gave apples, not some other gift. There are other people around, but they did not give anything. If *bKra-shis* is marked for contrast and prominence and also modified by the conjunction *nə*, the speaker indicates that the giving of the apples, that is, the entire predicate, is the most relevant information in the sentence. If all the information loaded into the sentence by the different markers is unpacked, a free translation should read something like 'Though there were several people, none of them gave a gift. As for bKra-shis, he did give a gift. To be precise, he gave apples, not some other thing, but apples.' Sentence (107) can be used in the context of perhaps a wedding or some other gift giving occasion. Two people discuss the presents the guests gave, if any. bKra-shis' name comes up as one among many. The use of *nə* does not topicalise bKra-shis, as one talked about before, but rather shows that the giving of the apples is somehow significant about him. Maybe he is well-known for being stingy, always giving a cheap gift like apples, and his behaviour on the occasion discussed by the speaker affirms the common impression of him.

In the final analysis, *nə* when used with nominals retains its subordinating character, just like *nə* in such positions retains the characteristics of a coordinating conjunction. Whereas the use of coordinating conjunction *nə* with a nominal constituent forms a constituent question if not followed by a second conjunct, the use of *nə* must link the marked constituent to other constituents in a clause or sentence to avoid being ungrammatical. At the level of nominal words or word groups I therefore maintain the label of conjunction for both these markers.

One sentence can have several subordinated constituents all marked by *nə*, giving the speaker the flexibility to express subtle shades of meaning:

- (108a) pkraʃis kantʃʰak-j ji-rʃi w-andʃiʔ na-məto-w
 bKra.shis street- LOC PFT-go₂ 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S
 bKra-shis went out into town and met his friend.

- (108b) pkraʃis kantʃʰak-j ji-rʃi nə w-andʃiʔ na-məto-w
 bKra.shis street- LOC PFT-go₂ CON 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S
 bKra-shis went out into town and he met his friend [as planned].

- (108c) pkraʃis nə kantʃʰak-j ji-rʃi nə w-andʃiʔ na-məto-w
 bKra.shis CON street- LOC PFT-go₂ CON 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S
 As for bKra-shis, he went out into town and he met his friend [as planned].

The neutral sentence is (108a), which conveys simply that bKra-shis went into town and saw his friend there. The sentence does not give any information on timing or on whether the meeting was planned or not. Sentence (108b) has a verbal constituent, *kantʃʰakj jirji*, 'went into town' modified by *nə*, and thus subordinated to the following constituent *wandʃi? namətow*, 'saw his friend'. The speaker expresses that bKra-shis went into town for the purpose of meeting his friend. He did not just run into the friend on the street, the meeting was planned. In sentence (108c) which has *nə* modifying *pkraʃis* as well as *kantʃʰakj jirji*, the speaker conveys that bKra-shis, as planned, met his friend in town. The salient information is that the friend was met. Without the context of the conversation it is of course not clear why the speaker considers the meeting of the friend in town so significant. Perhaps the speaker himself also went into town but did not see his friend. Or perhaps bKra-shis had been forbidden from seeing his friend when he went into town, but did it anyway. Another example of the change of meaning that occurs linked to the placement of *nə* in the sentence is (109). This sentence is familiar from example (70) in section 6.4.c on coordinating conjunction *rə*. Instead of a linear sequence linked by *rə* the speaker uses the subordinating conjunction *nə*. It changes the situation completely:

- (109a) *patʃu kamtsa sku kavi nə*
 chicken window down come₁ CON
 It's a good thing that a cat, when a chicken comes down through the window,
- lolo kə no-nandʒek-dʒek-w 'na-haʔw*
 cat PR AF/PFT-chase.around-RED-3s OBS-good.
 chases it around.

The first clause in the sentence, *patʃu kamtsa sku kavi*, 'a chicken came in through the window' is marked by *nə*. This marks the clause as subordinate, and the second clause as the main event. Note that the first clause of the complement can easily be turned into an adverbial clause by adding the locative *tʃe*, though it is not obligatory: *patʃu kamtsa sku kavi tʃe nə*, 'when a chicken comes in through the window...' The speaker clearly does not like the chicken to be in the house, and approves of the cat chasing it to get it out. The placement of *nə* changes the meaning of the sentence depending on which conjunct is subordinated. In (109a) *nə* occurs after '(when) a chicken comes in through the window'. The speaker declares that it is a good thing for the cat to chase the chicken, once it has come into the house. The position of *nə* shows that he does not like the fact that there is a chicken in the house. But in (109b) the entire statement, involving both the coming of the chicken and the cat chasing it, is evaluated by the speaker:

(109b) patʃu kamtsa sku kavi lolo kə no-nandʔek-ndʔek-w nə
 chicken window down come cat PR AF/PFT-chase.around-RED-3s CON
 A chicken had come in through the window, it was being chased around by the
 cat;

wastop 'na-mpʃer
 very OBS-beautiful
 it was a great show.

The complement of *wastop nampʃer*, 'it was a great show', is the entire statement of chicken and cat up till the occurrence of *nə*. The speaker does not mind the coming of the chicken. Rather, the arrival of the chicken and the resulting chase by the cat provide him with much entertainment. In (109a) the speaker disapproves of the chicken in the house but approves of the cat chasing it, hoping that the chicken will go back out. In (109b) the speaker approves of both chicken and cat because they provide him with a good show. The placement of *nə* makes all the difference. But the occurrence of *nə* is not obligatory. Sentence (109c) is perfectly grammatical without *nə*:

(109c) patʃu kamtsa sku kavi lolo kə na-nandʔek-dʔek-w
 chicken window down come cat PR PFT-chase-RED-3s
 A chicken had come in through the window; the cat chased it around;

 wastop ma-'nə-nəʃit
 very NEG-OBS-pleasant
 [a] very unpleasant [event].

Sentence (109c) is a neutral form, in which the speaker indicates that the cat chasing the chicken is not a big deal to him - just one of those things in life - though it is not very nice.

A final example, (110), shows the use of *nə* between two clauses. Without the conjunction, as in (110a), the clauses are coordinated. The coordinating conjunction *koronə* can occur to link them, as in (110b). But in (110c) the information of the first clause is subordinated to the second clause in order to make a complaint. Though a younger sibling has already been to IHasa, the speaker has not. The speaker perceives this as manifestly unfair, and expresses this opinion with the use of *nə*. The speaker uses the first clause to make a specific statement in the second clause, also if the last part of the sentence, *nənʃo matəʃijn*, 'you have no idea', is not there. The semantic difference between (110a) or (110b) and (110c) is borne entirely by *nə*:

- (110a) ɲ-aci lhase katʃʰi na-rəmɲo ɲa ma-rəmɲo-ɲ
 1s:GEN-younger.sibling lHasa go PFT-experience I NEG-experience-1s
 My younger brother has been to lHasa; I, regretfully, have not.

menə
 regretfully

- (110b) ɲ-aci lhase katʃʰi na-rəmɲo koronə ɲa
 1s:GEN-younger.sibling lHasa go PFT-experience but I
 My younger brother has been to lHasa but I, regretfully, have not.

ma-rəmɲo-ɲ menə
 NEG-experience-1s regretfully

- (110c) ɲ-aci lhase katʃʰi na-rəmɲo nə ɲa
 1s:GEN-younger.sibling lHasa go PFT-experience CON I
 My younger brother has been to lHasa; *I, regretfully, have not* - [you have no

ma-rəmɲo-ɲ menə [nənɲo-ɲo ma-tə-ʃi-jn]
 NEG-experience-1s regretfully [you-p NEG-2-know-2p]
 idea (how bad I have it at home)].

The Jiăomùzú dialects have adverbial clauses which are marked by adverbialisers. There are also relative clauses and complements, but Jiăomùzú does not have markers that function as complementisers and relativisers. Marking for complements and relative clauses occurs within the clause itself, see section 8.2 of the chapter on sentences below. The conjunction *nə* can occur with all types of subordinated clauses. When *nə* occurs with an adverbial or verbal constituent it subordinates that constituent while signalling specific meaning. It does not just generically mark the function of subordination. Consider once more the example about bKra-shis meeting his friend in town. It is possible to turn the first constituent of (108a), 'went out into town' into an adverbial by adding a locative. The adverbial constituent, in turn, can then be modified by *nə*:

- (108d) pkɾafis kantʃʰak-j ji-rɿi tʃe w-andɿi? na-məto-w
 bKra.shis street- LOC PFT-go₂ LOC 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S
 When bKra-shis went out into town he met his friend.

- (108e) pkɾafis kantʃʰak-j ji-rɿi tʃe nə w-andɿi? na-məto-w
 bKra.shis street- LOC PFT-go₂ LOC CON 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S
 When bKra-shis went out into town he met his friend [as planned].

The adverbial constituent *kantʃʰakj jirʃi tʃe*, 'when [he] went out into town' is a subordinate clause. The main clause is *wandʃi? namətow*, 'met his friend'. In sentence (108d) the subordinated adverbial clause, with the use of *tʃe*, 'when', only conveys information about the time line of the events. But it does not tell the hearer if the meeting was the goal or purpose of bKra-shis' going into town. Sentence (108e), with *nə*, gives information both about the time line through the use of 'when' in the adverbial clause and indicates that the meeting of the friend is the salient information. When bKra-shis went into town he did so for the purpose of meeting the friend.

The following example is from the A-myis Sgo-ldong story (see Text 1 at the end of this study). A new-born baby boy drinks his mother's milk and then eats progressively larger amounts of grain each day. The adverbial constituents are all subordinated to the activity of eating a large amount of grain:

- (109) w-əmpʰro tʃe nə w-apso nə kəpəs ro w-apso
 3s:GEN-after LOC CON 3s:GEN-following CON two ro 3s:GEN-following
 After that, the following [day], [he ate] two *ro* [of grain]; the next [day],

 nə kəsam ro w-əŋkʰu? nə ndə tə sok ʃi w-əjpo
 CON three ro 3s:GEN-after CON that C like often 3s:GEN-əjpo
 three *ro*; afterwards, he always [ate] huge amounts, like a *kəjpo* [every day].

A *ro* is a measure of grain, for barley weighing about 900 grammes. Ten *ro* make up one *kəjpo*.

Below is an example of the same function of conjunction *nə* with a relative clause. In sentence (110a), the neutral form, the relative clause 'the man who had an accident' is expressed by a nominalised verb within a genitive construction:

- (110a) ɲa kʰorlo nə-kə-rtəsə w-ərmə tə na-məto-ŋ
 I car PFT-NOM-hit 3s:GEN-person C PFT-see-1s
 I saw the man who had an accident (was hit by a car).

The use of *nə* in example (110b) links the object, 'the man who had an accident', to *namətoŋ*, 'I saw him'. The occurrence of *nə* here indicates that the salient information about the man who had the accident is that he was seen by me. Perhaps the speaker is talking to someone who is aware of the accident having happened, and who for some reason is inquiring about the latest developments regarding it:

- (110b) ɲa kʰorlo nə-kə-rtəsə w-ərmə tə nə na-məto-ŋ....
 I car PFT-NOM-hit 3s:GEN-person C CON PFT-see-1s
 I *saw* the man who had an accident....

In the normal course of a conversation, there is a follow-up after the use of *nə* in (110b), such as:

- (110c) *ŋa k^horlo nə-kə-rt sə w-ərmə tə nə na-məto-ŋ koronə*
 I car PFT-NOM-hit 3s:GEN-person C CON PFT-see-1s but
 I *saw* the man who had an accident but I did not manage to grab a hold of him.
- kandʔi ʃi-c^ha-ŋ*
 grab NEG/PRF-manage-1s

The conjunction *nə* can occur with complements, syntactically subordinating the complement and resulting in a semantic shift. In example (111a) the complement is *wuʃo manʃu? vi*, 'he will come again'. The complement is unmarked. The mood marker at the end of the sentence shows that the speaker is anxious about the possible return of the person mentioned in the complement. In example (111b) the presence of *nə* links the complement to *kəsəsoŋ*, 'thinking'. Perhaps the subject had prepared a parcel to send with the person mentioned in the complement and was caught by the fact that this person had already left, without the parcel. The relevant information in (111b) is that the speaker is thinking, not that 'he' will come back. The follow up clause in (111b), 'but he already left', makes clear that the speaker's thinking was faulty. The sentence is perfectly grammatical also without the last clause:

- (111a) *ŋa wuʃo manʃu? vi 'kə-səso-ŋ ko*
 I he again come_i PRIMP-think-1s MD:ANX
 I'm afraid he will come back.
- (111b) *ŋa wuʃo manʃu? vi nə to-səso-ŋ (koronə ʃi-'a-tʃ^{hi})*
 I he again come_i CON PFT-think-1s (but PFT-NEV-go_i)
 I thought that he will come back - (but he has already left).

To complete this section I give an example which compares the use of *nə* and coordinating conjunction *rə*. Compare the following two sentences, which show beautifully the contrast in meaning between *nə* and *rə*:

- (112a) *pkraʃis kantʃ^hak-j ʃi-rʃi nə w-andʔi? na-məto-w*
 bKra.shis street- LOC PFT-go₂ CON 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S
 bKra-shis went out into town and met his friend [as planned].
- (113b) *pkraʃis kantʃ^hak-j ʃi-rʃi rə w-andʔi? na-məto-w*
 bKra.shis street- LOC PFT-go₂ CON 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S
 bKra-shis went out into town and ran into his friend.

The verb *kaməto*, used in both (112a) and (112b) means 'see, meet, run into'. Sentence (112a) employs *nə*, so the listener will assume that bKra-shis and his friend maybe had an appointment. The best translation of *kaməto* therefore is 'meet' or 'see'. But in (112b), the connector *rə* indicates that the events of the second clause are somehow unpredictable, unexpected or unanticipated. The literal meaning of (112b) is something like 'bKra-shis went into town; unexpectedly, he met his friend there.' The best translation of *kaməto* in (112b) is 'run into'. Obviously, most verbs do not allow for such a neat division between volitional and unvolitional meanings in the English glosses. In all those cases conjunction *rə* carries the burden of signalling that an unexpected event is about to happen, while *nə* in the same position indicates the speaker's perspective that the first conjunct contributes, one way or another, to the core of the sentence, which is the second conjunct.

Condition, reason and result: k^honə and wurənə

The subordinating conjunction *k^honə* or *k^ho* indicates a condition which needs to pertain for the event in the following clause to be able to occur while *wurənə* or *wurə* indicates reason or result. Often both are best translated 'so', 'therefore' or 'because'. Both conjunctions occur on the word, the phrase and the clause levels with verbal conjuncts. They differ in evidential and temporal shades of their meaning. In direct speech the speaker's choice of conjunction conveys the reliability of a statement by indicating the source of the information. Consider the examples in (113). The context is perhaps a situation where someone is surprised to see lHa-mo on the street. Had she not said that she would leave? The speaker responds with (113a): yes, lHa-mo was supposed to leave but somehow the car left without her, so that she is still here. Both (113a) and (113b) are marked for non-evidential, conveying that the speaker was not actually an eye-witness to the event of the car leaving without lHa-mo. The use of *k^honə* in (113a) signals that the speaker has heard lHa-mo missed her ride, but not from lHa-mo herself. The use of *wurənə* in (113b) shows that lHa-mo herself has told the speaker what happened with her and the car:

- (113a) k^horlo ji-'a-tʃ^hi k^honə lhamo ji-'a-tʃ^hi
 vehicle PFT-NEV-go₁ CON lHa.mo NEG/PFT-NEV-go₁
 The car had [already] left, so lHa-mo did not go.

- (113b) k^horlo ji-'a-tʃ^hi wurənə lhamo ji-'a-tʃ^hi
 vehicle PFT-NEV-go CON lHa.mo NEG/PFT-NEV-go₁
 The car had [already] left, so lHa-mo did not go.

When a speaker uses *k^honə* in this sort of situation, the hearer can always ask 'who told you?'. When a speaker uses *wurənə* it is clear that the information came, so to speak, from the horse's mouth. The Jiāomùzú dialects have a preoccupation with evaluating the source and reliability of information as evidenced by an elaborate system for marking evidentiality. Though most of the marking for evidentiality occurs on the verb, the choice of conjunction as shown in example (113) is also one of the tools a speaker has available to convey information that has evidential meaning.

There are many contexts, such as stories, that do not involve direct speech, and in which the speaker cannot possibly have learned his information from people personally involved in the events he relates. In that sort of context *wurənə* signals a stronger link of causality between the first and the second conjunct, conveying that the outcome or result is inevitable or beyond the control of the person involved in the situation. The conjunction *kʰonə* indicates a condition without which the second clause cannot happen, but does not necessarily indicate causality. Compare the following sentences:

- (114a) *təmu makəndʒa kəktu na-laʔt wurənə ʒi-vu*
rain very big PFT-hit₂ CON NEG/PFT-come₂
It rained cats and dogs, so he didn't come.

- (114b) *təmu makəndʒa kəktu na-laʔt kʰonə ʒi-vu*
rain very big PFT-hit₂ CON NEG/PFT-come₂
It rained cats and dogs so he didn't come.

The speaker may be telling the story of great-grandfather bKra-shis and how he missed an important meeting about land use, which is why the House to this day is situated on the least fertile land available in the community. Sentence (114a), with *wurənə*, indicates that great-grandfather had no way of getting to the meeting. It rained so much that the road collapsed and he was stuck in the mud for a whole night. He wanted to go but the circumstances made it inevitable that he missed the meeting. The use of *kʰonə* carries no such sense of inevitability. It rained hard, so great-grandfather decided to stay home. Maybe he thought the meeting would not make a big difference. It was not inevitable that he missed the meeting; he had control over the outcome of the situation. Along the same lines are the following examples, from the A-mysis Sgo-ldong story (Text 1 at the end of this study). Example (115) has *kʰo*. A-mysis Sgo-ldong makes it clear that if the villagers will not fulfil the condition, namely that they prepare a number of items for him, he will not come to help them defeat a nasty demon. Note the stressed perfective marker *to-* to indicate past-in-the-future relative tense:

- (115) *ndə-ɲo 'to-sa-va-va-ɲn kʰo ɲa ndə wu-ʒakma tʃe ngo-ɲ*
that-p PFT-CAUS-do-RED-3p CON I that 3s:GEN-day LOC go.upstream-1s
When you're done preparing all that, on that day I will come.

Sentence (116) demonstrates the use of *wurə*:

- (116) *nənjo nə-ʃi-na'tso-w to-kə-cəs-w wurə w-əza tə nə*
 you IMP-VPT-look-3s PFT-NOM-say CON 3s:GEN-son C CON
 "Go and have a look," [his father] said, so his son went and had a look.

kərek nə-kə-ʃi-natso-w 'nə-ŋos
 one PFT-NOM-VPT-look-3s EV-be

Note that the use of *wurə* here indicates that the son does not have control over the situation. His father commands him to go and look. It is impossible not to obey his father. It is inevitable that he goes to have a look, even if it may result in his death – which it does.

The choice of conjunction often is related not to the objective reality of a situation but to the speaker's perception of it. For example, the use of *wurənə* in (116) expresses the speaker's sense that the chaos resulting from the chase is unavoidable, and so all the more reason for his annoyance at the situation. A chicken came in, so inevitably the cat went after it - what a horrible nuisance:

- (117) *patʃu kamtsa sku kavi wurənə lolo kə na-nandʒek-dʒek-w*
 chicken window down come CON cat PR PFT-chase-RED-3s
 A chicken had come in through the window so the cat chased it around,

wastop ma-'nə-nəʃit
 very NEG-OBS-pleasant
 [a] very unpleasant [event].

Had the speaker used *k^honə* in the context of (116), the sentiment conveyed by the sentence would have been that, though the cat chasing the chicken around the room was very annoying, it is only what can be expected when cat and chicken are in one place.

In example (117) the use of *wurənə* signals that bKra-shis' tasks had come to an end, and this compelled him, in the perception of the speaker, to leave. There was no reason to linger any longer:

- (118) *pkraʃis tət^ha stamce to-'a-sə-ŋa-taktak cəktse na-'a-k^hrət*
 bKra.shis book all PFT-NEV-CAUS-IMPS-stack desk PFT-NEV-wipe
 bKra-shis stacked all the books and wiped all the tables,

wurənə ji-'a-tʃ^hi
 so.then PFT-NEV-go₁
 so then [since he had finished the work] he left.

The same sentence with *k^honə* would still convey that bKra-shis left after he was finished with his task, and because he had finished, but without the speaker's emphasis that this outcome was inevitable. Perhaps bKra-shis could have stayed on for a cup of tea with the janitor.

Here is one more example from a story in which a crow and a rabbit trick a pig into allowing itself to be slaughtered. The pig condemns himself to be slaughtered, and the use of *wurənə* conveys that, after such a blatant invitation, it is inevitable that the crow and the rabbit go ahead and kill the pig:

- (119) a nənʃo-ndʒ w-aka-j nə ɲa no-tʃ^ha-ŋ to-cəs-w
 hey you-d 3s:GEN-bottom-LOC CON I AF-slaughter-1s PFT-say
 When [the pig] said: "Hey, slaughter me rather than the two of you", well
- tʃe nə wurənə pak nə no-kə-ntʃ^ha 'nə-ŋos jo
 LOC CON CON pig CON AF-NOM-slaughter EV-be MD:R
 so then they did slaughter the pig!

The conjunction *k^honə* is often used to give background to the main event expressed in a sentence, somewhat like parentheses in English. The background information, which can consist of smaller events and actions that all somehow contribute to the main story line, is embedded or nested in the main narrative with the use of *k^honə*. For example, in (120) the speaker explains why bKra-shis was penniless and had to sleep out on the street once he arrived in Măerkāng. A thief on the bus had stolen his money. This secondary event gives the background, here a reason, for bKra-shis' having to sleep rough. It is subordinated to the main events by the use of *k^honə*. Also, the actions of there being a thief on the bus and bKra-shis losing all his money are clustered and presented as one event by the speaker's use of *k^honə* to connect the two:

- (120) pkraʃis mbork^he to-'a-tʃ^hi korənə k^horlo w-əŋgi kəʃmo kə
 bKra.shis Măerkāng PFT-NEV-go₁ but bus 3s:GEN-inside thief PR
 bKra-shis went up to Măerkāng but, a thief on the bus having stolen
- wu-poŋeʔj na-nəʃmo-w k^honə wu-poŋeʔj kəʒu tə nə-'a-mi?
 3s:GEN-money PFT-steal-3s CON 3s:GEN-money all C PFT-NEV-not.have
 all his money, he was without any money and had to spend the night out
- ndə rə wuʃo kantʃ^hak-j kanəʃup na-ra
 that CON he street-LOC sleep PFT-need
 on the street.

The conjunction *wurə* can occur at the beginning of a sentence rather than between two conjuncts. The following examples are from a conversation about a hog. On learning that the hog is not fat yet, the speaker asks what the owner of the hog will do to fatten him. The conjunction appears at the beginning of the sentence:

- (121a) wurə t^hi tə-səso-w
 CON what 2-think-2s
 So what will you do?

The owner gives the following answer. Note that the conjunction follows a question by another person, so that there is no direct link between two elements of speech of one speaker:

- (121b) wurə kasərtsa 'kə-səso-ŋ rə ts^ho
 CON castrate PRIMP-think-1s CON fat
 So I'm thinking of castrating him, then he'll fatten up.

e. Conjunctive adverbs

Some types of adverbial, whose function is primarily connective, are sometimes simply called conjunctive or conjuncts, like the English *however*, *moreover*, *indeed*, *unless*, *except*. The Jiǎomùzú dialects have several adverbs that can function as conjunctions. A short description of the most frequently used ones follows below.

There is a paired conjunction which employs the adverb *zik*, 'also' once in each conjunct:

- (122) pakʃu zik ndoʔ ʒugolor zik ndoʔ
 apple also have walnut also have.
 There were apples as well as walnuts.

There are two pairs of conjunctive adverbs that signal inclusion and exclusion of one item or person from a group of others. Each pair consists of one exclusive and one inclusive conjunctive adverb. The first pair is made up of *manʃuʔ* and *k^ho*. The second pair has *me* or *maktok* and *kavə*. The adverb *manʃuʔ*, 'also, as well, moreover, on top of, besides' is an inclusive conjunctive adverb. It occurs at the end of a list of items:

- (123) pakʃu zik ndoʔ ʒugolor zik ndoʔ manʃuʔ tamar
 apple also have walnut also have beside butter
 There were apples and walnuts, as well as butter.

- (124) katop ma-^lnə-k^hut kasat manʃuʔ ma-^lnə-k^hut
 hit NEG-OBS-possible kill more.so NEG-OBS-possible
 Beating is not possible and killing is even more impossible!

The conjunction can be used in elliptic sentences, where the listing of the other items is implicit, as in the example below:

- (125) *ŋa manju? k^həza? ki ndo?*
 I CON bowl IDEF have
 [Besides the bowls I have shown you,] I have [yet] another bowl.

The adverb *manju?* is also used when two actions are performed by one actor at the same time, in conjunction with *nanəmdap*, 'at the same time':

- (126) *k^harjit kava manju? jaŋma kale?t nanəmdap*
 song sing also bike ride₁ at.the.same.time
 He passed by singing while riding his bike upstream.

aku sku kə-rji
 upstream upstream PFT-go₂

- (127) *prak w-ərka-s na kambət manju? kaŋak^hu nanəmdap*
 rock 3s:GEN-on top-LOC down fall also scream at.the.same.time
 Screaming he fell down from the rock.

For examples of the use of *manju?* in conjunction with other adverbs, see the section on iterative time in section 5.6.b of the chapter on adverbs.

The locative *k^ho* can function as an exclusive conjunctive adverbialiser. When used in a temporal context the adverbialiser signals that an action or event happens right on the heels of a previous action or event, or that the end of the first action and the beginning of the second action overlap. A third meaning of *k^ho*, when used as a spatial locative, is 'to the furthest extent'. Used with nominals, *k^ho* means 'besides, as well as, in addition to', an extension of the spatial meaning 'to the furthest extent'.

- (128) *sgrolma k^ho w-andɽi? təmu? kəmɽi 'na-ɽu-jn*
 sGrol.ma ADV:CON 3s:GEN-friend girl five OBS-live-3p
 Five girls in addition to sGrol-ma live [in the dorm].

In the second pair, consisting of *me* and *kavə*, exclusion is expressed by the indigenous form *me*, 'only, except'. Literally, sentence (129) means 'apart from five yuan, he has no money':

- (129) *pkraʃis pɔŋeʔj kəmɽi p^hjar me mi?*
 bKra.shis money five CL ADV:CON not.have
 bKra-shis has only five yuan.

Some speakers use the Tibetan loan *maktok*, from literary Tibetan བ་གཏོགས *ma-gtogs*, rather than *me*.

- (130) pkraʃis maktok kəʒu tə kə-rama katʃʰi na-ra-s
 bKra.shis except all C NOM-labour go PFT-need-PST:3s
 Everyone except bKra-shis had to go to work.

Inclusion is expressed by *kavə*:

- (131) kavə pkraʃis kəʒu tə kə-rarnga? ji-rji-jn
 CON bKra.shis all C NOM-perform.dance PFT-go₂-3p
 Everyone including bKra-shis went to the performance.
- (132) kavə harʃal-rʃal kəʒu tə bebe to-ʃi-ndza-jn
 CON lHa.rgyal-RED all C noodles PFT-VPT-eat-3p
 Everyone, including even lHa-rgyal, went to eat noodles.

Note the repetition of the last syllable of the name lHa-rgyal in example (132). The repetition signals that lHa-rgyal's going to eat noodles is extraordinary - he would not normally go.

Finally there is the conjunctive adverb *maʃki*. In positive sentences it means 'until, up to'. In negative sentences *maʃki* signals 'unless'. The following examples show *maʃki* as a clause connector:

- (133) mborkʰe sta tə mkʰono maʃki na-vətʃi-ŋ
 Măěrkāng origin C Kǒnglóng until PFT-walk-1s
 I walked from Măěrkāng to Kǒnglóng.
- (134) ma-ndza maʃki w-əkto ma-pki
 NEG-eat CON 3s:GEN-stomach NEG-full
 He won't fill up unless he eats. (He will be hungry if he doesn't eat.)
- (135) pkraʃis wuʒo ma-və-nəro-w maʃki tascok kavəja ma-kʰut
 bKra.shis he NEG-VPT-take-3s unless letter fetch NEG-can
 Unless bKra-shis comes to get the letter himself, (you) can't take it.
- (136) ŋa tascok kaleʔt ma-səjoʔk-ŋ maʃki diənjinʑ kə-namɲo ma-tʃʰi-ŋ
 I letter write₁ NEG-finish-1s unless movie NOM-watch NEG-go₁-1s
 I won't go watch a movie unless I've finished this letter.

Conjunctive adverbs can be followed by subordinating conjunction *nə*. The use of *nə* gives a shift of emphasis to the second conjunct, as demonstrated in section 6.4.d on *nə* above. Below is an example that combines *me*, 'only, except' with *nə*. Sentence (137a) without *nə* is a simple statement. The speaker makes the observation that sGrol-ma, who is just one among many students, does not like to

read, while all the other students do. But in (137b), with *nə*, the semantics are different. The speaker conveys a value judgment about sGrolma's performance in class: all the other students like to read, only she does not, and the speaker is unhappy about it:

- (137a) sgrolma tə me tərmu kəzu tə tət^ha kanatso
 sGrol.ma C ADV:CON person all C book see
 Except sGrol-ma everyone likes reading.

kə-rga? ʃi ɲos-jn
 NOM-like always be-3p

- (137b) sgrolma tə me nə tərmu kəzu tə tət^ha kanatso
 sGrol.ma C ADV:CON CON person all C book see
 Except sGrol-ma *everyone* likes reading. [- why can't she do better?]

kə-rga? ʃi ɲos-jn
 NOM-like always be-3p

Example (138) shows the same principle. Sentence (138a) gives a neutral statement. The speaker would like to go and dance if there would not be rainy weather. But there is not much emotion, such as disappointment, involved on the speaker's side:

- (138a) təmu 'na-leʔt me ɲa tarɲga? kava ɲ-əsi 'na-vi
 rain OBS-hit₁ ADV:CON I dance do 1s:GEN-heart OBS-come
 But for the rain I would go dancing.

Sentence (b), with the conjunction *nə*, emphasizes the second conjunct. The speaker conveys that he would very much like to go dancing - but the rain prevents him from doing so.

- (138b) təmu 'na-leʔt me nə ɲa tarɲga? kava ɲ-əsi 'na-vi
 rain OBS-hit₁ ADV:CON CON I dance do 1s:GEN-heart OBS-come₁
 Too bad it is raining, if it wasn't for that I'd want to go dancing.

Native speakers inform me that this sort of structure is often used when a speaker uses the situation in the first conjunct as a bit of an excuse for not doing what he professes to want to do in the second conjunct. In (138b), there is a good chance that the speaker is less than upright about his desire to go dancing and his disappointment that the rain is preventing him from doing so.

This same euphemistic approach is used to form a polite refusal in (139). The speaker has been asked to help with a physically demanding chore. The first conjunct of the speaker's response includes *nəɲos*, which indicates certainty modified by an evidentiality marker signalling conventional wisdom, public knowledge: everyone knows the speaker is unable to help - how come

the person even asks? The conjunctive adverb *me* indicates that it is only the speaker's incapability that keeps him from helping, it is not for lack of willingness to help. The conjunction *nə* finally emphasises the explanation for the speaker's incapability: he is not strong enough to perform the task. Again, if in this sentence the speaker uses only *me* the statement is neutral and the hearer will take it at face value that the speaker really is unable to help. But with the use of *nə* chances are that the speaker is actually quite happy that he, for lack of strength, is unable to help:

- (139) *ŋa kakor ma-ta-c^ha-n 'nə-ŋos me nə ŋa ŋ-əkʃet*
 I help NEG-1/2-able-2s EV-be ADV:CON CON I 1s:GEN-strength
 Regrettably I can't help you, because I'm not strong enough.

ma-'nə-rtek
 NEG-OBS-enough

Constructions with *me nə* can be used to convey implicit commands. In example (140) sentence (140a) with only *mə* is again a neutral statement. A speaker simply observes that, in his country, only the king is permitted to use red ink for writing letters, maybe in answer to an inquiry of an outsider:

- (140a) *rjarpo kə me tascok kəvəni kaleʔt ma-kə-k^hut ŋos*
 king PR CON letter red write₁ NEG-NOM-can be
 Only the king can write in red ink.

- (140b) *rjarpo kə me nə tascok kəvəni kaleʔt ma-kə-k^hut ŋos*
 king PR ADV:CON CON letter red write₁ NEG-NOM-can be
 Only the king can write in red ink. (Since one is not a king, one is not allowed to write with red ink.)

In sentence (140b) the speaker uses *nə* to emphasize the second conjunct. Perhaps he is speaking to someone who is attempting to write in red ink. The implication of sentence (140b) is that the hearer is not a king, and that therefore he is not allowed to write with red ink, and thus ordered not to do so. An example with the conjunctive adverbialiser is (141). The neutral sentence of this set is sentence (128) above. In sentence (128) the speaker simply states that there are five girls in addition to sGrol-ma. Sentence (141), with the conjunction *nə*, subordinates sGrol-ma to the second conjunct, *wandʒi? təmu? kəmpj*, 'five friends'. The important part of the sentence is the second conjunct. Sentence (b) may be used in a situation where sGrol-ma is asked to decide whether or not she wants to have TV in her dorm. But since *there are five others* that live there, she cannot decide by herself. She may use a sentence like (c) to make that clear:

(141a) sgrolma k^ho nə w-andʈi? təmu? kəmɲi 'na-ɲu-jn
 sGrol.ma ADV:CON CON 3s:GEN-friend girl five OBS-live-3p
Five girls in addition to sGrol-ma *live* [*in the dorm*].

(141b) ɲa k^ho nə ɲ-andʈi? təmu? kəmɲi 'na-ndoʔ-jn raŋraŋsoso
 I ADV:CON CON 1s:GEN-friend girl five OBS-live-3p as.one.pleases
There are five girls in addition to me, I can't just say whatever I want.

kacəs ma-'nə-k^hut
 say NEG-OBS-can

Like other adverbs, conjunctive adverbs can be modified by markers that normally occur with nominals, such as the contrast marker *tə*:

(142) zgrolma maktok tə kəʒu tə tət^ha kanatso? kə-rga? ʃi ɲos-jn
 sGrol.ma except C all C book look NOM-like continuously be-3p
 Except sGrol-ma everyone likes reading.

(143) k^horlo ma-vi maʃki tə tʃəʔ to-'va-w
 bus NEG-come₁ until C this IMP-do-2s
 Do this until the bus arrives.

For more on adverbs in nominal positions, see section 5.1 of the chapter on adverbs. Two conjunctive adverbs can occur together between clauses:

(144a) pkraʃis maktok kəʒu tə kə-rama katʃ^hi na-ra-s
 bKra.shis except all C NOM-labour go₁ PFT-need-PST:3s
 Everyone except bKra-shis had to go to work.

(144b) pkraʃis maktok me kəʒu tə kə-rama katʃ^hi na-ra-s
 bKra.shis except only all C NOM-labour go₁ PFT-need-PST:3s
 Everyone, except bKra-shis alone, had to go to work.

The use of *maktok* in (144) excludes bKra-shis from the group. The conjunction *me*, 'only' signals that in the group excluded from working there is only one person, bKra-shis.

6.5 Mood markers

Mood markers are words that indicate the speaker's attitude, or that solicit the hearer's attitude, toward the event or condition expressed by a sentence. The Jiāomùzú dialects employ quite a few

mood markers. They occur at the very end of a sentence, after the verb phrase. They can, however, be followed by a question marker, as shown in the following examples. Sentence (145a) gives a normal declarative sentence. Example (145b) is the question format of the same sentence:

(145a) pijva kərstwu sok ma-'nə-məʃtak
 this.year winter manner NEG-OBS-cold
 This year winter is not that cold.

(145b) pijva kərtswu sok ma-'nə-məʃtak me
 this.year winter manner NEG-OBS-cold INTR
 Is this year's winter not that cold?

Sentence (145b) would be a normal inquiry for, let's say, a person who is in Chéngdū and who asks a friend in Mǎěrkāng by telephone what winter there is like, this year. Sentence (145c) has the mood marker *la* at the end of the sentence, indicating that the speaker wants to solicit the hearer's agreement with the statement. In this case, both the hearer and the speaker are in the same place, maybe Mǎěrkāng. The speaker thinks this year's winter is not too cold and asks for the hearer's agreement, for example when they run into each other on the street and have a chat about the weather.

(145c) pijva kərtswu sok ma-'nə-məʃtak la
 this.year winter manner NEG-OBS-cold MD:SA
 This year's winter is not that cold, don't you agree?

Sentence (145d) has a question marker, *me*, as well as the mood marker *la*. In such a sentence the speaker expresses his expectation that the hearer will agree with his statement by using *la*, but then leaves wiggle room for the hearer to disagree by adding *me*.

(145d) pijva kərtswu sok ma-'nə-məʃtak la me
 this.year winter manner NEG-OBS-cold MD:SA INTR
 This year's winter is not that cold, right - or what do you think?

It is not possible to have a question marker followed by a mood marker:

(145e) * pijva kərtswu sok ma'nəməʃtak me la

Below I give an overview of the most frequently used Jiāomùzú mood markers.

Two mood markers, *la* and *ju?*, solicit a hearer's attitude to a statement made by a speaker. A speaker uses *la* to solicit the hearer's agreement to a statement, as discussed above:

- (146) ɲa ɲi-tʰiŋʂəꞑ ta-və-sco-n ma-¹nə-ra la
 I 3p:GEN-dorm 1/2-VPT-see.off-2s NEG-OBS-need MD:SA
 There's no need for me to see you to your dorm, is there?

Note that in sentence (146) the use of observation marking with auxiliary verb *ra* indicates that the speaker feels compelled or obliged by an outside party - here most likely his friend who is not feeling well - to come along to the dorm. The speaker counters that felt obligation with the use of mood marker *la*. His friend, upon hearing *la*, which solicits his agreement, really has little option but to let go of his desire to be walked home and agree with the speaker that company on the way is not necessary.

When a speaker wants to re-affirm a fact that, in the speaker's understanding, both speaker and hearer are already familiar with, he uses *ju?* Note that the hearer may not actually know the fact the speaker is referring to. What matters is that the speaker believes the hearer to know:

- (147) pkraʃis soʃnu vi ju?
 bKra.shis tomorrow come₁ MD:RA
 As you know, bKra-shis will come tomorrow.

If the speaker did not imply that the hearer knows about bKra-shis' coming, he would not use the mood marker. Nevertheless, the speaker may be wrong in his assumption that the hearer knows, in which case the hearer may respond with a simple *juməsemŋ*, 'I had not heard that'.

- (148) tandzam p^harə bebe sa-mp^hel ki ndo? ju?...
 bridge across noodle NOM-sell IDEF have MD:RA
 You know the noodle shop across from the bridge, right?...

To remind, warn or convince a hearer of something, a speaker can add mood marker *jo* to a statement. In example (149a) a speaker warns guests that sleeping at high altitude is a cold business and implicitly tries to convince them to take up the offer of more blankets. In (149b) one child reminds another that their mother is coming soon:

(149a) təmor tə-¹na-ndʈok-jn jo night 2-OBS-cold-2p MD:R You'll be cold tonight!	(149b) ama vi jo mother come₁ MD:R Mum will come!

Note that the tone of voice makes all the difference for sentence (149b). Said in a happy way, the children anticipate their mother's coming with gladness. Said in a shorter, more urgent tone of voice the statement may indicate that the children are up to no good. One child warns the other that their mother might any minute now find them in a situation that will for sure bring down her wrath on them.

Mood markers *law*, *lawne* and *jo* indicate increasing degrees of a speaker's certainty about the statement he makes. Use of *law* signals that a speaker is fairly sure but not entirely certain about a statement or event:

- (150) zdem kə-neʔk kə-məca ndoʔ təmu leʔt law
 cloud NOM-black NOM-many have rain hit₁ MD:G1
 There are many black clouds, I say we'll have rain.

The mood marker *lawne* signals greater conviction on the part of the speaker than *law*, but still not complete certainty:

- (151) rʒarpo-ɲo vi 'nə-ɲos kə tamaʔ kə-məca kava ra lawne
 king-3s:HON come₁ EV-be PR work NOM-much do need MD:G2
 The king will come, so most likely we'll have lots of work to do.

A speaker uses *jo* when he is entirely certain of a statement:

- (152) soʃnu vi soʃnu vi jo
 tomorrow come₁ tomorrow come₁ MD:C
 He'll come tomorrow. He will certainly come tomorrow.

A speaker's eagerness or anxiety is expressed by mood marker *ko*. For example, when news comes of the impending arrival of guests but there is little or no food in the house to entertain them with, an anxious hostess might say:

- (153) ʒarə ka-ndza ʒik miʔ poŋeʔj ʒik miʔ tʰi kava ra
 meat NOM-eat also not.have money also not.have what do need
 There is no meat and no money [to buy some] either, what on earth

 ko
 MD:ANX
 are we to do?

The mood marker *ko* does not always indicate anxiety in terms of nervousness. It can also imply that a speaker is anxious, in the sense of eager, to know something. In sentence (154) the speaker is very eager to know the name of the hearer:

- (154) nəŋʒo tʰi tə-rɲi-n ko
 you what 2-be.called-2s MD:ANX
 Please, do tell me what is your name?

Mood marker *kəne* expresses a speaker's sense of rightness about a statement, event or situation, especially if the speaker thinks the outcome was obvious from the start. In example (155) a mother scolds her son for taking off his coat when she told him repeatedly not to do so. To the mother it is obvious that the boy's action would result in him catching a cold, and she is irritated with the child for ignoring her:

- (155) nəŋʝo to-¹a-tə-nətʃ^hemben tənge mə-tə-¹k^hit ʃi to-cəs-ŋ kəne
 you PFT-NEV-2-catch.cold clothes PROH-2-take.off often PFT-say-1s MD:AS
 I told you over and over not to take off your coat - so now you have a cold.

Sentence (156) states the obvious:

- (156) pak-ŋo tə təʝeʔm w-əŋgi ka-sə-tʃ^hi ma-k^hut kəne
 pig-p C house 3s:GEN-inside NOM-CAUS-go₁ NEG-can MD:AS
 Of course the pigs are not allowed inside the house!

When a speaker uses mood marker *o* he wants to emphasise a certain statement or convey to a hearer that he really holds the statement modified by *o* to be true. For example, in (157) the speaker makes a negative comment on a picture: he thinks it is too dark. But before the criticism the speaker states that the picture is beautiful. The occurrence of *o* reassures the hearer that the speaker really thinks the picture is beautiful and softens the ground, as it were, for the negative comment that follows:

- (157) təndʒa kəmpʃer o koronə kətsə 'na-neʔk
 picture beautiful MD:CF but little OBS-black
 The picture is really beautiful, it's just a bit dark.

A speaker can use mood marker *tor* to convey an expectancy that a certain event will happen. The expectancy is usually based on facts known to the speaker and therefore reasonable. For example, in sentence (158) the speaker knows bKra-shis said he would come in five days. If today is the fifth day, it is therefore reasonable to expect him to arrive today:

- (158) pkraʃis kəmŋi ʒak tʃe vi to-kə-cəs ŋos k^ho pəʃnu vi tor
 bKra.shis five day LOC come₁ PFT-NOM-say be CON today come₁ MD:EXP
 bKra-shis said he'll come in five days; [today is the fifth day, so] I expect he'll come today.

Mood marker *ja* expresses surprise, as in (159) where the speaker finds the door, which should have been locked, to be open:

- (159) kam 'na-cu ja
door OBS-open MD:SUP
Hey, the door is open!

The mood marker *ne* conveys the speaker's sincerity about an event, statement or action. It is often used when the hearer expresses doubt about the speaker's statement and best translated with 'truly' or 'really':

- (160) wuʃo kəpaʔ ɲos ne
he Han.Chinese be MD:SIN
He really is Han Chinese!

VERBS AND VERB PHRASES

7.0 *Introduction*

Verbs are, literally, where all the action is in rGyalrong. Unsurprisingly, it is this part of the language that has attracted most attention from scholars.

This chapter starts off in section 7.1 with an overview of verb formation in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. Verbs consist of an infinitive marker *ka-* or *kə-* and a verb root. Compound verbs are common, consisting of a noun and one of a handful of compounding verbs. Verbs can be derived from nouns or from other verbs, often with the help of voice markers which are inserted before the verb stem. Irregular verbs occur in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. A verb has at most two stems, the citation form or 'root 1' and either 'root 2', which occurs in past tense forms, or 'root 3' which occurs in imperatives and all third person forms except non-past. Special classes of verbs are the linking, existential and auxiliary verbs, which I discuss briefly. An overview of nominalisation is next, and the section concludes with some remarks on comparisons.

In section 7.2 I discuss person and number marking. Suffix marking is derived from the personal pronouns and contains mainly, though not exclusively, information on number. I propose that the prefixes marking person are to a large extent fused, and that they contain information on the relationship between subject and object as well as on person hierarchy, with first person ranking higher than second and third, and second person ranking higher than third. The Jiǎomùzú dialects employ a system of direction marking in which the verb, when an object ranks higher than a subject, is marked for the category of inverse by *wu-*. Direction marking is sensitive to an animacy or empathy hierarchy. The Jiǎomùzú animacy hierarchy is as follows, with first person ranking highest: 1 > 2 > 3 human > 3 animate > 3 inanimate.

The next section of this chapter, 7.3, is devoted to orientation marking, which works on several levels in Jiǎomùzú. I discuss basic orientation marking in a geographical grid in which the speaker orients himself to his environment from the vantage point of his house. He uses three contrasting sets of directions, vertically up and down, up and down river, and towards the mountain or towards the river. After an overview of the 'solar axis hypothesis', I conclude that at least for Jiǎomùzú this interpretation of the oriental grid is not the most useful. Orientation markers double as mood markers and as tense and aspect markers in a range of different meanings.

Section 7.4 contains a discussion of the marking system for tense and aspect. Tense and aspect markers share one slot in the verb phrase. For tense, in subsection 7.4.b, I look at a situation as a whole within a certain time frame. Aspect covers the time frames and actions that are internal to a certain situation. Jiǎomùzú distinguishes between universal tense, absolute tense and relative tense. For absolute tense there is a basic split between past and non-past. Past tense is marked by prefixing

an orientation marker to the verb stem. Non-past is unmarked. The relative tenses encompass past-in-the-past, present-in-the-past, past-in-the-future, future-in-the-past and future-in-the-future. Aspect marking, described in 7.4.c, occurs on the verb for past progressive with marker *na-*, while past imperfective is marked by *to-*. Present imperfective has *kə-* for first and second person, with *ŋa-* for third. Terminative aspect is marked by *məto-* and *mata-*. A special case is marking for impending action or prospective aspect with viewpoint marker *və-*. The section on aspect concludes with an overview of aspectual meanings that are expressed not through marking on the verb but with the help of adverbs, verbs etc.

Section 7.5 gives a description of evidentiality as used in Jiǎomùzú. The concept underlying all evidentiality marking is the reliability of the speaker's statement. The neutral situation, in which the speaker is an eye witness to the action or event, goes unmarked. Information that is not first-hand knowledge is marked by *a-*. The second instance of evidentiality is marked by *na-*, which marks knowledge or information acquired by the speaker through personal experience, though not necessarily by being an eyewitness to a certain situation. This observation marker is very versatile. It is also used to mark mirativity and to distinguish between outsiders and insiders. The marker *nə-* signals reliability based on an outside authority.

In section 7.6 I look at attention flow. Marking for attention flow with *no-* occurs when the speaker directs a hearer's attention to the object rather than to the agent of the action. Attention flow does not occur in future tense situations and is sensitive to the animacy hierarchy. Topicalisation combined with action flow marking leads to constructions that resemble passives but that are entirely active in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. Marking with *no-* does not change the valency or transitivity of the verb.

The discussion of attention flow is followed by section 7.7 about viewpoint marking. Jiǎomùzú has a set of two viewpoint markers, *ʃi-* and *və-*, that indicate the direction in space in which a person or object is moving at the time of an action, from the perspective of the speaker. The markers are comparable with the use of 'coming towards' and 'going towards' in English.

Section 7.8 in the chapter describes the markers of the voice category. I describe reciprocity, which is marked by *ŋa-* or *wa-*, usually in combination with a reduplicated root. Canonical reflexivity is marked by *bja-* while *nə-* marks emphatic reflexivity and autobenefactive. Four sets of causative markers each add one argument to the verb as they are inserted. Causality markers *sa-/sə-* and *ʃa-/ʃə-* mark indirect causativity, while *ra-/rə-* and *va-/və-* mark direct causatives. Volition is marked by *mə-*. The markers *na-* and *nə-* form applicatives by adding objects. The impersonalising marker *ŋa-* signals the defocusing of the causal participant of an event, while *ŋo-* forms passives.

The chapter concludes with section 7.9 on mood in which I discuss negation, interrogative marking, different kinds of imperatives, real conditionals and a variety of irrealis constructions. Negation uses *ma-* for imperfective situations, *ʃi* in perfective frames and *mə-* for prohibitives. Polar questions are formed by prefixing a verb with *mə-*. Constituent or information questions employ interrogative pronouns or other strategies that do not pertain to verb morphology. Imperatives have root 1 prefixed by an orientation marker. Real conditionals prefix *mə-* to a verb already modified with an orientation marker. Irrealis is signalled by prefixing *a-* to a verb inflected for tense, aspect or mood. Quotatives use direct speech structures modified by the verb *kacəs*, 'say'. Submode expresses a

person's ideas, thoughts or beliefs about an event or fact. There are no markers in the Jiǎomùzú verb morphology to signal submode. Speakers simply add a verb like *kaseso*, ‘think’ to a sentence. The table below shows the categories of the Jiǎomùzú verb and where they occur in the verb phrase:

VERB PHRASE

M	AF	T, A	EV	person	VPT	V	R	R	person, number
Q	<i>no</i>	PFT/OR	NEV	2 <i>tə</i>	<i>ʃi</i>	AP			INTR
<i>mə</i>		<i>to</i>	<i>a</i>	1/2 <i>ta</i>	<i>və</i>	<i>na, nə</i>			1s <i>ŋ</i>
		<i>na</i>		1/3 –					1d <i>dʒ</i>
IMP		<i>kə</i>	OBS	2/1 <i>ko</i>	PROSP	VOL			1p <i>j</i>
<i>to</i>		<i>nə</i>	<i>na,</i>	2/3 <i>tə</i>	<i>və</i>	<i>mə</i>			2s <i>n</i>
<i>na</i>		<i>rə</i>	(<i>nə</i>)	3/1 <i>wu</i>					2d <i>ndʒ</i>
<i>kə</i>		<i>ro</i>		3/2 <i>to</i>		PAS			2p <i>jn</i>
<i>nə</i>		<i>ji</i>	EV	3/3 (<i>wu</i>)		<i>ŋo</i>			3s –
<i>rə</i>			<i>nə</i>						3d <i>ndʒ</i>
<i>ro</i>		PRIMP		INV		REC			3p <i>jn</i>
<i>ji</i>		1,2 <i>kə</i>		<i>wu</i>		CAN:			
		3 <i>ŋa</i>				<i>ŋa</i>			TRANS
IRR						COLL:			1/2s <i>n</i>
<i>a +</i>		PSTPROG				<i>wa</i>			1/2d <i>ndʒ</i>
		<i>na</i>							1/2p <i>jn</i>
COND						IMPS			1s/3 <i>ŋ</i>
<i>mə +</i>		PSTIMP				<i>ŋa</i>			1d/3 <i>dʒ</i>
		<i>to</i>							1p/3 <i>j</i>
NEG						REFL			2/1s <i>ŋ</i>
IMPF:		TER				CAN:			2/1d <i>dʒ</i>
<i>ma</i>		<i>məto</i>				<i>bja</i>			2/1p <i>j</i>
PFT:		<i>mata</i>				EREFL:			2s/3 <i>w</i>
<i>ji</i>						<i>nə</i>			2d/3 <i>ndʒ</i>
PROH:									2p/3 <i>jn</i>
<i>mə</i>						CAUS			3/1s <i>ŋ</i>
						INDIR:			3/1d <i>dʒ</i>
						<i>sa, sə</i>			3/1p <i>j</i>
						<i>ʃa, ʃə</i>			3/2s <i>n</i>
						DIR			3/2p <i>jn</i>
						<i>va, və</i>			3s/3 <i>w</i>
						<i>ra, rə</i>			3d/3 <i>ndʒ</i>
									3p/3 <i>jn</i>

Marker overview

Mood markers

Interrogative (Q) *mə-* is used to form polar questions.

Imperatives (IMP) take the orientation marker (OR) appropriate for the verb, either the lexicalized orientation marker or the marker suitable for the geographical direction expressed in the action, plus verb root 1, which is stressed.

Negation markers (NEG) replace tense and aspect markers. Prohibitive marker (PROH) *mə-* occurs for second person verb phrases without second person prefix *tə-*.

Irrealis (IRR) constructions are marked by *a-* prefixed to an inflected verb phrase.

Real conditionals (COND) take prefix *mə-*.

Two mood markers can occur together to form such constructions as polite question marker *məma* or negative conditional *məji*. In these cases the first marker takes the mood slot while the second marker fits in the tense and aspect marker slot.

Attention flow

Attention flow (AF) marker *no-* can replace tense and aspect markers as well as person markers. When a construction with *no-* is marked for non-direct evidentiality the vowel of the attention flow marker is retained but the marker becomes stressed.

Tense and aspect

Tense and aspect markers share one slot in the verb phrase.

Past perfective tense (PFT) is marked by an orientation marker as appropriate to the verb. The verb is in root 2, with stress on the root.

Relative tense past-in-the-future employs an orientation marker appropriate to the verb prefixed to verb root 1, with stress on the orientation marker.

Past imperfective aspect has two markers, *na-* for past progressive (PSTPROG) and *to-* for past imperfective (PSTIMP). Both markers occur in the same slot as past perfective prefixes. The verb is in root 2.

Present imperfective (PRIMP) is marked by stressed prefix *kə-* for first and second person, while third person employs the unstressed marker *ŋa-*. While non-direct evidential forms of first and second person imperfective use the non-direct evidential marker *a-*, third person present imperfective forms that are non-direct evidential normally take observation marking.

Terminative aspect (TER) occurs in past and non-past situations. For past situations terminative is marked by negation marker *mə-* with orientation marker *to-*. With non-past time frames terminative marking consists of negation marker *ma-* and prefix *ta-*. Terminative aspect marking can be split up, for example, by a nominaliser.

Evidentiality

The marker for non-direct evidentiality (NEV) is *a-*. Marking for non-direct evidentiality occurs in perfective situations. The marker is stressed and replaces the normal marker for past perfective in a verb phrase with verb root 1. The marker signals non-direct evidentiality, as well as a lack of awareness of an action when used with first persons.

Observation (OBS) marker *na-* is stressed. The marker signals knowledge gained by experience rather than by personal witnessing of a situation; new knowledge; and marks the speaker as an insider or outsider to the situation. In verb phrases marked for third person use of observation marking often functions as the direct evidential equivalent of present imperfective marking. Observation marker *na-* becomes *nə-* when it is not in the first slot of the verb phrase, except after negation marker *ma-* or when prefixed to linking verbs *ɲos*, ‘be’, *maʔk*, ‘not be’ and the existential verb *miʔ*, ‘not have’.

Reliability of a statement based on outside authority (EV) is signalled by *nə-* prefixed to a linking verb; the marker is stressed.

Person

The person prefixes occur in ditransitive verbs, except second person prefix *tə-*, which occurs with all verbs.

The person markers include inverse marker (INV) *wu-*, which is sensitive to an animacy hierarchy. When a subject ranks lower on the animacy hierarchy than an object, inverse marking occurs.

Viewpoint (VPT)

The viewpoint marker *və-* can also be used in an aspectual sense signalling impending action.

Voice

Applicatives add objects and are marked by *na-* or *nə-*. Applicative marker *na-* is mostly lexicalised but *nə-* is to a large extent productive.

There are two markers for reflexivity. Canonical reflexivity proper (REFL) is marked by *ɸja-* while emphatic reflexivity and autobenefactive (EREFL) are marked by *nə-*. The two markers can occur in the same verb phrase.

Causativity markers are divided into two sets that mark indirect causativity (*sa-/sə-* and *ʃa-/ʃə-*) and two sets that mark direct causativity (*va-/və-* and *ra-/rə-*).

Verb root (R)

Verb roots can be reduplicated to signal, among other things, reciprocity, repetition and emphasis.

Person and number

Person and number markers are suffixed to the verb root. Transitive relations with a first or second person object mark for object; transitive relations with a third person object mark for subject.

7.1 *Verb formation*

Verb derivation

Jiǎomùzú verbs in their citation form consist of an infinitive marker and a root. The infinitive markers *ka-* and *kə-* also function as nominalisers. Most stative verbs have *kə-* as their infinitive prefix, while most dynamic verbs are prefixed by *ka-*. In Jiǎomùzú stative verbs behave like dynamic verbs. They inflect for categories such as person, number and some forms of tense, aspect, mood, and evidentiality.

(1) kənəfəŋbjən convenient from 方便 *fāngbiàn*, 'convenient' (Chinese)
ma-nəfəŋbjən not convenient (NEG-convenient)

(2) rʲaŋkə green from literary Tibetan *ljang-khu*, 'green'
 * kərʲaŋkə
 rʲaŋkə w-əmdoʔk green (green 3s:G-colour)

(3)	təskru?	body	kəməskru?	pregnant
	tamar	butter	kəŋamar	greasy, oily
	tənu?	breast	kaʃənu?	breastfeed, suckle
	taʃu?	key	kaʃaʃu?	lock
	tak ^h u?	smoke; cigarette	kasak ^h u?	smoke (of a fire)
	losar	New Year	kanəlosar	celebrate New Year

(4)	kə-mni?	ka-sa-mni?	ka-va-mni?
	INF-little	INF-CAUS-little	INF-AP-little
	few, little	decrease (vt)	decrease (vi)

Other examples of verbs derived from verbs are:

(5)	kargaʔ	like
	kanərgaʔ	cherish
	kəsanərgaʔ	loveable
(6)	kazdə	accumulate; gather (vi)
	kasavəzdə	accumulate (vt)
	kaŋavəzdə	gather, assemble (vt)
(7)	kəʒder	scared
	kaʒder	fear
	kanəscar	frighten somebody
	kasənəscar	cause somebody to be scared
(8)	kaʃə	know
	kanəpʃə	know (someone),
	kasənəpʃə	introduce (a third party causes two people to be introduced)
	kəsaŋaməpʃə	recognise; know; be familiar with (each other)

Sometimes the derivation of a verb from another verb requires not only affixing of a causativity marker but also a change in the root. For example, the verb *kəmbar*, ‘flammable, burnable’, changes its root from *mbar* to *mber* after causativity marker *sə-* is added:

(9a)	tʃəʔ	tə	ʃokʃoʔk	ka-mbar	ma-kʰut
	this	C	paper	NOM-ignite	NEG-possible
	This paper is not flammable, it is not possible to set it on fire.				
(9b)	tʃəʔ	tə	ʃokʃoʔk	ka-sə-mber	kʰut
	this	C	paper	NOM-CAUS-ignite	possible
	This paper is flammable, it will burn.				

I have not found adverbs that can be transformed into verbs in a straightforward manner. Some nouns can function as adverbs, and some of these can be transformed into verbs. But it is more likely that the adverb as well as the verb derive from the noun in such cases:

(10)	tazə	secret (noun)
	tazəzə	cautiously, quietly (adverb)
	tazəzə karjo	talk in low voices, quietly
	kanəzə	keep secret

Compounding

A very productive process in the Jiāomùzú dialects is compounding, in the sense of forming complex predicates. A noun is combined with a verb to form a compound verb. Much used in compounding are the verbs *kaleʔt*, 'hit', *kava*, 'do' and *kataʔ*, 'put'. The verb loses its original or primary meaning when used in compounds. Here are some examples:

(11)	popo kava	'kiss (n) do'	kiss
	tarweʔk kava	'hunt (n) do'	hunt
	tarngaʔ kava	'dance (n) do'	dance
	smonlam kava	'wish (n) do'	give a well-wishing speech
	ts ^h oŋ kava	'business (n) do'	do business
(12)	tamtsu kaleʔt	'button (n) hit'	button
	jawət kaleʔt	'gesture (n) hit'	gesture
	jenxwa kaleʔt	'telephone (n) hit'	make a phone call; call
	ts ^h alə kaleʔt	'welding (n) hit'	weld, solder
(13)	tat ^h em kataʔ	'patrol' (n) put'	patrol
	təskeʔr kataʔ	'measure (n) put'	measure
	tatpe kataʔ	'faith (n) put'	believe
	talam kataʔ	'bet (n) put'	bet

Less common are compounds with *kalhoʔk*, 'appear, happen':

(14)	t ^h okpe kalhoʔk	'product (n) appear'	produce
	təʃtʃu kalhoʔk	'sweat (n) appear'	sweat

Occasionally a noun can take more than one verb to form a compound:

(15)	təji kava	plough
	təji kaleʔt	plough

Frequently there is a compound form as well as a regular verb form expressing the same meaning. The regular form is basically a noun prefixed with process verb marker *ka-* and maybe a voice marker:

(16)	mbərlen kaleʔt	(plane + hit)	kanəmbərlen	plane
	ʃkra kaleʔt	(sieve + hit)	kaʃkra	sieve, sift
	tazbrok kaleʔt	(kick + hit)	kanazbrok	kick (of a horse)
	tascok kaleʔt	(letter + hit)	karascok	write
	taʃuʔ kaleʔt	(key + hit)	kaʃaʃuʔ	lock
	losar kava	(New Year + do)	kanəlosar	celebrate New Year
	tarngaʔ kava	(dance + do)	kanərngaʔ	dance

In some cases there are a compounded form, a regular verb form and a verb that is a cognate or loan from Tibetan or Chinese:

(17)	tət ^h a kava	'book (n) do'	read, study
	karət ^h a		read, study
	kaslep		read, study (Tibetan སྒྲུབ་སྒྲུབ་ <i>slob sbyong</i>)

Marking of grammatical functions by changes in the verb root

The Jiāomùzú dialects have regular as well as irregular verbs. Regular verbs display the same root whatever the marking for tense, aspect and mood. Examples of regular verbs are *kaku*, 'buy' and *kambuʔ*, 'give'. Irregular verbs have more than one root. Which root appears depends on tense, aspect and mood marking and sometimes the semantics of the situation. I have found three different roots so far. An irregular verb uses at most two distinct roots, either root 1 and root 2 or root 1 and root 3.

Root 1 appears in non-past situations. This is normally the root that appears in the citation form of the verb, for example root 1 of the verb *kaleʔt*, 'hit' is *-leʔt*, for the verb *kavi*, 'come', root 1 is *-vi*. Many verbs have a different form that occurs in past tense situations, root 2. Often verbs distinguish between root 1 and root 2 by means of an alternation of glottal stops. If root 1 has a glottal stop, root 2 does not and vice versa. A verb in this category is *kasriʔ*, 'endure':

(18)	citation form		kasriʔ	bind
	non-past	1s	ŋa sriʔ-ŋ	I will bind
		2s	nəŋʝo tə-sriʔw	you will bind
		3s	wuʝo sriʔw	he will bind
	past	1s	ŋa kə-sri-ŋ	I bound
		2s	nəŋʝo kə-sri-w	you bound
		3s	wuʝo kə-sri-w	he bound

The alternation of glottal stops to mark tense is also reported for the Northern rGyalrong dialect of Sîdàbà and for the Central rGyalrong variety of Zhuōkèjī.¹³⁸

Other verbs distinguish between root 1 and root 2 by a change of vowel in the verb root. An example is *kaltep*, 'fold', as shown in the following paradigm:

	NON-PAST	PR. IMPF.	PST	IMP
1s	ltep-ŋ	'kə-ltep-ŋ	kə-ltap-ŋ	
1d	ltep-dʒ	'kə-ltep-dʒ	kə-ltap-dʒ	
1p	ltep-j	'kə-ltep-j	kə-ltap-j	
2s	tə-ltep-w	'kə-tə-ltep-w	kə-tə-ltap-w	kə-'ltep-w
2d	tə-ltep-ndʒ	'kə-tə-ltep-ndʒ	kə-tə-ltap-ndʒ	kə-'ltep-ndʒ
2p	tə-ltep-jn	'kə-tə-ltep-jn	kə-tə-ltap-jn	kə-'ltep-jn
3s	ltep-w	'na-ltep-w	kə-ltap-w	
3d	ltep-ndʒ	'na-ltep-ndʒ	kə-ltap-ndʒ	
3p	ltep-jn	'na-ltep-jn	kə-ltap-jn	

Examples of other verbs that have a vowel change in root 2 forms are:

(19)	citation form	root 1		root 2	
	katʃ ^{hi} i	-tʃ ^{hi} i	go ₁	-rʃi	go ₂
	kavi	-vi	come ₁	-vu	come ₂
	kaʃleʔk	-ʃleʔk	fall ₁ , drop ₁	-ʃlaʔk	fall ₂ , drop ₂
	kanətʃ ^{he} e	-nətʃ ^{he} e	get drunk ₁	-nətʃ ^{ha} a	get drunk ₂
	karwe	-rwe	rise ₁	-rwa	rise ₂
	kaməzeʔk	-məzeʔk	jump ₁	-məzaʔk	jump ₂
	kaməleʔk	-məleʔk	swallow ₁	-məlaʔk	swallow ₂

Remarkably, *katʃ^{hi}i* uses a completely different root for root 2, *rʃi*, rather than just a change of vowel. It is the only verb in my data that employs suppletion.¹³⁹

There are also irregular verbs that apply a vowel change in the verb root for third person in present imperfective and past perfective aspect, observational and non-direct evidential, in irrealis and nominalised forms. In addition to these third person forms, imperatives, which address second persons, also have a vowel change. I call this kind of verb root 'root 3'. The abbreviated paradigm for *katʰoʔ*, 'ask', shows the changes clearly:

¹³⁸ Sun 2000a; Lin 2003.

¹³⁹ The change of the entire root of *katʃ^{hi}i* seems to be consistent across dialects. It is reported by Lin (2003: 255) for Zhuōkèjī as well as by Jacques (2004: 351-357) for several northern dialects.

	NON-PAST	PRIMP	OBS	PFT	PST, NEV
1s	t ^h oʔ-ŋ	'kə-t ^h oʔ-ŋ		to-t ^h oʔ-ŋ	
2s	tə-t ^h oʔ-w	'kə-tə-t ^h oʔ-w		to-tə-t ^h oʔ-ŋ	
3s	t ^h oʔ-w	ŋa-t ^h aʔ-w	'na-t ^h aʔ-w	to-t ^h aʔ-w	to-'a-t ^h aʔ-w
	IMP	IRR	NOM		
1s		a-to-t ^h oʔ-ŋ	kə-t ^h oʔ-ŋ		
2s	to-'t ^h aʔ-w	a-to-tə-t ^h oʔ-w	kə-t ^h oʔ-w		
3s		a-to-t ^h aʔ-w	kə-t ^h aʔ-w		

Other examples of verbs in the root 3 category are:

(20)	citation form	root 1		root 3	
	karndaʔ	-rndaʔ	cram ₁	-rndeʔ	cram ₃
	kaskliʔ	-skliʔ	endure ₁	-sklu	endure ₃

In this study I mark glosses of irregular verb roots with small numbers, 1, 2 or 3, to indicate their category. Citation forms of roots that have alternations are marked with a small number 1.

Nominalisation does not influence the choice of verb root. Take for example the irregular verb *kanəʔf^he*, ‘drink alcohol, get drunk’:

(21)	ka-nəʔf ^h e	kə-nəʔf ^h e-ŋo
	INF-get.drunk ₁	NOM-get.drunk ₁ -p
	get drunk	alcoholics
	pkraʔis	to-nəʔf ^h a
	bKra.shis	PFT-get.drunk ₂
	bKra-shis was drunk.	PFT-NOM-get.drunk ₂ -p
		drunk people, (people who have been drinking)

Apart from the occurrence of root 2 or root 3 in the different syntactic environments as described above, a change in root can also occur in other situations that are governed by semantic or pragmatic factors. Certain modal or aspectual meanings can thus be expressed by a change in verb root that is outside the expected scope of the irregular verb stem. The examples below show the use of *kataʔ*, ‘put’, in different environments. The citation form has the root *taʔ*-, which should normally be considered root 1. However, in non-past situations, the normal environment for root 1, the root *teʔ*- appears, while the past perfective root 2 is *laʔ*-. The verb *kaleʔt*, ‘hit’ is a verb with root 1 and root 2 forms, and is given here to show the contrast with the formation of the roots for *kataʔ*.

(22)	citation form	gloss	root 1 (non-past)	root 2 (past perfective)
	kaleʔt	hit	leʔt	laʔt
	kataʔ	put	teʔ	taʔ

Nominalised forms for these verbs show that the citation form for *kataʔ* is not aberrant. In example (23) the nominalised form of *kaleʔt* uses root 1. In example (24) the expectation is for root 1 *teʔ* of *kataʔ* to appear in the nominalised verb form, but instead root 2 *taʔ* is used. Root 2 of *kataʔ* consistently appears in root 1 environments and should be considered the citation form for this verb:

- (23) dianxwaꞑ kə-leʔt tə pkraʃis 'nə-ŋos
 telephone NOM-hit₁ C bKra.shis EV-be
 The caller is bKra-shis.
- (24) soʃnu laktʃe tʃe-j kə-taʔ tə pkraʃis 'nə-ŋos
 tomorrow things here-LOC NOM-put₁ C bKra.shis EV-be
 The one who will put the things here tomorrow is bKra-shis.

An example of modal meaning expressed through a root change is in sentence (25). The neutral sentence is (25a), with root 1, *teʔ*, of the verb *kataʔ*, 'put' in the irrealis:

- (25a) poŋeʔj pkraʃis w-əmba-j a-nə-tə-teʔ-w raŋraŋ
 money bKra.shis 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC IRR-PFT-2-put₁-2s other
 You should put the money at bKra-shis', don't take it elsewhere.
- a-mə-tə-¹tsep-w
 IRR-PROH-2-take-2s

But in sentence (25b) there appears root 2 with the irrealis form:

- (25b) poŋeʔj pkraʃis w-əmba-j a-nə-tə-¹taʔ-w raŋraŋ
 money bKra.shis 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC IRR-PFT-2-put₂-2s other
 You should put the money at bKra-shis', don't take it elsewhere.
- a-mə-tə-¹tsep-w
 IRR-PROH-2-take-2s

The semantic difference between the irrealis forms of (25a) and (25b) is that in (25a) the speaker only exhorts the hearer to put the money at bKra-shis'. The hearer can do so or can decide not to – the moral obligation to act upon the advice of the speaker is not absolute. In (25b), however, the changed root expresses a strong imperative. The hearer will feel obligated or compelled to take the advice about storing the money at bKra-shis' place. The same vowel flip-flop can occur in unmarked non-past situations. Sentence (26a) is just a simple statement that I'm putting my book in a certain place. The verb phrase has root 1. But in sentence (26b), which has a follow-up clause, root 2 appears. The vowel change is apparently triggered by the fact that the first clause is a type of imperfective, albeit one without the verbal prefixes that mark imperfective aspect:

(26a) ṇa ṇ-ət^ha tʃe-j teʔ-ṇ
 I 1s:GEN-book here-LOC put₁-1s
 I'll put my book here.

(26b) ṇa ṇ-ət^ha tʃe-j taʔ-ṇ pkraʃis soʃnu vəja
 I 1s:GEN-book here-LOC put₂-1s bKra.shis tomorrow fetch
 I'll put my book here; bKra-shis will pick it up tomorrow.

Several authors have remarked on the irregularity of verbs across the rGyalrong dialects.¹⁴⁰ The distinction between a root that appears in past tense situations and one that occurs in non-past environments is a shared feature. But the grammatical categories that require variation in the root of a verb are not entirely consistent across the dialects. For example, Guillaume Jacques, for Chábǎo, one of the Northern rGyalrong dialects,¹⁴¹ mentions that stem 3 alternation only occurs in transitive verbs, while stem 2 occurs with some intransitives. In Jiǎomùzú alternation of verb roots occurs in transitive verbs, as shown in the paradigms for *kaltep* and *kataʔ* above, as well as in intransitive verbs. There does not seem to be a big distinction between transitive and intransitive in this respect. Example (27) shows an intransitive verb that is irregular:

(27) ka-məzeʔk to-məzaʔk
 INF-jump₁ PFT-jump₂
 he jumped

Sun, in his paper on Showu, finds that irregular roots employ, besides vowel alternation, a number of other means in their formation, such as a change of consonants, suffixing with *-t*, changes in tone, and others. For Jiǎomùzú I have thus far not found anything like that. The irregular roots are marked only by changes in vowels or an alternation in the occurrence of the glottal stop. According to Lin¹⁴² some twenty percent of verbs in the Zhuōkèjī dialect have irregular roots distinguished by ablaut. Almost all verbs signals stem change by means of tonal flip flops, which involves tone polarity. There are only two categories of irregular roots in Zhuōkèjī. One is used in the citation form, called 'stem 1'. The stem 1 forms “include other person Present Imperfective, Non-Past, Imperative, and Irrealis”. The forms of the other root, Lin's 'stem 2' “are Perfective, Past Imperfective, and self-person Present Imperfective”. Zhuōkèjī's stem 2 combines some of the categories marked by Jiǎomùzú root 2 and root 3. The Zhuōkèjī categories marked in irregular verbs overlap with those marked in the Jiǎomùzú irregular verbs, but do not cover all that is marked by Jiǎomùzú root 2 and root 3.

¹⁴⁰ Guillaume Jacques gives an overview in his work on northern rGyalrong dialects, Jacques (2004: 351-357) and Xiàng (2008: 227-242). Sun 2004 extensively discusses stem change in Showu (a northern rGyalrong dialect).

¹⁴¹ Xiàng (2008: 230).

¹⁴² Lin (2009: 56, 57).

Which verbs are irregular is different across the dialects of rGyalrong. Lin gives *kaki*, 'buy' as having a vowel change, but in Jiǎomùzú *kaku*, 'buy', does not alternate vowels. In contrast, the Jiǎomùzú verb *kat^ho?*, 'ask' does have vowel change, whereas in Zhuōkèjī it does not, according to Lin's data.¹⁴³ Jacques mentions *kandza*, 'eat' as a verb with a distinct root 3 in Chábǎo,¹⁴⁴ but it is has no vowel change in Jiǎomùzú.

Special classes of verbs: linking, existential and auxiliary verbs

The Jiǎomùzú dialects have some verbs that can cover the scope of a sentence as well as the phrase and the clause level. There is a set of two linking verbs, positive *ɲos*, 'be', and negative *maʔk*, 'not be'. There is also a set of two existential verbs, positive *ndo?*, 'have, exist', and negative *mi?*, 'not have, not exist'. Linking and existential verbs do not take the normal verbal prefixes *ka-* or *kə-* in their citation forms. These verbs inflect for person and number and can be marked for tense, aspect, mood, and evidentiality, within the limits posed by the semantics of the verbs:

- (28) kətʃe tə-ɲos-n
 where 2-be-2s
 Where are you?
- (29) ɲa ɲə-poŋeʔj maʔk
 I 1s:GEN-money not.be
 It is not my money.
- (30) varʃi tərmu kəməca na-ndoʔ-jn
 last year person many PFT-have-3p
 Last year there were many people.
- (31) jaŋma to-^la-mi?
 bike PSTIMP-NEV-not have
 The bike is not there [anymore].

Linking verbs can occur as the main or only verb in a sentence, or they can occur in sentences with one or more nominalised verb phrases. They occur with all kinds of complements, used among other things to define, as in (32), to identify, see example (33) and to indicate role as in (34):

- (32) wuʃo kəru ɲos
 he Tibetan be
 He is Tibetan.

¹⁴³ Lin (2000: 121-131).

¹⁴⁴ Xiàng (2008: 230).

- (33) tʃəʔ tə pkrəʃis ɲos
 this C bKra.shis be
 This is bKra-shis.

- (34) tʃəʔ tə makmə ɲos
 this C soldier be
 He is a soldier.

In sentences with nominalised verb phrases, the linking verb conveys the degree of certainty of the speaker about the statement he just made. Note that the presence of *ɲos* in such statements does not prove that the statement is true or false. It just lets the hearer know that the speaker commits himself to the truth-value of the statement. Linking verbs, especially the positive *ɲos*, often occur at the end of sentences in stories:

- (35) bdət tə kə tərmu ʃi kə-ndza na-kə-ɲos 'nə-ɲos
 demon C PR people often NOM-eat PFT-NOM-be EV-be
 That demon often ate people.

Note that linking verbs can be nominalised, as in (35).

The positive linking verb *stʃi*, like *ɲos*, means ‘be’ but also carries a modal load expressing the speaker’s attitude towards the statement made in the sentence. The modal meanings expressed by *stʃi* range from condescension to modesty. The most straightforward expression of this usage is demonstrated in example (36). Sentence (36) may be used by a neighbour who thinks bKra-shis is not a good marriage candidate because of his lowly profession, or by a proud mother who wants to sound modest when she tells about her son:

- (36) pkrəʃis makmə stʃi
 bKra.shis soldier be:CD
 bKra-shis is no more than a soldier.

The use of *stʃi* can convey a certain disappointment, when something is rather less than one had thought it to be:

- (37) peciŋ wastop kəstsə 'na-stʃi
 Běijīng very small OBS-be:CD
 Běijīng¹⁴⁵ is actually only very small!

¹⁴⁵ 北京.

Examples (38) and (39) show the condescension of a speaker for some aspect of another person's opinion, achievement or behaviour:

- (38) namk^ha tə ata sok kətsə 'nə-stʃi
 sky C above manner small EV-be:CD
 Surely the sky is the size of [the small circle] above [-every child knows that!].
- (39) ŋa kəŋes me ma-kə-varo-ŋ stʃi
 I two only NEG-NOM-own-1s be:CD
 Honestly, I only have two! [And you are stupid not to know that already.]

These sentences are perfectly valid with *ŋos* rather than *stʃi*, but then lack the extra modal load. When a process of change requires the meaning 'become' *kava*, 'do' occurs if there is an agent, while for non-agentive processes *kəŋər*, 'be changed' does service. In sentence (40a) the use of *vaw* indicates an agent in the drying process. The marker *to-* in this example signals relative tense past-in-the-future or future perfective. The sentence is also grammatical with *ŋər*, indicating the drying process happens naturally. In (40b) the use of *ŋər* would be ungrammatical, since the lightening of a load implies an agent's active involvement:

- (40a) tʃəʔ təndʃu 'to-raʔm tʃe wastop kərko va-w
 this leather FPFT-dry LOC very hard become-3s
 This leather will be very hard once it is dry.
- (40b) rgambə w-əŋgi-j laktʃe təŋnes 'to-k^hit tʃe
 basket 3s:GEN-inside-LOC thing a.few FPFT-take.out LOC
 The basket, once some things have been taken out, really will be very light.
- wastop kəʃo va-w
 very light become-3s

Auxiliaries can express a range of modal meanings such as permission, potential, obligation, experience, and a speaker's beliefs or thoughts. The Jiāomùzú dialects have modal auxiliary verbs that can function as the main verb in a sentence or be an auxiliary that modifies other verb phrases. Such verbs take the verbal prefix *ka-* and inflect for the normal verbal categories. To express learned ability Jiāomùzú uses the verb *kəʃpaʔ*, 'can, able, know':

- (41) kəpaʔ-skaʔt kava ʃpaʔ-w
 Chinese.language do know-3s
 She speaks Chinese.

- (42) nənʝo ɲə-tʃʰitʃeꞥ kaleʔt mə-kʰut əhə ɲa ma-ʃpaʔ-ɲ
 you 1s:GEN-car drive Q-can No I NEG-know₁-1s
 Can you drive my car? No, I don't drive (don't know how to)

Example (41) implies that the 'she' referred to learned to speak the Chinese language, and is most likely not a native speaker of Chinese. In example (42) the person requested to drive the car has never learned how to drive and therefore has to refuse the request.

Other auxiliaries in this category are *kacʰa*, 'able' and *kano*, 'dare'. Personal ability to do something is expressed by the verb *katʃʰa*, 'able':

- (43) ɲa kakoʔr mata-cʰa-n 'nə-ɲos mənə ɲa ɲ-əkʃet
 I help TER-able-2s EV-be CON I 1s:GEN-strength
 I am not able to help you, because I'm not strong enough.

ma-'nə-rtek
 NEG-OBS-enough

- (44) nənʝo tərtsʰot kəpdu tʃe vi mə-tə-cʰa-n
 you time four LOC come Q-2-able-2s
 Are you able to come at four o'clock?

There are also auxiliaries, such as *kəjok*, 'may, allow', *kəkʰut*, 'can' that occur only in auxiliary positions in sentences that contain other verbs or verb phrases. These verbs take prefix *kə-* and do not take agreement prefixes. Permission in the narrow sense of the word is expressed by the verb *kəjok*, 'be allowed'. Some examples of jussives with *jok*:

- (45) nənʝo ɲə-tʃʰitʃeꞥ ji-nə-tsep-w jok
 you 1s:GEN-car PFT-ERFL-take-2s may
 You may take the car.
- (46) pkraʃis katʃʰi kʰut koronə nənʝo katʃʰi ma-jok
 bKra.shis go can but you go NEG-allow
 bKra-shis can go, but you are not allowed to go.

The most general and all-encompassing verb for expressing permission, ability and potential, is probably *kʰut*. It ranges in meaning from 'can, okay, may', generally used in situations that require permission or agreement, to 'able', without any semantic limit on that term.

- (47) pkraʃis katʃʰi 'na-kʰut mənə wu-naɲve to-'a-nə-va-w
 bKra.shis go OBS-can CON 3s:GEN-leave PFT-NEV-EREFL-do-3s
 bKra-shis can go, he asked for leave.

- (48) tʃəʔ w-əza tə katʃʰi ma-^lnə-kʰut mənə
 this 3s:GEN-man C go NEG-OBS-can CON
 This man can't go because he can't walk.

kavətʃi ma-^lnə-kʰut
 walk NEG-OBS-can

Unlike the earlier example, (48) does not express a lack of permission to go. Rather, the man is unable to walk. There may be a physical disability or another reason, like personal prestige, that makes walking out of the question.

The modal auxiliary *ra*, 'want, need, must' is a very frequently used verb in Jiǎomùzú clauses and sentences. It is different from other modal auxiliaries because, though it can occur as the main verb in a sentence, it does not take person and number marking:

- (49) ɲa ʃokʃoʔk ki ra *ɲa ʃokʃoʔk ki raŋ
 I paper IDEF need
 I want a sheet of paper.

- (50) nənʝo tə-tʃʰi-n ra
 you 2-go₁-2s must
 You must go.

The verb does inflect for tense, mood and observation. In non-past sentences it can be used as an auxiliary to express a sense of futurity as well as a high degree of certainty for the speaker that an event or action will take place. Future and mood are thus closely linked. Auxiliary *ra* should not be confused with the verb *kanarə*, 'to have use for, need', which inflects for person and number, and cannot be used as an auxiliary. Example (51) shows the use of *kanarə* as a main verb in (51a) while (51b) demonstrates the use of *ra* as a main verb:

(51a) ɲa ma-narə-ŋ I NEG-need-1s I don't need it. I have no use for it.	(51b) ɲa ma-ra I NEG-want I don't want it.

Nominalisation of verbs and verb phrases

Nominalisation turns verbs into nominals. Processes of nominalisation are common and exceedingly productive in the Jiǎomùzú dialects, creating anything from agent nouns to relative and complement clauses. Three different nominalisers are used in Jiǎomùzú, *sa-*, *ka-* and *kə-*. Wei and Jacques mention a fourth nominaliser, *tə-*, for the Zhuōkèjī and Chábǎo dialects respectively.¹⁴⁶ The

¹⁴⁶ Wei (韦) (1999: 31); Xiàng (2008: 98-102).

nominaliser *tə-* turns verbs into nominals with the meaning ‘the act of...’, such as English ‘eating’, ‘staring’ or ‘walking’, and into nouns of manner and degree. The nominaliser replaces the verbal marker in the citation form of the verb, as in the following examples from Wei (my transcription):

(52)	ka-ʃmo	steal	tə-ʃmo	the act of stealing
	ka-rʒəʔk	run	tə-rʒəʔk	the act of running

Wei notes that the prefix *tə-* in these examples is equivalent to the noun marker *tə-*, since it allows for the formation of genitives by the replacement of the prefix consonant:

(53)	tə-ʃmo	η-əʃmo
	NOM-steal	1s:GEN-stealing
	the act of stealing	the stealing of my property

For Jiǎomùzú this sort of construction does not qualify as a nominalised form. The formation of nouns from verbs by prefixing *tə-* to the root is not productive in Jiǎomùzú. It is not possible to form nouns such as ‘the act of walking’ or ‘the act of running’ in this way:

(54)	karʒəʔk	to run	* tə-rʒəʔk	(the act of running)
	kavətʃi	to walk	* tə-vətʃi	(the act of walking)

Furthermore, nominalised forms can be turned into genitives by prefixing a person marker to the nominalised construction. The nominaliser itself will not be affected. In cases where a noun does occur with *tə-* and denotes a meaning such as ‘the act of...’, as in *təʃmo*, ‘the act of stealing’, it is not possible to form genitives that leave the prefix unaffected:

(55)	tə-ʃmo	the act of stealing	* nə-təʃmo	(your stealing)
			* ηə-təʃmo	(my stealing)

In those cases in Jiǎomùzú where there is a nominal form with *tə-* it must be considered a non-derived noun in which *tə-* is a noun marker rather than a nominaliser. It is indeed possible to turn such non-derived nouns into genitive constructions:

(56)	təʃmo	ηə-ʃmo
	(the act of) stealing	1s:GEN-steal
		The stealing of my stuff

Jacques describes the formation of nouns of manner and degree, in which verb roots prefixed with *tə-* yield nominals that express a manner of being, for example ‘his face is very black’. That it concerns true nominalisation here rather than non-derived nouns is clear from an example of Jackson Sun, quoted by Wei:

- (57) o-tə-rtʃone? the way she/he dances

The third person genitive marker *o-* is prefixed to the noun and does not replace the consonant of *tə-*. In the Jiǎomùzú dialects this sort of nominalisation does not occur. It is not possible to form constructions like ‘his face is very black’ with *tə-*, let alone to turn them into genitive constructions:

- (58) * w-awo tə-neʔk ndo?
3s:GEN-head NOM-black have

Some forms look as if they are nominalised by *tə-*, as in example (59). At first glance *tə-* seems to be prefixed to the citation form of the verb. On closer inspection *tə-* turns out to be the genitive marker derived from the generic pronoun *təʃo*, ‘oneself’, prefixed to the patient noun *kanəmpʃu*, ‘acquaintance’:

(59)	ka-nəmpʃu	tə-ka-nəmpʃu
	NOM-be.acquainted.with	one.self:GEN-NOM-be.acquainted.with
	acquaintance	one’s acquaintance

The proof that this is a genitive construction rather than a nominalisation with *tə-* comes from replacing the generic pronoun marker *tə-* with the marker for another person, for example third person singular. The third person marker replaces *tə-*:

- (60) wu-ka-nəmpʃu
3s:GEN-NOM-be.acquainted.with
the person that he knows, his acquaintance

The nominaliser *sa-* is an oblique marker, deriving nouns that denote place or instrument of the corresponding verbs. The nominaliser replaces the verbal marker of the verb in the citation form:

(61)	ka-mp ^h el	sell	sa-mp ^h el	place where selling takes place
	tascok ka-leʔt	write	tascok sa-leʔt	instrument or material for writing

Nominals formed with *sa-* can be turned into genitives by prefixing them with a person marker:

(62)	ka-ju	sa-ju	wu-sa-ju
	live	NOM-live	3s:G-NOM-live
		dwelling place	the place where he lives
	wu-sa-ju	sok	ma-kəktu
	3s:G-NOM-live	manner	NEG-big
	The place where he lives is not that big.		

(63) *nasapu *sanapu

(64) * nə-sa-vu ndə kəʃtɾə ɲos
2s:GEN-NOM-come, that when be

Nominaliser *kə-* forms agent nouns with the meaning ‘a person who does the act of...’. The act is denoted by the verb root:

(65)	transitive verb		subject/agent noun
	ka-lok	herd	kə-lok herder
	ka-ʃmo	steal	kə-ʃmo thief
	ka-no	drive	kə-no the one who drives
	ka-ndza	eat	kə-ndza the one who eats
	ka-cop	burn	kə-cop the one who burns

(66) tascok ka-leʔt letter hit: to write tascok kə-leʔt secretary
 ts^hoŋ ka-va trade do: to trade ts^hoŋ kə-va trader, businessman
 talam ka-taʔ bet put: to gamble talam kə-taʔ gambler

(67)	intransitive verb		subject/agent noun	
	ka-rjəʔk	run	kə-rjəʔk	the runner
	ka-vətʃi	walk	kə-vətʃi	the walker, pedestrian
	ka-nətʰe	drink (alcohol)	kə-nətʰe	the alcoholic, drunk

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(68)	intransitive verb		undergoer/patient noun
	ka-nəngo	(be) ill	kə-nəngo the patient
	ka-ʃpət	breed	kə-ʃpət breeder, herder
	ka-ʃi	die	kə-ʃi the deceased

Jacques¹⁴⁸ notes that in the Northern rGyalrong dialect of Japhug (Chábǎo) agent nominalisation of transitive verbs requires nominaliser *kə-* as well as the possessive prefix *wu-*, which is coreferent with the object. Agent nominalisation of intransitive verbs does not require prefixing with *wu-*. In Jiǎomùzú it is possible to make explicit the object of a transitive verb root which is nominalised for agent by prefixing the nominalised form with third person singular possessive *wu-*, but it is not obligatory, as shown in the following example for the transitive verb *kaku*, ‘buy’:

(69)	kə-ku	tə		kə-ku	tə	pkraʃis	ŋos
	NOM-see	C		NOM-see	C	bKra.shis	be
	the one who buys;	buyer		The buyer is	bKra-shis.		

It is possible to prefix such agent nouns with *wu-*, which to some extent makes an otherwise unmentioned object implicit:

(70)	wu-kə-ku	tə	
	3s:GEN-NOM-buy	C	
	The buyer	(of an item)	

(71)	wu-kə-ku	tə	pkraʃis	ŋos
	3s:GEN-NOM-buy	C	bKra.shis	be
	The buyer	(of that item)	is	bKra-shis.

Normally such marking for genitive does not occur unless the object of the verb is known from the context or is made explicit by the speaker. For example, (72) would be the follow-up in a story where the story teller has told his audience that there was, suddenly, a strange noise:

(72)	wu-kə-məsem	tə	jontan	ŋos
	3s:GEN-NOM-hear ₁	C	Yon.tan	be
	The one who hears it	[the noise]	is	Yon-tan.

The agent noun unmarked for third person singular is *kəməsem*, ‘the hearer; the one who hears’, and is also perfectly grammatical.

Objects can be explicit in a sentence with an agent noun. Marking the agent noun with *wu-* in such situations puts extra emphasis not on the object, but on the nominalised agent:

¹⁴⁸ Jacques (forthcoming: 3).

- (73) pkraʃis kə-məto tə lhamo ɲos
 bKra.shis NOM-see C lHa.mo be
 The person who sees bKra-shis is lHa-mo.

pkraʃis wu-kə-məto tə lhamo ɲos
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-NOM-see C lHa.mo be
 The person who sees bKra-shis is *lHa-mo*.

Nominalisation with *ka-* forms patient nouns with the meaning ‘that which is...’, which function as objects:

- (74) ka-ndza ka-ndza təndze
 INF-eat₁ NOM-eat₁ food
 eat that which is eaten

Note that *kandza*, ‘that which is eaten’ is a specific participant nominalisation. The noun *təndze*, ‘food’, is the regular noun, marked by noun marker *tə-*.

Along the same lines are patient nominalisations for verbs such as:

- (75) citation form patient noun
 kavəja fetch kavəja that which is fetched
 kacop burn kacop that which is burned
 tascok kaleʔt write kalaʔt that which was written
 kalok herd kalok that which is herded
 kano drive kano that which is driven

- (76) pəʃurtə ka-leʔt tə ʃopʃop ʼnə-ɲos
 a.few.days.ago NOM-hit₁ C fish EV-be
 What we set free a few days ago is fish.¹⁴⁹

- (77) kʰəna ʼna-vi ɲə-ka-leʔt tə kətʃe ɲos
 dog OBS-come₁ 1s:GEN-NOM-hit₁ C where be
 A dog is coming! – where is my thing for hitting with!?

Note that in (77) *ɲəka-leʔt*, though in the English translation it looks like an instrument, the Jiăomùzú form is a patient nominalisation. The literal translation for *ɲəka-leʔt* is ‘that which is hitting’. Instruments are formed with *sa-*, resulting in the case of (77) in *saleʔt*, ‘an instrument for hitting’. Action nominalisation forms nouns that have the meaning ‘the act of...’. In the Jiăomùzú dialects action nominalisation occurs with both *ka-* and *kə-*. Sun¹⁵⁰ remarks that there is a distinction

¹⁴⁹ According to the Buddhist custom of buying sentient beings and setting them free to generate good karma.

between marking for human and non-human in action nominalisation, that is, marking on the verb for human involvement is different from marking for non-human involvement. Human arguments take *ka-* while non-human arguments take *kə-*, specifically in complement clauses where the nominalised verb serves as a sentential subject. In Jiǎomùzú actions that involve human and non-human agents alike can be nominalised by either *ka-* or *kə-*, depending on the pragmatics of the situation. When there is a third person subject the nominaliser is *kə-*, but when the subject is a second person *ka-* appears. Compare the following sentences. Both have a third person subject. In (78a) there is a human agent, bKra-shis. In (78b) the agent is a cat. The marking on the nominalised verb makes no difference:

- (78a) pkraʃis ʃarə ma-kə-ndza nə ma-ŋgrel ko
 bKra.shis meat NEG-NOM-eat CON NEG-be.used.to MD:ANX
 bKra-shis is not used to not having meat. (not being the eater of meat)

- (78b) lolo ʃarə ma-kə-ndza nə ma-ŋgrel ko
 cat meat NEG-NOM-eat CON NEG-be.used.to MD:ANX
 The cat is not used to not having meat.

When outside observers make a statement about the eating habits of a third party, here bKra-shis or a cat, the nominaliser is *kə-*. But in a situation where the speaker directly addresses the agent of the action, marking with *ka-* is grammatical when the agent of the eating is bKra-shis, a human, but is rejected by native speakers when the agent is the cat:

- (79a) pkraʃis ʃarə ma-ka-ndza nə ma-ŋgrel ko
 bKra.shis meat NEG-NOM-eat CON NEG-be.used.to MD:ANX
 bKra-shis, you're not used to not having meat! (the eaten not being meat)

- (79b) ?* lolo ʃarə makandza nə maŋgrel ko

Actually, according to native speakers the ungrammaticality of (79b) is caused by a semantic constraint: the speaker cannot have a dialogue with the cat, that is, a human is required in this position. But if given a context in which one would speak to a cat, (79b) becomes acceptable to native speakers. The *kə-/ka-* difference is not caused by the contrast between human and animal, but rather by the opposition of third person subject and second person subject. Consider also the following examples :

- (80a) pkraʃis c^he ma-kə-moʔt nə 'na-haʔw
 bKra.shis liquor NEG-NOM-drink CON OBS-good
 It is good that bKra-shis doesn't drink. (bKra-shis' not drinking is a good thing.)

¹⁵⁰ Sun (2005: 8).

(80b) pkraʃis c^he ma-ka-moʔt nə 'na-haʔw
 bKra.shis liquor NEG-NOM-drink CON OBS-good
 bKra-shis, it's good that you don't drink. (bKra-shis, you not drinking is a good thing.)

(80c) lolo təlo ma-kə-moʔt nə 'na-haʔw
 cat milk NEG-NOM-drink CON OBS-good
 It is good that the cat doesn't drink milk.

(80d) ?* lolo təlo makamoʔt nə 'nahaʔw

Sentence (80c) can be used in a situation where a speaker has a cat that is used to drinking water rather than milk. The speaker likes that, since it is cheaper than having to feed the cat milk, as other households have to do. Sentence (80d) is grammatical for speakers who don't mind addressing their cat and praising it for being so cheap in its upkeep. There is nothing grammatically wrong with the sentence. The example is ungrammatical for those speakers who consider it bizarre to address animals.

Nominaliser *kə-* occurs with any agent if the speech situation is one of observation rather than direct address. When the speaker directly addresses the agent *ka-* occurs.

In one special case, concerning honorific marking, nominaliser *ka-* appears rather than the expected *kə-*. Honorific nominals occur for instance when a king or other highly respected individual speaks. The use of *ka-* either simply marks high social rank for the argument of the verb or indicates a form of imperative. For example, in the A-myi Sgo-ldong story (Text 1 at the end of this study) a diviner pronounces that a certain child is actually a king and the only one who can destroy a terrible demon. The diviner's speech ends with:

(81) ndə k^honə kə-c^ha miʔ-jn to-ka-cəs...
that CON NOM-able not.have-3p:HON PFT-NOM/HON-say
there is no one else who is able [to defeat the demon], [the diviner] said....

The verb phrase *tokacəs*, 'he said' has nominaliser *ka-* expressing honorific rather than the neutral nominaliser *kə-*.

Once a verb has been subjected to participant or action nominalisation it behaves like a normal noun. It can take number marking:

(82) ka-lok kə-lok-po
 INF-herd NOM-herd-p
 herd herders

- (83) ka-nəno to-kə-nəno-ɲo
 INF-hurt PFT-NOM-hurt-p
 hurt people who were hurt; the wounded

A nominalised verb can be turned into genitives like other nominals:

- (84) ka-nəngo kə-nəngo ɲə-kə-nəngo
 INF-be.ill NOM-be.ill 1s:GEN-NOM-be.ill
 be ill patient my patient

sondi ɲə-kə-nəngo tə kanəja k^hut
 day.after.tomorrow 1s:GEN-NOM-be.ill C go.home possible
 The day after tomorrow my patient can be discharged.

- (85) ka-ptʃo ka-ptʃo ɲə-ka-ptʃo
 INF-use NOM-use 1s:GEN-NOM-use
 usage my usage

ɲa tama? ka-va-j ɲə-ka-ptʃo ɲos
 I work NOM-do-LOC 1s:GEN-NOM-use be
 I use it for my work.

And nominalised constructions occur with noun adjuncts like contrast marker *tə* and indefiniteness marker *ki*. The following sentence may come from the context of two doctors discussing their respective workloads in the hospital:

- (86) ɲa ɲə-kə-nəngo kərtok pəɲnu ma-vi nənɲo nə-kə-nəngo ki
 I 1s:G-NOM-be.ill one today NEG-come you 2s:G-NOM-be.ill IDEF
 One of my patients will not come today, should I see one of yours?

kanatso mə-ra
 see Q-need

Participant and action nominalisation can be brought to bear on an inflected verb. Nominalisation can co-occur with marking for person and number, tense, aspect and mood and other categories in as far as these categories are compatible with the semantics of the verb root and the context of the nominalised construction. The examples below demonstrate the use of the different categories of inflection in nominalised constructions. Sentence (87) shows the root of *kava*, ‘do’, marked for past imperfective aspect as well as for first person singular:

- (87) *ŋa to-kə-va-ŋ* *təmpnok tə wastop* ¹*na-mem*
 I PSTIMP-NOM-do-1s bread C very OBS-tasty
 The bread that I made turned out to be really tasty!

Example (88) has a nominalised form of *katop*, ‘hit’, marked for past imperfective aspect with *to-*, and for first person singular:

- (88) *ŋa to-kə-top-ŋ* *wu-sloppən* *tə pkraʃis* ¹*nə-ŋos*
 I PSTIMP-NOM-hit-1s 3s:GEN-teacher C bKra.shis EV-be
 [I just dawned on me that] The teacher whom I hit is bKra-shis.

Example (89b) is marked for past tense on the nominalised form of *kartsə*, ‘hit (accidentally)’. The speaker in sentence (89a) witnessed the accident sometime in the past. In sentence (89b) the speaker tells about a man who was hit by a car. At some time in the past the speaker saw the man. He knows that the man had an accident but was not present when the accident happened:

- (89a) *ŋa k^horlo kə-rtse* *w-ərmə* *tə na-məto-ŋ*
 I car NOM-hit 3s:GEN-person C PFT-see-1s
 I saw the man who was being hit by a car.
- (89b) *ŋa k^horlo nə-kə-rtse* *w-ərmə* *tə na-məto-ŋ*
 I car PFT-NOM-hit 3s:GEN-person C PFT-see-1s
 I saw the man who got hit by a car.

Modality in the next example, (90), is marked on the nominalised root of *kaməto*, ‘see’ by *ji-*, which indicates negation in perfective environments:

- (90) *k^haʃpa-ŋo namk^ha tə tatʃ^he kəndzət* *ʃo* *me* *ji-kə-məto-jn* ¹*nə-ŋos*
 frog-p sky C size little always only NEG/PFT-NOM-see-3p EV-be
 The frogs had never seen more than only a very small bit of the sky.

Attention flow can be marked on nominalised constructions, as in (91):

- (91) ...*wurənə* *pak nə* *no-kə-ntʃ^ha* ¹*nə-ŋos* *jo*
 CON pig CON AF-NOM-slaughter EV-be MD:R
 So then they really did slaughter the pig!

But evidentiality cannot be expressed on a nominalised verb construction:

- (92) ji-kə-vu wu-sloppən w-əskruʔ 'na-mbro
 PFT-NOM-come₂ 3s:GEN-teacher 3s:GEN-body OBS-tall
 The teacher who came is tall.
- *ji-'a-kə-vi wu-sloppən w-əskruʔ 'na-mbro
 PFT-NEV-NOM-come₁ 3s:GEN-teacher 3s:GEN-body OBS-tall

To express that a speaker has no direct evidence of a situation or event in a nominalised structure a form of *kacəs*, 'say' is added, to indicate hearsay:

- (93) sloppən w-əskruʔ kə-mbro ki ji-kə-vu 'na-cəs
 teacher 3s:GEN-body NOM-tall IDEF PFT-NOM-come₂ OBS-say
 They are saying (I have heard that) a teacher who is tall has come.

Nominalisers occur in first position in nominals derived from uninflected verbs. They also occur in first position in an inflected nominalised verb phrase, if the verb is marked only for person and number. This kind of nominalisation apparently is quite rare; I only have one or two examples of it in narratives. The example below is from the A-mysis Sgo-ldong story, see Text 1 at the end of this study:

- (94) ŋa nə tʃəʔ tə sok kə-tə-ndoʔ-n
 I CON this C manner NOM-2-have-2s
 I had no idea whatsoever that you were alive and living here like this -...
- nə tʰi ʒik ma-'nə-ʃi-ŋ kʰonə....
 CON what also NEG-OBS -know-1s CON

If a verb phrase that is inflected for other categories, such as tense, aspect or mood, is nominalised, the nominaliser occurs in the second slot, after the first inflection marker. Nominalisers travel, as it were, further to the left in the verb phrase in order to maintain the position in the second slot. In the examples above, nominaliser *kə-* appears after the aspect marker *to-* in (87), and maintains the second slot also after mood marker *ʃi-* in (90). The exception to this rule is causativity marking, which occurs after the nominaliser. This may be an indication that voice markers have a closer relation to the root and are considered more as integral to the verb root than are the other verbal prefixes. Alternatively, it may be that causatives can be derived only from verbs, not from nouns or nominalisations. The examples below demonstrate this for causativity marker *sə-* and the marker for reciprocity, *ŋa-*:

(95)	ka-vi come ₁	ka-sə-vi INF-CAUS-come ₁ cause to come, send	kə-sə-vi NOM-CAUS-come ₁ the sent one	* səkəvi
	ndə tə na-kə-sə-vu that C PFT-NOM-CAUS-come ₂ [They] sent him [to us].	'nə-ŋos EV-be		* nasəkəvu
(96)	ka-leʔt hit ₁	ka-ŋa-le-leʔt INF-REC-RED-hit ₁ fight	kə-ŋa-le-leʔt NOM-REC-RED-hit ₁ fighter	* ŋakələleʔt

If the verb is inflected for more than one category and several markers appear before the root, *kə-* still maintains its position in the second slot. This rule also holds for the rare constructions that employ two markers, such as terminative aspect. Terminative aspect is marked by *məto-*, see section 7.4.c on aspect below. Nominaliser *kə-* takes the second slot, between *mə-* and *to-*:

- (97) wuʃo-ndʒ ʒik kəmtʃoʔk 'nə-ŋos-ndʒ kʰono kaʃpət mə-kə-to-tʃʰa-ndʒ
they-3d also old EV-be-3d CON bring.up TER-NOM-TER-able-3d
They were old too, so they were beyond being able to bring him up.
- 'nə-ŋos
EV-be

The sentence literally means the old couple had reached their furthest limit in their ability to provide for the child: their resources were finished, and they stopped being able to bring him up. The occurrence of *kə-* between *mə-* and *to-* may be an indication that this form of aspectual should be considered as a combination of a mood marker and tense/aspect marker.

The Jiǎomùzú dialects regularly merge two or more markers of different inflectional categories into one. In such cases *kə-* appears in the second slot, as usual. The merged markers are treated as just one marker:

- (98) nənʃo no-ko-mbuʔ-ŋ w-ət^ha tə
you AF-NOM/2/1-give-1s 3s:GEN-book C
the book that you gave me

In example (98) the attention flow marker *no-* takes up the first slot. The second slot is shared by person marker *ko-*, which indicates a second person subject with a first person object, and nominaliser *kə-*, which marks action nominalisation.

Comparisons

Jiāomùzú employs verbs, locatives and adverbs in the formation of comparisons. I discuss comparisons extensively in section 5.3 of the chapter on adverbs. Here I just give an example of equal, comparative and superlative constructions.

Equality is expressed by the verb *kəndʒa*, 'same, similar':

- (99) tʃəʒo tʃ-ambro 'na-ndʒa-dʒ
 1d 1d:GEN-height OBS-EQ-1d
 We two are the same height.

Comparative structures use a locative meaning 'at the bottom of', which is marked for the person and number of the quality that is to be compared:

- (100) ɲa ɲə-ʃartse nəŋʒo nə-ʃartse w-aka-j 'na-neʔk
 I 1s:GEN-skin you 2s:GEN-skin 3s:GEN-COMP-LOC OBS-black
 My skin is darker than yours.

Note that person and number marked on *wakaj* agree with the noun, regardless of the genitive marking on that noun. In example (100) *ʃartse*, 'skin', is third person singular and therefore marked for third person on *wakaj*, even though it is itself marked for first and second person respectively.

Superlatives are formed by placing the adverb *stiŋ*, 'most', in front of the verb:

- (101) wuʒo ɲi-ʃweʃaw^ʔ w-əŋgi stiŋ kəhaʔw 'nə-ŋos
 he 3p:GEN-school 3s:GEN-inside SP good EV-be
 He is the best student in the school.

7.2 Person and number

a. Transitivity

The Jiāomùzú dialects distinguish between intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs. Person and number are expressed by markers suffixed to the verb root. The difference between transitive and intransitive verbs is clear from differences in the suffixes for person and number, see section 7.2 on person and number marking below. Transitive verbs also can express the relationship between the subject and one object in person markers which are prefixed to the verb root. If there is an inanimate direct object and an animate recipient or goal, the recipient is treated as the direct object in the person and number marking on the verb. For all other combinations of object and patient the agreement of the verb follows the system as described below. The semantics of a verb also govern which arguments are expressed in the person and number marking affixed to the verb root. The

overarching principle here is that there must be a direct relationship between the two arguments marked on the root. For example, the verb *katop*, ‘hit’ is transitive. The subject and the object are directly linked by the action expressed by the verb root. Both subject and object are expressed on the verb in the person prefixes. When there is no direct impact of the action expressed by the root on the object, no person prefixes appear. For example, there are several verbs that mean ‘give, hand, pass to’. The verb *kambu?* means ‘give’ and implies a direct vector between subject and patient or recipient. The object that is being given moves from the subject to the recipient and remains there. Person marking is prefixed to the verb root to show the relation between the subject and the recipient:

- (102a) *ŋa nəŋʂo tət^ha ki ta-mbu?-ŋ*
 I you book IDEF 1/2-give-1s
 I give you a book.

But the verb *kak^{ham}* means ‘give’ in the sense of ‘handing to, passing’. The subject gives an object, say a book, to a recipient who will pass the book to the person it is ultimately meant for. There is no direct vector between the subject and the recipient; the book only makes a pit stop before passing on. Consequently, the relationship between subject and recipient is not marked. No person prefixation appears with *kak^{ham}*:

- (102b) *ŋa nəŋʂo tət^ha ki k^{ham}-ŋ*
 I you book IDEF give-1s
 I give you a book.

Note that in such situations the direct object, the book, is also not marked in the person prefixes. For more on the relationship between subject and objects, see section 8.1 of the chapter on sentences. Several scholars have remarked on the significance of transitivity in rGyalrong. Wáng Jiànmín¹⁵¹ and Zànlā Āwàng, in their comparison between Amdo Tibetan and rGyalrong,¹⁵² maintain that rGyalrong as well as Amdo differentiate between transitive and intransitive verbs. The evidence they provide for transitivity is the presence of an ergative marker after the subject. The problem with that analysis is that in Jiǎomùzú ergativity is marked only to avoid ambiguity. In most instances it is not ambiguous which argument is the subject, and so no ergative marker appears. Moreover, prominence marker *kə*, though it can mark ergativity in Jiǎomùzú, also occurs with constituents that are decidedly not subjects. Its occurrence is not an indicator of transitivity. For a discussion of the role of *kə*, see section 4.3.e of the chapter on nouns. Finally, ergative markers in Tibetan do not always coincide with the distinction of transitivity, but occur usually with intentional verbs.¹⁵³ Jin

¹⁵¹ 王建民.

¹⁵² Wáng Jiànmín and Zànlā Āwàng (1992: 68-70).

¹⁵³ Intentionality in literature on Tibetan verbs is often expressed in the dichotomy ‘active’ and ‘involuntary’, see e.g. page xvi of the introduction to Melvyn Goldstein’s *The New Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*.

Péng and his former collaborator Qú Āitáng¹⁵⁴ looked at the *-u* suffixes (*-w* in my transcriptions) for second and third person singular in the verb paradigm and analysed them as transitivity markers, as opposed to *-n* for second person singular and no marking for third person singular in the intransitive paradigm. Later work, especially DeLancey's,¹⁵⁵ has advanced other interpretations, which I discuss extensively in section 7.2 on person and number below. Jacques¹⁵⁶ mentions two morphological features of all transitive verbs in Chábǎo, namely a prefix *a-* in the direct aorist 3/3 forms and agent nominals of transitive verbs have a possessive prefix which is co-referent with the object. Neither of these tests is valid for the Jiǎomùzú dialects, so that distinguishing between transitive and intransitive verbs must depend on the person and number marking, as indicated by Jīn.

All examples of paradigms in the sections below are in a simple non-past tense, in which only person and number marking occur. Throughout this study I use a slash to note transitive relations. The transitive relationship between a first person subject and a third person object is thus glossed as 1/3.

b. Intransitive verbs

The verbs *katʰi*, 'go', demonstrates the intransitive paradigm:

(103)	katʰi, 'go'					
	1 s	tʰi-ŋ	2s	tə-tʰi-n	3s	tʰi
	d	tʰi-dʒ	d	tə-tʰi-ndʒ	d	tʰi-ndʒ
	p	tʰi-j	p	tə-tʰi-jn	p	tʰi-jn

The person and number markers for intransitive verbs are as follows:

(104)	1 s	-ŋ	2 s	tə - n	3 s	
	d	-dʒ	d	tə - ndʒ	d	-ndʒ
	p	-j	p	tə - jn	p	-jn

¹⁵⁴ Jīn Péng (1958: 88), Qú Āitáng (瞿霭堂) (1983: 37).

¹⁵⁵ DeLancey 1980.

¹⁵⁶ Jacques (forthcoming: 2).

Person and number marking are derived from the personal pronouns, as can be seen easily from the list of basic pronouns below:

(105)	1 s	ŋa	2s	nənʃo	3s	wuʃo
	de	tʃəno	d	nənʃondʒ	d	wuʃondʒ
	di	tʃəʃo				
	pe	jino	p	nənʃoŋo	p	wuʃoŋo
	pi	jiʃo				

Note that the distinction for inclusive and exclusive, which exists in the pronouns, is not marked on the verb. For a full description and analysis, see section 3.1 of the chapter on pronouns.

The person and number markers are suffixed directly to the verb root. The one exception to this is the second person marker *tə-*, which is prefixed, and not linked to the second person singular pronoun *nənʃo*. In his comparison of head marking or pronominalising languages Bauman¹⁵⁷ assumes that *tə-* originally embodied a non-pronominal meaning. The evidence he gives for this assumption includes

"the fact that *#te* [Bauman's notation for the proposed prototype marker] is not used as an independent second person pronoun in any language...; that it characteristically assumes a different morphological position from the 1st (or 3rd) person morphemes, occurring in the dual and plural, as well as in the singular; and, lastly, that in Jyarung and Kachin it co-occurs with -n... in the singular."

He then raises the possibility that *tə-* historically should be interpreted as "a type of evidential marker specifying the orientation of an action with respect to the speech participants, specifically that its presence marks the action as not initiated by the speaker." From that position, he says, it is easy to understand the reinterpretation of *tə-* as a second person marker: "Its negative definition - speaker exclusion - is simply inverted to the positive corollary - hearer inclusion - by changing the focused participant." This theory is quite attractive, since the Jiāomùzú dialects have a preoccupation with marking relationships between persons, as shown in the systemic marking of transitive relations as well as hierarchy as expressed in marking for direction and attention flow, which I discuss later in this chapter. In any case, on a synchronic level *tə-* as used in Jiāomùzú can only be interpreted as a second person marker, to which Bauman agrees: "...in specific instances [*#te*] appears to have been reinterpreted as pronominal."

¹⁵⁷ Bauman (1975: 204-206).

For the Jiǎomùzú dialects, the analysis of the markers leads to the following conclusions:

(106)	1s	-ŋ
	2	tə-
	2s	-n
	non-first	-n-
	dual	-dʒ
	plural	-j

Note that the non-first person marker *-n-* is prefixed to the dual marker but suffixed in the plural marker for second and third person.

Based on his analysis of first and second person intransitive verb affixes of head marking languages Bauman proposes that the system underlying the affixation pattern of these contemporary languages originally did not discriminate person information in the dual and plural.¹⁵⁸ However the Jiǎomùzú dialects of rGyalrong mark for 'non-first', which is person information, skimpy though it is. Bauman thinks this may be a later development. On a synchronic level, the marking in Jiǎomùzú indicates a clear dichotomy between first person and all other persons. It is puzzling why third singular remains unmarked. Based on the marking for first and second person singular, as derived from the personal pronouns, the appearance of *-w* would have been likely, but it is not there. This is an indication that Jiǎomùzú treats third person different from first and second person, which means that there is evidence for two different systems of hierarchy in the language. One system distinguishes first person from second and third, as evidenced by the pronouns, and the other distinguishes first and second from third person. Support for this assumption comes from the transitive paradigm.

c. Transitive verbs

The transitive paradigm

As an example for the transitive paradigm I use the verb *kanajo*, 'wait', which below is given in full. Since *kanajo* expresses an action with a vector which has a direct line between subject and object and which stops at the object, person prefixes occur as well as person and number suffixes:

(107)	1s/2s	ta-najo-n	I will wait for you
	1s/2d	ta-najo-ndʒ	I will wait for you two
	1s/2p	ta-najo-jn	I will wait for you

¹⁵⁸ Bauman (1975: 191-194).

1d/2s	ta-najo-n	the two of us will wait for you
1d/2d	ta-najo-ndʒ	the two of us will wait for you two
1d/2p	ta-najo-jn	the two of us will wait for you
1p/2s	ta-najo-n	we will wait for you
1p/2d	ta-najo-ndʒ	we will wait for the two of you
1p/2p	ta-najo-jn	we will wait for you
1s/3s	najo-ŋ	I will wait for him/her
1s/3d	najo-ŋ	I will wait for the two of them
1s/3p	najo-ŋ	I will wait for them
1d/3s	najo-dʒ	the two of us will wait for him
1d/3d	najo-dʒ	we two will wait for them two
1d/3p	najo-dʒ	the two of us will wait for them
1p/3s	najo-j	we will wait for him
1p/3d	najo-j	we will wait for the two of them
1p/3p	najo-j	we will wait for them
2s/1s	ko-najo-ŋ	you will wait for me
2s/1d	ko-najo-dʒ	you will wait for us two
2s/1p	ko-najo-j	you will wait for us
2d/1s	ko-najo-ŋ	you two will wait for me
2d/1d	ko-najo-dʒ	you two will wait for us two
2d/1p	ko-najo-j	you two will wait for us
2p/1s	ko-najo-ŋ	you will wait for me
2p/1d	ko-najo-dʒ	you will wait for the two of us
2p/1p	ko-najo-j	you will wait for us
2s/3s	tə-najo-w	you will wait for him
2s/3d	tə-najo-w	you will wait for the two of them
2s/3p	tə-najo-w	you will wait for them
2d/3s	tə-najo-ndʒ	you two will wait for him
2d/3d	tə-najo-ndʒ	you two will wait for them two
2d/3p	tə-najo-ndʒ	you two will wait for them

2p/3s	tə-najo-jn	you will wait for him
2p/3d	tə-najo-jn	you will wait for the two of them
2p/3p	tə-najo-jn	you will wait for them
3s/1s	wu-najo-ŋ	he will wait for me
3s/1d	wu-najo-dʒ	he will wait for the two of us
3s/1p	wu-najo-j	he will wait for us
3d/1s	wu-najo-ŋ	the two of them will wait for me
3d/1d	wu-najo-dʒ	they two will wait for us two
3d/1p	wu-najo-j	the two of them will wait for us
3p/1s	wu-najo-ŋ	they will wait for me
3p/1d	wu-najo-dʒ	they will wait for the two of us
3p/1p	wu-najo-j	they will wait for us
3s/2s	to-najo-n	he will wait for you
3s/2d	to-najo-ndʒ	he will wait for the two of you
3s/2p	to-najo-jn	he will wait for you
3d/2s	to-najo-n	the two of them will wait for you
3d/2d	to-najo-ndʒ	they two will wait for you two
3d/2p	to-najo-jn	the two of them will wait for you
3p/2s	to-najo-n	they will wait for you
3p/2d	to-najo-ndʒ	they will wait for the two of you
3p/2p	to-najo-jn	they will wait for you
3s /3s	najo-w	he will wait for him
3s /3d	najo-w	he will wait for the two of them
3s /3p	najo-w	he will wait for them
3d/3s	najo-ndʒ	the two of them will wait for him
3d/3d	najo-ndʒ	they two will wait for them two
3d/3p	najo-ndʒ	the two of them will wait for them
3p/3s	najo-jn	they will wait for him
3p/3d	najo-jn	they will wait for the two of them
3p/3p	najo-jn	they will wait for them

Explicit and implicit occurrence of subject and objects

Because of abundant person and number marking on the verb as well as on nouns the arguments in a sentence are often left out in Jiāomùzú conversation. However, if the context does not provide clues and if leaving out an argument would lead to ambiguity or confusion for the listener, the argument must appear. For example, the 3/2 form *tonajon* is ambiguous:

- (108) to-najo-n He waits for you
 The two of them wait for you
 They wait for you

The ambiguity is resolved by the use of the appropriate third person pronoun or noun:

- (109) sloppən kə to-najo-n
 teacher PR 3/2-wait-2s
 The teacher waits for you.
- pkraʃis narənə lhamo-ndʒ kə to-najo-n
bKra.shis and lHa.mo-3d PR 3/2-wait-2s
bKra-shis and lHa-mo wait for you.
- wuʃo-ɲo kə to-najo-n
3-p PR 3/2-wait-2s
They wait for you.

Note that prominence marker *kə*, which marks ergativity here, is optional in these constructions. The speaker uses *kə* only to emphasise that listener should get a move on, since people are actually waiting for him. Because indirect objects are not marked on the verb when there is a direct object, they generally have to appear in full form, either as personal pronoun or noun, in the sentence, unless the context provides enough information to avoid confusion. They cannot be omitted like the subject or the object that do get marked on the verb:

- (110) kʰəzaʔ ɲa pkraʃis mbuʔ-ɲ
 bowl I bKra.shis give-1s
 I will give bKra-shis the bowl.
- (111) kʰəzaʔ wuʃo-ɲo kə jino mbuʔ-jn
 bowl 3-p PR we:e give-3p
 They will give us the bowl.

Overview of person and number markers

An overview of the Jiǎomùzú person and number markers follows below:

(112)	1/2s	ta-	-n
	d	ta-	-n-dʒ
	p	ta-	-j-n
	1s/3		-ŋ
	d		-dʒ
	p		-j
	2/1s	ko-	-ŋ
	d	ko-	-dʒ
	p	ko-	-j
	2s/3	tə-	-w
	d	tə-	-n-dʒ
	p	tə-	-j-n
	3/1s	wu-	-ŋ
	d	wu-	-dʒ
	p	wu-	-j
	3/2s	to-	-n
	d	to-	-n-dʒ
	p	to-	-j-n
	3s /3		-w
	d		-n-dʒ
	p		-j-n

Suffixes

The overview of person and number markers above shows that when, in Jiǎomùzú transitive paradigms, there is a third person object, the person and number agreement is with subject. But for a non-third person object, agreement for person and number is with the object. The Jiǎomùzú pattern of agreement is not uncommon. Various scholars have recognized it as a widespread and, presumably, old trait of the language family.¹⁵⁹

As I have shown in section 3.1 of the chapter on pronouns, the person and number suffixes of the

¹⁵⁹ Van Driem (1992: 53), DeLancey (1980: 47-49), Bauman (1975: 243-250).

Jiǎomùzú verb derive from the personal pronouns. An analysis of the suffixes shows that they contain the following components of meaning:

(113)	-ŋ	1s	-j	p
	-n	2s	-n-	non-first
			-dʒ	d

For the suffixes of the intransitive verb this analysis is sufficient, because third person singular remains unmarked, but in the transitive paradigm there remains one suffix to be analysed: *-w* in 2s/3 and 3s/3 forms. The agreement pattern in Jiǎomùzú is significant here. The verb paradigm shows that when there is a third person object, the person and number agreement in the suffixes is with the subject. If there is a non-third person object, agreement for person and number is with the object. That means that *-w* in the 2s/3 forms signals subject marking, here second person singular. This differs from marking in the intransitive paradigm, where a second person singular subject is marked by *-n*. The *-w* marker in 3s/3, marking third person singular subject, differs from the intransitive suffixes, where third person singular subjects are not marked. I conclude that, at least in these forms, the Jiǎomùzú dialects mark transitivity and intransitivity differently. Transitivity marker *-w* only occurs with second and third person singular. If it would also mark first person singular it should occur in 1s/3, but it does not. The marker in 1s/3 is *-ŋ*. Here we have another sliver of evidence that Jiǎomùzú opposes first person to second and third person, as well as an indicator of transitivity. The table listing meanings of suffix morphemes as given in (113) should be expanded to include this new information:

(114)	-ŋ	1s	-j	p
	-n	2s	-n-	non-first
	-w	non-first, singular, transitive	-dʒ	d

In the intransitive paradigm the suffixes obviously mark subject, but in the peculiar agreement pattern of the transitive paradigm they signal either object or subject. Since the pattern is regular and the pronominal prefixes show the transitive relationship, see below, there is no need to indicate subject and object in the glossing of person and number suffixes. Throughout this study I gloss the verbal suffixes only for person and number, for example *-ndʒ* will be glossed either as 2d or 3d, according to the agreement pattern and the terms of the transitive relation.

Prefixes

There are five prefixes in the Jiǎomùzú paradigm, *ta-*, *ko-*, *tə-*, *wu-* and *to-*. The suffixes mostly contain information on number, though there is some information on person in non-first person *-n-* and on person and transitivity in non-first person singular transitive *-w*. One may expect therefore that the prefixes will contain the main load of person information. Support for this idea comes from *tə-*, which is the second person marker, familiar from the intransitive paradigm. The marker occurs

in full form in 2/3 forms. Also in other transitive relations with a second person the marker *tə-*, though not in its full form, occurs:

(115)	1/2	t	-	a
	2/3	tə	-	
	3/2	t	-	o

Remarkably, in the prefix *ko-*, which marks 2/1 forms, *tə-* or a form of *tə-* does not occur. Now from the analysis of other verbal prefixes it is clear that in Jiăomùzú two or even three markers can merge and occupy one slot. In such cases one marker displaces either the consonant or the vowel of the second marker. For example, the past perfective negation marker *ʃi-* replaces the consonant of the past tense prefix, but not its vowel, see section 7.9.b on negation. And the non-direct evidential marker *a-* replaces the vowel of the past tense prefix, but leaves the consonant, see section 7.5 on evidentiality. If this principle of merging is applied to the prefixes in the transitive verb paradigm, implicit markers become explicit and the table of prefixes can be expanded as follows:

(116)	1/2	tə	-	a	
	2/1	k	-	tə	- o
	2/3	tə	-		
	3/2	tə	-		o

Assuming that in 1/2 second person marker *tə-* replaced the consonant of a second prefix, but not the vowel, *-a* should signal the other half of the transitive relation, which is first person. In the 2/1 forms, if I assume second person *tə-* to be implied, the consonant *k-* should mark first person. This leads to the proposition that underlying 1/2 prefix *ta-* and 2/1 prefix *ko-* are the second person marker *tə-* and a first person marker *ka-*. The prefix *ka-*, of course, does not derive from the first person pronoun. But then, neither is *tə-* derived from the second person pronoun. In fact, the use of *ka-* as a carrier of first person information is attested in such forms as Bunan first singular *-ki*.¹⁶⁰ Further encouragement for the identification of *ka-* as first person marker comes from Bauman, as quoted by Nagano, who gives *#ka* as a tentative construction for the first person pronoun in some eastern Himalayish languages.¹⁶¹ The table can be expanded once more. As was expected, the markers in the first two columns contain person information:

(117)	1/2	tə	-	ka	
	2/1	ka	-	tə	- o
	2/3	tə	-		
	3/2	tə	-		o

¹⁶⁰ Bauman (1975: 194).

¹⁶¹ Nagano (1984: 74).

Note that first and second person markers occur in reverse order: *tə-ka-* for first person subject with a second person object, and *ka-tə-* for a second person subject with a first person object. Also, *ka-* only occurs in forms with a second person, not in forms with a third person. This may be an indication that Jiāomùzú considers first and second persons to be different from third persons. Evidence for this assumption is plentiful in the Jiāomùzú dialects. First, a look at the transitive verb paradigm shows that third person objects are not marked in the person and number prefixes. In 1/3 and 3/3 forms there is no prefix at all. In 2/3 forms the prefix is *tə-*, which marks second person, see the analysis of the intransitive paradigm above. The 3/1 forms have *wu-*, which looks like a third person subject marker. However, *wu-* does not occur in 3/3 forms, where it should occur if *wu-* signals third person subject. So *wu-* signals neither third person objects nor subjects. Furthermore, as noted before, in the Jiāomùzú transitive paradigm third person objects do not show agreement with the person and number suffixes, while non-third person objects do show such agreement. Also, third person does not have any marking for subject in the intransitive paradigm, whereas first and second person subjects are marked. These patterns show that Jiāomùzú treats third person as different from first and second person. Yet another pointer is aspectual marking for present imperfective aspect: *kə-* for first and second person, but *ŋa-* for third person. All this leads to the conclusion that Jiāomùzú employs a system in which first and second persons are opposed to third persons. The hypothetical first person marker *ka-* only occurs in 1/2 and 2/1 sets because first and second person are part of the same set. The 1,2 > 3 opposition necessitates marking in 1/2 and 2/1 forms but not in any relations with a third person.

But assumption of a system that treats first and second person as members of one set, as opposed to third person, flies in the face of the 1 > 2,3 opposition marked by *-n-* for non-first and *-w* for non-first singular transitive in the suffixes, as described above. The conclusion must be that the Jiāomùzú dialects employ two separate but overlapping systems of person classification, both with supporting evidence from elsewhere in the language. The first classification, 1 > 2,3 is marked in the person and number suffixes and has supporting evidence from the pronouns. The second classification, 1,2 > 3, is marked in the person and number prefixes as well as in the agreement pattern and aspect and ergativity marking. Note that the two person classification systems in my analysis do not inherently imply a hierarchical difference between persons. Rather they show just a split between different sets of persons. This analysis leaves only the prefix *wu-* in 3/1 to be accounted for, as well as the unexplained *-o* morpheme in the 2/1 and 3/2 prefixes.

Scott DeLancey was the first scholar to notice in the rGyalrong language a system of direction marking similar to that found in several Amerindian language families.¹⁶² Direction marking is unrelated to marking for geographical orientation, which I discuss in section 7.3 below. Rather, it concerns a system in which agent and patient of a transitive verb are assigned relative rank based on the concept of animacy hierarchy. The animacy hierarchy differs a little from language to language. In the Jiāomùzú hierarchy, which I discuss in more detail in section 7.2.d on inverse marking below, first person ranks higher than second person and third person, second person ranks higher than third

¹⁶² DeLancey 1980.

person, human ranks higher than non-human, and animate ranks higher than inanimate, along the following pattern:

$$(118) \quad 1 > 2 > 3 \text{ human} > 3 \text{ non-human, animate} > 3 \text{ non-human, inanimate}$$

Animacy hierarchy in the Jiăomùzú dialects has relevance not only for direction marking but also links to marking for attention flow and ergativity. I discuss animacy hierarchy extensively in section 7.2.d on inverse marking below, including examples that give proof of the hierarchy set out above for Jiăomùzú.

In languages that have a direction marking system, a marker on transitive verbs indicates the direction of the relation between agent and patient. A relation in which the agent ranks higher than the patient on the animacy hierarchy is called ‘direct’. If a patient ranks higher than an agent the relation is called ‘inverse’. Some languages mark both direct and inverse direction on the verb. The Jiăomùzú dialects do not mark for direct, only for inverse. The inverse marker is *wu-*, as the following examples will make clear. Example (119a) and (119b) show a first and second person agent respectively with a third person patient. The relations are direct. Apart from *tə-* for second person, and the normal person and number suffixes that mark the transitive relation for subject, no special marking occurs:

(119a) <i>ŋa pkrəʃis najo-ŋ</i> I bKra.shis wait-1s I will wait for bKra-shis.	(119b) <i>nəŋʝo pkrəʃis tə-najo-n me</i> you bKra.shis 2-wait-2s INTR Will you wait for bKra-shis?

But if the ranking according to the animacy hierarchy is reversed, *wu-*, which signals neither object nor subject, occurs in the relation between a third person agent and a first person patient:

- (120) *pkrəʃis ŋa wu-najo-ŋ*
bKra.shis I 3/1:INV-wait-1s
bKra-shis will wait for me.

The conclusion must be that Jiăomùzú prefers first person over third person for a subject slot in a transitive relation. If the order is reversed, marking with *wu-* occurs. This pattern of marking implies that first person ranks higher than third person. If *wu-* is indeed an inverse marker, one would expect it to show up also in relations with a second person agent and a third person patient, as it does in the Northern rGyalrong dialect of Japhug,¹⁶³ yielding the form *təwunajon*. However, there is no prefix *wu-*. Instead *to-* occurs:

¹⁶³ Jacques (2010: 129).

- (121) pkraʃis nənʝo to-naʝo-n
 bKra-shis you 3/2-wait-1s
 bKra-shis will wait for you.

Referring back to the table for the analysis of person prefixes, my hypothesis was that *to-* is a merged marker consisting of *tə-* for second person and an unexplained *-o*. Could it be that *-o* actually signals inverse marking? The table of prefixed morphemes, after expansion with *wu-*, looks like this:

- (122) 1/2 tə - ka
 2/1 ka - tə - o
 1/3
 3/1 - wu
 2/3 tə
 3/2 tə - o

It is clear that relations in which the patient ranks higher than the agent all have either *wu-* or *-o*. This indicates that Jiăomùzú ranks first person over second, and second over third. Reversal of the ranking triggers marking with inverse marker *wu-*. The inverse marker is merged with person and number prefixes in the cases of second person agents with first person patients and third person agents with second person agents. Including this information in the table leads to the following results:

(123)	relation (AG/PT)	prefix	person	person	rank reversal
	1/2	ta-	tə- (2)	ka- (1)	-
	2/1	ko-	ka- (1)	tə- (2)	wu-
	1/3	-	-	-	-
	3/1	wu-	-	-	wu-
	2/3	tə-	tə- (2)	-	-
	3/2	to-	tə- (2)	-	wu-
	3/3	-	-	-	-

Summing up

The Jiăomùzú person and number affixes mark for transitivity in the suffixes of the transitive paradigm. The transitive paradigm gives evidence for two separate but overlapping systems of classifying person. One system opposes first person to second and third. The second system groups first and second person together and opposes them to third person. These classifications in and of themselves do not imply a hierarchy of one person or set of persons over another. Quite apart from these classifications of person, Jiăomùzú does have a person hierarchy in which first person ranks higher than second and third, and second person ranks higher than third person. The $1 > 2 > 3$

hierarchy finds expression in the Jiǎomùzú preference to have, in neutral sentences, the highest ranking person in the subject slot with the lower ranking person in the object slot. If this order is reversed, the inverse marker *wu-* occurs. The two systems of person classification, 1>2,3 and 1,2>3 overlap for 3/1 forms, which in both systems require marking for inverse ranking. The first system further ranks first person over second person, so that a marker for reverse ranking appears in 2/1 forms. And the second system, by ranking second person over third person, accounts for the occurrence of reverse ranking markers in 3/2 forms. The entire person and number marking system can be summed up as follows:

(124)	ka-	1	-ŋ	1s
	tə-	2	-n	2s
	wu-	rank (inverse)	-dʒ	d
			-j	p
			-n-	non-first
			-w	non-first, singular, transitive

In this study I mark all transitive relationships only for person, for example 3/1 indicates a first person subject with a third person object. The implied marking for reverse ranking is regular and does not need to be noted separately. Semantic and pragmatic factors can trigger inverse marking with *wu-* in normally unmarked situations, see section 7.2.d. In those cases *wu-* is glossed specifically as inverse.

d. The Jiǎomùzú system of inverse marking

The Jiǎomùzú system of direction marking as expressed in the person prefixes is, conform the description above, fairly straightforward. In practice, however, the animacy hierarchy, semantic and pragmatic factors, and speaker preference all play a part in the intricate application of inverse marking.

The analysis of person prefixes above showed that in Jiǎomùzú first person ranks higher than second and third, and that second person outranks third person on the animacy hierarchy. The following examples clarify the influence of the animacy hierarchy on inverse marking. In the 3/3 category, where there is a third person agent and a third person patient, a sentence in which agent and patient are of the same rank in the animacy hierarchy, does not have inverse marking, as expected from the paradigm for *kanajo*, ‘wait’, above. Examples (125a), (125b) and (125c) have human, non-human animate and inanimate subjects and objects respectively, and inverse marking does not occur. Note that the examples also have no marking for ergativity or agentivity since the constituent order is clear. For more on prominence marking with *kə*, see the chapters on nouns and sentences:

(125a) pkraʃis lhamo najo-w
 bKra.shis lHa.mo wait-3s
 bKra-shis will wait for lHa-mo.

(125b) təwaʔm kartsə najo-w
 bear deer wait
 The bear will wait for the deer.

(125c) təmtʃik təjeʔm cop-w
 fire house burn-3s
 The fire will burn up the house.

But inverse marking can occur in sentences with two third person arguments if subject and object are different in ranking on the animacy hierarchy, and the object ranks higher than the subject. It is the speaker's preference to choose the use of inverse marking in these cases. It is not obligatory, and does not make any difference in meaning. For these reasons I have left the 3/3 relations in the paradigm for *kanajo*, 'wait' unmarked. Sentences (126a) and (126b) show that the category human ranks higher than non-human animate. When there is a human subject with a non-human object no inverse marking appears, as in (126a). But a non-human subject with a human object requires inverse marking, as in (126b):

(126a) pkraʃis təwaʔm najo-w
 bKra.shis bear wait-3s
 bKra-shis will wait for the bear.

(126b) təwaʔm kə pkraʃis wu-najo-w
 bear PR bKra.shis 3s:INV-wait-3s
 The bear will wait for bKra-shis.

Example (127) shows that the category animate outranks inanimate. In (125c) two inanimate arguments do not trigger inverse marking. But in a sentence with an inanimate subject and an animate object *wu-* does appear:

(127) təmtʃuk k^hə wu-sat-w
 fire dog 3s:INV-kill-3s
 The fire will kill the dog.

Inverse marking never occurs with inanimate objects, no matter the ranking of the subject:

- (128) təmtʃuk tascok cop-w
 fire letter burn-3s
 The fire will burn the letter.

* təmtʃuk tascok wucopw

- (129) pkraʃis ʃarə najo-w
 bKra.shis meat wait-3s
 bKra-shis is waiting for the meat.

* pkraʃis ʃarə wunajow

Inverse marking in Jiāomùzú differs from the system used in Japhug in that inverse marking is not obligatory in relations with an inanimate subject and a human agent. The following sentence would not be grammatical in Japhug, which requires inverse marking in these cases: ¹⁶⁴

- (130) k^horlo pkraʃis najo-w
 bus bKra.shis wait-3s
 The bus will wait for bKra-shis.

One could think the ‘bus’ here stands for ‘driver’, indicating a human subject. But inverse marking also does not appear with sentences like (131), though speakers usually prefer either topicalisation of the object or prominence marking for the subject to offset the imbalance caused by a human in the object slot with an inanimate entity as subject:

- (131) təmtʃuk pkraʃis cop-w
 fire bKra.shis burn-3s
 The fire will burn bKra-shis.

Inverse marking is not linked to the relative position of object and subject in a sentence. Topicalisation, with the object in the first slot in the sentence and the subject in the second, does not trigger marking with *wu-*, as is clear from the following examples with first person subjects and third person objects. Sentence (132a) is the neutral form while (132b) has the subject in the second slot with a topicalised object in the first slot:

¹⁶⁴ Jacques (2010: 144).

(132a) *ŋa pkraʃis najo-ŋ*
 I bKra.shis wait-1s
 I will wait for bKra-shis.

(132b) *pkraʃis ŋa najo-ŋ*
 bKra.shis I wait-1s
 It is bKra-shis that I will wait for.

When there might be confusion as to which argument is the subject and which the object in a topicalised sentence, the prominence marker *kə* occurs with the subject to solve the ambiguity, but no inverse marking:

(133a) *tʃaʃi sonam sat-w*
 bKra.shis bSod.nams kill-3s
 bKra-shis will kill bSod-nams.

(133b) *sonam tʃaʃi kə sat-w*
 bSod.nams bKra.shis PR:AG kill-3s
 It is bSod-nams that bKra-shis will kill.

Marking inverse ranking according to the animacy hierarchy is the most common reason for the appearance of inverse marker *wu-*. But syntactic considerations can influence the occurrence of *wu-* as well. When a verb phrase is marked with prefixes for other syntactic categories such as tense and aspect, inverse marking with *wu-* disappears, even in those situations where it is normally obligatory. In (134), which is marked for past perfective, there is a third person inanimate subject with a human object. The expected form of the verb phrase would be *nawusat*, but *wu-* does not appear:

(134a) *təmtʃuk kə pkraʃis na-sat-w*
 fire PR:AG bKra.shis PFT-kill-3s
 The fire killed bKra-shis.

Note that in this sentence the subject is marked by prominence marker *kə* for agentivity, even though there is no confusion about which argument has the role of subject and Jiǎomùzú does not normally mark subjects for ergativity or agentivity. The issue here is rather that bKra-shis is human, outranking the inanimate fire. The attention of the hearer will rest with the human object rather than the inanimate subject. Prominence marker *kə* puts the appropriate amount of emphasis back on the subject. The animacy hierarchy also links to prominence marking with *kə* for, among other things, agentivity. But a subject that ranks lower on the animacy hierarchy than an object does not automatically require marking with *kə*, as is clear from example (132b) above. For an extensive discussion of the relation between prominence marking and animacy hierarchy, see section 4.3 of the chapter on nouns.

The preferred form of (134a) for native speakers is actually marked for attention flow by *no-*, directing the hearer's attention to the object bKra-shis and away from the subject fire:

- (134b) təmtʃuk kə pkraʃis no-sat-w
 fire PR:AG bKra.shis AF/PFT-kill-3s
 The fire killed bkra-shis.

At first glance, it looks as if inverse marker *wu-* has merged with past tense marker *na-* to produce attention flow marker *no-*. The following example shows that this is not the case. In (135) there is an inanimate third person subject, fire, with a human object, you. As expected, the 3/2 relation is marked by *to-*, which, according to the analysis above, already includes inverse marking with *wu-*. Nevertheless, attention flow marker *no-* appears and the normal past tense marker *na-* is prohibited:

- (135) təmtʃuk kə nəŋʝo no-to-cop-n
 fire PR you AF/PFT-3/2-burn-2s
 The fired burned you.

* təmtʃuk kə nəŋʝo natocopn

Also, attention flow marking can occur together with inverse marking, as the examples below will show. For more on attention flow marking, see section 7.6 below.

In non-past tense sentences marked for observation, inverse marking also does not occur in situations where it would be expected. The observation marker is *na-*, but example (136b) does not have *nawunajo*:

- (136a) pkraʃis təwaʔm 'na-najo-w
 bKra.shis bear OBS-wait-3s
 bKra-shis is waiting for the bear.
- (136b) təwaʔm kə pkraʃis 'na-najo-w
 bear PR bKra.shis OBS-wait-3s
 The bear is waiting for bKra-shis.

In fact, a structure with third person observation marker *na-* as well as inverse marker *wu-* is not grammatical:

- (136c) * təwaʔm kə pkraʃis 'nawunajow

Finally, there are semantic and pragmatic reasons that can influence the speaker's choice to use inverse marking. Consider the following sentences. Both are grammatically correct but differ in meaning. Sentence (137a) has an animate, non-human third person subject and a third person human object, and is marked for inverse accordingly. This is the neutral sentence. It might be used if a bear has been lurking around and the speaker advises that the woman should not walk by herself in the area where the bear has been seen. Sentence (137b) expresses the speaker's certainty, based on

previous experience of the behaviour of the bear, that the bear will be waiting. Perhaps the bear has been around for many years and is known to lie in wait for people at a certain place. Sentence (137b) is unmarked for inverse. The expression of certain modal meanings, such as a speaker's certainty or the habituality of an action or event, can thus interfere with inverse marking:

(137a) təwaʔm jimo wu-najo-w
 bear woman 3/3:INV-wait-3s
 The bear will wait for the woman.

(137b) təwaʔm jimo najo-w
 bear woman wait-3s
 The bear will wait for the woman.

The examples above show that overt inverse marking with *wu-* is normally absent in past tense situations. But in some cases semantic or pragmatic reasons do require its occurrence. One such situation occurs when a lower ranking subject performs an action that has a direct bearing on a not physically present or unaware higher ranking object. In these cases marking with *wu-* indicates the object's participation in the action is somehow less than entire. This emphasises once more the importance in transitive relations of the direct vector between subject and object for the duration of the action or event. The function of inverse marking in these cases is somewhat similar to the role of argument suppressing markers like *ŋa-*, which suppresses agents (see section 7.8 on voice below). But *wu-* does not belong in this category. First of all, it occurs before person markers, while voice markers occur after person markers. Second, marking with *wu-* does not change the valency of the verb nor does it inhibit person and number suffixing. Inverse marking in these instances differs from generic marking with *wu-* in Japhug, which does inhibit person and number marking.¹⁶⁵ As shown above, a 3/1 relation in a transitive verb paradigm is marked by *wu-*, for inverse. In sentences with 3/1 relations in past tense this marker does not usually appear, though it occurs, as normal, in non-past tense sentences. Consider the following examples, all for the 3/1 forms of transitive verbs:

(138a) pkraʃis ŋa tətʰa wu-ʃi-rŋe-ŋ
 bKra.shis I book 3/1:INV-VPT-lend-1s
 bKra-shis will lend me a book.

(138b) pkraʃis ŋa tətʰa no-ʃi-rŋe-ŋ
 bKra.shis I book AF/PFT-VPT-lend-1s
 bKra-shis lent me a book.

¹⁶⁵ Jacques (forthcoming: 7-10).

- (138c) pkraʃis ɲa tət^ha no-wu-ʃi-rɲe-ɲ
 bKra.shis I book AF/PFT-3/1-VPT-lend-1s
 bKra-shis lent me a book.

Example (138a) gives the default sentence for non-past, where inverse marker *wu-* occurs as expected. Example (138b) shows a sentence in which the expected form is *nowuʃirɲeɲ*. However, *wu-* is absent. Still, the meaning of (138b) is straightforward. I wanted a certain book which was in bKra-shis' possession, and he lent it to me. The unemphasised, unmarked and easily overlooked bit of information in this sentence is that bKra-shis and I actually met face to face. He handed me the book in person. In (138c) there was no such direct transaction. The presence of *wu-* here indicates that somehow bKra-shis lent me the book without my actually physically taking part in the transaction. Maybe bKra-shis came to my house and left the book while I was out. I found out he had done so only upon my return.

Here is another example with the verb *kaskoʔr*, 'hire':

- (139a) pkraʃis ɲa wu-skoʔr-ɲ
 bKra.shis I 3/1:INV-hire-1s
 bKra-shis will hire me.
- (139b) pkraʃis ɲa no-skoʔr-ɲ
 bKra.shis I AF/PFT-hire-1s
 bKra-shis hired me.
- (139c) pkraʃis ɲa no-wu-skoʔr-ɲ
 bKra.shis I AF/PFT-3/1:INV-hire-1s
 bKra-shis hired me.

The pattern in these three sentences is the same as in the previous set, and the difference in meaning as well. Example (139b) indicates that bKra-shis and I agreed that he hire me, during a meeting of some sort. In (139c) there was no personal contact between bKra-shis and me. Rather, bKra-shis came to my house and arranged, maybe with one of my relatives, the hiring. I became aware of the fact only when I returned and my relative told me about it.

Also interesting is the verb *kascoʔ*, 'see off':

- (140a) pkraʃis ɲa wu-və-scoʔ-ɲ
 bKra.shis I 3/1:INV-VPT-see.off-1s
 bKra-shis will see me off.
- (140b) pkraʃis ɲa no-və-scoʔ-ɲ
 bKra.shis I AF/PFT-VPT-see off-1s
 bKra-shis saw me off.

- (140c) pkraʃis ɲa no-wu-və-scoʔ-ɲ
 bKra-shis I AF/PFT-3/1:INV-VPT-see.off-1s
 bKra-shis saw me off.

The structure is the now familiar one - but one may ask how, in (140c), bKra-shis could see me off if I'm not actually physically there? The solution is simple. Example (140b) means that bKra-shis comes to where am, say, my house. From there we go together to the place where our ways part, say the bus station. His seeing me off in this case requires that bKra-shis is with me all the way from my house to the bus station. For the seeing off, our point of departure is the same. In (140c) our points of departure are different. I leave my house at a certain time to go to the bus station, having agreed with bKra-shis to meet him there. bKra-shis goes to the bus station by a different route, and I am not physically present for that part of the seeing off. At the bus station we say goodbye. Then bKra-shis returns home and I take off on the bus.

A similar logic works in the last set of examples, for *kaməto*, 'see, meet, run into'.

- (141a) pkraʃis ɲa wu-məto-ɲ
 bKra.shis I 3/1:INV-see-1s
 bKra-shis will see me.
- (141b) pkraʃis ɲa no-məto-ɲ
 bKra.shis I AF/PFT-see-1s
 bKra-shis saw me.
- (141c) pkraʃis ɲa no-wu-məto-ɲ
 bKra.shis I AF/PFT-3/1:INV-see-1s
 bKra-shis saw me.

Example (141b) simply expresses that bKra-shis saw me somewhere, maybe trying to sneak out of class unseen, and I also saw bKra-shis seeing me. I know he saw me. Example (141c) means that I thought I had, say, sneaked out of class without bKra-shis seeing me. However, he did see me, but I was not aware of that. I found out only when he, or someone else told me. Note that in this example the first person is, to some extent, actually physically present, albeit at a distance. But there is no direct transaction, no direct contact of third person and first person as implied by (141b), even though it is only fleeting eye contact.

Though these examples are all for situations with a third person subject and a first person object, inverse marker *wu-* can also occur, with the same function, in 2/3 and in 3/3 relations:

- (142) pkraʃis nənʃo no-wu-to-najo-n
 bKra.shis you AF-INV-3/2:INV-wait-2s
 bKra-shis waited for you.

In sentence (142) bKra-shis waited, but the person he waited for, ‘you’, did not show up. The ‘you’ is told later by a third party that they had made bKra-shis wait. Note that in this sort of construction there is actually a reduplication of inverse marking. The marker *wu-* is already present in person marker *to-* but gets added once more to signal the special case of a non-present person.

(143a) *təwaʔm pkraʃis* *no-najo-w*
 bear bKra.shis AF/PFT-wait-3s
 The bear waited for bKra-shis.

(143b) *təwaʔm pkraʃis* *no-wu-najo-w*
 bear bKra.shis AF/PFT-3/3:INV-wait-3s
 The bear waited for bKra-shis.

Sentence (143a) above shows a neutral statement. Example (143b) indicated that bKra-shis was not aware of the bear waiting for him. He wandered around the woods without ever noticing the bear. The waiting bear maybe was disturbed by a third party and so did not interact with bKra-shis. The third party then tells about the waiting bear and the blissfully unaware bKra-shis after the event. This sort of situation is reminiscent of marking for unawareness in the context of evidentiality. But in evidentiality marking only first person can be marked for unawareness. Besides, in the examples with first person objects above, it makes no difference if the person is aware or not of what is happening. The point of the marking with *wu-* is to indicate that one party to the event is either not present or not aware. Either way, the party’s participation in the event is perceived as less than full, complete or wholehearted.

In this section I have shown that Jiǎomùzú marks relative rank of subjects and objects on the verb according to the animacy hierarchy. If the subject ranks higher than the object on the hierarchy no marking occurs. If the object ranks higher than the subject, marking with *wu-* for inverse ranking appears. The inverse marking is merged into the person and number markers for 2/1 and 3/2 relations but is explicit for 3/1 relations. Marking for other syntactic categories like tense and aspect crowd out the inverse marking. But marking for inverse can be explicit on verbs already cluttered with prefixes if there are semantic or pragmatic reasons to do so.

7.3 *Orientation*

The Jiǎomùzú dialects have an intricate system for marking geographical location and direction, consisting of nouns, adverbs, verbs and orientation markers. In the section below I describe the basic meaning and use of the Jiǎomùzú orientational grid. Part of the grid is a set of seven orientation markers, which occur with motion verbs and other verbs that require specification for the direction of the action expressed by the root. Some of the orientation markers can have derived or metaphorical meanings. Beside their role as markers of geographical direction, the orientation

markers are also used in aspect, tense and mood marking to express a wide range of meanings. I discuss these functions separately in sections 7.4 and 7.9 on tense, aspect and mood of this chapter.

Basic orientational grid and semantic implications

Native rGyalrong speakers of the Jiǎomùzú dialects centre themselves on their house. From there, they locate objects and places in their environment by making use of the main topographical features of their area, namely rivers and mountains. The direction of the house, which way it faces, is not relevant to the distinctions made about the environment.

The standard topography of a rGyalrong valley consists of a main river, at the lowest point of the valley, flanked on either side by steep hillsides on which hamlets or individual houses are situated. Viewing this environment from one's house, logically this leads to a distinction of four specific directions: upriver, downriver, towards the mountain and towards the river. To these four one more pair is added: vertically up and down. The Jiǎomùzú dialects of rGyalrong employ for these six directions orientational nouns, adverbs and verbs as well as orientation markers that are prefixed to the verb. The table below shows the correspondence of the different word categories for the six common orientations.

orientation	noun	adverb	verb	orientation marker
vertically up	ata	sto	kat ^h o	to-
vertically down	ana	na	kaɣə	na-
towards the mountain	atu	ro	karo	ro-
towards the river	ardu	ri	kare	rə-
upstream	aku	sku	kango	kə-
downstream	ani	nu	kandə	nə-

The mountain referred to in the orientation markers is the one to the back of the speaker as he faces the river, say, from the roof of his house, never the one on the opposite side of the river. The river is always the main river at the bottom of the valley, never a tributary or a brook coming down the mountainside.

At issue in determining the use of orientation markers is whether a person faces the river or the mountain, from his own side of the river. Consequently, the mountain-river axis does not imply a change in altitude, though, given the logic of rivers being below mountain slopes, going towards the river often - but not always - necessitates going downwards. By the same token going towards the mountain often, but not always, includes an upwards movement. The concept of verticality is therefore expressed in the separate pair for vertically up and down. In certain cases, where the change in altitude is very pronounced, the vertical movement axis can overrule the mountain-river

distinction.

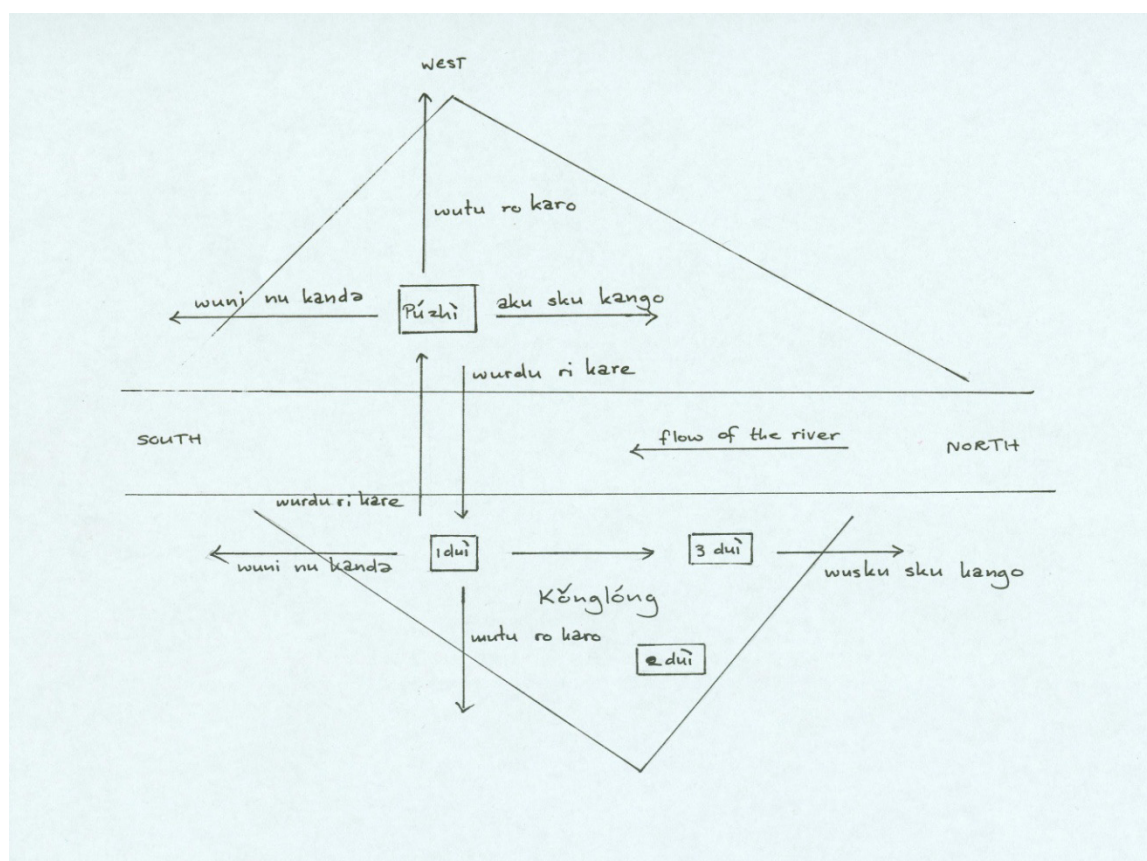
I illustrate the orientational grid with the situation in Kǒnglóng, a village in the township of Jiǎomùzú situated on the eastern slopes along the Jiǎomùzú river, which flows from north to south. For clarity I have added graph number one, see below, which shows the valley from the point of view of a resident of Kǒnglóng. Note that the main features are the river, in front of the speaker, and the mountain, at the back of the speaker, rather than our accustomed orientation for maps, which is northward. On the hill side there are three settlements.¹⁶⁶ Together they make up the village¹⁶⁷ of Kǒnglóng. The first and third settlements are on the lower slopes of the hill, at about the same elevation above the river. The second settlement is higher on the slopes, overlooking both the first and the third settlement. A speaker going from the first settlement to the second settlement of Kǒnglóng will say he is 'going towards the mountain', or, since the incline is quite steep, that he is 'going up'. People walking down from the second settlement to the first settlement will say they are 'going towards the river'. Or they might say they are 'going down', again because the decline is fairly steep.

The river in the Jiǎomùzú orientation system serves as a mirror. Again, the Kǒnglóng situation will make this clear. Across the river, on the slopes opposite Kǒnglóng, is a village called Púzhì. People from Púzhì, when going towards the river, will walk eastwards. People from Kǒnglóng, when going towards the river, move in a westerly direction. Yet all of them will use the same orientation marker, the one for 'towards the river', disregarding the actual cardinal directions of east or west. A speaker from Kǒnglóng can go towards the river or, alternatively, away from the mountain, cross the river and walk up the mountain on the other side - climbing towards Púzhì - all the while still using the markers for 'towards the river, away from the mountain'. The fact that he is now actually climbing up a mountain, away from the river, is irrelevant. What matters is that the speaker's mountain of reference is still in the same position, at his back, and that the river, should a line be drawn indicating his present trajectory, is still in front of his mountain of reference. By the same token, a speaker from Púzhì will use the orientation markers for 'going towards the river' if he walks towards Kǒnglóng, even though the actual direction is the reverse of the trajectory of the person from Kǒnglóng.

¹⁶⁶ In Chinese 队 *duì*, 'team' or 'group'.

¹⁶⁷ In Chinese 村 *cūn*, 'village'.

GRAPH NUMBER ONE: Kǒnglóng and Púzhi



The solar axis hypothesis

I have given a description of the topographical situation in Kǒnglóng, and explained how its features form the frame of reference for a native speaker's orientational system. I have emphasised that the cardinal directions of north, south, east and west as used on maps, are not relevant in this kind of system.¹⁶⁸ That means that in another valley, where the river, for example, flows in an east-west direction rather than north-south as in Kǒnglóng, I would still expect the same orientational distinctions to hold true.

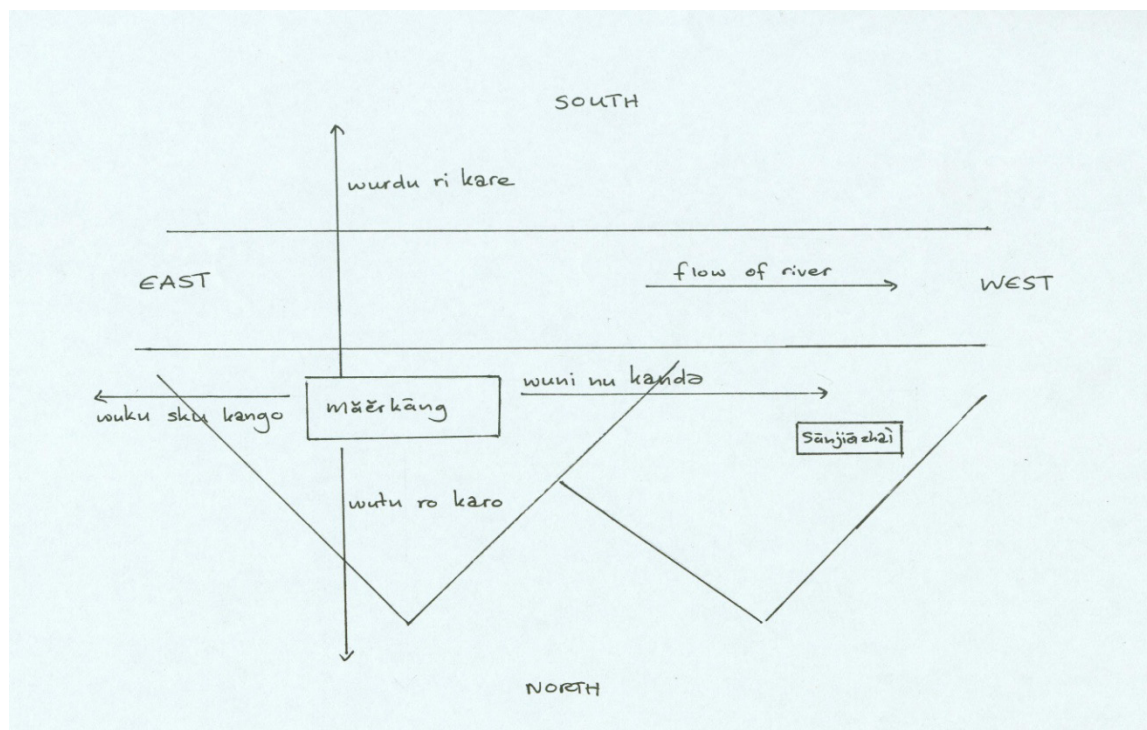
I put this idea to the test in Mǎěrkāng, the seat of government of Mǎěrkāng County. Graph number two below shows the situation. The river flows east to west. The centre of Mǎěrkāng town is situated on the slopes on the north side of the river. A little further west is a village called Sānjiāzhài,¹⁶⁹ about twenty minutes walk from the centre of town, also on the north side of the river. Sānjiāzhài is referred to in some of the example sentences below. There is also a village on the opposite side, to the south, of Mǎěrkāng town, but I have left it out as it is not relevant to this illustration. The

¹⁶⁸ There is no native vocabulary in the Jiǎomùzú dialects to express geographical direction in terms of cardinal directions. Loans from Tibetan are employed when appropriate, for example in liturgical texts which employ standard Buddhist terminology for cardinal directions.

¹⁶⁹ 三家寨.

situation is just like the one in Jiǎomùzú, after a 90 degree rotation to the east. Still, in spite of the change in cardinal directions, the orientational system used by native speakers is unchanged, referring only to the river-mountain, or front-back, and the upstream-downstream axis.

GRAPH NUMBER TWO: Mǎěrkāng and Sānjiāzhài



This confirms the findings of earlier researchers such as Lín Xiàngróng, Qú Āitáng and Nagano¹⁷⁰ for Zhuōkèjī. More recent work by J. T. Sun and Lin You-Jing¹⁷¹ on Cǎodēng, Mùěrzōng¹⁷² and Zhuōkèjī proposes that, rather than the mountain-river distinction, a solar axis marking the cardinal east-west orientation is at work. Of these varieties, Cǎodēng belongs to the group of Northern rGyalrong dialects and Mùěrzōng is a dialect of Lavrung, a language closely related to rGyalrong. Only Zhuōkèjī belongs, like the Jiǎomùzú dialects, to Central rGyalrong and is grammatically close to Jiǎomùzú. In the orientational system proposed by Sun and Lin there are the following three distinctions: east-west, upstream-downstream and vertically up-down. Lin You-Jing's paper gives the most comprehensive overview of the solar axis theory to date. As the verbal prefixes for eastwards and westwards she gives *ko-* and *nə-*. For upriver-downriver she uses *ro-* and *rə-* respectively. She bases this idea on the fact that her consultant, a native of Zhuōkèjī, uses *ro-* "if one were to travel upriver from Jiǎomùzú along the Jiǎomùzú River towards Cǎodēng...conversely, if

¹⁷⁰ Lín (1993: 227-8), Qú (1983: 73), Nagano (1984: 28-40).

¹⁷¹ Sun (2000: 180-183), Lin 2002. The solar axis theory since has also been adopted by Jacques in his work on the Japhug dialect, see Jacques (2004: 358) and Xiàng (2008: 242-258).

¹⁷² 木尔宗, འབྲུག་རྩེ་ཐང་ 'Brag-rdzong.

one were to go from Cǎodēng to Jiǎomùzú [downriver], *rə-* would be the only apt orientation choice."¹⁷³ A salient detail here is that the Jiǎomùzú river flows from north to south. Jiǎomùzú speakers use *kə-* for 'upstream' - in Lin's example, towards Cǎodēng - and *nə-* for 'downstream', towards Jiǎomùzú. Note that the *kə-/nə-* pair here is applied to a north-south axis, and so cannot be equated with a solar axis or east-west orientation. Lin admits that "the use of *ro-* and *rə-* to code a mountain-river contrast does indeed figure prominently in the Zhuōkèjī and Suōmò dialects"¹⁷⁴ but she explains this by positing that originally the use of *ro-* and *rə-* referred to the small streams and brooks that, in some places, flow down the hill sides towards the main river in the valley. Lin then says that "the riverine pair has become generalised for cases where there are no mountain creeks...the orientational markings encode an opposition between higher and lower parts of the slope via metaphorical extension...Moving up-gradient (extended from 'upstream') is moving toward the mountains, and moving down-gradient (extended from 'downstream') is moving toward the river..."¹⁷⁵ If this is so, it makes it quite difficult for speakers to distinguish when *ro-/rə-* refers to up and down river as referring to the main river in the valley, and when it refers to 'towards the mountain' and 'towards the river' based on metaphorical use. Also, it makes the third pair in the orientational grid, *to-* and *na-* for 'upwards' and 'downwards' respectively, rather redundant, unless one interprets them very narrowly as only applying to a straight vertical axis. Jiǎomùzú speakers disagree with such an interpretation. In fact, they sometimes use *to-* and *na-* even to refer to a trip 'up' towards or 'down' from Cǎodēng, which is at a higher elevation than Jiǎomùzú. Also, even if one agrees that metaphorical use¹⁷⁶ of *ro-/rə-* originally indicated up and down river but that these markers now signal the mountain-river axis, this does not solve the issue of use of the 'solar axis pair' *kə-* and *nə-* for upstream and downstream along a north-south axis. Furthermore, for rivers that flow east to west along the solar axis, this leaves native speakers with two pairs of orientation markers for the same directions: *kə-/nə-* and *ro-/rə-*, in this analysis, overlap. In itself this idea is not so farfetched, since native speakers can use *to-/na-*, the vertical axis pair, also in combination with either the mountain-river pair or the upstream-downstream pair, as attested above for Jiǎomùzú. However, according to Lin, in such situations "the solar and riverine subsystems merge and become indistinguishable...The solar subsystem becomes dominant, blocking the riverine dimension. Notably, the dominance of the solar over the riverine subsystem asserts itself only where an upstream direction coincides with absolute east or any subdivision to the right of the north-south axis..."¹⁷⁷ Presumably in these cases Lin uses the main river in a valley as her reference point for *ro-* and *rə-*, rather than possibly present mountain creeks. Furthermore, it would be interesting to see if

¹⁷³ Lin (2002: 33). Zhuōkèjī is situated on the banks of the Suōmò river, about twenty minutes to the west of Mǎěrkāng town. The Suōmò river flows east to west.

¹⁷⁴ Lin (2002: 33).

¹⁷⁵ Lin (2002: 34).

¹⁷⁶ Orientation markers can be used in metaphorical or derived senses of meaning, though in my experience such usage is limited to situations that are removed from general geographical or outdoors distinctions. I briefly discuss derived use of orientation markers below.

¹⁷⁷ Lin (2002: 36).

the *ro-/rə-* distinction does get used to indicate up and down river in Cǎodēng and Mùěrzōng, where the rivers flow from west to east, and thus do not coincide with the solar axis.

The accommodation of the solar axis theory for Central rGyalrong data requires rather a lot of juggling. The mountain-river contrast *ro-/ri-* as used in Jiǎomùzú has to be reinterpreted for other places as riverine, via mountain creeks and a metaphorical jump. The upriver-downriver pair *kə-/nə-* as used in Jiǎomùzú elsewhere overrides riverine contrast if the river flows from west to east. And still all this does not account for the use of *kə-/nə-* in Jiǎomùzú where the river flows from north to south, and *ro-/ri-* is never used to indicate the direction of water flow. By contrast, the simple system of three pairs as set out in the table above is applicable in any valley and allows speakers from different places to correctly interpret what they hear a person say, without having to worry about exactly which river, big or small, and which way it flows in relation to the sun. Until more accurate testing with speakers of Central rGyalrong dialects in their home valleys has shown otherwise, I maintain the simpler system as set out at the beginning of this section.¹⁷⁸

Grammatical expression of geographic orientation

Jiǎomùzú has verbs as well as nouns and adverbs that express specific orientations. The orientation markers as used in the verb phrase are obviously derived from the adverbs, with some minor adjustments, see table above. The nouns refer to locations and can be interpreted as 'a place....', with the right direction to fill in the blank. The noun *ata*, for example, can be glossed as 'a place vertically upwards from the speaker'. The marker *h-* is used to indicate middle to long distance. Long distance from the speaker is expressed by reduplication of the root: *hatata*, 'away up there'. Orientation markers in their basic geographical sense only occur in motion verbs marked for past tense and in imperatives, as the paradigm below for *kambjam*, 'fly', makes clear. The frame has, say, a bird flying in all known directions, with nouns and adverbs from the table above expressing the locations the bird flies to. The nouns are marked for middle distance with *h-*. Example (144a) shows non-past, which is unmarked. Examples (144b), (144c) and (144d) show non-past marked for observation, simple past and imperative respectively:

(144a) non-past

h-akə sku mbjam	will fly upriver
h-anə nu mbjam	downriver
h-ato ro mbjam	towards the mountain
h-ardu ri mbjam	towards the river
h-ata stu mbjam	upwards
h-ana na mbjam	downwards

¹⁷⁸ More testing of orientational grids may lead to surprising results. I know of two Southern rGyalrong villages, Dàwā Cun (大哇, ཏ་བ་, Da-bad) and Zúmù Cun (足木, རྩུམུ་ Kyom-mo) located on the same mountain slope in Xiaojin County, Hànniú (汗牛, ཏ་ཉི Ha-nyi) Township which use the same set of markers, *kə-* and *nə-*, but with opposite meanings (Tshe-dbang sGron-ma, personal communication).

(144b) present imperfective	
h-akə sku 'na-mbjam	is flying upriver
h-anə nu 'na-mbjam	downriver
h-ato ro 'na-mbjam	towards the mountain
h-ardu ri 'na-mbjam	towards the river
h-ata stu 'na-mbjam	upwards
h-ana na 'na-mbjam	downwards
(144c) simple past	
h-akə sku kə-mbjam	flew upriver
h-anə nu nə-mbjam	downriver
h-ato ro ro-mbjam	towards the mountain
h-ardu ri ri-mbjam	towards the river
h-ata stu to-mbjam	upwards
h-ana na na-mbjam	downwards
(144d) imperative	
kə-'mbjam	fly upriver!
nə-'mbjam	downriver!
ro-'mbjam	towards the mountain!
ri-'mbjam	towards the river!
to-'mbjam	upwards!
na-'mbjam	downwards!

If there is a need to indicate orientation in a non-past situation a specific orientational verb is required. As shown in the table above, there is a full set of orientational verbs matching the nouns and adverbs. These verbs are in English best glossed with help of the verb 'move': *kat^ho*, 'move up(wards)'; *karo*, 'move towards the mountain'.

The adverbs signal a direction or orientation and are best glossed as 'towards...' or 'in the direction of...'. The adverb *ri* means 'in the direction of the river' or 'towards the river', *nu* is literally 'in the direction in which the water streams', or simply downriver. At first glance it is tempting to consider the orientational adverbs as markers that can be part of the verb phrase. However, they can occur in positions away from the verb phrase, e.g. right before or after a noun phrase, see examples (145c) and (145j). Also, the adverbs can occur in non-past tense sentences as well as in past tense ones, whereas orientation markers cannot, see example (145c), (145i), (145l), and (145t). The adverbs can be used to express that the subject of the sentence moves not only in the direction of, but past a certain point. This is illustrated in examples (145l) and (145m). In (145l) the subject goes in the direction of the river. In (145m) the subject actually crosses the river.

Below follow examples of the use of these related markers for each orientation. Though I have not paraphrased it, the meaning of '...and beyond, past a certain place' may be implied for all orientations if the semantics of the situation allow for such an interpretation.

- (145a) *ŋa soʃnu tambat-j t^ho-ŋ*
 I tomorrow mountain-LOC ascend-1s
 I will go up the mountain tomorrow.
- (145b) *ŋa soʃnu ata tambat-j t^ho-ŋ*
 I tomorrow up.there mountain-LOC ascend-1s
 I will go up that mountain there tomorrow.
- (145c) *ŋa soʃnu ata sto tambat-j t^ho-ŋ*
 I tomorrow up.there up.and.over mountain-LOC ascend-1s
 I will go up and over that mountain there tomorrow.
- (145d) *ŋa soʃnu ata tambat-j sto t^ho-ŋ*
 I tomorrow up.there mountain-LOC up.and.over ascend-1s
 I will go up and over that mountain there tomorrow.
- (145e) *ŋa pəʃur tambat-j to-rʃi-ŋ*
 I yesterday mountain-LOC PFT:up-go₂-1s
 I went up the mountain yesterday.
- (145f) *ŋa soʃnu ʃomu-j tʃ^hi-ŋ*
 I tomorrow bottom.of.the.mountain-LOC go₁-1s
 I will go to the bottom of the mountain tomorrow.
- (145g) *ŋa pəʃur ʃomu-j na-rʃi-ŋ*
 I yesterday bottom.of.the.mountain-LOC PFT:down-go₂-1s
 I went down to the bottom of the mountain yesterday.
- (145h) *ŋa soʃnu ardujɕ-j ro-ŋ*
 I tomorrow second.settlement-LOC go.towards.mountain-1s
 I'll go (up) to the second settlement tomorrow.
- (145i) *ŋa soʃnu ardujɕ-j ro*
 I tomorrow second.settlement-LOC toward. mountain
 I'll go (up) to the second settlement tomorrow.
- ro-ŋ*
go.towards.mountain-1s

(145j) arduj^ㄨ tə kətʃe ɲos? w-atu
 second.settlement C where be? 3s:GEN-the.place.toward.the.mountains
 Where is the second settlement? It's over there (up) in the direction

ro karo tʃe ɲos
 towards.mountain go.towards.mountain LOC be
 of the mountain.

(145k) pkraʃis pəʃur arduj^ㄨ-j ro-rʃi
 bKra-shis yesterday second.settlement-LOC PFT-go₂
 bKra-shis went over to the second settlement yesterday.

(145l) ɲa soʃnu ndə-j ri ri-ɲ
 I tomorrow that-LOC towards.river go.towards.river
 I'll go (down) there towards the river.

(145m) ɲa soʃnu w-ardu-j ri
 I tomorrow 3s:GEN-place.towards.river-LOC towards.river
 I'll go (down) to the place in the direction of the river.

ri-ɲ
 go.towards.river-1s

(145n) ɲa pəʃur ndə-j ri rə-rʃi-ɲ
 I yesterday that-LOC towards.river PFT:to.river-go₂-1s
 I went over there, in the direction of the river, yesterday.

(145o) ɲa soʃnu mbark^ham-j sku ngo-ɲ
 I tomorrow Mǎěrkāng-LOC upriver go.upriver-1s
 I will go (up) to Mǎěrkāng tomorrow.

(145p) ɲa pəʃur w-aku-j sku kə-rʃi-ɲ
 I yesterday 3s:GEN-place.upriver-LOC upriver PFT:upriver-go₂-1s
 I went (up) to a place upriver yesterday.

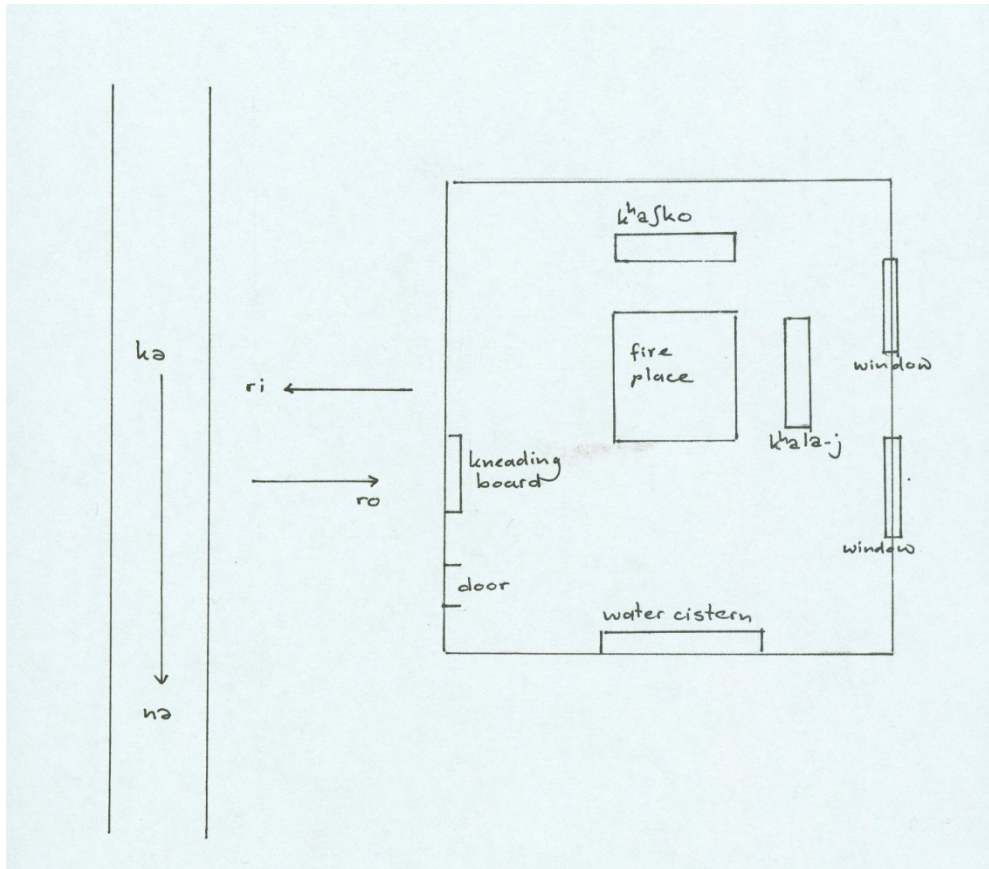
(145q) ɲa soʃnu ndə-ɲ
 I tomorrow go.downriver-1s
 I will go downstream tomorrow.

- (145r) ႏ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ
 I tomorrow ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ-LOC ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ-1s
 I will go downstream to ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ tomorrow.
- (145s) ႏ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ
 I tomorrow 3s:GEN-place.downriver-LOC ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ-1s
 I will go to a place downstream tomorrow.
- (145t) ႏ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ
 I tomorrow ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ-LOC downriver ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ-1s
 I will go downstream to ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ and past it tomorrow.
- (145u) ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ
 bKra.shis yesterday ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ-LOC PFT:downriver-go₂
 bKra-shis went downriver to ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ yesterday.
- (145v) ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ
 bKra.shis yesterday ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ-LOC downstream PFT:downriver-go₂
 bKra-shis went downriver to ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ ၵ yesterday.

Orientation inside the house

Inside the house the normal orientational prefixes are used as described above, but often in a derived sense.

GRAPH NUMBER THREE: orientation in the house



The illustration above shows the communal living room or kitchen of a traditional rGyalrong house. The men, along with guests and respected persons such as monks sit in the place called *k'asko*. The women sit on the side called *k'ala-j*. These terms are in themselves directional. For example, *k'ala-j* is derived from *k'a*, 'communal kitchen, living room', and *təla*, 'centre, middle'. When someone enters the house and the host tells him to go towards the window, he will say *rovin*, literally 'come towards the mountain'. When a person is called to come from the door to the men's sitting area, *kəvin*, 'come upriver' will be used, and so on. For references such as 'in front of', 'beside' and 'behind' adverbials are used that are not based in the geographical orientation markers:

- (146) coktse ɲa ɲ-ətɕu tɕe ɲos
 table I 1s:GEN-front LOC be
 The table is in front of me.

- (147) kamtsa ɲa ɲə-kawulaʃke wu-ʃacep ɲos
 window I 1s:GEN-left 3s:GEN-place be
 The window is to my left.

For more on the use of adverbials, see chapter 6 on adverbs.

Orientation outside of the home valley: ji

As long as a speaker is familiar with the geographical situation in a location outside his home valley, he will use the set orientational prefixes and verbs as described above. People from Jiǎomùzú are very familiar with the Mǎěrkāng valley, where the seat of the county government is located. They also are familiar with Ruòěrgài County, a day's travel to the north.

- (148) ɲa pəʃur mk^hono sku kə kə-vi-ɲ ɲos
 I yesterday Kǒnglóng upriver upriver PFT:upriver-come-1s be
 I came from Kǒnglóng yesterday.

- (149) ɲa soʃnu mdzorge-j t^ho-ɲ
 I tomorrow Ruòěrgài-LOC go.up-1s
 I'm going to Ruòěrgài tomorrow.

In example (148) the speaker went from Kǒnglóng to Mǎěrkāng, coming upriver. In example (149) the speaker is in Mǎěrkāng. The verb for 'go vertically up' is used because Ruòěrgài is at a higher altitude than Mǎěrkāng.

When a speaker does not know the relative geographical positions of locations, he will use the general orientation marker *ji-*. The following example comes from a Kǒnglóng speaker whom I asked to imagine she was from Cǎodēng, and say 'I went to Kǒnglóng last year':

- (150) ɲa varʃi mk^hono-j ji-rʃi-ɲ
 I last.year Kǒnglóng-LOC PFT:general.movement-go₂-1s
 I went to Kǒnglóng last year.

Since the speaker had never been to Cǎodēng, she had no idea what the appropriate orientation marker or verb would be. She used the generic orientation marker *ji-* instead, combined with the general motion verb *katʃ^{hi}i*, 'go'.

The use of *ji-* combined with general motion verbs becomes very prevalent in situations where a speaker can make no reference to mountains and rivers at all, e.g. when he is in a city. The following examples are all from Chéngdū, the capital of Sìchuān province. It is a flat place, but there is one well known river that flows through the center of town.

- (151) *ŋa pəʃur xwotseβetsan^ᵛ ji-rʃi-ŋ*
 I yesterday north.railway.station PFT:general movement-go₂-1s
 I went to the North railway Station yesterday.
- (152) *ŋa soʃnu ʃiməntsetsan^ᵛ tʃ^hi-ŋ*
 I tomorrow west.bus.station go₁-1s
 I'm going to the West Bus Station tomorrow.
- (153) *rəntʃ^hemtsʰo w-əʒeʔm h-anu tʃe ɲos*
 Rin.chen.'tsho 3s:GEN-house D-downriver LOC be
 Rin-chen-'tsho's house is over that way.

For lack of their normal mountains and rivers, Jiăomùzú speakers will refer to other landmarks to indicate where a certain object is located. These descriptive references can become rather convoluted:

- (154) *rəntʃ^hemts^ho wu-bangoŋsə^ᵛ minjwən^ᵛ ʃimən^ᵛ*
 Rin.chen.'tsho 3s:GEN-office Mínyuàn Westgate
 Rin-chen-'tsho's office is to the right of Mínyuàn's Westgate.
- kə-sa-məndə tʃe kac^ha wu-ʃet katʃ^hi tʃe ɲos*
 PFT:upriver-CAUS-arrive LOC right 3s:GEN-direction go₁ LOC be
- (155) *pkraʃis malatang^ᵛ kə-ndza ji-'a-tʃ^hi*
 bKra.shis spicy.soup NOM-eat PFT:general.movement-NEV-go₁
 bKra-shis went to eat spicy soup just outside the Eastgate.
- doŋməŋ^ᵛ w-arnam tʃe*
 Eastgate 3s:GEN-vicinity LOC

The marker *ji-* will also be used when there is no real sense of orientation or location at all, just a general sense of more or less abstract movement:

- (156) *nəŋʝo kətʃe ji-kə-tə-vu-n ɲos*
 you where PFT:general.movement-NOM-2-come₂-2s be
 Where have you come from?
- (157) *pkraʃis w-əmp^hi ji-rʃi*
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-outside PFT:general.movement-go₂
 bKra-shis went out.

Extended or derived meanings of orientation markers

Apart from the marking for geographical direction as discussed above, the markers *kə-* and *nə-* also can have derived orientational meanings. The prefix *kə-* is used to indicate inward, converging or encompassing movement. This marker occurs with verbs like *kamp^hər*, 'embrace', *kamtʃuk*, 'bite', and *kasəmcuɾ*, 'surround'. The marker *nə-* occurs with verbs that express horizontal motion, either in one direction, such as in *kambu?*, 'give', and *kak^hrət*, 'sweep', or in alternating directions, as in *kakli*, 'rub', *kap^hjɪt*, 'wipe', and *karstʃu*, 'wash'. The sentences below give some examples of the secondary meaning of these markers.

- (158) kamtsa nə-k^hrət-w
window PFT-rub-3s
He washed the windows.

- (159) cəktse nə-p^hjɪt-w
table PFT-wipe-3s
He wiped the table.

- (160) pakʃu nə-ta-mbu?-n
apple PFT-1/2-give-2n
I gave you an apple.

It is clear that the original meaning of the marker, 'downriver', has largely disappeared, even though it may be argued that the flowing of a river semantically is somewhat related to the concept of 'horizontal movement'. Such a connection is harder to find still in the case of *kə-*, originally the marker for 'upriver':

- (161) makmə təjəʔm kə-nagər-jn
soldier house PFT-surround-3p
The soldiers surrounded the house.

- (162) k^hapri kə tərmu kə-'a-mtʃuk-w
snake PR person PFT-NEV-bite-3s
The snake bit someone.

- (163) tapu? kə-nərkək-w
child PFT-hold-3s
She held the child.

Sometimes a speaker has the choice of several possible markers. The verb *kanərkək*, 'hold', from example (163), usually takes *kə-*. But *to-* is also acceptable. The meaning then becomes something like 'picked up, lifted up in one's arms':

- (164) tapu? to-nərkək-w
 child PFT-hold-3s
 She picked up the child.

Verbs that do not require a specific orientation marker, or that do not express any sort of motion, are usually marked by *to-*, *na-*, *kə-* or *nə-* in the past tense. This is by far and away the largest group of verbs. In such combinations the markers do not indicate any orientation at all. A speaker's choice of an orientation marker not only signals past tense meaning but can signal many different shades of meaning related to tense, aspect and modality. A more detailed discussion of how orientation markers function in the marking of tense, aspect and mood can be found in sections 7.4 and 7.9 below.

Orientational adverbs may also be used in a more metaphorical sense, in expressions such as *rororiri kava*, 'run back and forth'. This expression is used, for example, when a waitress in a restaurant is very busy and constantly moves around from table to counter and back. Note that here the original meaning of the mountain-river contrast has largely disappeared, though still somewhat preserved in the notion of 'back and forth'. For more on the metaphorical use of orientational adverbs, see sections 5.1 and 6.1 on adverbs and expressives in the chapters above.

7.4 *Tense and aspect*

a. Introduction

The category of tense refers to the way a language marks the time at which the action or event denoted by the verb takes place. Aspect is concerned with the temporal relations within a situation rather than the temporal marking of the situation on a timeline. Tense and aspect markers occur before evidentiality markers and person prefixes but after mood markers, see the marker chart at the beginning of the verb chapter. Markers for aspect and tense occupy the same slot in Jiǎomùzú verb phrases, showing the close relationship between the two categories. For this reason I discuss aspect and tense in one section, though I describe each one in separate sub-sections. Section 7.4.b presents an overview of the basic workings of tense in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. Then, in section 7.4.c on aspect I look at marking for situation-internal time references. A description of marking for mood, which is often linked to temporal and aspectual shades of meaning, follows later in this chapter.

The Jiǎomùzú dialects distinguish three main kinds of tense, universal tense, absolute tense and relative tense. I start the section on tense with a short discussion and some examples of the use of universal tense marking. Universal tense is employed for statements that always hold true and is signalled by verbs in their citation form. Then follows a description of absolute tense, where the tense locus is the moment of speech. For absolute tense, Jiǎomùzú shows a basic split between past and non-past. Past is marked by prefixing a verb root with an orientation marker which doubles as past perfective marker. Irregular verbs have a past perfective marker and employ root 2 in past tense

forms. Non-past is not formally marked on the verb. The section concludes with an overview of relative tense. Jiǎomùzú marks past-in the-past, past-in-the-future, future-in-the-past and future-in-the-future, though examples of future-in-the-past are relatively rare.

The Jiǎomùzú dialects mark for past and present imperfective, terminative and prospective aspects. Past imperfective aspect has two different forms, a past progressive marked by *na-* and a past imperfective signalled by *to-*. Past progressive marking indicates an action that is ongoing over the duration of the time frame given in the sentence, whereas past imperfective marking signals a first action that overlaps with or in some way influences a second action. Past imperfective in Jiǎomùzú contrasts with past perfective. Since past imperfective is clearly marked by *na-* and *to-*, I gloss all orientation markers, when used to signal past tense, as past perfective throughout this study. Terminative aspect is inherently negative and is marked by a negation marker combined with a perfective marker on the verb. A special case is the aspectual use of viewpoint marker *və-* to mark impending or prospective action. Marking with *və-* does not occur in the normal slot for tense and aspect markers but after the person markers. Other aspectual meanings are expressed through the use of adverbials and other means that do not involve the verb phrase.

b. *Tense*

1. *Universal tense*

Universal tense, characteristic of all time, past, present and future, exists in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. This tense is used for general statements that always hold true. Universal tense is different from non-past tense forms which are used to express habituality or generic situations in that habituality or a general state of affairs is more limited in time and situation. They hold true most of the time, or often, or in certain seasons, but not across all time. Formally this difference is expressed by the use of infinitive forms in the universal tense, which are unmarked for person and number, whereas the non-past tense forms used to express habituality are marked for person and number only. The examples below show the use of verbs in their citation form, to express universal tense:

- (165) təndze ŋk^hu? kavətʃi kəhaʔw
 food after walk good
 It is beneficial [for one's health] to take a walk after one's meal.

- (166) tosanə tʃ^hambe tʃe dzoŋjoʔ kamoʔt
 beneficial cold LOC Chinese.medicine drink
 It is beneficial [for one's health] to take Chinese medicine when one has a cold.

Universal tense also often occurs in procedural texts such as recipes. Example (167) shows part of the answer to the question of how to prepare sour vegetables, a staple of the Jiǎomùzú diet:

(167) tawo tʃe tʃam w-əŋgi karko
 early LOC pot 3s:GEN-inside put
 First, put [the dried sour vegetables] in a pot;

w-əmp^hro tʃe w-ərka na ju-stso kaleʔt
 3s:GEN-after LOC 3s:GEN-above downwards water-hot pour_i
 then pour hot water on them;

w-əmp^hro tʃe kəʃwet kanajo
 3s:GEN-after LOC a.while wait
 after that, wait for a bit;

w-əmp^hro mo kə bebe w-əŋgi sku kap^hət
 3s:GEN-after directly PR noodles 3s:GEN-inside upstream throw
 then put them in with the noodles straight after that.

2. *Absolute tense*

For absolute tense, Jiǎomùzú shows a basic split between past and non-past. Anteriority of an event to a reference point on a time line is always marked on the verb, formally signalling past tense. Events that are simultaneous or posterior to a reference point in time, expressing 'present tense' and 'future tense' respectively, are not marked on the verb but are expressed in other ways. Generally speaking, the further in the future an event or action is, from the viewpoint of the speaker, the less marking, including marking for aspect, mood etc., occurs. Present and future events are not as clearly delineated from one another by formal marking as are past events from non-past events, but tend to partially overlap. I will therefore discuss expression of past events in one section under the heading 'past', and present and future events together in one section, under 'non-past'. The basic dichotomy between past and non-past, and the category of absolute tense, is validated by an opposing pair of aspectual marking: Jiǎomùzú marks for past imperfective aspect as well as for present imperfective aspect. Past imperfective is marked by the prefix *na-*, which replaces the normal past tense marker. All other orientation markers that indicate a past tense situation can be considered as signalling perfective aspect. I discuss aspect marking in separate subsection 7.4.c on aspect below. As discussed in section 7.1 on verb formation, the Jiǎomùzú dialects have irregular verbs, which use root 2 for past tense forms.

Marking of simple past tense

As described in section 7.3 on orientation, in the Jiǎomùzú dialects past tense is marked by prefixing an orientation marker to the verb root. The past tense markers occur after mood and attention flow markers but before evidentiality markers, see the overview of the verb phrase at the beginning of this chapter. There are seven orientation markers: *to-*, *na-*, *ro-*, *rə-*, *kə-*, *nə-* and *ji-*. Each marker carries a specific orientational meaning, which remains functional with motion verbs and other verbs that require marking for the geographical direction of the action, as in example (168). The verb *kaca*, 'shoo' implies movement of some sort from one place to another. The verb therefore needs marking for the appropriate direction in the past tense. In this case *rə-*, 'towards the river', signals which way the animals were turned out of the house. If they would have been let go through a window or door on another side of the house, the marker *ro-*, 'towards the mountain', might have been used:

- (168) patʃu narə lolo-ndʒ w-əmp^hi-j rə-ca-dʒ
chicken and cat-3d 3s:GEN-outside-LOC PFT:towards.river-shoo-1d
the two of us shooed the chicken and the cat out of the house.

Another example of a motion verb marked with a past tense marker that also signals specific geographic orientation is (169) below. Note the use of root 2 in the past tense form of *kavi*, 'come':

- (169) ɲa pəʃur mk^hono sku kə kə-vu-ŋ ɲos
I yesterday Kǒnglóng upstream upstream PFT:upriver-come₂-1s be
I came back up from Kǒnglóng yesterday.

Since *kavi*, 'come' is a general motion verb it requires an orientation marker in the past tense which indicates the direction of the movement. In the case of (169) the speaker was in Mǎěrkāng, a place upstream from Kǒnglóng. If there is no direction specified the general orientation marker *ji-* is employed:

- (170) ɲa pəʃur xwotʂebetsan^ʔ ji-rji-ŋ
I yesterday North.Railway.Station PFT:general-go₂-1s
I went to the North Railway Station yesterday.

The orientation markers *kə-* and *nə-*, originally meaning 'upstream' and 'downstream' respectively, can have the derived or secondary meanings of 'inward, converging, encompassing' and 'horizontal motion' respectively. They largely retain these secondary meanings in their capacity of lexicalised past tense prefixes for certain verbs. For more on geographically relevant orientation marking, see section 7.3 on orientation above.

With all other verbs the orientation markers no longer express geographical direction but have become lexicalised opaque markers that simply signal past tense. Each verb has one past tense prefix with which it normally occurs; it is not possible to use any which marker at whim. It cannot be deduced from the original meaning of the prefix and from the verb root which prefix is the

appropriate one - they have to be learnt. By far the most frequently used lexicalised past tense markers are *to-*, *na-*, *kə-* and *nə-*. They occur with a wide range of verbs, as can be seen from the many examples throughout this study and the narratives in the texts at the end of this study. Though most verbs have a fixed or preferred orientational prefix in the past tense, other prefixes can replace the commonly used one in cases where specific orientation marking is desired. For example, the verb *kaku*, 'buy' is normally prefixed by *to-*, which only signals past tense, not orientation. But when the speaker wishes to indicate a specific direction, other orientation markers can be used:

(171a) *nənjo bawbaw^ꜜ to-tə-ʃi-nə-ku-w me*
 you bag PFT-2-VPT-EREFL-buy-2s INTR
 Did you go and buy a bag for yourself? (Did you go to buy a bag for yourself?)

(172b) *nənjo bawbaw^ꜜ na-tə-ʃi-nə-ku-w me*
 you bag PFT:down-2-VPT-EREFL-buy-2s INTR
 Did you go down and buy a bag for yourself?

Note that the verb itself is not a motion verb. The possibility of motion is brought in by the viewpoint marker *ʃi-*, which informs us that the speaker perceives the action as moving in a direction away from him. The past tense marker *na-* then provides the orientation: away and downwards from the speaker.

Some verbs have more than one sense. The different senses may use different past tense markers:

(173)	<i>kasci</i>	<i>to-sci</i>	<i>na-sci</i>
	give birth; sprout	PFT-sprout	PFT-give.birth
		sprouted	gave birth

Arguably, in the case of *kasci*, the past tense prefixes appropriate for each sense retain their original orientational meanings to some extent.

Other examples of verbs with multiple senses that are expressed through different past tense markers are:

(174)	karaʔm	dry	a. dry off (a bowl); dry (in the sun)	to-
			b. parch, scorch (grain in the field)	na-
	kacəs	say	a. say, speak	to-
			b. remind, advise, exhort, instruct	na-
	kavavo	cry	a. cry, burst into tears	nə-
		cry	b. (of baby or small child) burst into tears after being startled	to-
	kavətʃi	walk	a. walk	depending on orientation
			b. walk for the first time (child)	to-

A speaker's choice of past tense markers can indicate subtle shades of meaning that are more modal than temporal or aspectual. Compare the following sentences. Example (175a) is the neutral sentence. The speaker and the hearer both know the stuff is at the hearer's place, but there is no further information as to the objects or what state they are in:

- (175a) ɲa pəʃnu laktʃe kə-vəja ji-vu-ŋ
 I today thing NOM-fetch PFT-come₂-1s
 I've come to fetch the stuff today.

But in sentence (175b) the speaker tells the hearer that he's there to pick up the stuff, but the stuff is not in the hearer's possession or under his care. It is around somewhere but the speaker does not hold the hearer responsible for the stuff, there is no relation between the hearer and the stuff.

- (175b) ɲa pəʃnu laktʃe kə-vəja kə-vu-ŋ
 I today thing NOM-fetch PFT-come₂-1s
 I've come to fetch the stuff today.

Sentence (175c) signals that the speaker comes to pick up the stuff, as agreed, from the hearer, who is prepared and has it ready to go:

- (175c) ɲa pəʃnu laktʃe kə-vəja nə-vu-ŋ
 I today thing NOM-fetch PFT-come₂-1s
 I've come to fetch the stuff today.

In these sentences *to-* and *na-* would simply signal geographical direction in past perfective, unless there is a situation in which aspect plays a role. Orientation markers *ɾo-* and *ɾə-* would only signal geographical orientation in past perfective.

Simple past tense suffix -s

Some of the Jiǎomùzú dialects mark simple past tense with a final *-s* as well as with the regular orientation markers. I have noticed the regular use of *-s* by speakers from Púzhì, but it does not occur commonly in the dialects of Kǒnglóng or Pàěrbá.¹⁷⁹ The final *-s* only occurs in intransitive verbs that end in an open syllable, and only for third person singular. All other forms have person and number markers that make it impossible for *-s* to appear:

- (176) pkraʃis pəʃurtɾə na-nəja-s
bKra.shis a.few.days.ago PFT-go home-3s:PST
bKra-shis went home a few days ago.

- (177) lhamo minjwanᳵ w-əŋgi kəbdu pa ʃi na-nu-s
lHa.mo Mínyuàn 3s:GEN-inside four year continuously PFT-live-3s:PST
lHa-mo lived at Mínyuàn for four years straight.

Final *-s* does not appear in sentences marked for non-direct evidential:

- (178) pkraʃis pəʃurtɾə na-^la-nəja
bKra.shis a.few.days.ago PFT-NEV-go.home
bKra-shis went home a few days ago.

Lin¹⁸⁰ remarks that the categorisation of *-s* as a past tense marker is not entirely correct, since it also occurs in non-past situations. The example she gives though is for a past-in-the-future relative tense, so the occurrence of *-s* there is actually in a past tense environment and not aberrant.

Non-past: absolute tense for present and future situations

The Jiǎomùzú dialects employ a sliding scale to express non-past events. Starting with events that are simultaneous with the moment of speech or in 'present tense', the scale moves through shades of meaning that are increasingly more future orientated, such as speaker's intent, possibility, impending action and immediate future, to events clearly in the future. All these meanings can be expressed by employing a verb root 1 marked only for person and number, without any prefixing. Often adverbials or other words that indicate time are used to specify the time frame of the situation:

¹⁷⁹ Lín Xiàngróng (1993: 233), Lin You-Jing (Lin 2003: 262) and Nagano (Nagano 1984: 61-62) all attest this type of marking with *-s* in the Zhuōkèjī dialect. It may well be that in Jiǎomùzú the use of final *-s* was more standard in the past, but that it has begun to lose its salience for native speakers. Some of my consultants acknowledge that it is still in use, but according to them it is a matter of speaker preference. Other consultants are not familiar with this feature in their dialects.

¹⁸⁰ Lin (2003: 262, 263).

(179a) pəʃnu pkraʃis lhamo pakʃu mbuʔ-w
 today bKra.shis lHa.mo apple give-3s
 Today bKra-shis gives lHa-mo apples.

(179b) soʃnu pkraʃis lhamo pakʃu mbuʔ-w
 tomorrow bKra.shis lHa.mo apple give-3s
 Tomorrow bKra-shis will give lHa-mo apples.

If there is no indication of the time frame, the sentence is ambiguous, as in (179c).

(179c) pkraʃis krəŋ lhamo pakʃu mbuʔ-w
 bKra.shis perhaps lHa.mo apple give-3s
 Perhaps bKra-shis gives/will give lHa-mo apples.

But unmarked root 1 verbs cannot occur with a time reference to a past situation, showing clearly the divide between past and non-past:

(179d) * pəʃur pkraʃis lhamo pakʃu mbuʔw

(179e) pəʃur pkraʃis lhamo pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
 yesterday bKra.shis lHa.mo apple PFT-give-3s
 bKra-shis gave lHa-mo apples yesterday.

Differences between present and future situations can be indicated by marking for aspect and other categories. For example, marking for present imperfective only occurs in present situations, and attention flow can be marked only in present and past frames, not in future ones.

Other meanings expressed by unprefix stem forms

Unprefixed stem forms often signal meanings other than straightforward non-past. The most common ones are habituality or general state of affairs, impending action or immediate future, a speaker's intent or the possibility of an event, and the solicitation of the hearer's opinion. Of these, only habituality or general state of affairs expresses a meaning that has no clear connection with futurity. The others all more or less deal with future events or actions, however tentative. Below follows a short description of each category.

1. general state of affairs

When an event or action routinely happens, say every day, it becomes part of the general state of affairs. This feeling of routine is often expressed by non-past tense forms. These forms are marked for person and number. Examples (181) and (182) below come from a conversation in which I asked someone to describe what normally happens in the course of a day. The speaker is a fourth grade primary school student:

(180) kaʃa-ndʒiʔ-no ʒeʔm-ŋk^hu? sto tajmok kə-ʒgu tʃ^hi-j
 REC-friend-p house-behind upwards mushroom NOM-gather go₁-1p
 My friends and I go to look for mushrooms in the hills above our house

(181) kəvəɾnit tʃe nəja-j
 dusk LOC go.home-1p
 At dusk we go home.

(182) kəkəc^hac^ha to-kə-nətʃ^ha-no tago-ma? va-jn
 sometimes PFT-NOM-drunk₂-p stupid-business do-3p
 Sometimes drunk people do stupid things.

Summer is mushroom season in Jiăomùzú. The children go out often to look for them. Although looking for mushrooms is not a routine event in other seasons, it is in summer and it is expressed as such by the use of unprefix verb stem in (180) and (181). Example (182) makes a statement generally held to be true. For other forms signalling habituality or general states, see section 7.4.c on aspect.

2. impending action and immediate or near future

When an event is about to take place, or will happen in the near future, unprefix stem forms are used. Acceptable time frames for near or immediate future are hard to pinpoint, but seem to cover at least the period of one day:

(183) k^horlo t^ham tə vi
 bus a.while C come₁
 The bus is about to arrive. (The bus will come shortly.)

(183) soʃnu vi
 tomorrow come₁
 He will come tomorrow.

(184) pəʃnu saksəŋk^hu? t^hi tə-va-w
 today afternoon what 2-do-2s
 What will you do this afternoon? (What are you going to do this afternoon?)

Impending action can also be marked by viewpoint marker *və-*. I discuss this derived meaning of the marker section 7.4.c on aspect below.

3. speaker's intent, possibility, solicitation of opinion

Unprefix stem forms can be used to signal shades of meaning that have to do with a speaker's intent to perform a certain action. The difference in meaning here with constructions that signal

immediate future or impending action is the degree of certainty. Events with a sense of immediate future are certain to happen - or at least, give the impression of certainty. Constructions signalling intent are less certain to actually materialise, at least in the mind of the speaker. Constructions with unprefixed root forms expressing these shades of meaning are thus linked both with mood, for intent or certainty, and with futurity.

- (185) η a bawbaw^ǂ ki ku- η
 I bag IDEF buy-1s
 I want to buy a bag.

Since in example (185) the actual acquisition of the bag depends on many factors, such as the availability in the shop of the kind of bag desired by the speaker, and the negotiations about the price that are to follow, the speaker can only express intent, not certainty or impending action.

There can also be a sense that the speaker expects the hearer to respond and give an opinion about the suggestion expressed, before the action will be undertaken, as in example (186) and (187). The speaker expresses his intent to come along with the listener, but it depends on the reaction of the listener whether the action will really take place.

- (186) ηa $n\acute{a}n\eta o$ n -apsi vi - η
 I you 2s:GEN-together come₁-1s
 I'm coming with you.
- (187) ηa ji - $t\eta i\eta s\eta^{\omega}$ ta - $v\eta$ -sco[?]- n
 I 2p:GEN-dorm 1/2-VPT-see.off-2s
 I'm going to take you back to your dorm.
- (188) ηa $sofnu$ $t\eta^h i$ - η $m\acute{a}$ -^l na - ηos
 I tomorrow go₁-1s Q-OBS-be
 I'll go tomorrow, is that right?

This kind of construction can be used to express the speaker's intent, without the expectation that the hearer will respond, though a response is theoretically possible. This is often the case in exchanges where the participants are of unequal ranking socially or otherwise, as in the case of a doctor who announces to the patient his diagnosis and intended treatment of a cold:

- (189) ηα n-əʃmi ki natso-η
I 2s:GEN-tongue IDEF see-1s
I'm going to look at your tongue.
- (190) ηα pu n-acən^ᶞ ki leʔt-η
I now 2s:GEN-needle IDEF hit₁-1s
I give you one injection now.

Even less certain are possible events that may or may not happen in the near future:

- (191) pkraʃis vi me krəŋ ma-vi
 bKra.shis come₁ INTR maybe NEG-come₁
 Will bKra-shis come? Maybe he will not come.

- (192) ŋa soʃnu nə-tʃiŋʂəʔ vi-ŋ n-əmba-j k^ham mə-k^hut
 I tomorrow 2s:GEN-dorm come₁-1s 2s:GEN-vicinity-LOC give Q-can
 I'll come to your dorm tomorrow to give it to you, okay?

In all these examples the impending or future event or action is one the speaker intends to do, rather than a set course of action. The use of the non-past tense forms leaves room for the partners in the dialogue to raise objections, change the plan or bring a counter proposal. The fact that in most cases the listener might not object to the intended course of action is of less importance than leaving the room for him to object if he so chooses. Example (185) is used in a variety of situations. The speaker may inform a listener of the intent to go to the shop and buy a bag. Or he might be thinking to himself that buying a bag might be a good idea for a free afternoon. Or the speaker may actually be in a shop telling the shopkeeper what he wants to buy.

3. Relative tense

Relative tense forms are very common in Jiǎomùzú. Marking for relative tense employs tense markers, verb roots and distinctive stress patterns to signal the relationship in time between one event and another in the same sentence. Usually it concerns a complex sentence with two or more clauses each with one verb phrase. Not every form of relative tense uses all these means at once. The relative tenses past-in-the-past and present-in-the-past for instance consist of a simple combination of two clauses marked for perfective past. These relative tenses are thus interpretations of normal perfective past structures. But future-in-the-past and past-in-the-future employ structures, as shown below, that are specific for these relative tenses. In my data I do not have examples of future-in-the-future relative tense.

Past-in-the-past

The relative tense form past-in-the-past frequently occurs in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. Usually a sentence gives in the first clause the situation in the past to which the action in the second clause, also in the past, relates. Often adverbial clauses express the first situation which is anterior to the second situation in the main clause:

- (193) pəʃur tʂ^haʔ to-moʔt-jn tʃe to-nəndza-jn
 yesterday tea PFT-drink-1p LOC PFT-have.a.meal₂-1p
 Yesterday we had a meal after we drank tea.

- (194) pəʃur-tɹə təndɹu to-raʔm tʃe wastop kərku na-va-w
 yesterday-front leather PFT-dry LOC very hard PFT-do-3s
 a few days ago, when the leather had dried, it became very hard.

Present-in-the-past

Also common is present-in-the-past, in which an event occurs during a situation or state of longer duration which is situated in the past:

- (195) lhamo peciŋ kə-ŋu na-ŋos tʃe
 lHa.mo Běijīng NOM-stay PFT-be LOC
 When lHa-mo lived in Běijīng,

 pkraʃis kəpa tʃe kənes c^ha ʃi wu-kə-natso na-'a-tʃ^hi
 bKra.shis year LOC two time always 3s:GEN-see-3s PFT-NEV-go₁
 bKra-shis went to see her twice a year.

- (196) pkraʃis tʃe-j kə-rə^ha na-ŋos tʃe jino ʒak tʃ^haʔ
 bKra.shis here-LOC NOM-study PFT-be LOC we:e time tea
 When bKra-shis studied here we often went to drink tea.

kə-moʔt na-rʃi-j
 NOM-drink PFT-go₂-1p

Future-in-the-past

Future-in-the-past occurs only infrequently in the Jiāomùzú dialects. The structure employs nominalised forms of verbs in the clauses, all covered by the scope of a linking verb in sentence final position:

- (197) pəʃur wuʃo ŋa ŋ-əmba-j djenhwa^ʔ kə-leʔt tʃe
 yesterday he I 1s:GEN-vicinity-LOC telephone NOM-hit₁ LOC
 Yesterday, when he called me, it was about to rain.

 təmu kə-və-leʔt na-ŋos
 rain NOM-PROSP-hit₁ PFT-be

In example (197) above it has not actually started to rain yet when he calls me. The second verb phrase is accordingly marked for prospective aspect with *və-* on root 1 *leʔt* rather than root 2, signalling futurity. A past tense equivalent of (197) would have root 2, *-laʔt*, as in (198):

- (198) pəʃur wuʃo ɲa ɲ-əmba-j djenhwa^ɕ na-laʔt tʃe
 yesterday he I 1s:GEN-vicinity-LOC telephone PFT-hit₂ LOC
 Yesterday, when he called me, it was raining.

təmu na-laʔt
 rain PSTPROG-hit₂

- (199) pəʃur wuʃo ɲa ɲ-əmba-j djenhwa^ɕ kə-leʔt tʃe
 yesterday he I 1s:GEN-vicinity-LOC telephone NOM-hit₁ LOC
 Yesterday, when he called me, it was raining.

təmu kə-leʔt na-ɲos
 rain NOM-hit₁ PSTPROG-be

Note that in (199) the root 1 form of *kaleʔt*, ‘hit’ occurs rather than root 2, *laʔt*, for past tense, while *ɲos*, ‘be’ is marked for past progressive.

Past- in- the- future

Past-in-the-future structures can signal two different kinds of events. One structure looks at two future events from the perspective of the second event, with the first event already completed. In this kind of construction a normal past perfective marker occurs with the verb that expresses the first event. Unlike marking for simple past, the past perfective marker is stressed and the verb root is root 1 (see example (204) below), as is normal for non-past situations. Marking for past-in-the-future thus combines aspects of past tense and non-past tense marking. The verb that signals the second event remains unmarked:

- (200) w-əŋk^huʔ təndʒu 'to-raʔm tʃe wastop kərku va-w
 3s:GEN-back leather FPFT-dry LOC very hard do-3s
 Afterwards, when the leather will have dried, it will become very hard.

- (201) soʃnu lhamo tʃ^ha 'to-moʔt-w tʃe nəŋʃo to-vənaro-n
 tomorrow lHa.mo tea FPFT-drink-1p LOC you 3/2-look.for-2s
 Tomorrow, after she will have drunk tea, lHa-mo will come to see you.

- (202) soʃnu pkraʃis cɔktse 'nə-k^hrət tʃe mentoʔk kataʔ k^hut
 tomorrow bKra.shis table FPFT-wipe LOC flowers put can
 tomorrow, when bkra-shis will have wiped the tables, we can put the flowers.

(203) pəʃnu tamaʔ 'na-səjoʔk-w tʃe nə tʃəno tʃʰi-dʒ
 today work FPFT-finish-3s LOC CON we go₁-ld
 Today, when we will have finished the work, we'll go.

(204) soʃnu tʃʰaʔ ka-moʔt 'kə-səjok-j caʔm tʃe
 tomorrow tea INF-drink FPFT-finish-1p about LOC
 Tomorrow about when we have drunk our tea

pkraʃis w-andʃiʔ ka-ʃikroʔs səjok-w
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend INF-meet finish-3s
 bKra-shis will have met his friend.

The other past-in-the-future structure occurs when the speaker refers to two future events, from a perspective that looks back on both events, not only the first one. This type of structure combines two clauses, the first marked for future past perfective and the second inflected for normal past perfective:

(205) lhamo soʃi peciŋ 'ji-tʃʰi tʃe pkraʃis
 lHa.mo next.year Běijīng FPFT-go₁ LOC bKra.shis
 When lHa-mo has gone to Běijīng next year, bKra-shis

landzo ji-kə-rʃi stʃi
 Lánzhōu PFT-NOM-go₂ be:CD
 will surely have gone to Lánzhōu.

In (205) both verb phrases are marked for past perfective. The only references to future are the presence of *soʃi*, 'next year', and the future past perfective marking on the verb of the first clause. My language consultants absolutely refused to indulge in sentences that have a future time frame like 'next year', an action that occurs first on the time line in non-past tense with a second action that occurs after the first marked for past tense:

(205a) soʃnu pkraʃis coktse kʰrət-w w-aka-j nəŋʒo
 tomorrow bKra.shis table wipe-3s 3s:GEN-front-LOC you
 Tomorrow, before bKra-shis wipes the tables, you need to sweep the floor.

tərut nə-va-w ra
 dirt PFT-do-2s need
 need to sweep the floor.

(205b) * soʃnu pkraʃis coktse nəkʰrətw wakaj nəŋʒo tərut nəvaw ra

Constructions such as the English ‘...before bKra-shis has wiped the tables, you need to sweep...’ are not grammatical in Jiǎomùzú, because it is not logically possible to have an uncompleted event, such as the sweeping in example (206), follow a completed event, here the wiping of the tables. At best it is possible to say the wiping and sweeping occur at the same time:

- (206) soʃnu pkraʃis cɔktse kə-kʰrət-w tʃe nənʃo
tomorrow bKra.shis table NOM-wipe-3s LOC you
Tomorrow, during bKra-shis’ wiping of the tables, you need to sweep the floor.
- tərut tə-va-w ra
dirt 2-do-2s need
need to sweep the floor.

Present-in-the-future

Sentences expressing events relative to a point in the future usually make use of adverbial phrases with the locative *tʃe*, ‘at that time, at, when’:

- (207) soʃi lhamo peciŋ kə-tʃʰi tʃe pkraʃis landzo tʃʰi ra
next.year lHa.mo Běijīng NOM-go₁ LOC bKra.shis Lánzhōu go₁ need
Next year, when lHa-mo goes to Běijīng, bKra-shis will go to Lánzhōu.

Note that in (207) the adverbial clause uses a nominalised verb construction, literally ‘at the time of lHa-mo’s going to Běijīng’. The clause is marked for future by the presence of *soʃi*, ‘next year’. There is no tense marking on the verb root, since non-past is not marked. The verb root is root 1 for non-past.

c. Aspect

1. *Past imperfective aspect*

As discussed in section 7.4.b on tense, Jiǎomùzú marks simple past tense with a prefix derived from the orientation markers. These forms are best considered as perfectives, in contrast to differently marked past imperfective forms. Past imperfective aspect takes two different forms in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. The first form is past progressive aspect, which signals an action that started at some point in the past though there is no clear starting point, is ongoing and for which information as to its terminal point is not available. If there is a time reference in the sentence, the information concerning the action, in this case past progressive, is understood by native speakers to pertain to the time frame indicated by the time reference. The second form is past imperfective aspect, which indicates an action which has started and links to or influences a following action or event. The past imperfective then either continues simultaneously with the second action or is brought to completion

once the second action has started. Below I first give an overview of the past progressive aspect. After that is a discussion of the past imperfective aspect.

Past progressive aspect: na-

Past progressives are marked by *na-* prefixed to the verb root. The past progressive marker replaces the normal past perfective marking. Past progressive marking indicates an action which started at some point anterior to some other event or to the moment of speech and is still ongoing at the time of the second event or the moment of speech, as in the following examples. The verb is *kak^hrət*, ‘wipe’. The normal past perfective marker for this verb is *nə-*:

- (208a) pkraʃis pəʃurtə cəktse nə-k^hrət-w
 bKra.shis a.few.days.ago table PFT-wipe-3s
 bKra-shis wiped the tables a few days ago.

- (208b) pəʃurtə sənem ji-vu tʃe pkraʃis cəktse nə-k^hrət-w
 a.few.days.ago bSod.nams PFT-come₂ LOC bKra.shis table PFT-wipe-3s
 A few days ago, when bSod-nams came, bKra-shis wiped the tables.

- (208c) pəʃur sənem ji-vu tʃe pkraʃis cəktse
 yesterday bSod.nams PFT-come₂ LOC bKra.shis table
 Yesterday bKra-shis was wiping the tables when bSod-nams came.

na-k^hrət-w
 PSTPROG-wipe-3s

Sentence (208a) is the neutral form marked for simple past tense with *nə-*, showing bKra-shis involved in an action in the past which is now finished. In example (208b) bKra-shis started to wipe the tables after bSod-nams came. Perhaps he had been waiting for bSod-nams to help him with the work. The action of wiping was completed within the time frame given in the sentence, here *pəʃurtə*, ‘a few days ago’. Example (208c) is marked for past progressive aspect with *na-*. This indicates that bKra-shis started wiping the tables at some point in the past, before bSod-nams’ arrival. He was busy wiping when bSod-nams came. He may have finished the work, but the past progressive aspect marking, unlike the simple past tense marking, does not give an indication of completion. However, since the time reference in the sentence is *pəʃur*, ‘yesterday’, both the actions of wiping and coming are probably contained within the time frame of ‘yesterday’.

Past progressive aspect marking is also used to indicate intermittent or generally ongoing action that has started at some point in the past and will carry on into the future, without a clearly defined end, though not necessarily without breaks or halts. Compare the following sentences about sewing clothes:

(209a) pəʃur lhamo tənge ki to-tɕop-w
 yesterday lHa.mo clothes IDEF PFT-sew-3s
 Yesterday lHa-mo sewed a piece of clothing.

(209b) pəʃur lhamo tənge ki na-tɕop-w
 yesterday lHa.mo clothes IDEF PSTPROG-sew-3s
 Yesterday lHa-mo was sewing a piece of clothing.

In (209a) lHa-mo is done sewing. It may be that the piece of clothing she worked on is finished and there is no more to sew. Or it may be that the clothing is still unfinished, but she will not do anything more about it for now. Maybe at a later point in time she will pick it up again, or maybe someone else will finish it. All that is not important. The crucial information conveyed here by *to-* is that lHa-mo is done sewing. As in example (209a), sentence (209b) does not give any information about the clothing. We don't know if the clothing is finished or not. But, in contrast to (209a), the action of sewing is not finished as signalled by past progressive marker *na-*. All we know is that the action of sewing in (209b) is ongoing while in (209a) it is not. Note that Jiāomùzú does not require different marking for telic and a-telic events. The indefiniteness marker *ki*, 'a, one' shows that there is one piece of clothing being sewn by lHa-mo. But if lHa-mo is a seamstress and a speaker wants to express that lHa-mo did her normal work yesterday, that is to say, she sewed clothing, the indefiniteness marker does not need to appear. Still both the sentences with *to-* and *na-* are grammatical:

(210a) pəʃur lhamo tənge to-tɕop-w
 yesterday lHa.mo clothes PFT-sew-3s
 Yesterday lHa-mo sewed clothes.

(210b) pəʃur lhamo tənge na-tɕop-w
 yesterday lHa.mo clothes PSTPROG-sew-3s
 Yesterday lHa-mo was sewing clothes.

Telicity is not at issue in the marking with *to-* and *na-*, only the relation of an action to a time frame. Because past progressive aspect can signal intermittent but ongoing actions it can also be used to express habituality, as in example (210b) above, if lHa-mo is a seamstress.

Verb phrases marked for past progressive aspect can have non-direct evidentiality marking, just like verbs marked only for past perfective. The non-evidential forms of the sentences above are (210c) and (210d) respectively:

(210c) pəʃur lhamo tənge ki to-'a-tɕop-w
 yesterday lHa.mo clothes IDEF PFT-NEV-sew-3s
 Yesterday lHa-mo sewed a piece of clothing.

- (210d) pəʃur lhamo tənge ki na-^la-tɹop-w
 yesterday lHa.mo clothes IDEF PSTPROG-NEV-sew-3s
 Yesterday lHa-mo was sewing a piece of clothing.

Negation of verb phrases marked for past progressive aspect depends on the time frame for the action given by the speaker. A reference to a time in the past normally coincides with past perfective negation marker *ji-*, not negation marker *ma-* which occurs with non-past time frames. The negation marker replaces the past progressive aspect marker:

- (211a) pəʃur ɲa lhamo na-məto-ŋ tʃe ʃi-vavo * mavavo
 yesterday I lHa.mo PFT-see-1s LOC NEG/PSTPROG-cry
 When I saw lHa-mo yesterday, she was not crying.

- (211b) pəʃur tapuʔ ʃi-vavo * mavavo
 yesterday child NEG/PSTPROG-cry
 The baby was not crying yesterday.

The form *mavavo* occurs in future contexts, for example when a babysitter assures a mother who is on the point of leaving for a few hours, not to worry, the baby will not cry. In non-past situations that relate to a past action or event, negation marker *ma-* can occur in combination with observation marking. For example, a babysitter thinks she hears the baby cry. When she goes to look it turns out the baby is not crying, nor did it cry and has now stopped. For the babysitter this is new information contrary to what she had thought, marked with observation marker *na-*. She may say to herself:

- (212) tapuʔ ma-^lnə-vavo * ʃinəvavo
 child NEG-OBS-cry
 The baby isn't crying/hasn't cried.

Negation marker *ma-* occurs here because the babysitter's acquiring information about the crying occurs now, in the present. When the mother comes home and asks if the baby has cried or did cry, the babysitter will answer with a verb phrase marked by *ji-* for perfective: the baby was not crying when she looked in on him, or the baby did not cry while his mother was away. The same sort of marking can occur in situations that are entirely in the past:

- (213a) lhamo ʃi-^la-vi tʃe pkraʃis cɔktse na-^la-kr^hət-w
 lHa.mo PFT-NEV-come₁ LOC bKra.shis table PSTPROG-NEV-wipe-3s
 When lHa-mo came bKra-shis was wiping the tables, it is said.

 na-^la-cəs
 PFT-NEV-say

(213b) lhamo ji-'a-vi tʃe pkraʃis cɔktse ji-'a-krʰət-w
 lHa.mo PFT-NEV-come₁ LOC bKra.shis table NEG/PSTPROG-NEV-wipe-3s
 When lHa-mo came bKra-shis was not wiping the tables, it is said.

na-'a-cəs
 PFT-NEV-say

(213c) lhamo ji-'a-vi tʃe pkraʃis cɔktse ma-'nə-kʰrət na-cəs
 lHa.mo PFT-NEV-come₁ LOC bKra.shis table NEG-OBS-wipe-3s PFT-say
 When lHa-mo came bKra-shis was not wiping the tables, she said.

I discuss observation marking extensively in section 7.5 on evidentiality below.

Actions marked for past progressives, having started at some undefined point in the past, can be ongoing in the present, and can occur with non-past time references such as *pu*, ‘now’. Even so the negative form of such past progressives is marked with the perfective negation marker *ʃi-*:

(214a) tapu? pu na-vavo ji-vavo * mavavo
 child now PSTPROG-cry NEG/PSTPROG-cry
 Now the child is [still] crying. wasn’t crying

(214b) tapu? pu 'na-vavo * jivavo ma-vavo
 child now OBS-cry NEG-cry
 The child is now crying. isn’t crying

A useful test in distinguishing perfective marking from past progressive marking is to turn a verb phrase into an imperative. Imperatives employ the same orientation marker as past perfective. In verbs that have a marker other than *na-* this will show clearly in the imperative:

(215) ka-kʰrət nə-'kʰrət-w nə-kʰrət-w na-kʰrət-w....
 INF-wipe IMP-wipe-2s PFT-wipe-3s PSTPROG-wipe-3s
 wipe Wipe! He wiped. He was wiping...

An issue that can muddy the waters in distinguishing past perfective from past imperfective marking is the possibility for a verb to have one verb root but more than one sense, with each sense marked by a different past perfective marker, see the discussion in section 7.4.b on tense. One such verb is *kasəjoʔk*, which means either ‘finish’ or ‘stop’, depending on the past perfective marker it takes in different contexts. Compare the following examples:

(216a) kanəndze na-səjoʔk-w
 have.a.meal PFT-finish-3s
 He finished eating his meal.
 He stopped eating his meal.

(216b) kanəndze to-səjoʔk-w
 have.a.meal PFT-finish-3s
 He finished eating his meal.

Both (216a) and (216b) are grammatical. Example (216a) can mean that the eater finished his meal in the sense of completing it, from soup to desert, so to speak, or that the eater was interrupted and for some reason stopped eating. Sentence (216b) does not have both options. It can only mean that the speaker finished his entire meal. Not all contexts with *kasəjoʔk* allow for both options. In example (217) only *na-* can appear, while marking with *to-* is ungrammatical:

(217) karəth^a na-səjoʔk-w * karəth^a to-səjokw
 study PFT-finish-3s
 He finished his education.
 He stopped going to school.

Both meanings of (217) with *na-* are valid, and both are often used in daily life. The first sense indicates that a student successfully completed his schooling and is now ready to get a job. The second sense signals that the student stopped going to school, maybe for lack of school fees, even though his course was not finished.

Another example is the verb *kavavo*, ‘cry’. With past perfective marker *nə-* the sense is ‘to cry’ or ‘to burst out in tears’. With past perfective marker *to-* the verb means ‘to start crying suddenly when startled (used only for babies and small children)’. That gives the following possibilities in marking, all expressing different meanings:

(218a) pəʃur ɲa lhamo na-məto-ŋ tʃe nə-vavo
 yesterday I lHa.mo PFT-see-1s LOC PFT-cry
 When I saw lHa-mo yesterday, she burst into tears.

* pu (now) * soʃnu (tomorrow)

(218b) pəʃur ɲa lhamo na-məto-ŋ tʃe na-vavo
 yesterday I lHa.mo PFT-see-1s LOC PSTPROG-cry
 When I saw lHa-mo yesterday, she was crying.

* pu (now) * soʃnu (tomorrow)

- (218c) tapu? to-vavo kərek to-ʃi-na'tso-w
 child PFT-cry one IMP-VPT-see-2s
 The baby has started to cry, go and have a look.

pu (now), soʃnu (tomorrow) * pəʃur (yesterday)

- (218d) tapu? na-vavo kərek to-ʃi-na'tso-w
 child PSTPROG-cry one IMP-VPT-see-2s
 The baby is crying, go and have a look.

Past imperfective aspect: to-

Past imperfective aspect is marked by *to-*. It signals an action or event which started at some point in the past and pertains to a second action or event which partially overlaps with or closely follows the action or event marked for past imperfective. Consider the following examples for *kandru*, 'obtain, get, take'. The lexicalised past perfective marker for *kandru* is *na-*:

- (219) poŋeʔj na-kə-ndru-ŋ ŋos
 money PFT-NOM-take-1s be
 I've taken care of the money.

- (220) poŋeʔj to-kə-ndru-ŋ hoŋjon to-rʃi-ŋ
 money PSTIMP-NOM-take-1s Hóngyuán PFT:upwards-go₂-1s
 Having got the money, I went up to Hóngyuán.

In the sentence marked for perfective aspect, (219), the speaker simply states that he obtained a sum of money. For both the speaker and his audience the statement of the situation is complete. No more information about the money or the obtaining of it will follow. The first clause marked for imperfective in (220) shows that the speaker obtained a sum of money, and that another action or event is to follow the obtaining of the money, in this case the going up to Hóngyuán. These events are chronologically and logically linked, part of an ongoing situation. Along the same lines are the following sentences:

- (221a) ŋa varʃi kʰəza? ki na-ndre-ŋ
 I last.year bowl IDEF PFT-take-1s
 I took a bowl last year.

- (221b) ŋa pəʃnu kʰəza? ki to-ndre-ŋ
 I today bowl IDEF PSTIMP-take-1s
 I've taken a bowl today,....

Sentence (221a), the standard simple past form, gives the hearer only the information that the speaker took a bowl. But in (221b) the hearer expects there to be more to the story. The speaker announces that he has taken a bowl, perhaps because guests are coming and he is a bowl short in his own house. In any event, *to-* signals that the taking of the bowl has just started, and that it will go on to culminate in some other action of the speaker, probably pouring tea for a guest. In the following examples the verb *kasəso*, ‘think’ in sentence (222a) is marked for past imperfective aspect because the subject, after having thought the donkey lost, to his surprise finds it again. In sentence (222b) there is only the information that the subject lost the donkey. Marking for perfective aspect shows the subject thinks the situation completed, the donkey is lost for good, even though the speaker believes otherwise:

- (222a) wuʃo tarke to-¹a-mi? to-¹a-səso-w koronə ¹na-ndo?
 he donkey PSTIMP-NEV-not.have PSTIMP-NEV-think-3s but OBS-have
 He thought the donkey was lost but it turned out to be there after all.

- (222b) wuʃo tarke to-¹a-mi? na-səso-w koronə ndo? law
 he donkey PSTIMP-NEV-not.have PFT-think-3s but have MD:G
 He thought the donkey was lost but I’m guessing it will turn up.

Note that the examples with *to-* show actions that follow each other chronologically in time, not actions that are simultaneous, though the final stage of the past imperfective action can overlap with the second action in the sentence. These are not past progressives, but they can be labeled past imperfective, as opposed to the perfective aspect marked with *na-*.

Past imperfective marking should not be confused with past perfective marking with *to-* or with the occurrence of *to-* in past-in-the-future constructions. Compare the following examples for the verb *kamoʔt*, ‘drink’:

- (223a) saksəŋk^hwu tʃ^ha? ki ka-moʔt-j tʃe ka-nəndze
 Afternoon tea IDEF NOM-drink-1p LOC INF-have.a.meal
 In the afternoon, after we drink tea (after the drinking of our tea) we will have a meal.

- (223b) saksəŋk^hwu tʃ^ha? ¹to-moʔt-j tʃe ka-nəndze
 Afternoon tea PFT-drink-1p LOC INF-have.a.meal₁
 In the afternoon, after we we will have drunk our tea, we will have a meal.

- (223c) pu tʃ^ha? ki moʔt-j wurə ka-nəndze
 now tea IDEF drink-1p CON INF-have.a.meal₁
 We drink tea now and then we’ll have a meal.

(223d) pu/them tʂʰaʔ to-¹moʔt-j tʃe ka-nəndze
 now/shortly tea PSTIMP-drink-1p LOC INF-have.a.meal₁
 We will have dinner after we have finished drinking [the] tea [that we are
 (about) to drink now/shortly].

(223e) pəʃur tʂʰaʔ to-¹moʔt-j tʃe to-nəndza-j
 Yesterday tea PFT-drink-1p LOC PFT-have.a.meal₂-1p
 Yesterday we had a meal after we had drunk tea.

Example (223a) shows an event that is entirely in the future. Sentence (223b) gives a past-in-the-future structure, with stress on perfective marker *to-*. In (223c) the verb is unmarked. Most likely the company is not drinking tea yet but discussing how to best spend the next hour or so. Sentence (223d) signals that the company is sitting down to drink tea. The tea has been brought, the drinking even may have begun. But it is not yet finished. And finally example (223e) shows a normal past perfective, where the action took place and was completed in the past.

Narratives frequently make use of past progressive marking with *na-* and past imperfective marking with *to-*. The story teller will use sentences marked for past perfective aspect to give the frame of the story. Past progressive *na-* comes into play to indicate habituality or a general state of affairs. And past imperfective occurs when there is a change from the habitual situation to a specific action that carries the story forward. The following example is from the introduction of a story about a trader and his donkey. The first sentence provides the frame, marked for past perfective. The beginning of the second sentence starts in on the action:

(224) wuʃo kəʃe na-nətʃʰitʃʰi tə tarke tə w-apsi ʃi
 he where PFT-wander C donkey C 3s:GEN-with always
 Wherever he went, he always took the donkey along with him.

na-kə-ndʒu-w 'nə-ŋos
 PRF-NOM-take-3s EV-be

tarke w-apsi to-kə-ndʒu-w rənə.....
 donkey 3s:GEN-with PSTIMP-NOM-take-3s CON
 Taking the donkey along.....

An example of past progressive to mark a habitual situation is found at the beginning of stories is below. Sentence (225a) and (225b) give the background, all marked with past perfective. But in (225c) past progressive is used to mark *kaməjkə*, 'climb', to indicate that the thief had climbing walls as his MO for getting away. The last sentence then switches to past imperfective to signal that climbing has started and culminates in a second action, namely falling:

(225a) kəsce-sce kəʃmo ki na-kə-ndoʔ 'nə-ŋos
 before-RED thief IDEF PFT-NOM-have EV-be
 Long long ago there was a thief.

(225b) kəʃmo ndə tə kəkətʃetʃe təʃmo na-va-w
 thief that C everywhere stolen.goods PFT-do-3s
 That thief went around stealing everywhere.

(225c) kə-p^ho tʃe zdi na-məjkə
 NOM-flee LOC wall PSTPROG-climb
 When he ran [from the scene of the crime] he would climb over walls (it was
 his custom to be climbing over walls to get away).

(225d) kəʃnu tʃe zdi ki to-məjkə tʃe na-mbət
 day LOC wall IDEF PSTIMP-climb LOC PFT/OR:down-fall
 One day, as he was climbing a wall, he fell down.

The narratives at the end of this study also beautifully show this kind of interaction between 'story telling time' - the outsider's perspective - and 'inside story time', the viewpoint inside a situation. Marking for past perfective and imperfective marking can interfere with normal past tense markers, especially for orientationally marked motion verbs. In sentence (225c) the expected past tense marker with 'climb' would be *to-*, for 'upwards'. Instead the past progressive *na-* appears. The past perfective variant of (225c) has the normal past tense markers for 'climb' and 'fall', *to-* and *na-* respectively:

(226) wuʃo zdi to-məjkə korənə na-mbət
 He wall PFT/OR:up-climb but PFT/OR:down-fall
 He climbed the wall but fell.

2. Aspect marking in non-past situations: present imperfective

The Jiāomùzú dialects mark events and actions that are currently ongoing in non-past sentences with the prefix *kə-* for first and second persons, and with the prefix *ŋa-* for third persons. Present imperfective markers occupy the slot after mood markers but before person markers in the verb phrase, as shown in (227a). The markers for first and second person are stressed, while the marker for third person is not:

(227a) nəŋʃo tascok 'kə-tə-leʔt-w me
 you letter PRIMP-2-write₁-2s INTR
 Are you writing a letter?

(227b) *ŋa laktʃe ki 'kə-ku-ŋ*
 I thing IDEF PRIMP-buy-1s
 I'm buying something.

(227c) *pkraʃis piʃe ŋa-rʃəʔk*
 bKra.shis now PRIMP-run
 bKra-shis is running now.

(227d) *lhamo-ndʒ haʃtsoʔ ŋa-səraʔm-ndʒ*
 lHa.mo-3d chili.pepper PRIMP-dry-3d
 lHa-mo and someone else are drying chili peppers.

Irregular verbs employ root 3 as well as the normal present imperfective marker *ŋa-* for third person. The following example for *katʰoʔ*, 'ask' show how the vowel change works.

(228) *ŋa pkraʃis ki 'kə-tʰoʔ-ŋ*
 I bKra.shis IDEF PRIMP-ask₁-1s
 I'm asking bKra-shis.

pkraʃis ŋa ki ŋa-tʰaʔ-w
 bKra.shis I IDEF PRIMP-ask₃-3s
 bKra-shis is asking me.

Jiāomùzú present imperfectives can occur with all action verbs, such as *kavəʔɿ*, 'walk', *kanəzoʔk*, 'lick', and *kanəʃup*, 'sleep'. This category includes a number of verbs that indicate actions of longer duration, rather of a state-like quality, such as *kanərgaʔ*, 'like', and *kavaro*, 'own, possess'. However, I found that native speakers disagree about some of these verbs, especially *kavaro*. Some thought it was too much of a state to allow for present imperfective marking. Others had no issue with it, finding the following examples perfectly acceptable:

(229) *ŋa tarke ki 'kə-varo-ŋ*
 I donkey IDEF PRIMP-possess-1s
 I have a donkey.

(230) *nənʃo pkraʃis 'kə-tə-nərgaʔ-w me*
 you bKra.shis PRIMP-2-like-2s INTR
 Do you like bKra-shis?

Most verbs that indicate a state rather than an action cannot be marked for present imperfective. Stative verbs use instead the observation marker *na-* in present tense situations, whereas situations in the future remain unmarked. Here is the abbreviated paradigm for *kənandʒok*, 'feel cold'. The non-

past forms consist simply of the verb root marked for person and number. The past tense constructions have *nə-*, the regular lexicalized past perfective marker for *kənandʔok*. Observation marking with *na-* indicates for all three persons that they experience cold. For third person an observer sees the person being cold – maybe he shivers. For first and second person the observation marking signals personal experience. For more on observation marking, see section 7.b.c below. The present imperfective forms are not grammatical:

(231)		non-past, OBS	past	non-past
	1s	'na-nandʔok-ŋ	nə-nandʔok-ŋ	nandʔok-ŋ
	2s	'na-tə-nandʔok-n	nə-tə-nandʔok-n	tə-nandʔok-n
	3s	'na-nandʔok	nə-nandʔok	nandʔok
		non-past, PRIMP		
(232)	1s	* 'kə-nandʔok-ŋ	[I'm feeling cold]	
	2s	* 'kə-nandʔok-n	[you're feeling cold]	
	3s	* ŋa-nandʔok	[he is feeling cold]	

Present imperfectives in the Jiăomùzú dialects do not occur in past tense situations. Example (233) shows a present progressive in a sentence with the time reference *pu*, 'now'. Example (234) demonstrates that first person and third person present progressives cannot occur in sentences with a past time reference such as *pəʃur*, yesterday :

- (233) tapuʔ kəsam ʃnu ʒak na-vavo pu ʒik ma-'nə-sə-nəna
 child three day time PSTPROG-cry now also NEG-OBS-CAUS-stop
 The child has been crying for three days, and still hasn't stopped.

- (234a) tapuʔ pu ŋa-vavo
 child now PRIMP-cry
 The child is crying.

* pəʃur tapuʔ ŋavavo

- (234b) ŋa pu 'kə-vavo
 I now PRIMP
 I'm crying now.

* pəʃur ŋa 'kəvavo

The sentence in (235) is not in present imperfective aspect, since the first person present imperfective marker *kə-* does not occur, even though the action of waiting is still ongoing:

- (235) *ŋa tərts^hot kərek na-najo-ŋ koronə ma-'nə-vi*
 I hour one PSTPROG-wait-1s but NEG-OBS-come₁
 I've been waiting for an hour, but he hasn't come;
- ŋa kə-vi najo-ŋ ra*
 I NOM-come₁ wait-1s need
 I'll have to wait until he comes.

- (236) *ŋa kəsam ʃnu nə-k^hrət-ŋ koronə ma-tsa 'kə-k^hrət-ŋ*
 I three day PFT-wipe-1s but NEG-finish PRIMP-wipe1s
 I've wiped for three days, but it's [still] not finished, I'm [still] wiping.

The time frame given in the first clause of (236), 'three days', signals that three days of wiping are completed. The verb is accordingly marked with past perfective marker *nə-*. But more wiping is in order, in fact it is now going on, as marked by present imperfective *kə-*. Past progressive marking with *na-* is also possible in this situation, as demonstrated by example (233) above. In (236) the speaker emphasises the amount of time that has been spent on the wiping rather than on the ongoing nature of the action, while in (233) the emphasis is on the ongoing action of crying.

It is tempting to equate Jiāomùzú's present imperfective with progressive aspect, marking actions that are presently ongoing. But the Jiāomùzú dialects use present imperfective marking also in sentences that indicate an habitual situation or a state:

- (237) *ŋa stonʃnu 'kə-ʃi-rjəʔk-ŋ ɲos*
 I daily PRIMP-VPT-run-1s be
 I run every day.
- (238) *nənʃo stonʃnu mə-'kə-tə-ʃi-rjəʔk-n*
 you daily Q-PRIMP-2-VPT-run-2s
 Do you run every day?
- (239) *pkraʃis stonʃnu ɲa-ʃi-rjəʔk ɲos*
 bKra.shis daily PRIMP-VPT-run be
 bKra-shis goes to run every day.
- (240) *pkraʃis ʒak tə wucen^ᵛ mi^ᵛ ɲa-rjəʔk*
 bKra.shis time C 5000 metre PRIMP-run
 bKra-shis often runs the 5000 metres.

- (241) pkraʃis ʒak tʃe lhamo kamk^ha-j ɲa-naʒo-w
 bKra.shis time LOC lHa.mo gate-LOC PRIMP-wait-3s
 bKra-shis always (every day) waits for lHa-mo at the gate.

Examples (237) and (239) show the use of present imperfectives in habitual situations. Note that the habituality part of the meaning is expressed by adding adverbials of time such as *ʃi*, 'always' or *stonʃnu*, 'daily', to the sentence.

Use of present imperfective marking, especially for third person, often indicates professions or positions, emphasising the habitual sense of the present imperfective:

- (242) n-əmo t^hi ɲa-va-w ts^hoŋ ɲa-va-w
 2s:GEN-mother what PRIMP-do-3s business PRIMP-do-3s
 What does your mother do? She does business. (She is a trader).

Sentences (243a) and (243b) show both the present imperfective and habitual senses of marking with *ɲa-*:

- (243a) pkraʃis kəsce ɲos w-əŋgi-j təmpnok ɲa-va-w
 bKra.shis where be 3s:GEN-inside-LOC bread PRIMP-do-3s
 Where is bKra-shis? He's inside, making bread.
- (243b) pkraʃis t^hi ɲa-va-w təmpnok ɲa-va-w
 bKra.shis what PRIMP-do-3s bread PRIMP-do-3s
 What does bKra-shis do? He makes bread. (He is a baker.)

Note that present imperfective marking indicates that an action or event has been going on for a while already and is still ongoing at the moment of speech. The speaker emphasises the duration and continuity of the action rather than the fact that the action is taking place just now. For a more immediate sense of action usually a speaker selects observation marker *na-*. Observation marking cannot be used to signal habituality:

- (244a) təmpnok ɲa-va-w (244b) təmpnok ^lna-va-w
 bread PRIMP-do-3s bread OBS-do-3s
 He is making bread. He is making bread.
 He is a baker. * He is a baker.

Sentence (244b) can generate a meaning like 'he is a baker' but only in the sense of newly acquired or surprising knowledge. I discuss this function of observation marking extensively in section 7.5.c below.

Compare also the following examples for the same verb *kac^ha*, ‘be able, can’. The situation is a discussion of whether family finances permit sending a child to school. Sentence (249a) is the neutral sentence. The family’s financial situation allows for the child to go to school. Sentence (249b) does not necessarily give an objective evaluation of the family’s circumstances, but rather expresses that the family feels unable, for whatever reason, to let the child go to study. It is a matter of personal attitude rather than of limiting circumstances. Perhaps the parents consider education a bad investment of their resources. In (249c) the verb is marked for observation, indicating that outside circumstances do not permit the parents to send their children to school. There is no sudden change, but all along their finances have been very poor and they can’t afford education for the child. Sentence (249d) shows that, though previously it was not possible to send the child to school, now it is. Example (249e) has the same meaning as (249d), but with an emphasis on the difficulties the family has had to overcome to get to the point where they can now send the child to school. In (249f) the circumstances of the family have changed. They were able to support a child’s education before, but for some reason, maybe a bad harvest, they are no longer able to do so. Sentence (249g), finally, is the non-past form of (249f). Note that the sending of the child is, in both sentences, a non-past event. But the terminative marking itself is for past in (249f) and non-past in (249g):

- (249a) tapu? ka-sə-rət^ha c^ha-j
 child NOM-CAUS-go.to.school can-1p
 We are able to send the child to school.

- (249b) tapu? ka-sə-rət^ha ma-c^ha-j
 child NOM-CAUS-go.to.school NEG-can-1p
 We [consider that we] are not able to send the child to school.

- (249c) tapu? ka-sə-rət^ha ma-^lnə-c^ha-j
 child NOM-CAUS-go.to.school NEG-OBS-can-1p
 We are not able to send the child to school [outside circumstances prevent us from being able to send the child.]

- (249d) tapu? ka-sə-rət^ha to-c^ha-j
 child NOM-CAUS-go.to.school PFT-can-1p
 [Though we were not able to do so before,] We are able to send the child to school.

- (249e) tapu? ka-sə-rət^ha na-c^ha-j
 child NOM-CAUS-go.to.school PFT-can-1p
 We are [after much difficulty] able to send the child to school.

(249f) tapu? ka-sə-rət^ha mətə-c^ha-j
 child NOM-CAUS-go.to.school TER-can-1p
 We are no longer able to send the child to school [because circumstances have changed for the worse].

(249g) tapu? ka-sə-rət^ha mata-c^ha-j
 child NOM-CAUS-go.to.school TER-can-1p
 [The circumstances are changing for the worse so that] We are not able to send the child to school.

Terminative aspect can signal what is at first glance an evidential meaning. Sentence (250) expresses that the speaker, while trying to drive a car, finds out he has lost the skill to do so. However, there is an equivalent of this sentence marked for observation. The difference between the two is that the driver in (250a) used to be able to drive. Only when he gets in a car after a long period of not driving, he notices that he has forgotten how to drive. The expectation is that he will regain his list skills again with practice. The issue marked by terminative aspect is not one of sudden awareness of an issue, but the changed circumstance itself. What was true in the past, the speaker knew how to drive, has stopped being true in the present. In sentence (250b) a person who has no previous experience of driving, but thought that it would be a piece of cake, climbs behind the wheel. He then finds out that he can't drive – he realises he does not have the necessary skills. The issue is not changed circumstance, but sudden realisation of an issue:

(250a) ŋa k^horlo kaleʔt mata-speʔ-ŋ
 I car hit₁ TER-able₃-1s
 I can't drive.

(250b) ŋa k^horlo kaleʔt ma-^lnə-speʔ-ŋ
 I car hit₁ NEG-OBS-able₃-1s
 I can't drive.

Marking for terminative aspect often occurs together with time references that give a clear cut-off point for an action, such as *ndə ŋk^huʔ*, 'after that' or *ndə sta tə*, 'from then on':

(251) tapu? poŋeʔj ra ʃi na-cəs kərek na-top-ŋ
 child money need continuously PFT-say one PFT-hit-1s
 The child asked for money all the time; I hit him squarely [and]

 ndə sta tə poŋeʔj ra mətə-cəs
 that origin C money need TER-say
 from that time on he stopped asking.

Marking for terminative aspect clearly is a combination of two markers. The two can be split up to create a nominalised construction. I repeat here example (97) from section 7.1 on nominalisation:

- (252) wuɣo-ndʒ ʒik kəmtʃoʔk 'nə-ŋos-ndʒ kʰono kaʃpət mə-kə-to-tʃʰa-ndʒ
 they-3d also old EV-be-3d CON bring.up TER-NOM-TER-able-3d
 They were old too, so they were beyond being able to bring him up.

'nə-ŋos
 EV-be

Marker *mə-* in past terminative aspect marking is not a question marker. In example (253) the question marker occurs at the end of the sentence, indicating that the meaning of *mə-* in the verb phrase should not be confused with the question marker *mə-*:

- (253) pəʃur təmor rə məto-tə-natso-w me
 yesterday evening CON TER-2-see-2s INTR
 Did you stop reading last night?

A construction with *məto-* also should not be confused with a prohibitive, such as (254), even though there is clearly a link between terminative aspect and negation. Terminative aspect marking for non-past has negation marker *ma-*. Terminatives are inherently negative and use the marker *mə-* as part of the construction, as do prohibitives:

- (254) mə-tə-ŋaʰkʰo-jn
 PROH-2-shout-2p
 Don't shout!

It is not possible to negate a verb phrase marked for terminative aspect with either of the normal negation markers *ma-* and *ji-*. Imagine a man who is a driver talking to an acquaintance about driving his bus:

(255a) kʰorlo kə-leʔt ŋos bus NOM-hit ₁ be I still drive the bus.	(255b) nəŋʒo məto-tə-laʔt-n me you TER-2-hit-2s INTR Have you stopped driving?
(255c) pəʃnu ma-tə-leʔt-n me today NEG-2-hit ₁ -2s INTR Don't you drive?	(255d) varʒi ʒi-tə-laʔt-n me last year NEG/PFT-2-hit ₂ -2s INTR Did you not drive last year?
(255e) * matotəlaʔtn	(255e) * ʒotəlaʔtn

Actually *mənotəlaʔtn* and *ʃotəlaʔtn* are possible forms, but they have nothing to do with driving. Rather they are negative forms of *kaleʔt*, ‘set free, let go’, meaning ‘will they let you go’ and ‘they have not let you go’ respectively. These constructions are not possible to negate terminative aspect.

4. Prospective: aspectual use of the viewpoint marker *və-*, ‘soon’

When an action or event is about to take place, the viewpoint marker *və-* can be used in a derived, aspectual sense meaning ‘soon’:

- (256) *tʃaʃ^{hi} və-tʃ^{hi} law*
bKra.shis PROSP-go₁ MD:G
bKra-shis will go immediately, I guess.

Both Lín Xiàngróng and Lin You-Jing write that in *Zhuōkèjī* the affix *po*, derived from the verb *kapo*, ‘come’, prefixed with an orientation or past tense marker, occurs in the verb phrase before the person markers to express the meaning of ‘impending action’.¹⁸¹ The diagnostic example, which I give here in Lín Xiàngróng’s transcription, is: *ʃo to-po tə-ʒdɛŋ*, ‘you (p) will soon be afraid’. For Jiǎomùzú I have not found a similar placement of *və-*. The marker, unlike normal aspect markers, retains its place in the viewpoint marking slot after the person markers:

- (257) *nənʃo tə-və-tʃ^{hi} me*
you 2-PROSP-go₁ INTR
Are you about to go?

When the urgency or immediacy of the impending action or event needs to be emphasised, the marker can be reduplicated:

- (258) *pʃu na-və-və-mbek*
log PFT-PROSP-RED-split
The log will split any second now.

Marking for prospective action often combines with past perfective marking, indicating that the completion of an action or event is impending:

- (259) *nənʃo to-tə-və-loʔ me*
you PFT-2-PROSP-set.out INTR
Are you about to head out? (Were you about to head out?)

¹⁸¹ Lín (1993: 265, 266), Lin (2003: 268, 269).

- (260) n-amaʔ mə-na-tə-və-səjoʔk-w
 2s:GEN-work Q-PFT-2-PROSP-finish-2s
 Is your work almost finished? (Were you almost done?)

- (261) pʃu na-və-mbek
 log PFT-PROSP-split
 The log is about to split.

Unlike verbs marked for past perfective, verbs that signal futurity with prospective aspect marking have root 1 in the verb phrase:

- (262a) ɲa karʔəʔk to-məndak-ɲ
 I run PFT-have.one's.turn₂-1s
 It's my turn to run.

- (262b) ɲa karʔəʔk to-və-məndek-ɲ
 I run PFT-PROSP-have.one's.turn₁-1s
 It is almost my turn to run.

The use of *və-* to express impending action or something about to happen is not restricted to action verbs. The following examples show prospective aspect marked on the stative verbs *kəts^ho*, 'fat' and *kəneʔk*, 'black':

- (263) pak tawo və-ts^ho
 pig early PROSP-fat-1s
 The pig will be fat soon.

- (264) nəŋʝo kəjam w-ək^ha-j kəɲi n-aɲi na-və-neʔk
 you sun 3s:GEN-mouth-LOC sit 2s:GEN-face PFT-PROSP-black
 If you sit in the sun your face will turn black soon.

Unlike *və-*, the viewpoint marker *ʃi-* cannot be used to express impending action. It only occurs in its literal meaning of something or someone going somewhere, expressing physical action. It should not be confused with the English 'going' in the sense of 'about to', as in 'I'm going to hit you'. The difference in use between the two viewpoint markers in this respect is demonstrated by the following examples:

- (265a) kəʃpət 'na-və-ʃu ɲos
 cow OBS-PROSP-die be
 The cow is about to die.

(265b) * kəʃpət naʃiʃu ɲos

(265c) * kəʃpət kajvij ʃitʃ^{hi} nəɲos

(265d) kəʃpət kajvi-j ji-^la-ʃi-tʃ^{hi}
 cow meadow-LOC PFT-NEV-VPT-go₁
 The cow went to the meadow.

Example (265a) states that the cow is in the process of dying, and that the actual death is about to happen. Example (265b) would indicate that the cow, while in the process of dying, is going somewhere to do the actual dying. The sentence is ungrammatical because the speaker cannot know what is in the cow's mind while she is in the process of dying. Sentence (265c) is ungrammatical for the same reason: the speaker cannot know what is in the cow's mind and therefore cannot say that she is about to go to the meadow. At most he can say, if he sees the cow ambling by in the general direction of the meadow, that the cow is walking in the direction of the meadow. Example (265d), of course, is fine. The speaker, even though he did not witness the cow going down to the meadow, knows this fact to have happened. The viewpoint marker here expresses the physical action of the cow's walking, not impending action.

The viewpoint marker *və-* can only carry one meaning, the literal or the figurative one, at a time. The hearer chooses the right interpretation based on context.

7.5 *Evidentiality*

a. *Introduction*

The concept that governs evidentiality marking in Jiǎomùzú is reliability. A speaker will mark his statement to indicate the degree of reliability he himself judges his statement to have. What counts here is the speaker's conviction that his statement is reliable, not the objective or factual truth concerning any given statement. The degree of reliability rests on the sort of authority a speaker invokes. Direct evidentiality conveys that the speaker has witnessed an action or event personally. This is the default position, conveying a speaker's conviction of reliability, and it is unmarked. If the speaker has not personally been present at a scene of action, his statement is marked accordingly for non-direct evidentiality with the marker *a-* prefixed to verb root 1. This marker is always stressed. A second sort of authority rests on knowledge of a situation, action or event that the speaker has acquired through personal observation or experience, though not necessarily by being physically present when the speaker gained his knowledge of the situation. This sort of evidentiality is marked by marker *na-* prefixed to the verb root. Lin You-Jing uses the term 'observational' for this category

In Jiǎomùzú evidentiality markers occupy a slot in the verb phrase after mood, tense and aspect markers but before person markers, as shown in the following examples:

- Modality and evidentiality are closely linked, since marking for the degree of reliability of a statement encompasses both evidentiality and more modal concepts such as a speaker's conviction or certainty.

Eye-witness and awareness: a-

¹⁸² Lin (2000: 76-81).

I go inside without actually seeing bKra-shis walk off with the horse, my statement will still not be marked for non-direct evidentiality. Though I did not actually see bKra-shis walking away with the horse, in my mind I am certain that he is taking the horse up and make my statement accordingly. Evidentiality marking in Jiǎomùzú thus adheres to the general principle of firsthand knowledge but has fuzzy edges where a speaker's certainty, based on personal knowledge of a situation, comes into play.

Marking for non-direct evidentiality normally only occurs in sets with third person agents. First person agents imply eye witness evidentiality by the very fact of their being agents, and sets with second person agents imply a first person witness who asks questions or makes statements about the second person agent's actions, addressing the second person. Evidentiality for second person subjects becomes an issue only in questions, since in questions it is the hearer's knowledge that is relevant. A Jiǎomùzú speaker will guess whether the hearer has firsthand knowledge of an action or event and mark the verb in his question accordingly. The Jiǎomùzú dialects presuppose the speaker's firsthand knowledge of a situation, so direct evidentiality is the neutral or default form. There is no special marking for it in the verb phrase. In Jiǎomùzú lack of firsthand knowledge or non-direct evidentiality, is marked on the verb with the prefix *a-*. Non-direct evidentiality is marked only on past tense forms. Example (267a) shows a neutral sentence. Sentence (267b) is a question unmarked for non-direct evidentiality, indicating that the speaker thinks the hearer has probably witnessed the hitting of the dog. If the speaker has reason to believe the hearer did not witness the hitting of the dog, he will mark the sentence accordingly with non-direct evidentiality marker *a-*, as in (267c). The expected answer to (267b) is *natopw*, 'he hit', without marking for non-direct evidentiality. But if the speaker guessed wrong, and the hearer did not witness the hitting of the dog, the addressee will mark his response accordingly with non-evidentiality marker *a-*. Along the same lines, the expected answer to (267c) is the marked form *na'^latopw*, 'he hit', but the unmarked form may be used when the hearer did see bKra-shis hit the dog:

(267a) pkraʃis k^həna na-top-w
 bKra.shis dog PFT-hit-3s
 bKra-shis hit the dog.

(267b) pkraʃis k^həna na-top-w me
 bKra.shis dog PFT-hit-3s INTR
 Did bKra-shis hit the dog?

na-top-w	na- ^l a-top-w
PFT-hit-3s	PFT-NEV-hit-3s
He did.	He did.

(267c) pkraʃis kʰəna na-^la-top-w me
 bKra.shis dog PFT-NEV-hit-3s INTR
 Did bKra-shis hit the dog?

na- ^l a-top-w	na-top-w
PFT-NEV-hit-3s	PFT-hit-3s
He did.	He did.

In sets with third person agents the first person may or may not have firsthand knowledge of the action or event, and so these forms are marked for evidentiality accordingly. Example (267d) is a statement which is marked for non-direct evidentiality:

(267d) pkraʃis kʰəna na-^la-top-w
 bKra.shis dog PFT-NEV-hit-3s
 bKra-shis hit the dog.

When an evidentiality marker combines with an aspect or tense marker in past tense sentences, as in (267d), phonetically the vowel of the non-direct evidentiality marker replaces the vowel of the preceding marker, while the consonant stays in place. The stress remains, leading to a heavily stressed first syllable. The examples throughout this study are all phonemic rather than phonetic. In normal speech, the dead giveaway for the presence of an evidentiality marker is the extra strong stress on the first syllable. Also the vowel of a syllable marked for non-direct evidentiality is always *a-*. In 268(a) below, the non-direct evidential version of (268b), the marker *a-* replaces the vowel of the preceding past tense marker. Phonetically, the verb phrase is pronounced [jətʰi], with heavy stress on the first syllable and the only indication of a merged extra syllable being the heavy stress. Non-direct evidentiality marked by *a-* occurs with verb root 1, while direct evidentiality, the default form, has root 2 forms.

(268a) pkraʃis malataŋꞰ kə-ndza ji-^la-tʰi [ʔjətʰi]
 bKra.shis spicy.soup NOM-eat PFT-NEV-go₁
 bKra-shis went to have spicy soup

(268b) pkraʃis w-əmp^ha-j ji-rʒi [ʔjirʒi]
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-outside-LOC PFT-go₂
 bKra-shis went out.

(269a) pəʃur tak^hu na-moʔt-w [nəmoʔt]
 yesterday cigarette PFT-drink-3s
 She smoked yesterday.

- (269b) pəʃur tak^hu na-^la-moʔt-w [ˈna.moʔt]
 yesterday cigarette PFT-NEV-drink-3s
 She smoked yesterday.

A speaker's eye-witness perspective influences not just marking for evidentiality but also person and number marking. If a speaker has no first-hand information about a situation he will choose third person plural marking, even though the event he talks about may only have included two actors, to indicate that he is not able to give precise detail – he was not there after all. Example (270) below shows a set of two sentences (270a) and (270b), both describing an argument between two people that deteriorates into a fight. Sentence (270a) is marked for non-direct evidentiality with *a-*. The speaker did not see the altercation in person. From hearsay, he may know that there were only two people involved, but the speaker adds generality or vagueness to emphasize that he only heard about the fight by using third person plural marking. Sentence (270b) has no marking for indirect evidentiality. The speaker saw the brawl and knows there were only two people involved. This level of precise detail is expressed in the person marking, which is for dual, not for plural:

- (270a) wuvjot to-^la-ŋa-məcə-jn kə-məŋk^huʔ tʃe to-^la-ŋa-le-leʔt-jn
 much PFT-NEV-REC-say-3p NOM-after LOC PFT-NEV-REC-RED-hit₁-3p
 They talked back and forth and finally they started fighting.

- (270b) wuvjot na-ŋa-məcə-ndʒ kə-məŋk^huʔ tʃe to-ŋa-la-laʔt-ndʒ
 much PFT-REC-say-3d NOM-after LOC PFT-REC-RED-hit₂-3d
 They talked back and forth and finally they started fighting.

Logically, the presence of a speaker during an event or in a certain situation implies firsthand knowledge of that event or situation. But there are situations in which a speaker may be present, though unaware of what is happening. Jiǎomùzú distinguishes between situations in which the speaker is aware of what he is doing, and situations in which the speaker unwittingly performs an action. Since in by far the most situations the speaker is aware of his own behaviour, awareness is the default and does not get marked. Situations where the speaker is unaware of an event or action are also marked by *a-*:

- (271a) ŋa n-ascok to-cop-ŋ
 I 2s:GEN-letter PFT-burn-1s
 I burned your letter.

(271b) *ŋa nənjo n-ascok ʃokʃoʔk kə-plu-ŋ tʃe*
 I you 2s:GEN-letter paper NOM-burn-1s LOC
 When I was burning papers, I also [inadvertently] burned your letter.

w-apsi to-^la-cop-ŋ
 3s:GEN-together PFT-NEV-burn-1s

(272a) *ŋa bawbaw^ɕ ki na-ʃi-nə-ku-ŋ*
 I bag IDEF PFT:down-VPT-EREFL -buy-1s
 I went down and bought myself a bag.

(272b) *ŋa bawbaw^ɕ ki na-^la-ʃi-nə-ku-ŋ*
 I bag IDEF PFT:down-NEV-VPT-EREFL-buy-1s
 I went down and bought myself a bag.

In example (271a) the speaker was fully aware of what he was doing when he burned the letter. In (271b) he burned the letter unwittingly, because it was stuck in a pile of papers to be burnt. In examples (272a) and (272b) the buying of the bag is an active act of the will in (272a) and an event that seems to simply have happened to the speaker in (272b). When discussing this example with native speakers the possible situations were fairly farfetched, though not unthinkable by any means. The speaker might have been too drunk to know what he was doing, or there may be some sort of mental problem or illness, for instance. The need for a speaker to use non-direct evidentiality marking for first person after heavy drinking apparently is a fairly common occurrence. Note that in the last two examples phonetically the only difference is the placement of stress: on the verb root in the unmarked past tense in (272a), [nəʃinə'kuŋ], and on the past tense cum evidentiality marker in (272b), ['nəʃinəkʊŋ].

As mentioned above, Jiǎomùzú makes use of person and number marking in combination with *a-*, to convey information about an unknown agent of an action, if the speaker has not seen the action. In examples (267) above this sort of marking occurred to indicate that the speaker only knew about a situation from hearsay. In the examples (273b) and (273c) below the speaker has personally experienced, though not seen, the stealing. The difference in person marking indicates whether or not the speaker is aware of who the thief is:

(273a) *ŋa wu-kohon^ɕ to-^la-nəʃmo-ŋ*
 I 3s:GEN-lipstick PFT-NEV-steal-1s
 I stole her lipstick.

(273b) *ŋa ŋə-kohon^ɕ to-^la-nəʃmo-w*
 I 1s:GEN-lipstick PFT-NEV-steal-3s
 [Someone] stole my lipstick (My lipstick got stolen).

(273c) *ŋa ŋə-kohŋɔ̃ to-^la-nəʃmo-jn*
 I 1s:GEN-lipstick PFT-NEV-steal-3p
 My lipstick was stolen.

In (273a), the most neutral sentence, I unwittingly stole the lipstick. Somehow it got into my pocket or hand and I walked off with it, without consciously stealing it. The sentence is marked for first person subject. Note that the owner of the lipstick is only indicated by marking for third person on 'lipstick'. Both (273b) and (273c) are marked for non-direct evidentiality, indicating that the speaker was not aware of her lipstick being stolen, and did not see who did it. Accordingly, no names are mentioned. There is not even a subject in the sentence in the form of a noun phrase. But there is a significant difference in meaning between (273b) and (273c). In (273b) I did not witness the stealing of the lipstick, but I know who did it. The marking is thus for third person singular subject. The subject is implicit. The object is *ŋa ŋəkohŋ*, 'my lipstick'. Example (273c) indicates that my lipstick was stolen by someone, and I have no idea by whom. Accordingly, the verb is marked for a generic third person plural. Again 'my lipstick' is the object. As in (273b), the subject is implicit. This difference in marking also occurs in examples (270a) and (270b) above.

Awareness marking also occurs in sentences with verbs that can act as auxiliaries, for example when someone is cooking a meal:

(274a) <i>bebe to-k^hut</i> noodles PFT-can The noodles are done.	(274b) <i>bebe to-^la-k^hut</i> noodles PFT-NEV-can The noodles are done.

Example (274a) indicates that the person cooking the noodles is done preparing them. In (274b) the speaker looks in the pot and sees that the noodles are done. The noodles became ready to eat without the speaker necessarily watching them boil in their pot, though he may have been physically present at the scene of the cooking.

Degrees of reliability or certainty

A speaker may be convinced of the reliability of his statement concerning an action or event, even if he has not personally witnessed it. The certainty of the speaker can be based either on an outside but trusted authority, or on conventional views about the world held by the community of which the speaker is a part.

If a speaker's certainty rests on a trusted outside authority he can use a linking verb, most often a form of *ŋos*, 'be', at the end of a statement. The difference is clear from the examples below. In sentence (275a) a speaker makes a statement which he thinks or trusts or hopes is true. The hearer will judge it as such: fairly reliable. In example (275b), with the addition of *ŋos*, there is no room for doubt. The speaker is certain in his own mind that bKra-shis will give lHa-mo apples. Most often a speaker's use of *ŋos* to express his personal conviction about the reliability of a statement is based on a personal communication with one of the actors in the event. For example (275b), bKra-shis told the speaker he will give apples to lHa-mo, hence the speaker's certainty expressed by *ŋos*.

(275a) soŋnu pkraʃis pakʃu lhamo mbuʔ-w
 tomorrow bKra.shis apple lHa.mo give-3s
 Tomorrow bKra-shis will give lHa-mo apples.

(275b) soŋnu pkraʃis pakʃu lhamo mbuʔ-w ɲos
 tomorrow bKra.shis apple lHa.mo give-3s be
 Tomorrow bKra-shis will give lHa-mo apples.

If the speaker bases his conviction of reliability in the generally held beliefs of his community, he will use *nə-* prefixed to a linking verb. For example, imagine an outsider asking about a fruit that he has not encountered before. The speaker can answer in two different ways:

(276a) tʃəʔ pakʃu ɲos
 this apple be
 This is an apple.

(276b) tʃəʔ pakʃu 'nə-ɲos
 this apple EV-be
 This is an apple.

If the speakers answers with (276a), his use of *ɲos* indicates that he is entirely certain of the fact, that he has personal knowledge of the subject, and his statement is completely reliable. In (276b) the speaker conveys that his statement is based in traditional knowledge. In his community this sort of fruit has always been called 'apple', it is a truth passed on from generation to generation, and thus reliable. It is also possible to use *nə-* if the speaker enlists an outside authority whose word on the matter is reliable. Evidentiality marker *nə-* is always stressed, unlike other homophonous markers such as past tense marker *nə-*.

If indirectly obtained information is regarded as unreliable or the speaker is uncertain about its reliability, a form of *kacəs*, 'say' can be used in combination with marking for non-direct evidentiality:

(277) pkraʃis kʰəna na-'a-top-w na-cəs-jn
 bKra.shis dog PFT-NEV-hit-3s PFT-say-3p
 They said that bKra-shis hit the dog.

(278) poŋeʔj to-'a-nəʃmo-w 'na-cəs-jn
 money PFT-NEV-steal-3s OBS-say-3p
 They are saying that he stole the money.

Here is an overview of the different possibilities in evidentiality marking, giving different degrees of reliability to a statement. Sentence (279a) shows a speaker's conviction that Holland is not a very cold place, based on personal experience or firsthand knowledge. In (279b) a speaker emphasises his certainty of the fact. Example (279c) expresses that the speaker bases his statement not on personal experience of the Dutch climate but on an outside authority, maybe a book or a TV programme. And sentence (279d) gives the hearsay variant:

- (279a) xolan sok ma-məʃtak
 Holland manner NEG-cold
 Holland is not that cold.
- (279b) xolan sok ma-məʃtak ɲos
 Holland manner NEG-cold be
 Holland is not that cold.
- (279c) xolan sok ma-kə-məʃtak 'nə-ɲos
 Holland manner NEG-NOM-cold EV-be
 Holland is not that cold.
- (279d) xolan sok ma-məʃtak na-cəs
 Holland manner NEG-cold PFT-say
 Holland is not that cold, they said.

It is possible to combine several markers for evidentiality and certainty in one sentence. The effect is the layering of a speaker's convictions about the reliability of his statement, as in example (280) below. The verb *katʃ^{hi}i*, 'go' is unmarked, the default setting for eye-witness or firsthand knowledge of a situation. This expression of high reliability is qualified by *nakəɲos*, indicating the speaker's certainty of the fact that the subject indeed set out. The whole statement is once again qualified by *kacəs*, 'say', showing that the speaker has heard about the event rather than witnessed it. And marking with *nə-* on the last verb finally signals that the speaker considers the person who told him about the event to be a trustworthy outside authority:

- (280) kə-kə-r̥ji-jn na-kə-ɲos kacəs 'nə-ɲos
 PFT-NOM-go₂-3s:HON PFT-NOM-be say EV-be
 [And so] he set out, it is said.

c. *Observation*

Observation marker na-: function and occurrence

Observation is marked by the stressed prefix *na-*. This category encompasses several divergent meanings, for which different names have been coined in previous studies. One function of the observation marker is to label knowledge or certainty based on experience. The experience is not necessarily gained by actual presence of the speaker at the scene of the action or event. Lin noticed this function in her work on Zhuōkèjī and called the marker observational, defining it as indicating "that an imperfective situation is witnessed or perceived at a certain point of its interval. This

category always implies that the information is obtained directly from observed evidence."¹⁸³ In Jiāomùzú the same marker can also occur in perfective situations. Observation marking signals new or surprising knowledge or information as well. This function is called mirativity in DeLancey's work.¹⁸⁴ The use of observation marking also comes into play when speakers mark their positions as insiders or outsiders relative to a person or group. Observation marking thus not only expresses a speaker's knowledge based on experience of an action or event but also a speaker's authority to make a pertinent statement about that knowledge, based on his relation with the actors about whom the statement is made. Each of these functions will be discussed in separate subsections below. Observation marking has two variants, both stressed. The marker *na-* occurs in first position in the verb phrase, and in second position after question marker *mə-*. All other occurrences are marked with *nə-*, including the linking and existential verbs *ɣos*, 'be', *mi?*, 'not have' and *ma?k*, 'not be':

(281)	kəmem	'na-mem
	tasty	OBS-tasty
		tasty
	mə-'na-mem	ma-'nə-mem
	Q-OBS-tasty	NEG-OBS-tasty
	Is it tasty?	No, it isn't.

Observation marker *na-* occurs before the person prefixes, as is clear from the example above, but after mood, tense and aspect markers:

(282)	nənɣo	kəkə	tə-ɣos-n	'na-tə-ɣos-n
	you	originally	2-be-2s	OBS-2-be-2s
	Oh, it's you!			It is you!

(283)	kəməca	many		
	na-məca		'na-məca	
	PFT-many		OBS-many	
	There were many.		There are many.	
	ma-'nə-məca		na-'a-məca	
	NEG-OBS-many		PFT-NEV-many	
	There are not many.		There were many.	

¹⁸³ Lin (2000: 76,77).

¹⁸⁴ DeLancey (1997: 36), quoted after Lin 2000.

Observation markers occur in past as well as in non-past situations, as demonstrated in the following sets of examples. The sentences in (284a) are the neutral set. The examples in (284b) are marked for observation in a non-past situation. The first sentence is the response of a speaker who thought he might not know bKra-shis, but when he meets bKra-shis in a group of people, it turns out that he does know him. The negative variant signals that the speaker thinks he knows bKra-shis, but when he meets him in a group of people it turns out to be a different person than he expected – he discovers that he does not know this bKra-shis. The examples in set (284c) give the speaker's comments after he has met a group of people, of which bKra-shis was one. The first sentence confirms that the speaker did not know bKra-shis, as he himself knew all along. The second sentence shows the speaker's surprise at finding out he did not actually know bKra-shis:

(284a)	ηa pkraʃis ʃi-η I bKra.shis know-1s I know bKra-shis.	ηa pkraʃis ma-ʃi-η I bKra.shis NEG-know-1s I don't know bKra-shis.
(284b)	ηa pkraʃis 'na-ʃi-η I bKra.shis OBS-know-1s I know bKra-shis.	ηa pkraʃis ma-'nə-ʃi-η I bKra.shis NEG-OBS-know-1s I don't know bKra-shis.
(284c)	ηa pkraʃis ʃi-ʃi-η I bKra.shis NEG/PFT-know-1s I didn't know bKra-shis.	ηa pkraʃis ʃi-'nə-ʃi-η I bKra.shis NEG/PFT-OBS-know-1s I didn't know bKra-shis.

Futurity and observational marking are also mutually exclusive. Verb stems remain unmarked in non-past environments, especially in those signalling futurity:

- (285) kənandrok
cold
- | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 'na-nandrok- η | nə-nandrok- η | nandrok- η |
| OBS-cold-1s | PFT-cold-1s | cold-1s |
| I'm cold | I was cold | I'll be cold |

Knowledge or certainty based on personal experience

Compare the following sentences:

- (286a) * η a wudienxwa^ʔ ʃo kələʔt η koronə mapu
[I phoned him many times but he isn't home.]

(286b) *ŋa wu-dienxwa^ʔ ʃo kə-leʔt-ŋ koronə ma-¹nə-ŋu*
 I 3s:GEN-telephone often PFT-hit-1s but NEG-OBS-stay
 I phoned him many times but he isn't home.

The ungrammaticality of (286a) stems from the fact that the first clause shows the subject performing a certain action, 'phoned', implying that it is unknown to the subject whether 'he' is home or not, whereas the second clause, in itself a perfectly correct construction, implies the subject's knowledge of a certain fact: 'he' is not home, without the subject having taken any action to acquire this knowledge. The semantics of the first clause are not compatible with those of the second clause. In (286b) the presence of the observation marker makes all the difference. The marker refers to the speaker's action of making many phone calls. By doing this he gains a certain experience, since the calls go unanswered, which results in the speaker's knowing for a fact that 'he' is not home. By his actions the speaker learns something about the event or action described in the second verb phrase. The action undertaken by the speaker is what makes the use of observation marker *na-* different from non-direct evidentiality. Non-direct evidentiality simply indicates that a person was not physically present when the event took place. The observation marker *na-* emphasises a person's personal experience or observation of a fact, without implying anything about physical presence. In (287), for example, my knowledge that he is not home is gained from a distance, by phoning, without my having physically gone to his house to see for myself that he is not home. The following illustration may help to clarify this. Imagine I tell my friend lHa-rgyal that I want to go see dByangs-cin. lHa-rgyal may use either (287a) or (287b) to reply:

(287a)	<i>jaŋtʃin</i>	<i>ma-ŋu</i>	(287b)	<i>jaŋtʃin</i>	<i>ma-¹nə-ŋu</i>
	dByang.cin	NEG-stay		dByang.cin	NEG-OBS-stay-3s
	dByangs-cin isn't home.			dByangs-cin isn't home.	

If lHa-rgyal uses (287a), he is sure that dByangs-cin isn't home. He has not found out by going to her house, but rather he ran into her somewhere, by coincidence. The absence of an observation marker in the sentence conveys this to me. If lHa-rgyal's reply is (287b), he tells me he went looking for dByangs-cin himself. He might have gone to her house or have phoned her. In any case, by his actions he found out that she isn't home, his knowledge is based on personal experience, and the presence of the observation marker conveys that to me.

Consider also the following sentences:

(288a)	<i>kom kacu</i>	<i>ma-k^hut</i>	(288b)	<i>kom kacu</i>	<i>ma-¹nə-k^hut</i>
	door open	NEG-possible		door open	NEG-OBS-possible
	The door can't be opened.			I can't open the door.	

Example (288a) means that I am sure the door is impossible to open. Not only have I tried and failed, I am also positive that no one else will be able to open it. In (288b) I have tried to open the door, and failed. I know from experience that I myself cannot open the door, but I do not make a

blanket statement. There may be a person, somewhere, capable of opening the door. The listener, understanding my evaluation of the situation, can make up his own mind to try and open the door, or leave it as a probably unsuccessful venture. Though both sentences lack an overt agent, somehow (288b) has a much more active feel to it than (288a), which is best translated with a passive.

A few examples which illustrate the difference between non-direct evidentiality and observation round out this section:

(289a) jontan ji-vu
 Yon.tan PFT-come₂
 Yon-tan came.

(289b) jontan ji-^la-vi
 Yon.tan PFT-NEV-come₁
 Yon-tan came.

(289c) jontan ^lna-vi
 Yon.tan OBS-come₁
 Yon-tan has come.

In (289a) the speaker simply remarks that Yon-tan, at some time in the past, arrived. Example (289b) is marked for non-direct evidential, indicating that the speaker did not personally see Yon-tan come. Someone else told him that Yon-tan had arrived. In the last sentence, (289c), the speaker concludes from some personal observation that Yon-tan is around. Maybe he saw Yon-tan's bag, or heard his voice. Or maybe he met him somewhere on the street a while ago.

(290)	to-k ^h ut	^l na-k ^h ut
	PFT-can	OBS-can
	It's working!	It's working!

The difference expressed by the marking in the example above is one of personal involvement of the speaker. The phrase marked for past tense indicates that the speaker has been busy for a while to get something, maybe an overhead light, to work. When he is done and switches on the light, he is happy to see that it works. In the sentence marked for observation the speaker simply throws the light switch and finds that the light works - he does not need to do any repairs.

Mirativity

Mirativity indicates new or unexpected information. A few examples will show the kind of meaning expressed by mirativity:

- (291a) krəŋ kəmem ɲos (291b) wastop 'na-mem
 maybe tasty be very OBS-tasty
 Maybe it is tasty. Very tasty!

Example (291a) is said when the speaker has not tasted any of the food yet. Sentence (291b) is used after tasting, when the speaker has a personal, new experience of a new flavour.

- (292a) ɲa ɲ-əʃeʔm məntoʔk ndoʔ
 I 1s:GEN-house flowers have
 There are flowers in my house.
- (292b) ɲa ɲ-əʃeʔm məntoʔk 'na-ndoʔ
 I 1s:GEN-house flowers OBS-have
 There are flowers in my house.

The speaker in (292a) knows what is in the house for sure. It is his own house and he is certain that the flowers are there. In (292b) the presence of flowers in the speaker's house comes as a surprise. They were not there before, and the speaker did not put them there. He doesn't know how they came to be there or who put them there. The knowledge of there being flowers in the house is new and unexpected.

Or, when I knock on my friend's door there is no answer, but when I walk around the house, to my surprise, I find him in the garden:

- (293) o 'na-tə-ɲu
 oh OBS-2-live
 Oh, you *are* here!

So should observation marker *na-* be counted as signalling mirativity? One argument against this comes from example (290) above. Both the person who worked to repair the light and the speaker who simply tried the switch had no way of knowing that the light would work. It is new information for both, though maybe expected by the man who worked. So *na-*, since it occurs only in one of the two sentences, must mark something beyond newness of knowledge. Another example is (294):

- (294) pəzar 'ji-məndə tʃe tʃʰəŋdu wastop saʃki 'na-ɲos
 summer FPFT-arrive LOC Chéngdū very hot OBS-be
 Once summer has arrived, it will be very hot in Chéngdū.

Here the observation marker indicates knowledge of a situation - Chéngdū is hot in summer - acquired at some point in the past. The use of the marker shows that the speaker is sure of his statement, based on his experience with Chéngdū's hot season.

Lin remarks that mirativity as described above is limited to present tense, otherwise the information loses its newness or the element of surprise. Her Zhuōkèjī data show the occurrence of observation marking also in past tense and in habitual situations.¹⁸⁵ I have not found this distinction for Jiǎomùzú. Examples (284) above, about the speaker knowing or not knowing bKra-shis, clearly show past as well as non-past environments with observation marking. In fact, looking at the examples of mirativity above, they can easily be interpreted within the functions of observation described in this section. Examples (290) and (294) of course express knowledge based on experience, the first sense of observation. It does not really matter if the knowledge is newly acquired or not, the marking is the same. Mirativity in the sense used by DeLancey is not so much a separate category as a subdivision of observation marking in the Jiǎomùzú dialects.

Distinguishing outsiders from insiders

One more function of observation marking needs to be added here. When a speaker wants to indicate his social position as outsider or insider in relation to a group observation marking comes into play. Consider the following examples:

(295a) jontan mə-ndo?
Yon.tan Q-have
Is Yon-tan home?

(295b) jontan mə-'na-ndo?
Yon.tan Q-OBS-have
Is Yon-tan home?

A person belonging to Yon-tan's House can ask the question as in example (295a). The person is an insider and is entitled to speak about Yon-tan with authority. Sentence (295b) however will be used by a person not belonging to Yon-tan's House, say a friend who comes looking for Yon-tan. The friend does not have the authority of close relationship or kinship and therefore must use observation marking. Note that it does not matter at all whether a person has knowledge based on personal experience or not. The friend may be sitting in Yon-tan's house, knowing that Yon-tan, who was chatting with him just now, has gone into the next room to fetch tea. If someone asks at that moment whether Yon-tan is home, the friend is still obliged to answer with (295c). But a person belonging to the House will answer with (295d).

(295c) 'na-ndo?
OBS-have
Yes, he is.

(295d) ndo?
have
Yes, he is.

In the friend's case answer (295c) arguably does not involve surprise or new knowledge: he knows full well that Yon-tan is there. One could argue that the statement is marked for observation because the friend has experienced that Yon-tan is home and bases his marking for reliability on that. However, as an eyewitness to Yon-tan's being home one would expect no marking at all for whoever has seen Yon-tan there and so has firsthand knowledge of the situation. Besides,

¹⁸⁵ Lin 2000: 77, 78.

observation marking does not occur if someone belonging to the House makes the same statement. Not even when someone belonging to the house is out in town and meets someone who asks if Yon-tan is home. The answer will be a simple *ndo?*, without observation marking, even though the speaker has not seen Yon-tan for several hours. What matters here is the basic difference between outsiders and insiders. People that belong to the in-group are entitled to make statements conveying certainty, based on the authority they derive from being insiders. People that do not belong to the in-group do not have such authority, whatever their personal level of knowledge about a certain fact or situation. In judging the reliability of a statement insider knowledge trumps an outsider's firsthand knowledge, whether it is gained as an eyewitness or from personal experience. Along the same lines, when someone asks if I have a pot, I will use (296a) if the pot is mine and (296b) if the pot belongs to someone else, say if the speaker is in someone else's house helping out in the kitchen:

(296a)	tajam	ndo?	(296b)	tajam	'na-ndo?
	pot	have		pot	OBS-have
	Yes, there is a pot.			Yes, there is a pot.	

Observation marking often replaces present imperfective marking to signal the outsider/insider distinction, especially when the present imperfective signals a state or an action of long duration. The examples below are the answers of a daughter to a question about her mother's profession. Sentence (297a) expresses that the daughter still lives at home, is part of the House, and thus entitled to use present imperfective marking because she is an insider. The same daughter, once she has moved out of the house, will use observation marking to signal that she is now an outsider:

(296a)	ŋ-əmo	ts ^h oŋ	ŋa-va-w
	1s:GEN-mother	business	PRIMP-do-3s
	My mother runs a shop. (My mother is a trader.)		
(296b)	ŋ-əmo	ts ^h oŋ	'na-va-w
	1s:GEN-mother	business	OBS-do-3s
	My mother runs a shop. (My mother is a trader.)		

Speakers use observation marking also to distance themselves from an action, event or person. For example, a person, when asked what is with all the noise going on outside, may answer with (297a) or (297b). Example (297a) indicates that the speaker genuinely does not know what the noise is about. Sentence (297b) implies that the speaker does not know and also that he does not want to know. He is not interested and does not want to get involved with the issue:

(297a)	ma-ʃi-ŋ	(297b)	ma-'nə-ʃi-ŋ
	NEG-know-1s		NEG-OBS-know-1s
	I don't know.		I don't know.

A special but very important function of the observation marker is to convey the sense that there is third or outsider party involvement and control over an action or event. This function can be illustrated most clearly in sentences with the auxiliary *ra*, which expresses futurity as well as meanings like 'need, want'. Compare the following sentences:

- (298a) *sofnu* *pkraʃis* *wucən* *mi* *rjəʔk*
 tomorrow bKra.shis 5000 metre run
 Tomorrow bKra-shis will run the 5000 m.
- (298b) *sofnu* *pkraʃis* *wucən* *mi* *rjəʔk* *ra*
 tomorrow bKra.shis 5000 metre run need
 Tomorrow bKra-shis has to run the 5000 m.
- (298c) *sofnu* *pkraʃis* *wucən* *mi* *rjəʔk* *'na-ra*
 tomorrow bKra.shis 5000 metre run OBS-need
 Tomorrow bKra-shis must run the 5000 m.

Example (298a) simply states that bKra-shis will run. Futurity is signaled by *sofnu*, 'tomorrow'. The verb *ra* in (298b) signals futurity as well as modality. The speaker conveys to a third party that bKra-shis will perform an action, 'run', in the future, as well as the speaker's own certainty that the event will take place. In example (298c) the presence of *ra* modified by *na-* signals that some outside influence compels bKra-shis to run, maybe bKra-shis' coach in track and field. In any case, bKra-shis will run because someone else requires him to, not of his own volition.

Compare also:

- (299a) *ŋa* *kərama* *kəsam* *ʃnu* *ta-skoʔr-jn* *ra*
 I labour three days 1/2-hire-2p need
 I will hire you (p) to work for three days.
- (299b) * *ŋa* *kərama* *kəsam* *ʃnu* *taskoʔrjn* *'nara*

Obviously, when the speaker controls the action, the auxiliary verb cannot be marked for observation, since observation marking signals the outsider, observer or non-participant perspective of the speaker. A sentence like (299b) is ungrammatical if the speaker is the one who decides whether to hire people or not. The sentence becomes grammatical only if the empathy of the hearer shifts away from the speaker to a third party, which somehow controls the speaker's action in the particular situation. A possible scenario is that I am the manager of an estate, and the landowner has told me to hire the people I'm speaking to for the period of three days. Example (299a) only conveys that 'I' will hire some labourers. In (299b) 'I' convey to the people to be hired that the hiring is on the orders of someone else. The same issue occurs in examples (300a) - (300c):

- (300a) ηa $\eta i-t\dot{\eta}i\eta s\partial^{\text{a}}$ $ta-v\partial-sco\eta-n$
 I 2p:GEN-dorm 1/2-VPT-see off-2s
 I'll come and see you to your dorm.
- (300b) ηa $\eta i-t\dot{\eta}i\eta s\partial^{\text{a}}$ $ta-v\partial-sco\eta-n$ ra
 I 2p:GEN-dorm 1/2-VPT-see.off-2s need
 I'll come and see you to your dorm.
- (300c) ηa $\eta i-t\dot{\eta}i\eta s\partial^{\text{a}}$ $ta-v\partial-sco\eta-n$ $'na-ra$
 I 2p:GEN-dorm 1/2-VPT-see.off-2s OBS-need
 I must come and see you to your dorm.

Example (300a), the most unmarked version, is the most neutral or open statement. It tells the hearer that the speaker intends to see him to the dorm. The statement leaves room for the hearer to protest or otherwise respond. The action is intended rather than certain to take place. In (300b) the speaker is decided on his course of action. The seeing to the dorm will happen, whatever the hearer thinks about it. There is no room for discussion, at least in the speaker's mind. Sentence (300c) shows a most likely rather unwilling speaker communicating that a third party has saddled him with the task of seeing the hearer back to the dorm. The use, in these cases, of the observational marker, is often perceived as unpleasant or negative, but not always. Outsider influence signalled through the use of observation marking differs from straight imperatives in that the stress in imperatives is on the verb root, not on the prefix. Marking for simple past tense also has a non-stressed prefix, as shown in example (301b) below. Sentence (301a) is the neutral form. Perhaps bKra-shis wants to obtain tickets for a rock concert, and therefore has to line up, with lots of other people, through the night. Sentence (301b) may be used when bKra-shis had his money stolen on the bus. He could not afford lodging, and therefore had to sleep outside on a bench. Example (301c), with the observation marking, signals that bKra-shis is compelled to sleep outside. Maybe it is his penance, given to him by his root lama. He may not object to sleeping outside, even be eager to in order to avoid accumulating bad karma. Nevertheless, the sleeping outside was brought upon him by an outside authority:

- (301a) $lakt^{\text{h}}e$ $kaku$ $wu-t\dot{\eta}^{\text{h}}e$ $kant^{\text{h}}ak-j$ $kan\partial jup$ ra
 thing buy 3s:GEN-reason street-LOC sleep need
 He has to sleep on the street in order to buy something.
- (301b) $....nd\partial$ $r\partial$ $wu\eta o$ $kant^{\text{h}}ak-j$ $kan\partial jup$ $na-ra$
 that CON he street-LOC sleep PFT-need
therefore he had to spend the night outside.

- (301c) ndə rə wuʃo kantʃ^hak-j kanəʃup 'na-ra
 that CON he street- LOC sleep OBS-need
therefore he is compelled to spend the night outside.

Summing up

The three sets of examples below give an overview of evidentiality marking in Jiǎomùzú. For the first set, imagine a stove with a pot of noodles cooking on it. The first phrase (302a) below signals that the cook has been working on the noodles and that they are now done. The second phrase, (302b) tells us that the noodles are done, and that the speaker found out when he lifted the lid of the pot - he did not physically stand there to watch the noodles boil. The third phrase, (302c) indicates that the speaker was not involved in the cooking of the noodles in any way. Maybe he just now walked into the kitchen, looked into the pot and found that there are noodles there, and that they are done. Phrase (302a) marks physical presence of the speaker as well as awareness. Phrase (302b) marks lack of awareness of the speaker as to the cooking process. Phrase (302c) marks observed knowledge, which, in this case, is also new knowledge:

(302a) to-k ^h ut	(302b) to- ^l a-k ^h ut	(302c) ^l na-k ^h ut
PFT-can	PFT-NEV-can	OBS-can
Done!	Done!	Done!

The second set involving several kinds of evidentiality marking shows once more the differences as well as the overlap in meaning and function. Imagine that someone asks if I have a bike. I tell them that no, I don't have one, using the negative verb *mi?*, 'not have'. Depending on the context of the question, different answers are possible:

- (303a) mi?
 not.have
 No. [I don't have a bike, and I never had one.]
- (303b) to-mi?
 PFT-not.have
 No. [I had a bike in the past, but now I don't have one. Maybe I sold it.]
- (303c) to-^la-mi?
 PFT-NEV-not.have
 No. [I thought I had one, but it is gone. It disappeared but I don't know when and how. Maybe a friend told me it is not in its regular place.]

(303d) 'na-mi?

OBS-not.have

No. [I had a bike, but when I return to the place where I left it, it is no longer there. I see that the bike has disappeared, something beyond my control has happened to it.]

The final set has examples for the linking verb *stfi*, 'be'. This verb has a connotation of condescension or even contempt. Sentence (304a) shows a speaker's low opinion of bKra-shis' station in life. Sentence (304b) conveys that the speaker's certainty about bKra-shis' profession is based on some outside authority, perhaps to counter a statement that bKra-shis is doing well for himself. Example (304c) gives a simple past tense. And (304d) expresses that the speaker, maybe having held the belief that bKra-shis, being an important person, always held a high position, is surprised to find out he was only a soldier in the past.

(304a) pkraʃis makmə stʃi
bKra.shis soldier be:CD
bKra-shis is only a soldier.

(304b) pkraʃis makmə 'nə-stʃi
bKra.shis soldier EV-be:CD
bKra-shis is only a soldier.

(304c) kəsce pkraʃis makmə na-stʃi
before bKra.shis soldier PFT-be:CD
In the past bKra-shis was only a soldier.

(304d) kəsce pkraʃis makmə 'na-stʃi
before bKra.shis soldier OBS-be:CD
In the past bKra-shis was only a soldier.

7.6 Attention flow

Attention flow is a device to switch attention to or express empathy with an object. Normally, a hearer will view an action from the perspective of the subject. If the speaker wants his audience to direct their attention not to the subject but with the object of the sentence, the verb is marked for attention flow by *no-*. For example:

(305a) təmtʃuk pkraʃis 'na-cop-w
fire bKra.shis OBS-burn-3s
The fire is burning bKra-shis.

- (305b) təmtʃuk pkrəʃis 'no-cop-w
 fire bKra.shis AF/OBS-burn-3s
 bKra-shis is being burned by the fire.

Both sentence (305a) and (305b) are grammatical. Sentence (305a) is the neutral form. Sentence (305b) directs the attention of the hearer to bKra-shis. Sentences marked with attention flow are often best translated as passives in English, though *no-* appears in many environments that are not conducive to passive interpretation. Both (305a) and (305b) above are fully active sentences in Jiāomùzú. I discuss passivity and attention flow marking more extensively at the end of this section. Like inverse marking, attention flow marking is sensitive to the animacy hierarchy, as shown in the following examples. Attention flow marking does not occur in transitive relations in which the grammatical subject ranks higher than the object. Sentence (306) has a first person subject and a second person object, and marking with *no-* cannot occur:

- (306) pəʃur ɲa na-ta-naʝo-n * pəʃur ɲa notanajon
 yesterday I PSTPROG-1/2-wait-2s
 Yesterday I was waiting for you.

But attention flow marking can occur if the subject ranks lower than the object on the animacy hierarchy. In (307) there is a second person subject with a first person object. Example (307a) is the neutral form, with the regular past tense marker *kə-* for *kanajo*, 'wait'. Sentence (307b) is marked for attention flow marking, directing the hearer's attention and empathy to the object 'I' rather than to the waiting 'you'. Note that for (307b) a translation with a passive in English would sound highly unnatural:

- (307a) pəʃur nəŋʝo ɲa kə-ko-naʝo-ŋ me
 yesterday you I PFT-2/1-wait-1s INTR
 Did you wait for me yesterday?
- (307b) pəʃur nəŋʝo ɲa no-ko-naʝo-ŋ me
 yesterday you I AF/PFT-2/1-wait-1s INTR
 Did you wait for *me* yesterday?

Though both forms are possible and are in use among native speakers, many speakers prefer to mark a sentence for attention flow if the object outranks the subject. Some consider the unmarked form ungrammatical:

- (308) nəŋʝo pakʃu ki no-ko-mbuʔ-ŋ me ? * nəkombuʃ
 you apple IDEF AF/PFT-2/1-give-1s INTR
 Did you give me an apple?

(309a) təmtʃuk ɣa 'no-cop-ŋ * təmtʃuk ɣa 'nacopŋ
fire I AF/OBS-burn-1s
The fire is burning me.

(309b) təmtʃuk nəŋʝo no-cop-n * təmtʃuk nəŋʝo ɣacopn
fire you AF/PRIMP-burn-2s
The fire is burning you.

(309c) təmtʃuk pkraʃis no-cop-w
fire bKra.shis AF/PRIMP-burn-3s
The fire is burning bKra-shis.

təmtʃuk pkraʃis ɣa-cop-w
fire bKra.shis PRIMP-burn-3s
The fire is burning bKra-shis.

(310) pkraʃis k^həzaʔ na-^aa-c^hop-w *pkraʃis k^həzaʔ no'^ac^hopw
bKra.shis bowl PFT-NEV-break-3s
bKra-shis broke the bowl.

- (311) təmtʃuk təjeʔm 'na-cop-w * təmtʃuk təjeʔm 'nocopw
 fire house OBS-burn-3s
 The fire is burning the house.

Attention flow marking occurs with tense and aspectual markers for past and present tense situations. Example (307b) above shows simple past, while (309b) is marked for present imperfective aspect. But *no-* cannot appear in situations with future time reference, even in forms where attention flow marking is normally obligatory, as in 3/1 and 3/2 forms. The following shortened forms from the paradigm for *kanajo*, ‘wait’, serve as evidence. For the full paradigm, see section 7.2 on person marking above:

(312)	person	[tomorrow]...will wait for...		
	1/2	ta-najo-n	* notanajon	* nonajon
	1/3	najo-ŋ	* nonajon	
	2/1	ko-najo-n	* nokonajon	
	2/3	tə-najo-n	* notənajon	
	3/1	wu-najo-ŋ	* nowunajon	*nonajon
	3/2	to-najon	* notonajon	
	3/3	(wu)-najo-w	* nonajow	

Though native speakers reject the use of *no-* in future time frames, very occasionally attention flow marking does occur with time references that indicate futurity. I have only one example in my data:

- (313) nəŋʒo ŋa sofnu doŋmən^ʔ w-əp^ha tʃəʔ tʃe no-ko-məto-ŋ me
 you I tomorrow East.gate 3s:GEN-vicinity this LOC AF-2/1-meet-1s INTR
 Will you meet me tomorrow at the Eastgate?

The adverb *sofnu*, ‘tomorrow’ puts the time frame clearly in the future and still *no-* appears. I have no satisfactory explanation for this usage.

Attention flow is marked before person markers, as in (314b) where *no-* is prefixed to *ko-*, the person prefix that signals the transitive relation between a second person subject and a first person object:

- (314a) nəŋʒo ŋa pakʃu ki ko-mbuʔ-ŋ me
 you I apple IDEF 2/1-give-1s Q
 Will you give me an apple?
- (314b) nəŋʒo ŋa pakʃu ki no-ko-mbuʔ-ŋ me
 you I apple IDEF AF/PFT-2/1-give-1s Q
 Did you give me an apple?

Marking with *no-* can replace or merge with tense and aspect markers, retaining the stress patterns of the original markers. For example, in second person present imperfective aspect forms the aspect marker *kə-* remains. But third person imperfective marker *na-* merges with *no-*:

- (315) *nənʝo ɲa no-^lkə-ta-top-n*
 you I AF-PRIMP-2/1-hit-2s
 You are hitting me.
- pkraʃis ɲa ^lno-wu-top-ŋ* (no-ɲa-wu-top-ŋ)
bKra.shis I AF/PRIMP-3/1-hit-1s
bKra-shis is hitting me.

Sentences (316a) and (316b) show simple past tense forms. Attention flow marker *no-* replaces the regular past tense marker *kə-*. Example (316c) and (316d) are marked for non-direct evidentiality. The stress remains on the first syllable when the verb phrase is also marked for attention flow, as in (316d):

- (316a) *təwaʔm nənʝo kə-tə-najo-n* [kəʔəna^lʝon]
 bear you PFT-2-wait-2s
 The bear waited for you.
- (316b) *təwaʔm nənʝo no-tə-najo-n* [noʔəna^lʝon]
 bear you AF/PFT-2-wait-2s
 The bear waited for you.
- (316c) *ts^hoŋpe pkraʃis na-^la-nəvla-w* [^lnaŋəvla^w]
 trader bKra.shis PFT-NEV-cheat-3s
 The trader cheated bKra-shis.
- (316d) *pkraʃis ts^hoŋpe kə no-^la-nəvla-w* [^lnoŋəvla^w]
 trader bKra.shis PR AF/PFT-NEV-cheat-3s
 The trader cheated bKra-shis.

However, when a speaker wants to stress the importance of the point he is making, all appropriate markers can occur. In the following sentence the verb phrase is marked for attention flow as well as past imperfective aspect. The hiring that took place last year is evidently an issue in ongoing or ensuing events:

- (317) *nənʝo varʝi no-to-ko-skoʔr-ŋ stʃi*
 you last.year AF-PSTIMP-2/1-hire-1s be:CD
 [But] you hired me last year!

It is to some extent the speaker's preference that decides which shades of meaning are emphasised by the choice of markers.

Attention flow marking in modally marked verb phrases such as imperatives also replaces the mood marker. The normal imperative marker for *kambu?*, 'give' is *nə-*. If the imperative is marked for attention flow *nə-* disappears:

- (318) pakʃu pkraʃis nə-¹mbuʔ-w
apple bKra.shis IMP-give-3s
Give bKra-shis the apple!

- (319) pakʃu ŋa no-¹mbuʔ-ŋ
apple I AF/IMP-give-1s
Give me the apple!

With ditransitives there are often two possible forms of imperative, one unmarked for attention flow, and a marked form. Compare the following imperatives. Example (a) gives the neutral form, marked by *kə-*, the normal imperative marker for *kanajo*, 'wait':

- (320a) pkraʃis kə-na¹jo-w
bKra.shis IMP-wait-2s
You wait [here] for bKra-shis.

In (320b), which is inverse with a second person subject and a first person object, the marker *kə-* appears. Sentence (320c) shows that attention flow marking replaces the imperative marker entirely:

(320b) kə-na ¹ jo-ŋ	(320c) no-na ¹ jo-ŋ
IMP-wait-1s	AF/IMP/1/2-wait-1s
Wait for me!	Wait for <i>me</i> !

Topicalisation can trigger marking for attention flow and in some cases makes it obligatory. A Jiāomùzú neutral sentence has the subject in the first slot with the object in the second. Topicalisation puts the object in the first slot, giving it more prominence. In a topicalised sentence prominence marker *kə-* occurs with the subject to mark it for ergativity. Topicalisation does not trigger attention flow marking for subjects with lower ranking objects, as shown in (321a), (321b) and (321c). The first sentence of each example gives the neutral form, the second sentence is topicalised:

(321a) *ŋa nəŋʝo kə-ta-naʝo-n*
 I you PFT-1/2-wait-2s
 I waited for you.

nəŋʝo ŋa kə kə-tə-naʝo-n
 you I PR PFT-2-wait-2s
 It is you I waited for.

* *notənaʝon*

(321b) *ŋa pkraʃis kə-naʝo-ŋ*
 I bKra.shis PFT-wait-1s
 I waited for bKra-shis.

pkraʃis ŋa kə kə-naʝo-ŋ
 bKra.shis I PR PFT-wait-1s
 It is bKra-shis I waited for.

* *nonaʝon*

(321c) *nəŋʝo pkraʃis kə-tə-naʝo-n*
 you bKra.shis PFT-2-wait-2s
 You waited for bKra-shis.

pkraʃis nəŋʝo kə kə-tə-naʝo-n
 bKra.shis you PR PFT-2-wait-2s
 It is bKra-shis you waited for.

* *notənaʝon*

In sentences with a second person subject and a first person object *no-* can occur in the neutral form as well as in the topicalised sentence, but it is not obligatory. Though first person clearly ranks higher than second person, since attention flow marking is prohibited in 1/2 forms, 2/1 forms apparently are somewhat ambivalent:

(322a) *nəŋʝo ŋa kə-ko-naʝo-n*
 you I PFT-2/1-wait-2s
 You waited for me.

ŋa nəŋʝo kə kə-ko-naʝo-n
 I you PR PFT-2/1-wait-2s
 It was I you waited for.

(322b) *nəŋʝo ŋa no-ko-naʝo-n*
 you I AF/PFT-2/1-wait-2s
 You waited for me.

ŋa nəŋʝo kə no-ko-naʝo-n
 I you PR AF/PFT-2/1-wait-2s
 It was I you waited for.

In 3/1 and 3/2 forms attention flow marking is obligatory both in neutral sentences and in topicalised forms, as expected since the subject ranks higher than the object:

(323) *pkraʃis ŋa no-naʝo-ŋ*
 bKra.shis I AF/PFT-wait-1s
 bKra-shis waited for me.

ŋa pkraʃis kə no-naʝo-ŋ
 I bKra.shis PR AF/PFT-wait-1s
 It was me bKra-shis waited for.

- (324) pkraʃis nənʝo no-to-najo-n
 bKra.shis you AF/PFT-3/2-wait-2s
 bKra-shis waited for you.

nənʝo pkraʃis kə no-to-najo-n
 you bKra.shis PR AF/PFT-3/2-wait-2s
 It was you bKra-shis waited for.

Note that in the 3/1 forms the inverse marker *wu-*, which normally would appear before the verb root, is missing. There are actually forms with both inverse marking and attention flow marking in 3/1 forms, but they have slightly different meanings. I discuss these forms in section 7.2.d on inverse marking above.

In forms with a third person subject and a third person object, the occurrence of attention flow marking in topicalised forms depends on the animacy hierarchy as well as on the preference of the speaker. In a neutral sentence with a third person animate (including human) subject attention flow marking does not occur on the verb. But in a topicalised sentence, *no-* may appear, though the preferred form is unmarked. In the following sets of examples, the preferred form is listed first in a sentence, with the alternative, less preferred form to the right hand side:

- (325) pkraʃis lhamo kə-najo-w * nonajow
 bKra.shis lHa.mo PFT-wait-3s
 bKra-shis waited for lHa-mo.
- lhamo pkraʃis kə kə-najo-w no-najo-w
 lHa.mo bKra.shis PR PFT-wait-3s AF/PFT-wait-3s
 It was lHa-mo bKra-shis waited for.

The only exception here is a sentence with an inanimate object, since attention flow marking cannot occur with inanimate arguments:

- (326) təwaʔm ʝarə kə-najo-w * nonajow
 bear meat PFT-wait-3s
 The bear waited for the meat.
- ʝarə təwaʔm kə kə-najo-w * nonajow
 meat bear PR PFT-wait-3s
 It is the meat the bear waited for.

In sentences with an inanimate subject and a human object, the preferred form is marked for attention flow, though it is not obligatory. It makes no difference whether the sentence is topicalised or not:

- (327) *təmtʃuk pkraʃis* *no-cop-w* *na-cop-w*
 fire *bKra-shis* *AF/PFT-burn-3s* *PFT-burn-3s*
 The fire burned bKra-shis.
- pkraʃis* *təmtʃuk kə* *no-cop-w* *na-cop-w*
 bKra.shis *fire* *PR* *AF/PFT-burn-3s* *PFT-burn-3s*
 It was bKra-shis the fire burned.

For inanimate subjects with animate objects the preferred form in neutral sentences is unmarked, while the preference in topicalised sentences is marked for attention flow:

- (328) *təmtʃuk kʰəna* *na-cop-w* *no-cop-w*
 fire *dog* *PFT-burn-3s* *AF/PFT-burn-3s*
 The fire burned the dog.
- kʰəna təmtʃuk kə* *no-cop-w* *na-cop-w*
 dog *fire* *PR* *AF/PFT-burn-3s* *PFT-burn-3s*
 It was the dog that the fire burned.

Attention flow marker *no-* is similar to inverse marker *wu-* in that it is sensitive to the animacy hierarchy, including the prohibition on co-occurrence with inanimate arguments. But there are also plenty of differences. First of all, inverse marking concerns the subject: it occurs when a subject is outranked by an object. Attention flow marking is concerned with objects. It can, and sometimes must, occur when an object is outranked by a subject, as demonstrated amply above.

Second, inverse marking occurs in past as well as non-past situations. Attention flow marking is restricted to past and present. It is never marked in future tense situations. Third, inverse marking is part of the person and number prefixes while attention flow marking appears before the person and number prefixes, see examples (322) and (324) above. And fourth, attention flow marking and inverse marker *wu-* can occur together in one verb phrase. Attention flow marking can be used to mention a speech act participant as an object in a non-direct speech situation. In example (329) inverse marking appears to signal that bKra-shis gave apples to a person otherwise unmentioned by the speaker:

- (329) *pkraʃis* *pakʃu* *no-wu-mbu?-w*
 bKra.shis *apple* *AF/PFT-INV:3/3-give-3s*
 The apples were given by bKra-shis [to an unmentioned person].

The inverse marker signals that bKra-shis, the subject, in the mind of the speaker ranks higher than the person he gave the apples to. Attention flow marker *no-*, on the other hand, puts the empathy of the hearer with the recipient of the apples, even though it is not clear who that recipient is. Note that *no-* cannot refer to *pakʃu*, ‘apples’, since attention flow marking with an inanimate object is

ungrammatical. The same sentence is also ungrammatical if the recipient is known, as in the direct speech situation of (330). The recipient, I, ranks higher than the subject, so inverse marking with *wu-* is expected. But it cannot occur:

- (330) pkraʃis pakʃu no-mbuʔ-ŋ *pkraʃis pakʃu nowumbun
bKra.shis apple AF/PFT-give-1s
The apples were given to me by bKra-shis .

Note that in (330) the number marking-*ŋ* on the verb shows that the recipient is a first person, ‘I’. Since a first person is clearly known as a participant in the transaction, inverse marking cannot occur here.

The presence of *no-* indicates that the speaker or hearer looks at an action or event from the perspective of the grammatical person which occupies the object slot. It is a foregrounding technique much like topicalisation and passivisation. I have demonstrated above that though topicalisation and attention flow marking can co-occur, marking with *no-* does not automatically appear in topicalised sentences. Attention flow marking is not inherently linked to topicalisation. Passivisation is understood as focusing the attention of the hearer on the object by use of special markers in the verb phrase.¹⁸⁶ Could *no-* classify as a passive marker in Jiǎomùzú? Even though most topicalised sentences with attention flow marking are best translated in English with passives, there are some arguments against designating *no-* as a passive marker. A very strong argument of course is that *no-* occurs in all kinds of obviously active sentences, as amply demonstrated above. Attention flow marking does not change the valency of the verb; ditransitives remain ditransitive and *no-* cannot occur with intransitive verbs. Both subject and object marking remain on verbs also marked for attention flow, as shown in many of the examples above. Also, attention flow marking can occur together with passive marker *no-*. Note that sentence (331a) below is active and has person and number marking, whereas sentence (331b) is passive and does not have number marking. There is really no good way to paraphrase sentence (331a) in English without using topicalisation or turning the sentence into a passive. Neither does justice to the effect of attention flow marking, which draws attention to the object without making any other changes to the morphology or sentence structure:

- (331a) k^hapri kə no-mtʃuk-w
snake PR AF/PFT-bite-3s
A snake bit *him*. (Him the snake bit.)
- (331b) k^hapri kə no-ŋo-mtʃuk
snake PR AF/PFT-PAS-bite-3s
He was bitten by a snake.

¹⁸⁶ Keenan (1996: 243-246).

Somewhat less pertinent maybe but still interesting is that Jiāomùzú voice markers all occur in a slot right before the verb root, but after person prefixes. Attention flow marking occurs before the person prefixes. If *no-* marks for passive it is in a morphologically aberrant position. A last argument is that *no-* can occur in environments normally alien to passives, such as imperatives, see (320). For these reasons I have opted to call *no-* an attention flow marker rather than a passive marker.

7.7 Viewpoint: *ʃi-* and *və-*

Jiāomùzú employs two markers that indicate the direction in space or time in which a person or object is moving at the time of an action, from the perspective of the speaker. I call this set 'viewpoint' markers. They simply mark the notions 'away from' and 'toward', from the perspective of the speaker. The markers derive from the verbs meaning 'come' and 'go', *kavi* and *katʃʰi*. In the verb phrase they take the form of *və-* and *ʃi-*. Their use is comparable to the English usage of 'come' and 'go', in sentences such as 'I go to buy vegetables' and 'I come to buy vegetables'. However, unlike their English directional counterparts, these markers are part of the verb phrase, as demonstrated in the examples with the verb *kascoʔ*, 'see off', below.

- (332a) ɲa nənʃo ta-scoʔ-n
I you 1/2-see.off-2s
I'll see you off.

- (332b) pəʃur lhamo kə pkraʃis-ni ji-'a-scoʔ-w
yesterday lHa.mo PR bKra.shis-p PFT/OR:general-NEV-see.off-3s
Yesterday lHa-mo saw bKra-shis and his party off.

- (332c) pkraʃis lhamo ji-'a-və-scoʔ-w
bKra.shis lHa.mo PFT/OR:general-NEV-VPT-see.off-3s
bKra-shis came and brought lHa-mo.

- (332d) pkraʃis lhamo ji-'a-ʃi-scoʔ-w
bKra.shis lHa.mo PFT/OR:general-NEV-VPT-see.off-3s
bKra-shis went to see lHa-mo off. (bKra-shis went and saw lHa-mo off).

In (332b) only a general direction is indicated by *ji-*: movement took place. In (332c) bKra-shis saw lHa-mo off in a very specific direction: he came to the place where the speaker was, with lHa-mo, and left lHa-mo at that place. He himself, after having thus seen her off, went away - he did not stay at the place where the speaker was. This concept of 'seeing off' is a generally accepted one in rGyalrong as well as Tibetan, but it is a bit more encompassing than the meaning of the English verb. Example (332d) specifies that bKra-shis went away to some place or other in order to see lHa-mo off. He might take her to the train station, to a friend's house, or to the next place on her

itinerary, hours away from bKra-shis' own home. In any case, he saw her off, and to a place where the speaker was not.

Viewpoint markers are in a different category from orientation markers. Orientation markers indicate objective, geographical directions, as plotted from the house of the speaker. They do not move or change with the movements of a speaker. The generic orientation marker *ji-* is used only when a speaker cannot refer to his normal set of markers for lack of landmarks. The use of viewpoint markers, however, depends on the position of the speaker. Usage changes with the shifting position. Viewpoint is marked after the person slot, whereas orientation markers occur in the tense and aspect slot before the person slot:

- (333) *nənjo bawbaw^ꞑ tə-ʃi-ku-w me*
 you bag 2-VPT-buy-2w INTR
 Are you going to buy a bag? (Will you go and buy a bag?)

- (334) *nənjo bawbaw^ꞑ to-tə-ʃi-nə-ku-w me*
 you bag PFT-2-VPT-EREFL-buy-2s INTR
 Did you go and buy yourself a bag?

- (335) *soʃnu smonbe-j ji-ʃi-na'tso-w*
 tomorrow doctor-LOC IMP-VPT-see-2s
 Tomorrow you go to the doctor!

It might be tempting to consider *ʃi-* and, to a lesser extent, *və-* present imperfective markers. Especially *ʃi-* can often be glossed conveniently with the English 'going', as in 'bKra-shis was going to see lHa-mo off'. But viewpoint and present imperfective aspect markers can occur in the same verb phrase. In example (336) there is the first and second person present imperfective aspect marker *kə-*, which indicates that the action is happening right now, as well as a viewpoint marker expressing the direction in which the person addressed is moving: away from the speaker.

- (336) *nənjo bawbaw^ꞑ ki 'kə-tə-ʃi-nə-ku-w me*
 you bag IDEF PRIMP-2-VPT-EREFL-buy-2s INTR
 Are you on your way to go and buy yourself a bag?

Because adverbs are usually placed right before the verb phrase it can be tricky to distinguish the adverb *ʃi*, 'always' from the viewpoint marker *ʃi*, 'away from the speaker', which is marked on the verb. However, often the presence of an aspectual or tense marker shows the difference:

- (337) *lhamo minjuwan^ꞑ w-əŋgi kəpdu pa ʃi-ju ra 'nə-ŋos*
 lHa.mo Mínyuàn 3s:GEN-inside four year VPT-live need EV-be
 lHa-mo will go and live at Mínyuàn for four years.

(338) lhamo minjuwan^ᄃ w-əŋgi kəpdu pa ʃi na-ɲu
 lHa.mo Mínyuàn 3s:GEN-inside four year always PFT-stay
 lHa-mo lived at Mínyuàn continuously for four years.

(339) ɲa bawbaw^ᄃ ʃi-ku-ŋ
 I bag VPT-buy-1s
 I go to buy a bag.

(340) ɲa ʃnu-ʃnu bawbaw^ᄃ ʃi 'kə-ku-ŋ
 I day-day bag always PRIMP-buy-1s
 Every day I buy a bag.

The viewpoint marker *və-* can have an aspectual meaning. When *və-* is used in this way it forms verb phrases marked for impending action or prospective aspect, indicating that something is about to happen. The difference between viewpoint marking and aspectual marking with *və-*, morphologically, is the use of an aspect marker as well as the viewpoint marker, as in example (b):

(341a) nəŋɔ tə-və-rʃəʔk-n me
 you 2-VPT-run-2s INTR
 Are you coming to run?

(341b) nəŋɔ 'na-tə-və-rʃəʔk-n me
 you FPFT-2-PROSP-run-2s INTR
 Are you about to run?

Example (341a) indicates that the speaker is already running and is asking if the hearer will join him, in the sense of 'coming along with'. In (341b) the speaker inquires at what point in the near future the listener will run, while the speaker, when asking the question, is not in the process of running. I discuss impending action and the use of *və-* more extensively in section 7.4.c on aspect.

Jacques mentions the use of viewpoint markers in the Northern dialect of Japhug.¹⁸⁷ There the marker for 'go' fits after negation markers and before the tense and aspect slot. But the marker for 'come' slots in after the tense and aspect markers. Jacques does not discuss a possible aspectual meaning for this second marker.

¹⁸⁷ Xiàng (2008: 258-259).

7.8 Voice

a. *Introduction*

Crystal defines voice as “a category used in the grammatical description of sentence or clause structure, primarily with reference to verbs, to express the way sentences may alter the relationship between the subject and the object of a verb, without changing the meaning of a sentence. There will be certain differences in the emphasis or style of these sentences, which will affect the speaker’s choice but the factual content of the two sentences remains the same.”¹⁸⁸ This is a definition of voice in the narrow sense, in which the derived form preserves all semantic roles which are present in the neutral sentence. Even when some of them are not expressed, their presence is implied by the meaning of the sentence.¹⁸⁹ The Jiǎomùzú dialects mark voice in this narrow sense on the verb of sentences in the passive voice, while active voice remains unmarked. The category voice in the broader sense of the word includes syntactic changes which preserve the inventory of semantic roles but impose certain operations on them, as well as syntactic changes which do not preserve the inventory of syntactic roles. Voice in this broader sense encompasses reflexive, reciprocal and causative structures.¹⁹⁰ In this study I use the broad definition of voice.

The category voice in the Jiǎomùzú dialects is marked on the verb by inserting prefixes directly before the verb root but after the person prefixes. This distinguishes the voice markers from marking for tense, aspect and mood, which is prefixed before the person markers. Concepts that are marked in the category voice are passivity, reciprocity, reflexivity and causality. Passives are formed with the marker *ŋo-*. Reciprocity is marked by *ŋa-* or *wa-*, often in combination with a reduplicated verb root. Jiǎomùzú marks for two kinds of reflexive. The marker *bja-* signals canonical reflexivity. The second form, emphatic reflexivity, is marked by *nə-*. In some cases *nə-* signals autobenefactive meaning. I discuss these cases in the subsection on reflexivity. The causality markers come in four sets: *va-* and *və-*, *ra-* and *rə-*, *ʃa-* and *ʃə-* and finally *sa-* and *sə-*. The first two sets of markers, *va-/və-* and *ra-/rə-* are used for verbs indicating direct action by an agent. The *sa-/sə-* set occurs in verbs that mark indirect action through an agent, as it were, at one remove. The markers *ʃa-* and *ʃə-* are very rare and should not be confused with the viewpoint marker *ʃi-* or with *kafa-* and *kafɿ-*, which mark some forms of reciprocity. Adding or removing a causality marker changes the valency of the verb and so influences transitivity. I have not found why a certain verb takes a marker with *a-* or with *ə-*. Though both markers in a set apparently have the same meaning, they are lexicalised in that they cannot be used interchangeably.

(350)	kasəva	cause to do	* kasava
	kaɕaŋki	burn, scorch	* kaɕəŋki

¹⁸⁸ Crystal (1991: 357).

¹⁸⁹ Kulikov (2010: 374).

¹⁹⁰ Kulikov (2010: 384-393).

Slightly different in character are the prefixes *na-* and its variant form *nə-*, and *mə-*. Prefixing *na-* or *nə-* to the verb adds a patient or direct object to the clause or sentence, thus forming applicatives. The prefix *mə-* signals non-volitionality. Changing a verb from volitional to non-volitional changes the valency of that verb. In many verbs with these markers are highly lexicalised and cannot be removed from the verb root. Also, other voice markers cannot be inserted between *na-* or *mə-* and their respective roots. However, *na-/nə-* nor *mə-* takes part in reduplication of roots such as occurs in verb phrases marked for reciprocity. This may be an indication of their former status as prefixes. Many of the verbs with *na-/nə-* and *mə-* are formed not from other verb roots but from nouns or other words outside of the verb category. Because both markers change the valency of the verb in which they occur and because of their placement, directly in front of the verb root and after the second person marker *tə-*, I include them in the category voice.

In the following subsections (b) and (c) I first discuss applicative and volitionality markers *na-/nə-* and *mə-* respectively. Then I give an overview of passives in subsection (d). Reflexivity marking is described in subsection (e), followed by an overview of reciprocity in subsection (f). The section after, (g), discusses reciprocity while (h) describes causativity. My discussion of voice marking concludes in subsection (i) with an overview of how voice markers can be combined, creating a wonderfully flexible system with which very subtle shades of meaning can be expressed by simply adding or deleting a small marker.

b. *Applicatives: adding direct objects*

The markers *na-* and *nə-* form applicatives by adding a direct object to a verb when inserted before the verb root. The verb changes from intransitive to transitive. In example (351) the subjects of the intransitive verbs all behave as agents of the transitive forms, not as patients:

(342)	vi		vt	
	kəʒdar	be scared	kanəʒdar	fear something or someone
	karmbat	draw near (in time)	kanarmbat	encroach, creep up on someone
	kap ^h o	flee, run away	kanap ^h o	detour, go around something

When the markers *nə-* and *na-* modify an verb that is already transitive, they signal individuated referential status of an implied object, creating an increased awareness or greater definition of an implied object. When a speaker uses the unmarked form of the verb, he is thinking in general terms, without a specific object in mind. An example of this kind is the pair *kap^hət*, ‘throw’ and *kanəp^hət*, ‘lose [something]; throw away [something]’. Example (343) shows forms of the transitive verb for ‘steal’ with and without *nə-*. Sentence (343a) is a straightforward generic statement of a value judgment: it is not good to steal. But in (343b), in which *kafmo*, ‘steal’ is marked with *nə-* the

speaker has an object in mind, though it is implied. The speaker in effect admonishes a hearer that it is not good for the hearer to go and steal things. This sentence may be used by a teacher addressing his students after he has heard rumours that some of them plan to steal sausages which are hanging temptingly on the neighbours' porch to dry:

- (343a) ka-ʃmo ma-haʔw
 INF-steal NEG-good
 Stealing is not good.
- (343b) ka-nəʃmo ma-haʔw
 INF-steal NEG-good
 It is not good to steal things.

A fair number of verbs in Jiǎomùzú have the component *nə-* or *na-* as a lexicalised part of the verb root. Removal of the marker from these roots usually leads to non-existing forms:

(344)	kanəzoʔk	lick	* kazoʔk
	kənəʃit	comfortable	* kəʃit
	kanənts ^h ok	gnaw	* kants ^h ok
	kanəja	go home	* kaja

Some of the verbs with a lexicalised marker *na-* or *nə-* derive from nouns rather than verbs:

(345)	tazor	crack	kanazor	crack, split
	saksə	noon	kanəsaksə	have lunch

It is tempting to think of some verb roots as having a merged lexicalised marker:

(346)	kanɲa	lose, be defeated [by someone]
	kasənɲa	conquer (cause someone to lose)

The first verb in (346) looks like a contracted form of *kanəɲa*, 'lose [a fight] oneself'. However, when I tested this hypothesis with native speakers they all felt that it was impossible to stretch the *n-* into *nə-*. If there ever was such a combination of marker and root, now there is only the fully lexicalised form in *-nɲa*.

While *na-* and *nə-* both add direct objects that are separate entities from the subject, *nə-* occurs also when the subject is co-referential with the direct object to form emphatic reflexives, generating the meaning 'to do something oneself'. There is no verbal affix in Jiǎomùzú to form benefactives, in which an indirect object rather than a direct object is added to the structure. To form meanings like 'do something for someone or on behalf of someone' locatives are used. But when the subject is co-referential with the indirect object the verb is marked, once again, with *nə-* to form autobenefactives

with the meaning ‘to do something for oneself or on behalf of oneself’. I discuss emphatic reflexives and autobenefactives in 7.8.e, the subsection on reflexivity.

c. *Volitionality*

Volitionality is an overarching concept that covers a number of meanings or attitudes pertaining to the subject who performs an action. Pairs of terms often used in connection with the concept of volitionality or intentionality in previous literature are 'controllable' and 'uncontrollable'; 'causative' and 'non-causative'; 'consciously' and 'unwittingly'; and 'volitional' or 'active' and 'involuntary'. All these terms indicate the contrast between an action that the subject can control and an action that the subject cannot control. I use 'volitional' and 'non-volitional' to cover all the shades of meaning within the category of volitionality. Volitionality is not normally discussed in terms of the category voice. I include it here because, as shown below, marking for non-volitionality changes the valency of a verb. Some verbs have completely different forms to express volitional and non-volitional meanings:

(347a) lhamo kə kʰəzaʔ na-tʃʰop-w
 lHa.mo PR bowl PFT-break-3s
 lHa-mo broke the bowl.

(347b) lhamo kə kʰəzaʔ na-ʃlaʔk-w
 lHa.mo PR bowl PFT-break₂-3s
 lHa-mo broke the bowl.

The use of *kaʃʰop*, 'break', in (347a) means that lHa-mo intentionally broke the bowl, maybe in a fit of anger, or at least that lHa-mo was the cause for the breaking. The verb *kaʃleʔk*, 'let go, drop away' in example (347b) means that she accidentally, unintentionally broke the bowl - maybe while she was doing the dishes, the bowl dropped from her hand. Other such pairs are:

(348) volitional		non-volitional	
kaməsem	listen, understand	karəkna	hear
kanaro	look for	kaməto	see
kascit	move	kamənmu	move

The difference in volitionality can also be marked in the verb root itself, with the volitional verb using voiceless consonants, and the non-volitional form employing voiced consonants as initials. Often non-volitionality is marked by the prefix *m-* in such verbs. Marking with *m-*, and the alternation between voiced and unvoiced initials also indicate voluntary and involuntary actions and processes:

(349)	volitional		non-volitional
	kanəscar	frighten	kaʒder fear
	katʃap	push down, cause to fall	kandʃaʔp tumble; stumble
	kap ^h ət	pull down; throw	kambət fall
	kap ^h ek	split in two (vt)	kambek split in two (vi)
	kapjoʔt	fill up	kəməjot full

Note that non-volitional verbs do not have an agent. Changing a verb from non-volitional to volitional changes the valency of the verb and can change it from transitive to intransitive. In example (349) all the examples of volitional verbs are transitive, while all examples of non-volitional verbs are intransitive.

In the Jiāomùzú dialects there are a few dozen verbs that have the often lexicalised marker *mə-* prefixed to their roots. According to Nagano, who follows Wolfenden in this,¹⁹¹ the marker *mə-* in Tibetan carries the meaning of 'neuter subject' as opposed to *b-* and *'*,¹⁹² which indicate 'acting subject'. In other words, *mə-* indicates non-volitional or spontaneous action. Many of the verbs in my data fit this analysis. Some verbs have only *mə-* or *m-*, while others have both for the non-intentional form:

(350)	kap ^h ət	throw (vt)	volitional
	təmp ^h ət	vomit (noun)	
	təmp ^h ət kaleʔt	throw up, vomit	non-volitional
	kaməmp ^h ət	throw up, vomit	non-volitional

Interestingly, the compound verb shows that the root of the noun already has the non-intentional marker in the form of *m-*. The regular verb form adds *mə-* to the root and so doubles the marker for non-volitional action. Nagano remarks that this may indicate different strata in the language, one older than the other.¹⁹³ Or it may simply indicate that non-volitionality marking with *mə-* in a verb form disregards the origin of the verb root, in this case the noun *təmp^hət*, 'vomit', which is already marked for non-volitionality. Another set of verbs that has a reduplication of *mə-* is:

(351)	kaməto	see (non-volitional)
	kaməmtə	run into, meet (non-volitional)

However, the marker *mə-* in *kaməto* contrasts with the unmarked form for 'intentionally look or see', *kanatso*. If unintentionally looking turns into unintentionally meeting a person, an extra marker *m-* is required.

¹⁹¹ Nagano (1984: 155).

¹⁹² In the Wylie transcription of literary Tibetan an apostrophe (') represents the Tibetan letter ཨ *a chung*, 'small a'.

¹⁹³ Nagano (1984: 169, 170).

Sometimes nouns or other verbs point to the original meaning of the root without *mə-*:

(352)	təskru?	body	kəməskru?	pregnant
	kəzdək	sad	kəməzdəkpe	pitiful, poor

In the case of *kəməskru?*, 'pregnant', one probably needs to think along the lines of '(another) body non-intentionally growing or developing'. The verb *kəməzdəkpe*, 'pitiful, poor', indicates that a person is involuntarily in a state of sadness, literally 'a sad state'.

There are also quite a few verbs that have *mə-* but where the indication of non-volitional action is ambiguous or entirely missing. For example, the verb *kaməze?k*, 'jump, pulse, beat', is marked for non-volitional action by *mə-*. This sense of the word is used in such combinations of 'a pulse beating fast'. But the same verb is used in such sentences as 'he jumped over the fence', which is clearly volitional, and in 'the fleas jumped around the carpet', which is maybe an ambiguous case. Some other verbs that fit this category are *kaməle?k*, 'swallow' and *kaməndə*, 'arrive', though for both these verbs probably their non-volitional meaning is more prevalent than the volitional meaning.

d. *Passive: ɲo-*

Jiāomùzú has a passive marker *ɲo-* which relegates the subject of the neutral sentence to the background and foregrounds the direct object. Verbs marked for passive do not have person and number marking. Marking for other categories such as tense and aspect does occur with passives. In example (353), which consists of three clauses, the agent of the three actions remains the same: the police, marked with *-ɲo* for plural, come, catch bKra-shis and put him in prison. But only *kavi*, 'come' in the first clause is marked with person and number for plural. The actions that follow in the other clauses, *kavəja*, 'catch' and *karko*, 'put' are marked for passivity with *ɲo-*. The agent *koŋanɲuɲo*, 'police' is deleted, no person and number marking appears on these verbs, and the object from the first clause, bKra-shis, is foregrounded:

(353)	koŋanɲu ^ɲ -ɲo	ji-'a-vi-jn	pkraʃis	kə-ɲo-vəja
	police-p	PFT-NEV-come ₁	bKra.shis	PFT-PAS-fetch
	The police came, bKra-shis was caught and he was put in jail.			
	k ^h rəŋk ^h e	kə-ɲo-rko		
	prison	PFT-PAS-put		

Passive marking with *ɲo-* occurs in past as well as in non-past time frames. In 3/1 transitive relations the normal inverse marker *wu-* appears in active sentences. But many speakers prefer the passive form with *ɲo-* because it is a way to give a high ranking object more prominence. For other transitive relations in which the arguments are less far from each other on the animacy hierarchy passive marking is less prevalent.

Though example (353) is an example of an agentless passive, both agent and object can be present in passive sentences. In this respect Jiǎomùzú differs from the Northern dialect of Cǎodēng, which has an agentless passive:¹⁹⁴

- (354) soŋnu pkraʃis ŋa wu-naʝo-ŋ
tomorrow bKra.shis I 3/1:INV-wait-1s
Tomorrow bKra-shis will wait for me.

- (355) pu pkraʃis ŋa ŋo-naʝo
now bKra.shis I PAS-wait-1s
I'm being waited for by bKra-shis just now.

- (356) təmtʃuk ŋa ŋo-sat
fire I PAS-kill
I will be killed by the fire.

Topicalisation does not influence marking for passivity. Compare the passive non-topicalised form of (356) with its topicalised counterpart in (357):

- (357) ŋa təmtʃuk kə ŋo-sat
I fire PR PAS-kill
I [am the one who] will be killed by the fire.

Passive marking can occur with attention flow marking. In sentence (358a), marked for attention flow, the hearer's empathy is directed to bKra-shis, even though it normally would be with the agent who performs the action of deceiving. The object bKra-shis also gains prominence by being in the first slot of the sentence, which is normally the subject slot. In English this sort of construction is best glossed with a passive construction, even though the Jiǎomùzú sentence is active:

- (358a) pkraʃis ts^hoŋpe kə no-nəvla-w
bKra.shis trader PR AF/PFT-cheat-3s
bKra-shis was cheated by the trader.

The passive equivalent of (358a) is example (358b). The object is prominent because it is in the first slot; bKra-shis has empathy because of the attention flow marking; and on top of all that *ŋo-* turns the sentence into a passive, highlighting the object even more and causing the trader, the actual agent of the action, to be hardly noticeable:

¹⁹⁴ Sun and Lin (2007: 13).

- (358b) pkraʃis ts^hoŋpe kə no-ŋo-nəvla
 bKra.shis trader PR AF/PFT-PAS-cheat
 bKra-shis was cheated by the trader.

Passive marking can also be used to highlight an object that is otherwise absent from the sentence, though perhaps known from the context. Compare the following clauses, used in a situation where three sons find their father unharmed after an attack by wolves. Note that the negation marker for perfective past *ʃi-* merges with attention flow marker *no-*. The attention flow marker loses its consonant while the vowel of the negation marker is replaced:

- (359a) tʃəʔpu j-apa na-məto-j spjaŋkə nə ʃo-ndza-jn
 now 1p:GEN-father PFT-see-1p wolf CON NEG/AF/PFT/-eat-3p
 Now we've seen our father, he did not get eaten by the wolves.

- (359b) tʃəʔpu j-apa na-məto-j spjaŋkə nə ʃo-ŋo-ndza
 now 1p:GEN-father PFT-see-1p wolf CON NEG/AF/PFT/-PAS-eat
 Now we've seen our father, he did not get eaten by the wolves.

Sentence (359a) is a simple statement with *kandza*, 'eat' marked for attention flow because the father, a human being, ranks higher on the animacy hierarchy than an animal such as a wolf. The hearer's empathy is with the father, even though the wolf is the agent. The implied meaning of the sentence is that the wolves did not eat the father of their own accord. Maybe there was something nicer to eat nearby and they lost interest in father. In any case, the initiative and the action and the decision making are all on the wolves' side. In sentence (359b) the passive marker *ŋo-* signals that the father, who is unmentioned in the clause, somehow played an active part in not being eaten. He probably defended himself stoutly and made it impossible for the wolves to eat him, forcing them to give up. The active argument here is the object, not the actual agent.

e. *Reflexivity*: bja- and nə-

Reflexivity encodes the referential identity of the main argument of the neutral sentence and some other argument.¹⁹⁵ Jiǎomùzú has two markers for reflexivity, the canonical reflexivity marker *bja-* and the emphatic reflexivity marker *nə-*. Canonical reflexivity proper, marked by *bja-*, occurs in constructions where the subject is co-referential with the direct object,¹⁹⁶ forming constructions with the meaning 'to do something to oneself' or 'to allow something to happen or be done to oneself'. Marking for emphatic reflexivity signals that its referent "is to some degree unexpected in the

¹⁹⁵ Kulikov (2010: 384).

¹⁹⁶ Kulikov (2010: 384).

discourse role or clausal role where it occurs”.¹⁹⁷ Emphatic reflexivity marking occurs in constructions where the subject is co-referent with the direct object. When *nə-* marks co-referentiality of the subject and the indirect object it forms autobenefactives with the meaning ‘to do something for or on behalf of oneself’. Since Jiǎomùzú uses the same marker for both emphatic reflexivity and autobenefactive I discuss them in one section and mark all occurrences for emphatic reflexivity.

Reflexivity markers are prefixed to the verb root, after the person and number prefixes. In this section I first give an overview of reflexive constructions marked with *bja-*, followed by a discussion of emphatic reflexivity marking with *nə-*. The section concludes with a description of constructions in which both markers occur.

The following shortened paradigm for *katop*, ‘hit’, shows the formation of reflexive verb phrases marked with *bja-* for different grammatical persons. The paradigm is marked for past perfective with *na-*:

(360)	1s	ŋa na-top-ŋ I PFT-hit-1s I hit.	ŋa na-bja-top-ŋ I PFT-REFL-hit-1s I hit myself.
	2s	nəŋjo na-tə-top-w you PFT-2-hit-2s You hit.	nəŋjo na-tə-bja-top-w you PFT-2-REFL-hit-2s You hit yourself.
	3s	wuŋjo na-top-w he PFT-hit-3s He hit.	wuŋjo na-bja-top-w he PFT-REFL-hit-3s He hit himself.

The emphatic reflexivity marker *nə-* is used to express the meaning ‘to do something oneself’. With emphatic reflexives there is a sense that the role or action of the referent is somehow surprising. For example, in (361) the marking for emphatic reflexivity indicates that the speaker would not necessarily expect the subject of (361) to make their own clothes. In (362) the context may be one in which the expectation is for the speaker to go. His response, marked by *nə-* for emphatic reflexivity, indicates that contrary to the expectation, he will not go – the task of going is put on the hearer instead. Below are a few examples that show the placement of the emphatic reflexivity marker in constructions which are also marked for tense, aspect and mood:

¹⁹⁷ Kemmer (1995:57), quoted after Kulikov (2007: 1416).

- (361) tʃəʔ tə tange tə nənjo-ŋo to-tə-nə-tʃop-jn me
 this C clothes C you-p PFT-2-EREFL-sew-2p INTR
 Did you make these clothes yourselves?

* tonətətʃopjn

- (362) to-tə-nə-^htʃi-n ne * tonətətʃ^hin
 IMP-2-EREFL-go₁-2s MD:CON
 You go yourself!

- (363) pkraʃis w-ascok na-kə-nə-laʔt-w tə tʃəʔ tə ^hna-ŋos
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-letter PFT-NOM-EREFL-write₂-3s C this C EV-be
 This is the letter that bKra-shis himself wrote.

Emphatic reflexivity marking with *-nə-* can be used in wider, more modal senses to express a range of feelings that would not be clear from a neutral sentence without the marker:

- (364a) ŋ-amaʔ ndəmomomo na-səjoʔk-ŋ
 1s:GEN-work just.now PFT-finish-1s
 I just finished my work.

- (364b) ŋ-amaʔ ndəmomomo na-nə-səjoʔk-ŋ
 1s:GEN-work just.now PFT-EREFL-finish-1s
 I just finished my work.

The neutral form of the sentence, (364a), simply expresses that my work is finished - in fact, I just got done with it. The meaning of (364b) is the same as in (364a), but with an added emotional value: I am happy or relieved that I am done with my work. This satisfaction about having finished the work is conveyed by the emphatic reflexivity marker. Another example of this slightly wider sense of *nə-* occurs in the pair *katʃ^hi* and *kanətʃ^hi*. Both verbs mean 'go', but the one marked with the emphatic reflexivity marker conveys a sense of urgency, or maybe focus on the subject, as in '*I am going*', for instance if the subject is not enjoying himself and is happy to leave. Yet another sense, wider than the normal meaning of emphatic reflexivity, occurs when *nə-* is reduplicated, as in *kanənətʃ^hi*, 'go' or *kanənəva*, 'do'. When a speaker uses a double emphatic reflexivity marker he signals that the action or event so marked will be exceedingly pleasant or good. He tries in this way to entice a listener to go along with him in whatever the intended action is. However, not all speakers agree that this is valid usage of the emphatic reflexivity marker.

When emphatic reflexivity marking occurs in a verb and the subject is co-referent with an implicit indirect object it generates autobenefactives with the meaning 'do something for or on behalf of oneself'. The referent of *nə-* in (365) is an implied indirect object co-referent with the subject *nənjo*, 'you'. The direct object is *bawbaw*, 'bag':

- (365) nənʝo bawbaw^ꞑ to-tə-ʃi-nə-ku-w me
 you bag PFT-2-VPT-EREFL-buy-2s INTR
 Did you go and buy a bag for yourself?

Note that such sentences can be ambiguous, because Jiǎomùzú does not distinguish between autobenefactive and emphatic reflexivity marking. In (366b) the verb marked with *nə-* can mean either that the subject buys the bag for himself, in which case the subject is co-referent with the indirect object, or that the action of buying is done by himself, with *nə-* signalling the co-referentiality of subject and direct object:

- (366a) ŋa bawbaw^ꞑ ki ku-ŋ
 I bag IDEF buy-1s
 I buy a bag.
- (366b) ŋa bawbaw^ꞑ ki nə-ku-ŋ
 I bag IDEF EREFL-buy-1s
 I myself buy a bag.
 I buy a bag for myself.

Often it is clear from context which is the right meaning. Example (367a) below will normally be interpreted to mean that the owners of the livestock did the breeding themselves, while (367b) implies that the breeding may have been outsourced to hired hands. In both sentences the livestock of course belongs to the owners:

- (367a) kəʃput ndə tə-ŋo na-kə-nə-ʃput ŋos
 livestock that C-p PFT-NOM-EREFL-breed be
 They themselves bred the livestock.
- (367b) kəʃput ndə tə-ŋo na-kə-ʃput ŋos
 livestock that C-p PFT-NOM-breed be
 They bred livestock.

When a speaker wants to make a clear distinction between the senses of ‘doing oneself’ and ‘doing for oneself’, the antecedent can be marked for person:

- (368a) ŋ-ascok na-nə-səʝoʔk-ŋ
 1s:GEN-letter PFT-EREFL-finish-1s
 I finished my own letter.

- (368b) *ŋa tascok na-nə-laʔt-ŋ*
 I letter PFT-EREFL-write₂-1s
 I wrote the letter myself.

The grammatical subject of (368a) is 'I', though it does not appear. First person marking on the verb shows clearly that 'I' am the one who finished the letter. Furthermore, *ŋascok*, 'my letter' is marked for genitive by first person singular *ŋ-*. It is not 'I' that gets finished, it is the letter, by my action. The antecedent for the marker *nə-* here is the direct object 'letter': it is *my own* letter that I finished. In (368b) the grammatical subject *ŋa*, 'I' is explicit. There is no head marking for first person on 'letter'. The antecedent of *nə-* is the subject rather than the direct object: *I myself* wrote the letter. Another example is the pair *kaskoʔr*, 'hire labour', and *kanəskoʔr*, 'hire labour for oneself'. Again, in (369a) there is head marking on the object showing the antecedent of the emphatic reflexivity marker, while the person marking on the verb is for subject. Note that in this pair the main difference is not who is doing the hiring, since I may hire labour on behalf of a friend or relative, but whether the hiring is for my personal purpose or not. The referent in (369b) is 'my house' rather than the implied subject 'I'.

- (369a) *tərmu kəsam ŋ-əʔeʔm kə-va to-nə-skoʔr-ŋ*
 person three 1s:GEN-house NOM-do PFT-EREFL-hire-1s
 I hired three people to build my own house.

- (369b) *tərmu kəsam pkraʃis w-əʔeʔm kə-va to-skoʔr-ŋ*
 person three bKra.shis 3s:GEN-house NOM-do PFT-hire-1s
 I hired three people to build bKra-shis' house.

It is not possible to use emphatic reflexivity marking with an object or patient as antecedent to generate such sentences as 'bKra-shis gave an apple to lHa-mo herself' or 'I hired people to build bKra-shis' own house'.

Sentences (370a) - (370e) further illustrate the use of reflexivity marking. Example (370a) is the unmarked sentence, in which the subject, the child, smears mud on something other than himself. The direct object is not explicit in the sentence. Sentence (370b) is marked for emphatic reflexivity, with *nə-* referring to the agent, and indicating that it is the child himself who performs the action of smearing mud onto an object different from himself. In (370c), marked by *bja-* the subject 'child' is co-referent with the direct object and smears mud onto himself. Example (370d) shows that emphatic reflexivity and marking for reflexivity proper can co-occur, with *bja-* signalling the co-reference of the subject 'child' and the direct object, also 'child', generating 'smears himself' and *nə-* linking the subject 'child' to the direct object in the sentence, 'mud', generating the meaning 'his own mud'. Sentence (370e), in which emphatic reflexivity marker *nə-* precedes *bja-*, is ungrammatical:

(370a) tapu? scokp^{hi} ʒale 'na-leʔt-w
 child mud layer OBS-hit₁-3s
 The child is smearing a layer of mud (on sth.).

(370b) tapu? scokp^{hi} ʒale 'na-nə-leʔt-w
 child mud layer OBS-EREFL-hit₁-3s
 The child himself is smearing mud (on sth.).

(370c) tapu? scokp^{hi} ʒale 'na-bʒa-leʔt-w
 child mud layer OBS-REFL-hit₁-3s
 The child is smearing himself with a layer of mud.

(370d) tapu? scokp^{hi} ʒale 'na-bʒa-nə-leʔt-w
 child mud layer OBS-REFL-EREFL-hit₁-3s
 The child is smearing himself with a layer of his own mud.

(370e) * tapu? scokp^{hi} ʒale 'nanəbʒaleʔtw

Reflexivity marking and emphatic reflexivity marking can be used to distinguish between different semantic roles of the subject. If a subject allows something to happen to himself, and that subject is at the same time the person who is the perpetrator of the action, the action is unintentional and subject is perceived as instrumental rather than agentive in bringing the action about – there is no outside agent or instrument. This often occurs when an action is non-intentional and the subject is, as it were, the unwitting tool the actions of which have unintended effects. However, a tool is not aware of the action it performs but the subject in sentences signalling non-intentional action is aware. The action is just not of his own volition. In these cases marking with *nə-* is required. If the subject has the goal or beneficiary role *bʒa-* appears. In some cases both options are possible. It depends on the perspective of the speaker which marker occurs. The role of a subject of a certain action can be perceived by a speaker either as beneficiary or goal or as instrumental:

(371a) ʒa ʒale to-laʔt-ŋ
 I layer PFT-hit₂-1s
 I smeared a layer (of something unto....).

(371b) ʒale ʒa to-nə-laʔt-ŋ
 layer I PFT-EREFL-hit₂-1s
 I myself smeared a layer (of something onto....)

(371c) ʒale ŋ-əmp^ha-j to-nə-laʔt-ŋ
 layer 1s:GEN-vicinity-LOC PFT-EREFL-hit₂-1s
 I smeared myself with a layer (of something).

- (371d) ʒale to-bʒa-laʔt-ŋ
 layer PFT-REFL-hit₂-1s
 I smeared myself with a layer (of something).

Example (371a) is the neutral sentence. Sentence (371b) shows the common use of emphatic reflexivity marker *nə-*, referring to the subject in the agent role as doing something himself. The interesting examples are (371c) and (371d). In (371c) the layer of mud was supposed to be applied to some surface, but quite unintentionally it ended up being smeared all over the subject, by the subject. The subject unintentionally became the instrument through which the smearing happened. The use of emphatic reflexivity marker *nə-* here indicates action by the subject himself, presumably towards some outside object. Note the use of the locative *ŋəmp^haj*, 'towards myself' to show the direction of the mud flow as it were. Together *nə-* and *ŋəmp^haj* convey a sense of unintentional action towards the subject, by the subject. Note that the unintentional nature of the action does not require marking for indirect evidential here, which would be used if the subject was unaware of his own action. All this in contrast to (371d), where there is no question about the intentionality of the act of smearing. The use of *bʒa-* here clearly implies action by the subject towards the subject. I smear myself with a layer of mud quite intentionally. The subject *ŋa* 'I' is co-referent with the implicit direct object *ŋa*, resulting in the meaning 'I smear myself'. But the direct object *ŋa* here has the role of beneficiary or recipient: I myself am the recipient of my own smearing.

As example (370d) shows, two reflexivity markers can co-occur. On a syntactic level such constructions can be considered 'heavy' reflexives, structures in which a simple or 'light' reflexive is reinforced by the emphatic marker.¹⁹⁸ From a semantic point of view both emphatic reflexivity and reflexivity marking are required to express the roles of the subject:

- (372) ŋa ŋ-ascok nə-bʒa-leʔt-ŋ
 I 1s:GEN-letter EREFL-REF-hit₁-1s
 I write a letter to myself.

The emphatic reflexivity marker *-nə-*, as said above, indicates 'do something myself'. In (372), I write a letter myself. There is no unintentionality here: the marker refers to the agent role of the subject. The second marker, *bʒa-*, shows that the letter is to myself, indicating that the subject also has the role of beneficiary. Note that in this construction *nə-* is placed before *bʒa-*, or agent before beneficiary. This is in keeping with the logic of Jiǎomùzú sentence structure, in which generally speaking the subject occupies the first position and the objects the second and third. The same logic applies in (370d), where the markers *nə-* and *bʒa-* also occur together, but in reverse order. In (370d) the child, the subject, smears himself with mud. The subject is co-referent with the direct object 'child' and the referent of *bʒa-*. The emphatic reflexivity marker refers to the direct object *scokp^hi*, 'mud' in the sentence, indicating that the mud is the boy's own, not that the boy is the agent of the smearing of mud. Since *bʒa-* refers to the subject 'child' here, and *nə-* to the object 'mud', and

¹⁹⁸ Kulikov, personal communication.

because subject is marked before object, *bja-* occurs before *nə-*. This explains the ungrammaticality of (370e): object cannot be marked before subject.

The sense of 'allowing something to happen to oneself' occurs in verbs such as *kabjasənəfmo*, 'allow someone to steal from oneself', which derives from the transitive verb *kafmo*, 'steal'. The construction might be used by a friend of someone who finds out a thief has made off with his wallet. In such a case the friend's attitude implies that one is rather stupid to let the thief get away with the wallet. Other examples along these lines are:

- (373) *kʰapri kə no-mtʃuk-w*
 snake PR AF/PFT-bite-3s
 He was bitten by a snake.

- (374) *kʰapri kə kə-'a-bja-sə-mtʃuk-w*
 snake PR PFT-NEV-REFL-CAUS-bite-3s
 He allowed himself to be bitten by a snake.

The presence of the causative marker *sə-* in both (374) and verbs such as *kabjasənəfmo* indicates that the subject, either through carelessness or intentionally, causes or allows an outside agent like the thief or the snake to perform a harmful action to him- or herself. Without causality marking the verb phrase in the examples would not express the fact that there is an outside agent to perform these actions. Note that the reflexivity marker occurs before causative marker *sə-*.

Some verbs are inherently reflexive and marked with *bja-* for action by the subject towards the subject:

- (375) *kabjamgu* *nənjo ndə sok* *tə-bjamgu* *ma-haʔw*
 be self satisfied you that manner 2-self.satisfied NEG-good
 It is not good that you are so self-satisfied.

Other reflexive verbs derive from existing verbs:

- (376) *kasat* *kabjasat*
 kill kill oneself; commit suicide

Reflexivity markers can occur in nominalised verb phrases:

- (377) *kə-bja-sat-w* *w-əza* *tə ɲa ma-ʃi-ŋ*
 NOM-REFL-kill-3s 3s:GEN-male C I NEG-know-1s
 I don't know the man who killed himself.

- (378) η a k^hapri kə na-kə-bja-sə-mtʃuk-w w-ərmu ki na-məto- η
 I snake PR PFT-NOM-REFL-CAUS-bite-3s 3:GEN-person IDEF PFT-see-1s
 I saw a person who had allowed himself to be bitten by a snake.

f. *Reciprocity: η a- and wa-*

For the purposes of this study I define reciprocity as a term that expresses the meaning of mutual relationship between arguments.¹⁹⁹ The most important and common type of reciprocal expresses a mutual relationship between a subject and its direct object.²⁰⁰

Reciprocity in Jiăomùzú is expressed either by *η a-* or by *wa-*, often followed by a reduplicated verb root. Reduplication of the root does not take place if the root consists of more than one syllable. Reciprocity marked by *η a-* signals canonical reciprocity in the sense of a mutual relationship between the subject and the direct object in a clause or sentence. The action is strictly mutual, with an act of the subject matched by an act of the object, as in the following examples:

- (379) kasat kill η a k^həna sat- η 'na- η a-sa-sat -jn
 I dog kill-1s OBS-REC-RED-kill-3p
 I'll kill the dog. They are killing each other.

- (380) kargaʔ like; love η a kafe rgaʔ- η
 I coffee like-1s
 I like coffee.

'na- η argaʔ-rgaʔ-jn
 OBS-REC-RED-like-3p
 They love each other.

- (381) kaməmtə meet, see
 ts^hots^ho mə-'kə-tə- η a-məmtə-ndʒ
 often Q-PRIMP-2-REC-see-2d
 Do the two of you see each other often?

¹⁹⁹ The definition is based on Crystal (1991: 291).

²⁰⁰ Kulikov (2010: 385).

(382) karjo talk

wuʃo-ŋo stonʃnu na-ŋa-mərjo-jn
 he-p the.whole.day PFT-REC-converse-3p
 They conversed the entire day.

The closed circuit between the participants in a reciprocal act may be emphasised by adding a locative to a personal pronoun, which makes the arguments involved in the reciprocal relation more explicit:

(383) wuʃo ɲi-ŋgi-j tascok na-ŋa-la-laʔt-jn
 he 3p:GEN-inside-LOC letter PFT-REC-RED-hit₂-3p
 They wrote each other letters.

(384) wuʃo ɲi-ŋgi-j na-ŋa-t^hoʔ-t^hoʔ-jn
 he 3p:GEN-inside-LOC PFT-REC-RED-ask₁-3p
 They asked each other questions.

This sort of structure is also used with reciprocal verbs like *kaŋaleleʔt*, 'fight'. The verb is derived from the normal transitive verb *kaleʔt*, 'hit'. When people hit each other repeatedly, they fight. Expression of reciprocity on the pronoun by locative marking is required to render meanings more specific than simply 'they fought':

(385a) wuʃo-ŋo na-ŋa-la-laʔt-jn
 he-p PFT-REC-RED-fight₂-3p
 They fought.

(385a) wuʃo ɲi-ŋgi-j na-ŋa-la-laʔt-jn
 He 3p:GEN-in-LOC PFT-REC-RED-fight₂-3p
 They fought with each other. (They fought among each other.)

Inherently reciprocal verbs do not derive directly from non-reciprocal verbs. Some are derived from nouns rather than verbs. Attempts to remove the reciprocity marker from such verbs may result in non-existent forms:

(386)	kaŋavəzde	meet, get together	* kavəzde	kazdə	collect (v)
	kaŋasŋoʔ	quarrel	* kasŋoʔ	tasŋoʔ	scolding (n)
	kaŋamərjo	converse	* kamərjo	karjo	talk (v)

In Jiāomùzú reciprocity also can be marked with *wa-*. The use of *wa-* indicates a form of collective reciprocity where there is not necessarily a one on one correlation of mutuality in the actions

between the subject and the direct object. This marking occurs in situations when the direct object is collective, in the sense that it consists of a group of people, of which not each one will necessarily enter into a reciprocal relationship with the subject. But the group, as a collective, will. For example, *kaŋambəmbəm*, ‘give each other gifts’ implies action of which it is certain that all persons are equally involved. Each person gives and receives in equal measure. But when the speaker wants to indicate a more general or broader notion of exchange he uses *kawambəmbəm*, ‘give each other gifts’. Giving of gifts goes on among a number of people, but perhaps not everyone gives a gift to each other person, nor does everyone necessarily receive a gift from all other participants :

- (387) *loser wu-ʒak-j ji-p^hambəm na-wa-mbə-mbəm-j*
 New.Year 3s:GEN-time-LOC 1p:GEN-gift PFT-REC-RED-give-1p
 At New Year’s we gave each other gifts.

- (388) *nəŋʝo ɲi-ŋgi-j ka-wa-le-leʔt ma-haʔw*
 you 2p:GEN-inside-LOC INF-REC-RED-hit_i NEG-good
 It’s wrong of you to fight among yourselves.

- (389) *cəno kəʃtɾə wa-məmtə-dʒ*
 1d when REC-meet-1d
 When will we see each other?

Some forms of reciprocity can be marked on the verb, see section 3.1.f of the chapter on pronouns.

g. *Impersonal constructions: ɲa-*

“The notion of impersonality is a broad and disparate one” writes Anna Siewierska.²⁰¹ Based on Siewierska’s discussion, I describe impersonalisation from the functional perspective as agent defocusing, not from the structural point of view in which impersonalisation is associated with the lack of a canonical subject. I define impersonal constructions as those in which the agent, in the sense of the causal participant - the actor, instigator or initiator - of an event is defocused. The notion ‘defocused’ is used in the sense of ‘diminishing the prominence or salience from what is assumed to be the norm’.²⁰² Impersonality in this view is not associated solely with elements of or operations on argument structures but is conceived of more widely as involving speaker-choice with respect to the construal of an event and is seen to be sensitive to the effects of discourse.²⁰³

The Jǎomùzú dialects employ an impersonalising marker *ɲa-*, which is homophonous to the reciprocity marker *ɲa-*. However, marking with impersonalising *ɲa-* prohibits person and number

²⁰¹ Siewierska (2008).

²⁰² Siewierska (2008: 121).

²⁰³ Siewierska (2008: 124).

marking, whereas reciprocity marking does not. The impersonal argument can be overt in the sentence or it can be deleted. Consider the following examples for *kasətak*, ‘pile up, pile on’. Example (390a), the neutral sentence, has as subject *ŋa*, ‘I’. The sentence gives no information on whose books I piled up. They may be mine, or someone else’s. The genitive construction in (390b) marks the head, *tət^ha*, ‘book’ for first person singular, showing that subject ‘I’ stacked his own books. Both (390a) and (390b) are marked for first person singular subject on the verb. In (390c) and (390d) the verb lacks person and number marking for the subject but is marked for impersonal with *ŋa-*, indicating an impersonal argument somewhere in the sentence. In this case the impersonal argument is the subject, which is covert. The sentence means that I piled books that were not my own; I did the piling on behalf of someone else. The lack of genitive marking on *tət^ha*, ‘book’ makes clear that it does not concern the speaker’s own books. Whoever ordered the books to be stacked is not mentioned. Sentence (390d), also marked by *ŋa-* for generic argument, has genitive marking for first person singular on *tət^ha*. This shows that my own books were piled for me by someone else, an argument not mentioned in the sentence. Note that in (390c) in the English gloss a generic ‘they’ appears, while the best translation for (390d) is a passive construction:

- (390a) *ŋa tət^ha to-sə-taktak-ŋ*
 I book PFT/OR:upwards-CAUS-pile-1s
 I stacked the books.
- (390b) *ŋa ŋ-ət^ha kəzu tə to-sə-taktak-ŋ*
 I 1s:GEN-book all C PFT/OR:upwards-CAUS-pile-1s
 I piled up all my books.
- (390c) *ŋa tət^ha to-sə-ŋa-taktak*
 I book PFT/OR:upwards-CAUS-IMPS-pile
 They had me pile up books.
- (390d) *ŋa ŋ-ət^ha kəzu tə to-sə-ŋa-taktak*
 I 1s:GEN-book all C PFT/OR:upwards-CAUS-IMPS-pile
 I had all my books piled up.

At first glance examples (390c) and (390d) show suppression of impersonal subjects in Jiāomùzú. But in sentences like these it is possible to have an overt subject and agent, and an overt object and instrument. Example (390e) shows the sentence with all arguments overtly present. The instrument here is *bKra-shis*. The agent, the person who got *bKra-shis* to do the stacking, in this case *ŋa*, ‘I’, is the impersonal argument. The agent can be overt but usually does not appear. Sentence (390e) puts prominence on *bKra-shis* as the actual stacker of the books with the marker *kə*. The instigator of the action, *ŋa*, is defocused, that is, diminished in prominence or salience, by impersonalising marker *ŋa-* and the lack of marking for subject on the verb:

- (390e) [ŋa] pəʃurtɕə pkraʃis kə ŋa ŋ-ət^ha
 [I] a.few.days.ago bKra.shis PR I 1s:GEN-book
 The other day one had all one's books piled up by bKra-shis.

to-sə-ŋa-taktak
 PFT/OR:upwards-CAUS-IMPS-pile

Note that the Jiāomùzú dialects do not use the generic or indefinite pronoun *təʃo* ‘oneself’ in these contexts. The indefinite pronoun is only used to give prominence to ‘self’, not to impersonalise an argument. For more on the use of *təʃo*, see section 3.1 of the chapter on pronouns.

Defocusing of an actor, unlike the presence or absence of a subject, is a matter of degree. Siewierska gives the following order, from most to least focused: focal argument > under-elaborated argument > demoted obligatory argument > demoted optional argument > demoted non-argument > no argument.²⁰⁴ The examples in (391) illustrate the gradual defocusing of an actor through marking for impersonalisation.

An object or patient can be overt, as in sentences (391). In these examples *wandʒi?*, ‘friend’ is the general expression for one out of the students’ midst, in this case the one that the students chose to be their class monitor. Sentences (391a), with a covert object, and (391b) with a topicalised object, give non-direct evidential versions, indicating the speaker was not personally present at the choosing of the monitor:

- (391a) slopma-ŋi kə bandzaŋ^ʔ to-^la-sə-va-jŋ
 student-p PR monitor PFT-NEV-CAUS-do-3p
 The students made [the friend] their monitor. (The students chose him to be their monitor.)

- (391b) w-andʒi? slopma-ŋi kə bandzaŋ^ʔ to-^la-sə-va-jŋ
 3s:GEN-friend student-p PR monitor PFT-NEV-CAUS-do-3p
 The students made the friend their monitor. (The students chose him to be their monitor.)

As discussed in section 4.3.e in the chapter on nouns, the agent *slopmaŋi*, ‘the students’ is marked for prominence with *kə*, to balance the hearer’s empathy which is with the object. Example (391c) shows a sentence with all arguments overt, the verb is marked for impersonal by *ŋa-*, and there is no marking for non-direct evidentiality:

²⁰⁴ Siewierska (2008: 125).

- (391c) w-andʃiʔ slopma-ni kə bandzaŋꞌ to-ŋa-sə-va
 3s:GEN-friend student-p PR monitor PFT-IMPS-CAUS-do-3p
 The students made the friend their monitor. (The students chose him to be their monitor.)

The lack of marking for non-direct evidentiality in (391c) signals that the speaker was included in the company of the students that chose the monitor, or at least was an eye-witness. Impersonalising marking here marks *slopma-ni*, ‘the students’ as an impersonal argument. Though marker *kə* gives the subject prominence to balance the object *wandʃiʔ*, the subject becomes somehow less elaborated. The effect in (391c) is to distance the speaker from the event. Though he took part in the election, the perspective he presents is that of the student body in an abstracted, formal sense rather than as the group of people, including himself, that chose the monitor. Instead of ‘we the students chose him’ the meaning generated and presented by the speaker is ‘the student body chose him’. The subject undergoes a gradual defocusing from a referential human argument to a not fully specified group of individuals.

Impersonalising marking is often used to signal a non-specific or habitual situation rather than linking a specific person with a specific action:

- (392) kalaʔ kanəvlo kə-cʰa tə mbərtʃu kərek na-ŋa-ndoʔ kacəs 'nə-ŋos
 rabbit deceive NOM-able C thrush one PFT-IMPS-have say EV-be
 It is said that there once was a thrush who managed to gain the upper hand over a rabbit.

The issue in example (392) is not that there once, historically, existed one very smart thrush, but rather that in the realm of existence it is possible for a thrush to get the better of the rabbit, the smartest of animals in the Tibetan world view. Marker *ŋa-* defocusses the actor from a specific agent *mbərtʃu* to a non-specific agent *mbərtʃu*. Here is another example along the same lines:

- (393) ndə sta tə pak-ʃa kandza na-ŋa-ngrel
 that origin C pig-meat eat PFT-IMPS-be.used.to
 From then on [they] used to eat pork.

Sentence (393) has a covert impersonal subject, ‘they’, in the sense of the non-specific ‘people’. The marking with *ŋa-* for impersonal argument shows that the speaker does not have specific pork-eaters in mind, but is talking about the habit of eating pork and its advent in a general way. In (394) however there is no impersonaliser *ŋa-* marked on the verb phrase. The speaker refers to a specific group of people who got into the habit of eating pork at some point, even though the subject ‘they, those people’ is implicit:

- (394) ndə sta tə pak-ʃa kandza na-kə-ngrel 'nə-ŋos
 that origin C pig-meat eat PFT-NOM-be.used.to EV-be
 From then on they got into the habit of eating pork.

If it concerns a habitual situation in the present, impersonalising marking occurs in nominalised structures. Note that often the best way to translate impersonal constructions is with a passive, though the Jiăomùzú sentence is active:

- (395) taju tʃe-j ŋos mənə tʃe-j ʃo kə-ŋa-ta? ŋos
 key here-LOC be CON here-LOC always NOM-IMPS-put be
 The keys are here, or?? – They are always put here.

Though the keys in (395) are specific, the putting of the keys is habitual and the covert subject of the action of putting is impersonal. A good paraphrase of *tʃej ʃo kəŋata? ŋos* would be ‘One always puts keys in this spot’.

In structures such as (393) and (395) the agents are defocused but they are to some extent known to the speaker, even if they are non-specific subjects such as ‘people’ or ‘they’. If a speaker wants to indicate that the agent of an action is unknown to him, that is to say if he has no idea who or what the referent may be, impersonalisation I marked with *ŋa-* and no subject occurs in the sentence. This is the farthest extreme on Siewierska’s order of defocusing as quoted above. Consider the following examples:

- (396a) ŋa kam nə-po-ŋ
 I door PFT-shut-1s
 I shut the door.

- (396b) ŋa kam nə-¹a-po-ŋ
 I door PFT-NEV-shut-1s
 I shut the door.

- (396c) kam nə-ŋa-po
 door PFT-IMPS-shut
 The door shut.

- (396d) k^halu kə-va nə kam zbək nə-ŋa-po
 Wind NOM-do CON door EXP PFT-IMPS-shut
 Since there was a breeze, the door slammed shut.

In sentence (396a) the subject and agent ‘I’ is clearly the person who knowingly and intentionally performed the action of closing the door. In sentence (396b), which is marked for non-direct evidentiality, the subject ‘I’ closed the door unwittingly. But it is still clearly ‘I’ who did the closing,

though he himself did not know he did so at the time. Example (396c) is marked for impersonal, there is no person and number marking on the verb and there is no overt subject. The speaker indicates that he does not know who the agent was that performed the action of shutting the door. In (396d) there was a breeze, but the breeze is not perceived as the instigator or actor here. Wind as cause is defocused while the slamming shut of the door is the main event. The verb is accordingly marked by *ŋa-*. If the wind is the agent, not just the cause, the sentence would be (397). In this sentence the wind is marked for prominence by *kə*:

- (397) *k^halu kə kam nə-po*
 wind PR door PFT-shut
 The wind shut the door.

It is not possible to have an agent, prominence marking with *kə* signalling agent and also impersonalising marking with *ŋa-*. That is to say, *kə* can track prominence of a subject relative to an object, as in (391c), and the subject and agent can still be defocused. But if the prominence marker does not apportion relative prominence to balance the relation between subject and object but rather gives prominence to the subject as the causer of an action, as in (397), trying to defocus that agent with *ŋa-* leads to ungrammatical structures. Marking with *kə* indicates a known agent while marker *ŋa-* indicates an unknown agent. The semantics clash:

- (398) **k^halu kə kam naŋapo*

Sun has written about impersonalising marker *ŋa-* as a marker for generic human arguments in Căodēng.²⁰⁵ Sun does not give information about the use of *ŋa-* in sentences with non-human arguments, such as (396d).

h. *Causatives: adding subjects*

Causatives can be defined as verbs or verbal constructions which refer to a causative situation, i.e. to a causal relation between two events, one of which is believed by the speaker to be caused by the other. In other words, a causative is a construction meaning ‘cause someone to do something’. Adding a new subject is the salient feature of causatives.²⁰⁶ As a result, the initial subject is degraded to the position of an object or remains unexpressed in the causative construction.

In the following example the subject of the original intransitive verb *kanəjup*, ‘sleep’ in (399a) is *tapu?*, child. In (399b) the form *kasənəjup*, ‘put to bed’ which is marked for causativity with *sə-*, a new subject *amo*, ‘mother’ is added, while *tapu?*, the original subject, becomes an object:

²⁰⁵ Sun (2005: 13, 14).

²⁰⁶ Kulikov (2010: 386).

(399a) kanəɟup sleep tapu? ¹na-nəɟup
child OBS-sleep
The child is sleeping.

(399b) kasənəʃup put to sleep, put to bed

amo kə tapu? sə-nəʃup
mother PR child CAUS-sleep
Mother puts the child to sleep.

The Jiǎomùzú dialects employ four sets of causativity markers. Two of the sets, *va-/və-* and *ra-/rə-* mark direct causatives, while *sa-/sə-* and *ʃa-/ʃə* mark indirect causatives. Direct causatives mark situations in which the causer physically manipulates the object in bringing about the action or event. For example, the stative verb *kəmpja*, ‘luke-warm’ in (400a) indicates that some water is of a luke-warm temperature. But the dynamic form marked for direct causative by *və-*, *kavəmpja* ‘make luke-warm’ signals that the subject himself causes the water to be luke-warm, perhaps by putting the kettle on the stove. The subject *təɲu?*, ‘water’ of (400a) becomes the object of (400b) when the new subject bKra-shis is added:

(400a) təɣu? 'na-mpja
water OBS-luke.warm
The water is luke-warm.

(400b) pkrajis təjuʔ kətsətsə 'na-vəmpja
bKra.shis water little OBS-luke.warm
bKra-shis is making a little luke-warm water.

With indirect causatives the causee controls the action directly, while the causer causes the causee to act. For example, in sentence (399b) the verb is marked for indirect causativity by *sə-*. The mother can create a situation which is conducive to the child's falling asleep, but she cannot make it go to sleep – as is clear from the experience of every exasperated mother. Another example of an indirect causative is the second sentence of (401a) below. The subject will distribute the books, but he will not do it himself. Someone else will do the distributing on behalf of the subject.

Contrary to the definition given at the beginning of this subsection, which presupposes two actors, the first of whom makes the second do something, Jiǎomùzú verbs with causativity marking do not all derive from other, non-causative verbs. Though I have not found any verbs marked for indirect causativity to be derived from nouns, quite a few verbs with *ra-/rə-* or *va-/və-* do:

(401)	noun	gloss	causative verb	gloss
	tapuʔ	child	karapuʔ	give birth
	tascok	letter	karascok	write
	k ^h arme	packload	karak ^h arme	load [onto sb.'s back]
	tət ^h a	book	karət ^h a	study, go to school

The original noun then takes the position of direct object of the causative verb. In example (401b) the original noun is *tət^ha*, ‘book’. The causative verb is *karət^ha*, marked with *rə-* for direct causativity. The verb means ‘read books’ in the sense of ‘study’, and by extension has come to mean ‘go to school, have class’. The subject added by causativisation performs the action of reading on the book, which has become the direct object. For some verbs marked with a causative there is no noun or verb as a basic form. In (401c) the involuntary reciprocal verb *kaŋapʃupʃu* means ‘grinding against each other’, as stones in a river do. The verb has a subject but not an agent. The verb *kavazdor* has direct causativity marker *va-* in front of the verb root. The subject is also the agent and grinds his own grain, with mill stones of some sort:

- (402a) tət^ha book
 * kat^ha
 karət^ha go to school, have class, study
- nənʃo saksə-ŋk^hu-j tə-rət^ha-n me
 you noon-behind-LOC 2-have.class-2s INTR
 Do you have class in the afternoon?
- (402b) kaŋapʃupʃu grind, involuntary, vi
 * kazdor
 kavazdor grind [something], vt, voluntary
- ŋa tət^ho 'kə-vazdor-ŋ
 I grain PRIMP-grind-1s
 I'm grinding grain.

Note that the verbs with the causativity markers in (402) do not have a non-causative equivalent verb. The causativity markers are lexicalised and cannot be removed from the root. Generally speaking, in Jiāomùzú the set *sa-/sə-* is very productive while *ra-/rə-* and *va-/və-* occur more often in lexicalised forms.

Jacques mentions that the equivalents for *ra-* and *sa-* in Japhug are argument demoting affixes which suppress the object and the agent, respectively, of the original transitive verb. The resulting intransitive verb ends up with an indefinite agent or object which cannot be overt.²⁰⁷ I have not

²⁰⁷ Jacques (2010 : 154).

found this for Jiăomùzú. Compare the following sentences with the transitive verbs *kakro*, ‘divide, distribute’, *kavəja*, ‘fetch, take’, *kava*, ‘do’ and *kataʔ*, ‘put’. The first sentence in each set shows the normal inflection for second person singular in transitives with a third person object. The second sentence of the set has an added causativity marker *sa-* or *sə-*. If these verbs would become intransitive through adding a causative marker, the expected form of the verb phrase would have *-n* in final position, for second person singular intransitive. But *-n* does not occur. All verbs remain marked for transitive by final *-w*:

(403a) tət^ha kəʒu tə tə-kro-w me
 book all C 2-distribute-2s INTR
 Will you distribute all the books?

tət^ha kəʒu tə tə-sə-kro-w me * təsəkron
 book all C 2-CAUS-distribute-2s INTR
 Will you have all the books distributed?

(403b) nəŋʝo tascok kəʃtɾə tə-vəja-w
 You letter when 2-fetch-2s
 When will you pick up the letter?

nəŋʝo tascok kəʃtɾə tə-sə-vəja-w * təsəvejan
 you letter when 2-CAUS-fetch-2s
 When will you have the letter picked up

(403c) nəŋʝo təmpɔk mə-tə-va-w
 you bread Q-2-do-2s
 Will you make bread?

nəŋʝo təmpɔk mə-tə-sə-va-w * mətəsəvan
 you bread Q-2-CAUS-do-2s
 Will you have bread made?

(403d) tət^ha tʃe-j mə-tə-teʔ-w
 book here-LOC Q-2-do₁-2s
 Will you put the books here?

tət^ha tʃe-j mə-tə-sa-teʔ-w * mətəsətan
 book here-LOC Q-2-CAUS-do₁-2s
 Will you have the books put here?

It is possible to add a covert agent of a causative structure to the sentence. The covert agent will become an overt object or patient. In example (404) the subject *ŋa*, ‘I’ is also the agent of (404a), performing the act of grinding grain himself. The verb is marked by *va-* for direct causativity. Adding *sə-* for indirect causativity as in (404b) adds a covert causee who does the actual grinding for the subject ‘I’. In (404c) the covert agent bKra-shis, who does the actual grinding, is made explicit:

- (404a) *ŋa tət^hot 'kə-va-ndzor-ŋ*
 I grain PRIMP-CAUS-grind-1s
 I’m grinding grain.
- (404b) *ŋa tət^hot 'kə-sə-va-ndzor-ŋ*
 I grain PRIMP-CAUS-CAUS-grind-1s
 I’m having my grain ground.
- (404c) *ŋa pkraʃis tət^hot 'kə-sə-va-ndzor-ŋ*
 I bKra.shis grain PRIMP-CAUS-CAUS-grind-1s
 I’m having bKra-shis grind my grain.

The finding of Sun and Jacques for Northern rGyalrong dialects that *sa-* is used when the patient is human and *ra-* when the patient is non-human²⁰⁸ also largely holds for the Jiāomùzú sets of *sa-/sə-* and *ra-/rə-*, as well as *va-/və-*, though not entirely. For example, *kanŋa*, ‘lose (in a fight or game)’ marked for direct causative with *rə-* results in *karənŋa*, ‘be conquered’. Arguably the patient there can be human, and in fact, in most cases will be. Also, *karazdek*, ‘maltreat’ can have patients that are human or non-human. And *kafəʃapki?*, ‘get someone to hide something’ has two causative markers that refer one to a human agent and one to an inanimate object. Adding or deleting a causativity marker from a verb changes the valency or transitivity of a verb.

In verbs derived from verbs, the markers do not necessarily transform intransitives into transitives, but they do signal agentivity or at least activity of the subject in one way or another. For example, in (405) the stative verb *kəmni?* is intransitive and has no agent. Adding the direct causativity marker *va-* leads to the dynamic verb *kavamni?*, which be used either in a transitive or intransitive sense. The intransitive version expresses such meanings as ‘becoming less by itself’, such as water in a pond that evaporates. The transitive version involves a subject that is also the agent of the action, for example a person decreases the amount of water in an irrigation ditch by opening a sluice. Note that the first form is unintentional, the second is intentional. Addition of *sa-* to the verb indicates a third party actor, as when the person who wants less water on his fields gets his neighbour to decrease the amount of water in my irrigation ditch by opening the sluice for me:

²⁰⁸ Jacques (to appear); Sun 2006.

(405)	kə-mni?	ka-va-mni?
	INF-little	INF-CAUS-little
	few, little (vi)	decrease, diminish, become less (vi)
	ka-sa-mni?	
	INF-CAUS-little	
	decrease (vt)	

I have not found a difference in usage or meaning of the set in *v*- and the set with *r*-. In fact, in a few verbs the markers can be used interchangeably:

(406)	kavameʔk	extinguish; turn off
	karameʔk	extinguish; turn off
(407)	kəmpja	luke-warm
	karampja	make luke-warm
	kavampja	make luke-warm

Both forms of (406) probably come from the root *maʔk*, 'not be'. An action by an agent results in something becoming extinguished, to 'not be'. I also have not found a difference in meaning between the markers with *a*- and those with *ə*-, yet these markers are not interchangeable. They have become lexicalised and it has to be learned which verb root selects which marker. If, historically, the vowel alternation signalled different meanings, these differences have now become obscured. Here are some examples for each set:

(408)	kanja	lose (a fight)	karanja	be conquered
	kazdək	have difficulty	karazdək	maltreat
	kəraʔm	dry	karəkraʔm	dry in the sun
	kəmaʔk	messy; wrong	karəkəmaʔk	make a mess
(409)	kaji	plant, sow	kavaji	augment, increase
	kəskriʔn	long	kavaskriʔn	make long(er), stretch
	kəsca	early, before	kavəsca	arrive early; be early
	kəsuk	dense	kavasuk	tighten
	kəmni?	few, little	kavamni?	become less, decrease

The rGyalrong dialects differ in which marker can occur with a certain verb. Combinations possible in one dialect are ungrammatical in another. Take for example the verb *kakʃok*, 'unplug; take out'. In the Pàërbá dialect this verb takes the marker *ra*-: *karakʃok*, 'cause to be unplugged'. In Kǝnglǝng this marker is not allowed. Instead, *sə*- is needed: *kasəkʃok*, 'cause someone to unplug (something)'. One can argue that the difference here is the human versus non-human patient distinction. But if that is

the case it is remarkable that only one form exists in each dialect, rather than both. Another example is *kətshoʔ*, 'fat'. The meaning 'fatten' in Xiǎojīn dialect²⁰⁹ is arrived at by adding *ra-*: *karaktschoʔ*. However, in Jiǎomùzú *sə-* is used: *kasətshoʔ*. In both cases the patient is non-human.

Both *sa-* and *sə-* occur frequently in Jiǎomùzú verbs to form causative structures. Adding one of these markers adds an implicit or explicit agent:

(410)	kəvaksəru	clean (vi, ADJ)	kasaksəru	clean; delete (vt)
	kəpsəʔt	alike, similar	kasəpsəʔt	compare
	kat ^h əru	connect (vi)	kasat ^h əru	connect (vt)
	kanəna	rest	kasənəna	stop, cease
	kaɲu	sit; live	kasəɲu	entertain; seat
	kawaʔt	dress, put on clothes	kasəwaʔt	dress (someone)
	kajoʔk	finish, run out	kasəjoʔk	finish something
	kəscit	comfortable	kasəscit	make sb. comfortable
	kənkəʔr	dirty	kasənkəʔr	make sth. dirty
(411)	kanəɲup	sleep	kasənəɲup	put to bed
	kasat	kill	kasəsət	have someone killed
	kaɟmo	steal	kasəɟmo	have someone steal sth.
	kalok	graze livestock	kasəlok	have someone graze livestock
	katseʔp	take	kasətseʔp	send (with someone)

Rather rare, at least in my data, is the occurrence of the causative markers *ʃə-* and *ʃa-*. As with the other sets, there seems to be no difference in meaning between the two markers, nor between this set and the set in *s-*. Jīn Péng²¹⁰ notes that these causative markers occur in verbs that express motion and are assistives, that is, have the added meaning of 'helping someone to do something'. In my data I do not find much evidence for either assumption. Jīn gives two examples, *kaʃirwas*, 'help to get up' and *kaʃivətʃi*, 'help to walk'. In checking these examples, I found the following:

(412)	kavətʃi	walk
	kaʃivətʃi	go to walk
	kasəvətʃi	make [someone] walk
(413)	karwas	get up
	kaʃərwas	make [someone] get up

²⁰⁹ Professor Āwàng, personal communication.

²¹⁰ Jīn (1958: 83).

In my own data I have examples such as:

(414)	kaʃəptaʔk kaʃavlu kaʃapki	memorise make someone go slower; delay someone hide something

For these verbs motion is clearly not an issue, and the notion of 'helping' is also absent. Obviously, there may be dialect differences to be taken into account. But for now it seems reasonable to posit that Jiǎomùzú does not morphologically distinguish between indirect causatives and other types of causatives such as permissives, assistives and declaratives.²¹¹ Permissives express a situation in which a causer permits a causee to bring about an event. An example of this is the verb *kasəjok*, 'allow someone to do something'. Declaratives express the meaning of 'speak about someone as if he were bringing about an action'. An example of a declarative in Jiǎomùzú is the verb *kasəso*, 'consider'. All are marked by the *sa-/sə-* and the *ʃa-/ʃə-* set.

Causative markers should not be confused with viewpoint marker *ʃi-*. The difference is clear in forms such as *kəʃiʃmo*, 'go to steal' as opposed to *kasəʃmo*, 'get someone to steal'. Quite interesting is the form *kasəʃiʃmo*, 'get someone to go and steal', where the viewpoint marker is inserted directly before the verb root, after the causative marker. Normally the viewpoint markers are affixed before the voice marker slot. Forms such as *kasəʃiʃmo* are acceptable to some speakers, but not to all. Another marker that might cause confusion is *kəʃa-* or *kəʃə-*, used to signal some forms of reciprocity, usually in nouns but in some verbs as well, such as *kəʃawandʒiʔ*, 'be [each other's] friends'. That aside, both of the verbs quoted by Jin seem best understood as general causative verbs. Addition of a causative increases the valency of a verb by one. The following examples show an intransitive verb that increases its valency. Note that the subject of the original verb becomes the object or patient of the verb phrase marked for causativity:

- (415a) hajtsəʔ 'na-raʔm
pepper OBS-dry
The peppers are drying.

- (415b) kəjaʔm kə hajtsəʔ 'na-sə-raʔm
sun PR pepper OBS-CAUS-dry-3s
The sun is drying the peppers (the sun is causing the peppers to dry).

Here is an example of a transitive verb that increases its valency by adding a causative marker:

- (416a) slopma tətʰa 'na-ndon-w
student book OBS-read-3s
The student is reading a book.

²¹¹ Kulikov (2001: 892).

- (416b) sloppən kə sloppma tət^ha 'na-sə-ndon-w
 teacher PR student book OBS-CAUS-read-3s
 The teacher makes the student read a book.

And finally examples of ditransitive verbs marked for causativity:

- (417a) pkraʃis lhamo poŋeʔj 'na-mbuʔ-w
 bKra.shis lHa.mo money OBS-give-3s
 bKra-shis is giving lHa-mo [some] money.

- (417b) taroʔ kə pkraʃis lhamo poŋeʔj 'na-sə-mbuʔ-w
 boss PR bKra.shis lHa.mo money OBS-CAUS-give-3s
 The boss makes bKra-shis give lHa-mo some money.

- (418a) ʃarpo kə pkraʃis təmɲa 'na-ʃi-rŋaʔ-w
 king PR bKra.shis field OBS-VPT-lend-3s
 The king leases a field to bKra-shis.

- (418b) taʒi kə ʃarpo pkraʃis təmɲa 'na-ʃi-sə-rŋaʔ-w
 queen PR king bKra.shis field OBS-VPT-CAUS-lend-3s
 The queen makes the king lease a field to bKra-shis.

Note that in the last example it is not possible for 'the king' and 'bKra-shis' to change slots in the sentence without arriving at a totally different meaning:

- (418c) taʒi kə pkraʃis ʃarpo təmɲa 'na-ʃi-sə-rŋaʔ-w
 queen PR bKra.shis king field OBS-VPT-CAUS-lend-3s
 The queen makes bKra-shis lease a field to the king.

Valency can be decreased by removing the causative marker from the verb phrase. This is, as said before, possible in many cases, with the exception of those verb roots in which a causative marker has become a lexicalised morpheme.

It is possible to use more than one causative marker in one verb, stacking them as it were:

- (419) kaji plant
 ka-va-ji increase, add
 ka-sə-va-ji cause [someone] to add [something]
- (420) ka-nŋa lose
 ka-ra-nŋa conquer
 ka-sə-ra-nŋa make [someone] conquer [somebody]

- (421) kə-skriʔn long
 ka-va-skriʔn lengthen
 ka-sə-va-skriʔn make [someone] lengthen [something]

So far in my data I have found that, if there are two causative markers, it is most often a combination of *sa-/sə-* and one of the other markers, with the marker for indirect causativity appearing before the marker signalling direct causativity:

- (422) kə-raʔm dry (stative verb)
 ka-sə-raʔm dry something
 ka-rə-kraʔm dry something in the sun
 * kakraʔm
 * karəsəkraʔm
 ka-sə-rə-kraʔm make someone dry something in the sun

It is also possible to have two markers of the *sa-/sə-* set in one verb, though so far I have only one example in my data:

- (423) kə-najen a pity, too bad (stative verb)
 ka-sa-sə-najen hate to part with (literally ‘cause [oneself] sadness by
 [being obligated to] give up [something]’)

i. *Combinations of voice markers*

Voice marking in the Jiāomùzú dialects is wonderfully versatile. For many verbs change of meaning is achieved by a quick switch from one voice marker to another. It is also possible to combine several voice markers in one verb phrase. The markers are prefixed to the verb root one at the time, adding layered meaning. This layering of meanings onto a root allows for considerable freedom in the order of the prefixes. I have found that *na-* and *mə-*, the mostly lexicalised prefixes that add patients and express non-intentionality respectively, have to be prefixed straight to the root. Other prefixes cannot be placed between *na-* or *mə-* and the root. The marker for involuntary action also occurs together with impersonalising marker *ŋa-*:

- (424) təskruʔ body
 kəməskruʔ pregnant
 kasəməskruʔ make pregnant; knock up
 * kaməsəskruʔ

(425)	kap ^h ət	throw
	kanəp ^h ət	lose something; throw away
	kaŋamp ^h ət	disperse, spread
(426)	kənagnat	ill at ease
	kasənagnat	make someone uncomfortable
	* kanasəgnat	

Reflexivity markers and reciprocity markers can combine with causative markers in a sort of voice marker hopscotch that allows native speakers to express a wide range of meanings. The following examples show the 'layering' of meanings onto the verb roots *sco*, 'ride', *sat*, 'kill' and *pkiʔ*, 'hide':

(427)	kasco	ride
	kanəscō	ride (implied object)
	kasənəscō	make someone ride
	kaɸəsənəscō	carry someone piggyback
(428)	kasat	kill
	kanəsāt	kill someone oneself
	kasəsāt	have someone kill
	kasənəsāt	have someone kill somebody
	kaŋasatsāt	kill each other
	kasəŋasasāt	get [people] to kill each other
	kaɸəsāt	commit suicide
	kasəɸəsāt	get someone to kill himself
(429)	kaŋapkiʔ	hide oneself
	kanapkiʔ	hide [something] from someone
	kaʃapkiʔ	hide something
	kaʃəʃapkiʔ	get somebody to hide something
	kasəŋapkiʔ	get somebody to hide himself

The semantics of a verb provide the limits for the possible combinations of markers. Consider the following example:

(430)	kəmniʔ	few
	kavamniʔ	decrease; become less (vi)
	* kanəvamniʔ	
	kasəvamniʔ	lessen; cause to decrease (vt)

The verb *kavamni?*, 'become less', is non-intentional and intransitive. Adding *nə-* to add a patient generates an ungrammatical structure, since the act of decreasing is intransitive here and cannot have an object or patient. However, it is possible to add *sə-* which adds an agent. In generating strings of voice markers that attach to a root, there are no strict rules for marker order. Rather, the semantics of the verb root and the meaning the speaker wishes to express decide the order of the markers in the string. The order of the prefixes reflects the scope of the different elements, with further distance from the stem indicating a higher scope. For example, the verb *kafmo*, 'steal' can be marked for viewpoint with *fi-*, leading to *kafismo*, 'go and steal'. When the root verb *kafmo* is marked for causativity by *sə-* the derived verb is *kasəfmo*, 'cause to steal, get someone to steal something'. Combining viewpoint and causativity marking gives two options:

- (431) *kafisəsmo* go and get someone to steal something
 kasəfismo get someone to go and steal something

In the first verb, *kafisəsmo*, the subject goes to perform the action of inciting someone to steal. The causativity marker *sə-* covers the scope of *-fmo*, steal, while viewpoint marker *fi-* covers the scope of *səfmo*, 'cause to steal'. In the second verb the viewpoint marker only covers *-fmo*, 'steal', while *sə-* covers the scope of *-fifmo*.

7.9 Mood

a. Introduction

The Jiāomùzú dialects distinguish a number of different moods. Some are expressed by marking on the verb exclusively. Some make use of adverbs, and some require a combination of both. In subsections (b)-(h) I give an overview of negation, imperatives, interrogatives and irrealis constructions. Mood markers are prefixed to the verb root. They occupy the first slot in the verb phrase, before the slot for tense and aspect. Though in most situations only one mood marker occurs in a verb phrase, it is possible to have two. In these cases an interrogative and a negation marker occur together, generating polite imperatives or past tense real conditionals.

b. Negation

Jiāomùzú employs three negative markers, *ma-*, *mə-* and *ɬ-*. Generally speaking, *ma-* is used in non-past tense and imperfective aspect situations, *mə-* occurs with imperatives, resulting in prohibitives, and *ɬ-* negates past perfective sentences. Prohibitives marked with *mə-* are distinguished from interrogatives by stress on the verb root. Negation markers always take first position in the verb phrase, unless they are combined with interrogative *mə-* to form polite imperatives or past tense real

conditionals. Negation markers are mutually exclusive. Below are some examples of the use of these markers:

- (432) soŋnu jontan krəŋ ma-vi
 tomorrow Yon-tan maybe NEG-come₁
 Yon-tan might not come tomorrow. (Maybe Yon-tan will not come tomorrow.)

- (433) nəŋʝo mə-tə-^htʃi-n
 you PROH-2-go₁-2s
 don't go!

- (434) pəŋfir sloppən ki ʃi-vu
 yesterday teacher one NEG/PFT-come₂
 Yesterday one of the teachers did not come.

Jiǎomùzú also has two negative verbs, *mi?* and *maʔk*. The negative existential verb *mi?* is the opposite of *ndo?* 'have', and can be paraphrased as 'S does not have x'. The negative linking verb *maʔk* is the opposite of the existential verb *ɲos* 'be', and means 'S is not x':

- (435a) wuʝo kəpaʔ maʔk
 he Chinese not.be
 He is not Chinese.

- (435b) wuʝo pəŋeʔj mi?
 he money not.have
 He doesn't have money.

I give a more extensive description of negation in Jiǎomùzú in section 8.1 of the chapter on sentences below.

c. *Interrogatives*

Jiǎomùzú has three different means for forming interrogatives. Polar questions are constructed by prefixing *mə-* to the verb phrase or by employing question marker *me* in sentence final position. The two forms of interrogative marking differ in scope, with *mə-* covering the verb phrase only while *me* covers the scope of the sentence. The two markers can occur in one sentence. In this section I only give an overview of interrogatives formed with *mə-*, since they are part of the verb morphology, but here is just one example to demonstrate the use of *me*:

- (436) pkraʃis ma-vi me
 bKra.shis NEG-come₁ INTR
 Is bKra-shis not coming?

The use of the question marker *me* is described in section 8.1 of the chapter on sentence types. Constituent questions make use of interrogative pronouns. A description of interrogative pronouns can be found in section 3.4 of the chapter on pronouns.

The interrogative prefix *mə-* appears in first position in the verb phrase. It can occur with all persons and numbers:

- (437) ɲa tascok mə-leʔt-ɲ
 I letter Q-write₁-1s
 Do I write the letter?

- (438) nəŋɔ-ndʒ mə-tə-tʃ^hi-ndʒ
 you-2d Q-2-go₁-2d
 Will the two of you go?

- (439) jini wuɣo-ɲo mə-mbuʔ-j
 we:e he-p Q-give-1p
 Shall we give it to them?

d. *Imperative and exhortative constructions*

Imperatives in Jiǎomùzú occur with second person as well as third person logical subjects. I first discuss second person imperatives. Jussives or third person imperatives are considered further down in this subsection.

Second person imperatives are formed by prefixing the appropriate orientation marker to the verb root, replacing the normal second person marker *tə-*. Some verbs are irregular. Such verbs use root 3 rather than the citation form or root 1 in imperatives. One example is *kat^hoʔ*, 'ask', which has *-t^haʔ* in imperatives, as in example (442). The stress in imperatives is always on the root, which helps distinguish between imperatives and, e.g., past perfectives with similar orientation markers. Person and number marking remain the same, with *-n* for second person singular in intransitive verbs and *-w* in transitives. Second person dual is marked by *-ndʒ* and *-jn* is used for second plural in all verbs. The subject is often left out, but it can appear. Some examples of normal imperatives:

(440)	kak ^h rət	tə-k ^h rət-w	nə-'k ^h rət-w
	wipe	2-dig-2s	IMP-dig-2s
		You wipe.	Wipe!
(441)	kat ^h i	tə-t ^h i-n	kə-'t ^h i-n
	go	2-go ₁ -2s	IMP-go ₁ -2s
		You go.	Go!
(442)	kat ^h o?	tə-t ^h o?-w	to-'tha?-w
	ask	2-ask ₁ -2s	IMP-ask ₃ -2s
		You ask.	Ask!
(443)	ja, tʃə?	wu-rgambə	rə-və-'jok-w
	come.on this	3s:GEN-box	IMP-VPT-lift-2s
	Come on, shift this box this way!		
(444)	kəsam har	ji-ʃi-'rʒəʔk-n	rənə ji-'vi-n
	three lap	IMP-VPT-run-2s	CON IMP-come ₁ -2s
	Go run three laps, then come back here.		
(445)	pkraʃis	k ^h alet	to-'ndza-w
	bKra.shis	rtsam.pa	IMP-eat-2s
	bKra-shis, eat your rtsam-pa!		

Some irregular verbs employ alternation of vowels in their root to express modal meanings. For example, the verb *kataʔ*, ‘put’ is an irregular verb with root 2. That means that the past tense forms are regular and that the expectation would be for the root to be root 2 in a past tense situation as in (446a). However, in (446b) the verb phrase employs root 1:

(446a)	praʃis	kə	ɲa bawbaw ^ɕ	təʃeʔm	w-əŋgi-j	no-sə-taʔ-ŋ
	bKra.shis	PR	I	bag	house	3s:GEN-inside-LOC AF/PFT-CAUS-put ₂ -1s
	bKra-shis had me put the bag in the house.					
(446b)	praʃis	kə	ɲa bawbaw ^ɕ	təʃeʔm	w-əŋgi-j	no-sə-teʔ-ŋ
	bKra.shis	PR	I	bag	house	3s:GEN-inside-LOC AF/PFT-CAUS-put ₁ -1s
	bKra-shis forced me to put the bag in the house.					

Sentence (446a) is the neutral form, while (446b) expresses a very strong imperative. Whether the speaker likes it or not, bKra-shis is forcing the issue: the bag must be put in the house, no matter what. Not all irregular verbs can use this sort of alternation. For example, *kaleʔt*, ‘hit’, which has root 2 *laʔt* for past tense, does not:

- (447) tascok to-sə-laʔt-ŋ * tascok to-sə-leʔt-ŋ
 letter PFT-CAUS-write₂-1s
 He made me write a letter.

But then again, some verbs that do not have any vowel change in the normal paradigm do have a vowel change to signal this sort of imperative. Compare the following sentences with *kava*, ‘do’. This verb is regular so no vowel change is expected. Sentence (448a) is the neutral form, simply stating that the speaker hired labour to build a house, of his own volition. Example (448b) indicates that there was an outside need, requirement or motivation for the speaker to have the house built. Perhaps he needed to provide for his elderly parents:

- (448a) ŋa təjeʔm to-sə-va-ŋ
 I house PFT-CAUS-do-1s
 I had a house built.

- (448b) ŋa təjeʔm to-sə-ve-ŋ
 I house PFT-CAUS-do-1s
 I had to have a house built.

The sentences below all show imperatives formed with orientation markers as required by the semantics of the verb and the direction of the action. As indicated above, the stress marking, with heavy stress on the verb root, makes clear that these are imperatives and not past tense constructions. Lin, in her study of Zhuōkèjī, remarks on the possibility to form imperatives with a present imperfective aspect for actions indicating a posture, generating sentences such as ‘keep standing’. All such constructions take the marker *ko-*.²¹² This kind of construction is not possible in Jiǎomùzú. All imperatives for actions with ongoing duration, whether expressing posture or activity, are formed with the normal orientation markers and the addition of *manjuʔ*, ‘still, again’:

(449)	manjuʔ na-ʔju-n	manjuʔ na-ʔrdzwa-w
	still IMP-sit-2s	still IMP-dig ₁ -2s
	keep sitting!	keep digging!

Polite imperatives, often used in requests and invitations, are formed with a combination of interrogative marker *mə-* and negation marker *ma-*:

- (450) tət^ha ŋ-əp^ha-j məma-tə-ʔk^ham-w
 book 1s:GEN-locus-LOC IMP:polite-2-give-2s
 Please give me the book.

²¹² Lin (2000: 82, 83).

- (451) pkraʃis w-əp^ha-j lhamo tʃe vi məma-tə-¹cəs-n
bKra.shis 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC lHa-mo LOC come₁ IMP:polite-2-say-2s
Please tell bKra-shis to come to lHa-mo's.

Note that the second person marker *tə-* does not disappear in these constructions. This kind of construction is reminiscent of English soft imperatives like 'Why don't you stay for a while', or 'Won't you sit down'. The same marker can be used in instances where the speaker emphasises the need to do something rather than the polite request, as in the examples below:

(452a)	na- ¹ ju-n IMP-sit-2s (please,) sit down	məma-tə- ¹ ju-n IMP:emp-2-sit-2s (will you) sit still, please!
(452b)	to- ¹ ndza-w IMP-eat-2s (please) eat	məma-tə- ¹ ndza-w IMP:emp-2-eat-2s (will you) eat up, please!

The meaning of *məma-* thus depends on the social context in which it is used.

When exceedingly polite expressions are required, in the case of visiting incarnations, for example, the polite imperative marking is prefixed to an honorific verb root, or the politeness marker *məmasano* is used with an uninflected verb:

(453)	kandza eat	to- ¹ ndza-w IMP-eat-2s Eat!	məma-tə- ¹ ndza-w IMP-2-eat-2s Please eat!
	kaksor eat, HON.	məma-tə- ¹ ksor-jn IMP-2-eat:HON-2:HON Please eat!	
(454)	kaɲu məmasano sit HON Please, have a seat.		

Note that in the honorific form of 'eat', *kaksor*, politeness is expressed in the person marking as well, using second person plural *-jn* instead of singular *-w*.

Distal or postponed imperatives convey the command or desire of a speaker that the listener do something after something else has happened. This kind of imperative makes use of irrealis marking in combination with the normal imperative marker, but note that the second person marker *tə-* remains in place:

- (455) traʃi kə nə poŋeʔj 'nə-k^ham-w tʃe nə tak^hu a-to-tə-'ku-w
 bKra.shis PR CON money FPFT-give-3s LOC CON cigarette IRR-IMP-2-buy-2s
 After bKra-shis has given you the money, go and buy cigarettes.

Jussives or third person imperatives exhort a listener to demand action of a third person. As for distal imperatives, Jiāomùzú employs irrealis constructions to form jussives:

- (456) tamt^hem ŋ-əci a-kə-'ksər-w
 dish 1s:GEN-younger.sibling IRR-IMP-stirfry-3s
 Let my brother cook the food!

I discuss irrealis structures and the range of meanings they can express in section 7.10.f below. Prohibitives or negative imperatives consist of the negation marker *mə-* prefixed to the verb root, while the second person marker *tə-* remains in place. The orientation markers normally used to express imperative mood do not occur. Stress is on the verb root, as in all imperatives:

- (457) mə-tə-'tʃ^hi-n poŋeʔj mə-tə-'jmə-w je
 PROH-2-go₁-2s money PROH-2-forget-2s MD:R
 Don't go! Don't forget the money!

Polite prohibitives are formed by adding *məmasano*, the polite request form, to a nominalised verb phrase modified by negation marker *ma-*:

- (458) ma-ka-tʃ^hi məmasano poŋeʔj ma-ka-jmə məmasano
 NEG-NOM-go₁ HON money NEG-NOM-forget HON
 Please, don't go. Please don't forget the money.

The Jiāomùzú dialects have no special marking to express exhortative meanings. Usually exhortative type meanings are expressed by imperatives or prohibitives:

- (459) mə-tə-na¹sra
 PROH-2-shy
 Don't be shy!

Sentences in which a speaker exhorts the addressee to participate in realising an event along with the speaker usually take simple declarative form, sometimes with an emphatic marker in sentence final position. The verb in these constructions consists of the root, marked for person and number, but not for tense, aspect etc:

- (460) cəno tambat w-əp^ha sto t^ho-dʒ
 we mountain 3s:GEN-vicinity upwards ascend-1d
 Let's go up the mountain.
- (461) tʃ^hi-j la
 go₁-1p MD:SA
 Let's go!
- (462) jiji ɲi-sloppən w-əp^ha-j t^hoʔ-j o
 we:i 1p:GEN-teacher 3:GEN-vicinity-LOC ask-1p MD:CF
 Let's ask the teacher.

Within Jiǎomùzú Township there is one village, Shíjiāng²¹³ that uses the prefix *ta-* for exhortatives rather than straight imperatives. Example (463) shows the difference between exhortatory and imperative marking. In a context where one person rides a horse while a second one refuses to ride, say after a fall, but walks beside his horse, the rider may lose patience with the slow progress and use an imperative, as in (463a), demanding immediate action. Or he might use example (463b) to try and coax the hearer back onto the horse. Sentence (463a) is marked for imperative with *to-*; the root is stressed. The hortative in (463b) has *ta-*, while the verb root is not stressed:

(463a) nə-mbro to-nəʃco-n 2s-horse IMP-ride-2s Ride your horse!	(463b) nə-mbro ta-nəʃco-n 2s-horse EXH-ride-2s How about riding your horse.

e. *Real conditionals*

Real conditional constructions consist of the question marker *mə-*, prefixed to a verb marked for past perfective and verb root 1 or 2, and a clause connector *nə*, *rənə* or *rə*. The choice of verb root 1 or verb root 2 depends on the perceived time sequence of the clauses. If the real conditional signals a situation that occurs before a result or consequence, root 2 for past tense occurs, as in (464). If the first and second clause have the same time reference root 1 occurs, as in (465). The usual gloss is 'if':

- (464) təmu mə-na-laʔt rə jino w-əmp^hi ma-tʃ^hi-j
 rain COND-PFT-hit₂ CON we:e 3:GEN-outside NEG-go₁-1p
 If it rains, we won't go out.

²¹³ 石江, ལྷགས་འཛེར་ lCags-'ndzer.

- (465) nənʃo tʃike kamoʔt nə-si mə-na-vi rə nənʃo
 you something drink 2:GEN-heart COND-PFT-come₁ CON you
 If you want something to drink, please help yourself.

na-ʃi-nə-^lrko-w
 IMP-VPT-EREFL-pour-2s

- (466) nənʃo ndə w-apuʔ mə-na-top-w rə ɲa w-əmo
 you that 3:GEN-child COND-PFT-hit-2s CON I 3:GEN-mother
 If you hit that child, I will tell his mother.

w-əmp^ha-j cəs-ɲ
 3:-vicinity-LOC say-1s

- (467) ndə mə-na-ɲos rənə na-^ltʃ^ha-w
 that COND-PFT-be CON IMP-slaughter-3s
 If that's the case, then slaughter it!

Note that the conditional part of the sentence is marked for past tense, even if the hypothetical event is completely future. The consequence of the condition, should it pertain, is in present tense. The following examples show this clearly by their use of *ɲ-*, the negation marker used in past perfective situations:

- (468) so mə-ʃi-vu nə k^horlo ma-ʃep ^lnə-ɲos
 tomorrow COND-NEG/PFT-come₂ CON car NEG-catch EV-be
 If he has not come by tomorrow he will not be able to catch a ride.

- (469) kawʃəɔ mə-ʃi-tə-c^ha-n nə koŋtswoɔ kanaro ma-tə-c^ha-n
 exam COND-NEG/PFT-2-able-2s CON work find NEG-2-able-2s
 If you fail the exam, you will not be able to find a job.

- (470) təmu mə-ʃi-laʔt nə w-əmp^hi katʃ^hi k^hut
 rain COND-NEG/PFT-hit₂ CON 3s:GEN-outside go can
 If it does not rain, we can go out.

- (471) mə-ʃi-rʃi rə ka-nəmbri k^hut
 COND-NEG/PFT-go₂ CON NOM-play possible
 If he has not left yet, we can go out.

Interestingly, Běnzhēn, a village in the Mǎěrkāng valley, uses *ʃi-* in this sort of conditional, making no distinction between real conditionals and irrealis constructions.

This kind of real conditional, in which a hypothetical future situation is expressed by marking for perfective aspect, is different from conditionals that refer to a situation that actually did occur in the past, but that would have better been avoided. Since something did actually happen these structures are not marked with real conditional *mə-* or irrealis *a-* but by a simple present tense negation, usually on a nominalised verb, with the past tense marked elsewhere in the sentence. Semantically these forms reflect an irrealis: the speaker wishes for a condition not in the future but in the past that is unattainable, since something else than the wished for already occurred:

- (472) c^he ma-kə-tə-moʔt-w 'na-ŋos tʃe ma-tə-bja-sə-top
 liquor NEG-NOM-2-drink-2s OBS-be LOC NEG-2-REFL-CAUS-hit
 If you had not drunk liquor (been drunk) you would not have been hit.

f. *Irrealis*

The Jiāomùzú dialects distinguish between those situations that are firmly grounded in reality or have at least, in the estimation of the speaker, a decent possibility of being realised, and hypothetical situations. Actions and events that, in the mind of the speaker, belong to the realm of the hypothetical, are all marked for irrealis. This construction covers a wide range of modal meanings, including some forms of debitive, optative, jussive and conditional. Irrealis constructions mirror the possibilities for mood marking in realis situations. Irrealis marking consists of the marker *a-* prefixed to a verb phrase. The verb phrase can inflect for all the usual categories such as mood, tense and aspect, as demonstrated in the examples below. Many irrealis forms have a perfective marker, expressing that the speaker looks at the hypothetical situation as if it were completed. In these situations the irrealis works like a past-in-the-future relative tense, with stress on the past perfective marker and verb root 1 or root 3. But it is possible to have non-past marking as well. Jiāomùzú irrealis structures are in this respect different from marking for irrealis in Cǎodēng, a Northern rGyalrong dialect. Sun reports that irrealis structures there all consist of irrealis marker *a-* plus the appropriate orientation marker prefixed to verb root 1 or root 3.²¹⁴ Sentence (473a) is a debitive. In the second clause of (473a) the verb phrase is marked with *mə-* for prohibitive as part of an irrealis structure. Sentence (473b) shows an irrealis structure in a non-past situation, with (473c) as its hypothetical past tense equivalent:

- (473a) poŋeʔj pkraʃis w-əmba-j a-¹nə-tə-teʔ-w raŋraŋ
 money bKra.shis 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC IRR-PFT-2-put₁-2s other
 You should put the money at bKra-shis', don't take it elsewhere.
- a-mə-tə-¹tsep-w
 IRR-PROH-2-take-2s

²¹⁴ Sun (2007: 802).

(473b) *ŋa ŋə-poŋeʔj a-'na-ndoʔ tʃe hoŋjwɛn tʃʰi-ŋ*
 I 1s:GEN-money IRR-OBS-have LOC Hóngyuán go₁-1s
 If I have money, I'll go to Hóngyuán.

(473c) *ŋa ŋə-poŋeʔj a-to-ndoʔ tʃe hoŋjwɛn tʃʰi-ŋ*
 I 1s:GEN-money IRR-PFT-have LOC Hóngyuán go₁-1s
 If I had money, I would go to Hóngyuán.

The marker *a-* can be prefixed to any verb phrase in the sentence without altering the general meaning of the sentence, though the emphasis may change slightly:

(474) *nənʃo jontan w-əmpʰa-j kə-tə-cəs-n a-'nə-ŋos ʃi*
 you Yon-tan 3:GEN-vicinity-LOC NOM-2-say-2s IRR-EV-be MD:HON
 You should talk to Yon-tan.

(475) *nənʃo jontan a-to-tə-'cəs-n mənə*
 you Yon-tan IRR-IMP-2-say-2s CON
 How about you talk to Yon-tan....

(476) *a-'nə-ŋos tʃe poŋeʔj kəməca tsa kʰam kə-ra w-əspe ŋos*
 IRR-EV-be LOC money much little give NOM-need 3s:GEN-material be
 He ought to give some more money.

(477) *pkraʃis poneʔj kəməca tsa a-'nə-kʰam-w ra*
 bKra.shis money much little IRR-PFT-give-3s need
 bKra-shis must give some more money.

The clause connector *mənə* in (475) indicates that the speaker has not quite finished his speech or, if he is not going to say more, that there is more in his mind, pertaining to the matter at hand, than he will say. Native speakers agree that (476) and (477) are the same in meaning, regardless of the position of *a-*. In (476) and (477) the difference between 'ought to' and 'must' is caused by the presence of *ra*, 'must' in (477), rather than by the difference in placement of *a-*. In (476) *kʰam kəra wəspe ŋos* expresses 'need to give', with *anəŋos* signalling 'ought or should'. The meaning is something like 'it should be that he sees the need for giving'. But (477), where *ra*, 'must, need' covers the scope of the sentence, the speaker's statement is stronger.

Below are some more examples of irrealis structures for optatives, debitives, jussives and conditionals.

Optative constructions

Optatives usually combine irrealis marking with the noun *smonlam*, 'wish, desire, prayer' added at the end of the sentence:

- (478) nə-ʃatʃ^{hi} a-nə-nəʃit wu-smonlam
2s:GEN-holiday IRR-PFT-comfortable 3s:GEN-wish
Have a good holiday!

- (479) ʃiswanʃi^ɕ kawʃə^ɕ kava a-nə-tʃ^ha-ŋ wu-smonlam
computer exam do IRR-PFT-can-1s 3s:GEN-wish
Let me pass the computer exam!

- (480) pkraʃis tanbe w-ama? kəmtsoŋ kə-mi? kaməndə
bKra.shis Dānbā 3s:GEN-work trouble NOM-not have arrive
May bKra-shis get to Dānbā safely (without any problems).

a-nə-tʃ^ha wu-smonlam
IRR-PFT-can 3:GEN-wish

- (481) nə-mʏpitsi n-əngo 'na-maŋam a-nə-mi? wu-smonlam
2s:GEN-lifetime 2s:GEN-illness OBS-pain IRR-REFL-not.have 3s:GEN-wish
May you always enjoy good health!

Debitives

Debitives cover a range of meaning in English usually covered by auxiliaries like 'should' and 'ought to'. A mild debitive has only an irrealis construction. A speaker can add pressure by combining the irrealis construction with modal auxiliary *ra*, 'must' in sentence final position. Emphatic markers and adverbs can be used to further increase pressure on the addressee to perform the action required by the speaker.

- (482) nəŋʃo rgambe-ŋo h-ardo tʃe kə-tə-rit-w a-'nə-ŋos ʃi
you box-p D-towards.river LOC NOM-2-move-2s IRR-EV-be MD:HON
You should move the boxes over there.

- (483) nəŋʃo rgambe-ŋo h-ardu tʃe rə-'tseʔp-w ra
you box-p D-towards.river LOC IMP-move-2s must
You have to move the boxes over there.

Jussives

Jussives that exhort a listener to demand action of a third person are formed with irrealis marking prefixed to a verb marked for imperative:

- (484) ʃu lhamo a-nə-ʃi-'p^hot-w jo
 firewood lHa.mo IRR-IMP-VPT-chop-3s MD:R
 Come on, make lHa-mo go and chop the firewood!

- (485) pakʃu pkraʃis a-to-'ku-w
 apple bKra-shis IRR-IMP-buy-3s
 Get bKra-shis to buy the apples!

Conditionals

Note that in (487) the going to Chéngdū early, regrettably, did take place. The irrealis here, though linked to the past, is entirely hypothetical, since the event can't be undone. This structure is similar to example (472) above. Note that hypotheticals in the past can have marking for irrealis somewhere in the sentence, as in (487), but it is not obligatory. In example (472) there is no irrealis marking at all:

- (487) nənʃo tʃ^həŋdu ndə nəstamc^he tawo ma-kə-tə-rʃi-n a-'nə-ŋos tʃe
 you Chéngdū that like.that early NEG-NOM-2-go₂-2s IRR-EV-be LOC
 If you would not have gone to Chéngdū that early,

 ndə nəstamc^he j-ama? ma-məca
 that like.that 1p-trouble NEG-much
 we would not have so much trouble (now)!

g. Quotative

Quotes in Jiāomùzú are always direct, though they cannot always be translated as such. As in Tibetan, a quotation consists of a main clause, in which the subject usually is marked for ergative by prominence marker *kə*, and an embedded clause consisting of the direct speech being quoted:

- (488) pkraʃis kə sonam soʃnu tʃe vi na-cəs
 bKra.shis PR bSod-nams tomorrow here come₁ PFT-say
 bKra-shis said that bSod-nams will come tomorrow.
- (489) pkraʃis kə lhamo təŋgli 'na-va-w na-cəs
 bKra.shis PR lHa.mo lie OBS-do-3s PFT-say
 "lHa-mo is lying," said bKra-shis.

- (490) sonam kə ɲa ɲ-əp^ha-j nənɲo n-əp^ha-j
 bSod-nams PR I 1s:GEN-vicinity-LOC you 2s:GEN-vicinity-LOC
 bSod-nams told me to come see you.

ji-^lvi-n na-cəs
 IMP-come₁-2s PFT-say

Note that the direct speech being quoted retains the normal marking on the verbs, as in (490), where *jivin* is marked for imperative and second person singular. This refers to the moment in time where bSod-nams said to me: "You come and see....", with the object here being the person bSod-nams told me to go and see. More on embedded clauses in section 8.2 of the chapter on sentence structure.

h. *Submode*

Submodes express a person's ideas, thoughts or beliefs about an event or fact. The Jiăomùzú dialects, to my knowledge, have no special marking for submodes in the verb morphology, but use a main clause with a verb such as *kasəso*, 'believe' or 'think', in combination with an embedded clause which expresses the contents of the subject's thoughts:

- (491) ɲa to-səso-ɲ tʃe pkraʃis wastop kəts^ho?
 I PFT-think-1s LOC bKra.shis very fat
 I thought that bKra-shis is very fat.

- (492) pkraʃis pecin ji-kə-rʃi kə-ɲos 'na-səso-jn
 bKra-shis Běijīng PFT-NOM-go₂ NOM-be OBS-believe-3p
 They believe that bKra-shis went to Běijīng.

- (493) ɲa ɲə-kpjeɲ tʃe pumo katʃ^hi ma-tso-ɲ o
 I 1s:GEN-guess LOC now go NEG-free-1s MD:CF
 I guess it's too late to go now.

The use of pronouns distinguishes between the subject's thoughts about himself and things he thinks about others. Normally when the subject of the sentence is also the subject of the thought no pronoun appears in the embedded clause. Example (494a) shows *nats^hoɲ*, 'fat' marked for first person singular with *-ɲ*. The direct quote form here would be 'I am fat, bKra-shis thinks [about himself]'. A speaker can add a personal pronoun to make sure the hearer understands bKra-shis thinks he himself is fat. In (494b) *wuɲo*, 'he' occurs for that reason, even though 'fat' is still marked for first person. In sentence (494c) the third person subject of the main clause is not co-referent with the subject of the embedded clause *ɲa*, 'I', which is a first person pronoun. bKra-shis thinks that the

speaker is fat. Note that still the verb is marked for first person singular. But here the verb refers to *ŋa*, which refers to the speaker, not to bKra-shis:

(494a) pkraʃis 'na-ts^ho-ŋ 'na-səso-w
 bKra.shis OBS-fat-1s OBS-think-3s
 bKra-shis thinks that he [himself] is fat.

(494b) pkraʃis wuʃo 'na-ts^ho-ŋ 'na-səso-w
 bKra.shis he OBS-fat-1s OBS-think-3s
 bKra-shis thinks that he [himself] is fat.

(494c) pkraʃis ŋa 'na-ts^ho-ŋ 'na-səso-w
 bKra.shis I OBS-fat-1s OBS-think-3s
 bKra-shis thinks that I am fat.

CHAPTER 8

SENTENCES

8.0 *Introduction*

This chapter gives a brief overview of Jiǎomùzú sentence structure. The introduction is an abstract of the contents. The second part of the chapter looks at the different sentence types that occur in simple sentences, namely declarative, interrogative, negative and imperative. The third part describes complex sentences.

Jiǎomùzú declarative sentences can be verbal or copular. Verbal declarative sentences follow a subject-object-verb order. The subject is the most prominent argument in the sentence. Since subject and object are both marked on the verb, the constituent order is free unless switching constituent causes ambiguity. Topicalisation is a much used device to give emphasis to a constituent other than the subject. If by switching the constituent order there is danger of ambiguity, prominence marking with *kə* occurs to indicate the subject, while marking on the verb, such as attention flow marking with *no-* assures prominence of objects. Adverbials, depending of their scope, slot in right before the verb phrase, at the beginning of the sentence or after the subject. Copular sentences employ linking verbs such as *ɲos*, ‘be’ and its negative counterpart *maʔk*, ‘not be’. Copular verbs inflect for all normal verbal categories.

Jiǎomùzú has three types of interrogative sentences. Yes-no questions are formed with *mə-* prefixed to the verb phrase to cover the scope of the verb, or with *me* in sentence final position to cover the scope of the sentence. Interrogative pronouns and adverbs form constituent questions. It is also possible to use the conjunction *rə* to form constituent questions. The third type of interrogative is the echo question.

Negative sentences employ the negative morphemes *ma-*, *ɟi-* and *mə-* prefixed to the verb phrase. The use of the negative morphemes is syntactically motivated, with *ma-* occurring in imperfective situations, *ɟi-* negates perfectives and *mə-* signals prohibitives. There are also negative verbs, *miʔ* ‘not have’ and *maʔk* ‘not be’ which cover the scope of the sentence.

Imperatives are formed by prefixing a verb with an appropriate orientation marker and giving stress to the verb root. Prohibitives have the same structure while also inserting the second person marker *tə-*.

Jiǎomùzú does not have specific structures to form exclamations. Quotes are all direct, in their most basic form consisting of a simple sentence, which is the complement of a communication verb such as *kacəs*, ‘say’.

In the third part of this chapter I discuss complex sentences.

Jiǎomùzú coordinates sentences either with concatenative constructions in which no conjunctions are used, or with coordinating conjunctions. It is also possible to have a combination of the two means

within one complex sentence. Subordination of clauses and sentences makes use of subordinating conjunctions. Three important types of subordinate clause exist in Jiǎomùzú: relative clauses, complement clauses and adverbial clauses.

Relative clauses mostly occur before their heads, though there are also head-internal relative clauses in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. There is no special relativiser, nor are there relative pronouns. The relative clause can form a genitive construction with its head noun by marking the head with third person singular *wu-*, but such constructions are not obligatory. Verb phrases in relative clauses are nominalised with the common nominalisers *ka-*, *kə-* and *sa-* for subjects, objects and obliques respectively. The nominalised verb phrase can be finite or non-finite. The non-finite verb forms are used to signal generic situations and can indicate habituality. Non-finite forms also occur in situations where the subject ranks lower than the object on Jiǎomùzú's animacy hierarchy, or when the object is for other reasons more prominent than the subject.

Jiǎomùzú complement clauses normally modify a verb but occasionally they occur with only a subject in the main clause. There are subject as well as object complements. The verb morphology in the complement clause, if the clause is dependent, is influenced by the meaning of the main clause. One example of this is the formation of relative tense structures in the complement clause. The Jiǎomùzú complements may mirror the semantic distinction between reality and non-reality in the morphology of the complement, with non-reality complements having non-nominalised structures and reality based complements being nominalised. However, certain categories of verb such as knowledge, fear and modal auxiliary verbs can take both nominalised and non-nominalised complements. A much more in-depth study of the complement clause is required to clear up this issue.

Adverbial clauses are formed in one of three ways. Adverbialisers can be slotted in after a clause or sentence, a clause can be nominalised, or a subordinating conjunction can be placed between the adverbial clause and the main clause. It is possible to first adverbialise a sentence by adding a locative for time or place in sentence final position, and then attach the whole to a main clause by means of the subordinating coordinator *nə*.

8.1 *Simple sentences*

a. Declarative sentences

The Jiǎomùzú dialects have both verbal and copular sentences. The first part of the section on declarative sentences gives some main characteristics of verbal sentences. In the second part I discuss copular constructions.

1. *Verbal sentences*

The primary constituents in a Jiǎomùzú simple declarative sentence are the subject and verb phrase if the verb is intransitive, or the subject, one or two objects and the verb phrase if the verb is transitive. The constituent order is subject-object-verb (SOV). In a neutral sentence the subject occupies the first slot, which is also the most prominent. The object occurs in the second slot, which has less prominence. Jiǎomùzú marks agreement for subject and object on the verb. In transitive verbs, prefixes show the relation between the person of the subject and the person of the object. Suffixes mark person and number in a specific pattern: when there is a third person object, the person and number agreement is with the subject. But for a non-third person object agreement is with the object. For a discussion of the agreement pattern, see section 7.2 of the chapter on verbs. Since person and number of both subject and object are marked on the verb, these constituents are often not overtly present in the sentence. The smallest possible complete sentence is thus a verb phrase. In example (1) usually the object *nənʝo*, ‘you’ is omitted. The subject *bKra-shis* also does not need to appear if the context of the sentence is clear to both speaker and hearer:

- (1a) *pkraʃis* *nənʝo* *no-to-najo-n*
 bKra.shis *you* *AF/PFT-3/2-waited-2s*
 bKra-shis waited for you.
- (1b) [*pkraʃis*] *no-to-najo-n*
 [*bKra.shis*] *AF/PFT-3/2-waited-2s*
 (*bKra-shis*) waited (for you).

Second or indirect objects can also be omitted if the context is clear. The answer to ‘have you given *bKra-shis* the bowl?’ is usually no more than the verb phrase:

- (2) *nə-mbuʔ-ŋ*
 PFT-give-1s
 [I] have given [it to him].

But if the context is not clear the indirect object has to occur, since it is not marked on the verb phrase if there is also a direct object in the sentence, see 7.2.c in the chapter on verbs.

Dummy subjects are not used. Constructions like ‘it is hot’ do not appear. Instead there is just the verb phrase, as in (3). A proper subject, such as ‘the weather’ can be added, but it is not necessary:

- (3) *pəʃnu* *ʼna-vastsi*
 today *OBS-hot.*
 It is hot today.

The Jiāomùzú dialects do not mark syntactic case on subjects or objects in neutral sentences, either by inflection or morphologically independent markers. It makes no difference whether the constituent is a noun, pronoun or noun phrase. The word order as well as the person and number marking on the verb show the relationship between the various sentence constituents. For example, in (4) there is no marking on the noun phrases to show which is object and which is subject. But the normal word order and person and number marking indicate that *ŋa*, 'I' is the subject while *nəŋɔ*, 'you' and *tət^ha ki*, 'a book' are the objects:

- (4) *ŋa nəŋɔ tət^ha ki ta-mbuʔ-n*
 I you book IDEF 1/2-give-2s
 I will give you a book.

Second or indirect objects occur before or after direct objects. In (4) *nəŋɔ*, 'you' is the indirect object, in the recipient role, while *tət^ha ki*, 'a book' is the direct object. Only two arguments in a sentence are marked on the verb, the subject and one object. If the sentence has an inanimate direct object and an animate indirect object, the indirect object (recipient or goal) is treated as the direct object in the person and number marking on the verb. All other cases follow the normal marking pattern for subject and direct object. In (5) the verb is marked with prefix *ko-* to indicate the relationship between a second person subject and a first person object, while the suffix *-ŋ* marks for first person object. The first person indirect object *ŋa*, 'I' has the recipient role and is not overt in this sentence, but it is marked on the verb by *-ŋ*. The direct object is *tət^ha tə*, 'the book', which remains unmarked on the verb:

- (5) *nəŋɔ tət^ha tə kəʃtɕə ko-mbuʔ-ŋ*
 you book C when 2/1-give-1s
 When will you give me the book?

Some transitive verbs that look as if they have two objects, one of which is marked for dative, in fact behave as transitives with only one object. The recipient or goal is treated as an adverbial, with the morphology of a locative structure. In example (6) below the subject is *ŋa*, 'I'. The direct object is *poŋeʔj*, 'money', and it looks as if there is a recipient *bKra-shis*. Actually, the semantics of the verb *kak^ham*, 'hand, pass on to' imply that *bKra-shis* is not the final destination of the money. He is only the middleman who will pass the money on to whoever it is destined for. Since there is no direct vector from the subject to a final recipient, *bKra-shis* is not considered an indirect object, but an adverbial. The locative structure *wəmbaj*, 'towards' is marked for location by *-j* but also for third person singular genitive by *w-*. The root noun of the locative, *təmba*, 'vicinity' is the head of the genitive construction *pkraʃis wumbaj*, 'towards *bKra-shis*'. The entire structure, including *pkraʃis*, is a locative. The construction cannot be split up into *bKra-shis* as indirect object and *wəmbaj* as separate locative or dative:

- (6) ηa [pkraʃis w-əmba-j] poŋeʔj kə-tsə-tsə nə-k^ham-ŋ
 I [bKra.shis 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC] money NOM-little-RED PFT-hand-1s
 I handed bKra-shis a little money.

* ηa pkraʃis poŋeʔj kətsətsə nək^hamŋ

* ηa pkraʃis poŋeʔj wəmbaj kətsətsə nək^hamŋ

It is possible to omit *bKra-shis* if the context is clear and to have only the head of the adverbial, with just the genitive marker *w-* indicating the person involved:

- (7) ηa w-əmba-j poŋeʔj kətsə-tsə nə-k^ham-ŋ
 I 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC money little-RED PFT-hand-1s
 I handed [him] a little money.

Other verbs that behave in this way are non-volitional verbs such as *kastsok*, ‘hit randomly, without taking aim at’. Though there is a direct vector between the subject and the object, the action was not propelled by an intended goal. It is, in example (8) literally, a case of hit and miss:

- (8) lhamo w-əmp^ha-j ŋjilək to-stsok-w
 lHa.mo 3s:GEN-toward-LOC stone PFT-hit-3s
 A stone hit lHa-mo (lHa-mo was hit by a stone).

Note that such sentences in English are often best translated with a passive construction. However, they are fully active in Jiāomùzú.

Sometimes there seems to be a mismatch between the syntactic subject and the person and number marking on the verb. In (9) it looks as if there is a first person singular subject, *ŋa*, ‘I’, but the verb is marked for third person plural, in agreement with the apparent object *ŋajze kəsam*, ‘my three older brothers’:

- (9) ηa ŋ-ajze kəsam ndoʔ-jn
 I 1s:GEN-older.brother three have-3p
 I have three older brothers.

In fact, as will become clear from the discussion below, the subject in this sentence is the noun phrase *ŋa ŋajze kəsam*, ‘three older brothers of mine’ or ‘my three older brothers’. The noun phrase consists of a genitive construction with *ŋa* ‘I’ as the possessor and the head *tajze*, ‘older brother’, which is marked for first person possessive by *ŋ-*, as the possessed. Nagano²¹⁵ comments correctly that this sort of sentence should be understood to consist of a complex subject and a verb phrase, with no object present. He then adds that such sentences look like transitives but in actuality are

²¹⁵ Nagano (1984: 27).

intransitive. Nagano gives the following example (the transcription is his):

- (10) nga nga-mnyak nə-ro-s ko.
 1sg (my)-eye pft-wake-s1 aux:s
 I have awakened/I am waking up.

The verb *ro* literally means 'to open', so the literal gloss would be 'my eyes have opened or are opening'. The presence of the first person pronoun is explained as carrying 'old information', while *nga-mnyak*, 'my eye', presents new information. The literal translation of the whole sentence would be 'As for me, my eyes have been waking up'. However, transitivity is not the main issue here. Complex subjects consisting of genitives occur both with transitive and intransitive verbs and are marked accordingly. In example (9) *ndo?* is intransitive, as is *karo*, 'wake up' in Nagano's example. But with the transitive verb *kava*, 'do' the person and number marking is for transitive, as shown in (11). Intransitive verbs do not mark third person singular, but transitives have the suffix *-w*:

- (11) ŋa ŋ-arts^hot 'na-va-w
 I 1s:GEN-cough OBS-do-3s
 I'm coughing.

The marking on the verb makes clear whether the subject is a genitive construction or whether there is an object in the sentence. In (11) the verb is clearly marked for third person singular, indicating a complex subject. But in (12) the verb is marked for first person singular. The subject clearly is *ŋa*, 'I' while the noun *tarnga?*, 'dance' must be interpreted as the object. The gloss is literally 'I will do a dance':

- (12) ŋa tarnga? va-ŋ
 I dance do-1s
 I will dance.

Turning *tarnga?* into a genitive construction does not change the marking on the verb:

- (13) ŋa ŋ-arnga? va-ŋ
 I 1s:GEN-dance do-1s
 I will do my dance.

From a semantic point of view, the issue in this kind of sentence is not transitive versus intransitive but rather control and volition. In example (11) the syntactic subject, *ŋa*, is not in control of the action, the coughing simply happens. The word for 'cough', *tarts^hot*, is a noun. The cough controls the person rather than the other way around. The marking is with the controlling constituent, not with the semantically most logical candidate for subject. This analysis also works for (9). The main point in that sentence is that there are, or exist, older brothers, and their existence gets marked in the

form of a third person plural suffix. The fact that they are specifically my brothers is expressed by the possessive structure, but does not influence the person and number marking. This sentence can also be understood, like (11), to convey something that is outside of the control of 'I'. After all, I cannot control how many brothers I have, or if I have any. Nagano's example also fits well. Waking up, literally 'opening one's eyes', is an involuntary act, over which the subject has no control. It happens to the subject, just like coughing and having brothers.

As indicated above, the Jiăomùzú dialects employ two main strategies to code the roles of constituents in a sentence: order and arrangement of constituents and verbal agreement. The preferred order in neutral sentences is subject-object-verb. If the semantics of the verb is not sufficient to determine which noun phrase takes which role, the subject-object-verb order must be followed. The hearer will simply assume that the argument in the first slot is the subject, followed by the object in the second slot:

(14)	pkraʃis lhamo na-top-w bKra.shis lHa.mo PFT-hit-3s bKra-shis hit lHa-mo.	lhamo pkraʃis na-top-w lHa.mo bKra.shis PFT-hit-3s lHa-mo hit bKra-shis.

But if there is only one semantically plausible choice for the subject, the relative order of noun phrases becomes free:

(15a)	lhamo kʰəzaʔ na-tʃʰop-w lHa.mo bowl PFT-broke-3s lHa-mo broke the bowl.	(15b)	kʰəzaʔ lhamo na-tʃʰop-w bowl lHa.mo PFT-break-3s lHa-mo broke the bowl.
(16a)	pkraʃis cʰe na-moʔt-w bKra.shis beer PFT-drink-3s bKra-shis drank beer.	(16b)	cʰe pkraʃis na-moʔt-w beer bKra-shis PFT-drink-3s bKra-shis drank beer.

However, differences in word order signal difference in meaning, usually differences in emphasis. In sentences (15b) and (16b) the object occupies the first slot, which carries most prominence, and is therefore emphasised. For the hearer, this tends to create an expectation for more information to be given, along the lines of 'The bowl, now *that* lHa-mo broke. [But the vase was broken by bKra-shis]'. Often such cases of emphasis are best rendered by passives in English: 'The bowl was broken by lHa-mo', though the sentence is fully active in Jiăomùzú. The process of shifting a noun phrase to a different position in order to achieve extra emphasis is called topicalisation. Topicalisation in Jiăomùzú is a very frequently used foregrounding technique in which noun phrases are shifted from a less prominent slot in the sentence to a slot that has higher prominence. In this study I use Keenan's working definition of topicalisation, which he contrasts with passive constructions. Topicalisation 'presents noun phrases in 'unusual' positions in the sentence, that is, positions in which such noun phrases would not occur in basic actives. Passives are not in general distinct from actives with regard to the position and case marking of noun phrases...what is distinctive about the

observable form of passives is localised within the predicate of the verb phrase. Topicalisations are not generally marked in the predicate."²¹⁶ Passives in Jiǎomùzú are morphologically distinct from topicalisation. They are marked on the verb by *ŋo-*, as discussed in section 7.8.d in the chapter on verbs.

Topicalisation in Jiǎomùzú means that a neutral constituent, usually the object, is put in the slot of the first constituent, which is normally occupied by the subject. Consider the sentences below. Sentence (a) is a neutral sentence with the subject *ŋa*, ‘I’ in the subject slot and *bKra-shis*, the object, in the second slot. The subject is more prominent than the object. In sentence (b) topicalisation brings the object forward into the first slot. It becomes more prominent than the subject, which now occupies the second slot. The marking with *-ŋ* for first person singular on the verb makes clear that *bKra-shis* is not the subject but the object:

- (17) *ŋa* *pkraʃis* *kə-najo-ŋ*
 I *bKra.shis* PFT-wait-1s
 I waited for *bKra-shis*.

- (18) *pkraʃis* *ŋa* *kə-najo-ŋ*
 bKra.shis I PFT-wait-1s
 It is *bKra-shis* I waited for.

Marking on the verb is not ambiguous in all transitive relations:

- (19) *lhamo* *pkraʃis* *kə-najo-w*
 lHa.mo *bKra.shis* PFT-wait-3s
 lHa-mo waited for *bKra-shis*.

In this sentence the subject is marked on the verb by the suffix *-w*, for non-first person singular subject. Changing the position of the constituents does not change the empathy of the hearers. They simply assume the first constituent to be the subject, in the absence of any other marking:

- (20) *pkraʃis* *lhamo* *kə-najo-w*
 bKra.shis *lHa.mo* PFT-wait-3s
 bKra-shis waited for *lHa-mo*.

If topicalisation causes ambiguity, prominence marker *kə* appears to mark the subject for agentivity. The object remains unmarked:

²¹⁶ Keenan 1996: 243-246.

- (21) lhamo pkraʃis kə-naʃo-w
 lHa.mo bKra.shis PFT-wait-3s
 lHa-mo waited for bKra-shis.
- (22) lhamo pkraʃis kə kə-naʃo-w
 lHa.mo bKra.shis PR:AG PFT-wait-3s
 It is lHa-mo bKra-shis waited for.

Disambiguating subject and object roles by marking for agentivity is one of several functions carried out by prominence marking with *kə*. For an extensive discussion of prominence marking, see section 4.3.e in the chapter on nouns.

Indirect objects, like direct objects, can be topicalised. Topicalisation of an indirect object usually means that it occurs before the direct object rather than after it. Example (23) has a direct object, *poŋeʔj*, ‘money’ before the indirect object lHa-mo. In sentence (24) the indirect object lHa-mo occurs in second position and is thus more prominent than the direct object *poŋeʔj*, ‘money’:

- (23) pkraʃis poŋeʔj lhamo nə-mbuʔ-w
 bKra.shis money lHa.mo PFT-give-3s
 bKra-shis gave the money to lHa-mo.
- (24) pkraʃis lhamo poŋeʔj nə-mbuʔ-w
 bKra.shis lHa.mo money PFT-give-3s
 bKra-shis gave lHa-mo the money.

In a sentence with two objects, the direct object can be shifted into the first sentence slot while the indirect object remains in the third slot, after the subject. The subject is normally marked for agentivity in these cases to distinguish between direct object and subject. This kind of topicalisation requires clefting in English:

- (25) pakʃu lhamo kə pkraʃis nə-mbuʔ-w
 apple lHa.mo PR:AG bKra.shis PFT-give-3s
 It's an apple that lHa-mo gave bKra-shis.

It is possible, though highly unnatural, to have both the direct and the indirect object before the subject. Sentence (26), which has the direct object before the indirect object, leaves native speakers puzzled as to its meaning, and most people reject it outright:

- (26) *ʔ pakʃu lhamo pkraʃis kə nə-mbuʔ-w
 apple lHa.mo bKra.shis PR:AG PFT-give-3s
 It's an apple that bKra-shis gave lHa-mo.

Sentences in which a direct object follows an indirect object are more acceptable. In the majority of cases such sentences will be understood as not overtly marked genitive constructions. In example (27) the listener will most likely not think of *bKra-shis* as the indirect object and the bowl as a direct object. Rather, the sentence seems to convey that I will give bKra-shis' bowl to someone, even though *k^həzaʔ*, 'bowl' is not marked for genitive:

- (27) pkraʃis k^həzaʔ ɲa mbuʔ-ŋ
 bKra.shis bowl I give-1s
 I will give bKra-shis' bowl.
 * To bKra-shis I will give a bowl.

The awkwardness of this type of construction can be solved by using attention flow marking, which gives prominence to the object:

- (28) pakʃu lhamo pkraʃis kə no-mbuʔ-w
 apple lHa.mo bKra.shis PR:AG AF/PFT-give-3s
 It's an apple that bKra-shis gave lHa-mo.

Having two objects before the subject obviously stretches the limits of topicalisation in Jiăomùzú, unless other marking solves ambiguities. If such marking is not available, native speakers prefer in this sort of sentence that the subject occupies the second slot, dividing the two objects, as in (29). Prominence marking does not occur with the direct object if it is in the second slot, as in (29b), or in the third slot just before the verb phrase, as in (29a):

- (29a) lhamo pkraʃis pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
 lHa.mo bKra.shis apple PFT-give-3s
 lHa-mo gave bKra-shis an apple.

* lhamo pkraʃis pakʃu kə nəmbuʔw

- (29b) lhamo pakʃu pkraʃis nə-mbuʔ-w
 lHa.mo apple bKra.shis PFT-give-3s
 lHa-mo gave bKra-shis an apple.

* lhamo pakʃu kə pkraʃis nəmbuʔw

- (29c) pakʃu kə lhamo pkraʃis nə-mbuʔ-w
 apple PR lHa.mo bKra.shis PFT-give-3s
 An apple is what lHa-mo gave bKra-shis.

However, it is not possible to have the direct object, marked for prominence, in the first slot with a marked subject in the third slot:

(29d) * pakʃu kə lhamo pkraʃis kə nəmbuʔw

The Jiăomùzú dialects are sensitive to an animacy hierarchy in which the highest ranking person is more prominent than the second, which ranks higher than the third and so on. The animacy hierarchy for Jiăomùzú is as follows: 1 > 2 > 3 human > 3 non-human, animate > 3 inanimate. In a sentence there are thus two different systems of prominence at work. One is the constituent prominence as described above, in which subject is more prominent than object. The other is the animacy hierarchy prominence. Constituency prominence does not require any special marking when a lower ranking constituent takes the slot of a higher ranking constituent. In the following examples (30a) is a neutral sentence with the subject *ŋa*, 'I' in the first, most prominent slot, followed by two objects. Sentence (30b) is topicalised, with the direct object *bKra-shis* in the first slot. Note that in the second sentence prominence marker *kə* does not appear to mark *ŋa*, 'I' as subject and agent, even though the subject is in the second slot. Prominence marking only occurs to disambiguate cases where marking for person and number on the verb does not clearly indicate which constituent is the subject. It can occur if a speaker wants to give prominence to one argument or another, which is a different issue. Animacy hierarchy also does not play a role here. Even though the first person object ranks higher than the third person subject, no marking of any kind occurs:

(30a) ŋa soʃnu ndə wu-kʰəzaʔ tə pkraʃis mbuʔ-ŋ
I tomorrow this 3s:GEN-bowl C bKra-shis give-1s
I'll give this bowl to bKra-shis tomorrow.

(30b) pkraʃis ŋa kʰəzaʔ mbuʔ-ŋ
bKra-shis I bowl give-1s
I'll give bKra-shis the bowl.

The animacy hierarchy does interfere with the normal prominence of sentence constituents when one of the arguments is inanimate. For example, a third person inanimate subject ranks lower on the animacy scale than a third person animate object, even though in Jiăomùzú sentences the subject is normally more prominent than the object. In such cases the prominence imbalance is redressed by marking the lower ranking subject with prominence marker *kə*:

(31) təmtʃuk kə patʃu kəzu tə kə-'a-cop-w
fire PR chicken all C PFT-NEV-burn-3s
The fire burnt all the chickens.

In Jiăomùzú the relative prominence of an animate grammatical person trumps the relative prominence of the subject.

A hearer's inclination to give empathy to an object that is undergoing an action by an inanimate agent, like a force of nature, is also offset by marking the subject with prominence marker *kə*. For example, in sentence (32) there is a subject *k^halu*, 'wind' and an object *k^horlo*, 'vehicle'. Both arguments are inanimate and have equal ranking on the animacy hierarchy. The subject is, as it should be, in the first, most prominent slot of the sentence. There is no logical reason to mark the subject for agentivity with prominence marker *kə*. However, the marker can appear, and the marked sentence is the preferred option of native speakers. At issue here is not animacy hierarchy or constituent order but rather a semantic requirement. The hearer's attention is with the vehicle being overturned rather than with the wind, which is an immaterial force. Prominence marking brings balance of prominence to the subject :

- (32) *k^halu kə k^horlo kə-'a-tʃ^hwek-w*
 Wind PR vehicle PFT-NEV-turn.over-3s
 The wind blew the car over.

Another way to offset imbalances caused by constituents in subject slots that rank low on the animacy hierarchy is to topicalise the sentence, bringing the higher ranking object into the first, more prominent slot of the sentence. Topicalisation is used routinely when there is a human object with an inanimate subject:

- (33) *pkraʃis təmtʃuk kəktu kə kə-'a-cop-w*
bKra.shis fire big PR:AG PFT-NEV-burn-3s
bKra-shis was burned up by the huge fire.

For more on the animacy hierarchy, see section 7.2 of the chapter on verbs.

All other constituents in a sentence such as adverbials and mood markers are optional and are added at the preference of the speaker. The placement of adverbials depends on their scope and meaning. Epistemic adverbials occur after the constituent that they modify or in the first slot of the sentence if they cover the scope of the sentence. In (34a) *krəŋ*, 'perhaps' modifies *k^həzaʔ ki*, 'a bowl', while in (34b) the same adverb covers the entire statement:

- (34a) *ŋa lhamo k^həzaʔ ki krəŋ mbuʔ-ŋ*
 I lHa.mo bowl IDEF perhaps give-1s
 I will give lHa-mo a bowl, perhaps.

- (34a) *krəŋ ŋa lhamo k^həzaʔ ki mbuʔ-ŋ*
 perhaps I lHa.mo bowl IDEF give-1s
 Perhaps I will give lHa-mo a bowl.

Adverbials of degree and manner are placed before the verb phrase or after adjectivals:

- (35) pkraʃis kʰəna makəndʒa na-top-w
 bKra.shis dog exceedingly PFT-hit-3s
 bKra-shis hit the dog terribly.

Interrogative adverbs are in the slot before the verb phrase:

- (36) akʰə namkʰa n-ətʰa kəʃtrə və-rna-w
 uncle Nam.kʰa 2s:GEN-book when VPT-borrow-3s
 When will uncle Nam-kʰa come to borrow your book?

Adverbials of time and place are usually found before or after the subject or first slot in the sentence. There can be several adverbials in the sentence. Adverbials of time usually are placed before adverbials of place:

- (37) soʃnu ɲa n-əʒeʔm w-əŋgi-j lhamo krəŋ
 tomorrow I 2s:GEN-house 3s:GEN-inside-LOC lHa.mo perhaps
 Tomorrow, at your house, I will give lHa-mo perhaps a bowl.
 kʰəzaʔ ki mbuʔ-ŋ
 bowl IDEF give-1s

For more on the placement of adverbials, see section 5.1 of the chapter on adverbs.

Of the primary constituents in a declarative sentence, the verb phrase is always in final position. After the verb phrase no other constituents can occur, apart from optional mood markers and the interrogative particle *me*. The interrogative particle *me*, when placed after the verb phrase, turns a declarative sentence into a question. Sentence (38) is an example of mood marking while (39) shows an interrogative with *me*:

- (38) pkraʃis no-to-najo-n ja
 bKra.shis AF/PFT-3/2-waited-2s:O MD:SUP
 (How amazing that) bKra-shis waited for you!
 (39) pkraʃis no-to-najo-n me
 bKra.shis AF/PFT-3/2-waited-2s:O INTR
 Did bKra-shis wait for you?

For more on mood marking, see section 6.5 of the chapter on smaller word classes. I discuss interrogatives later on in this chapter.

2. Copular sentences

Jiǎomùzú has a special class of verbs which include linking, existential and auxiliary verbs, see section 7.1 of the chapter on verbs. The overt linking verbs in Jiǎomùzú are *ɲos*, ‘be’, its negative counterpart *maʔk*, ‘not be’, and *stʃi*, which conveys a condescending sense of ‘be’. In the following overview the examples mostly use *ɲos*, with the understanding that the other copulas are used in similar fashion. The order of the constituents is the same as in verbal sentences, with the subject followed by the complement and the copula in sentence final position. Use of the linking verb is obligatory:

- (40) *ndə kəpaʔ ɲos* * *ndə kəpaʔ*
 that Chinese be
 He is a Han Chinese.

A copula cannot normally be added to a verbal sentence:

- (41) *pəʃnu saksə-ŋkʰuʔ tʰi tə-va-w*
 today noon-back what 2-do-2s
 What are you going to do this afternoon?
- * *pəʃnu saksəŋkʰuʔ tʰi təvaw ɲos*

But the use of *ɲos* is possible to express a speaker’s certainty or conviction of a statement, giving the statement greater force. In examples (42) and (43) below, *ɲos* gives emphasis, rather like the addition of ‘does’ in the English gloss of (42) or intonation stress on ‘is’ in (43). When *ɲos* is used in such an auxiliary or modal way it cannot be marked for person and number:

- (42) *pkraʃis ka-nəʃup ɲa-rgaʔ-w ɲos*
 bKra.shis NOM-sleep PRIMP-like-3s be
 bKra-shis *does* like sleeping.
- (43) *tsʰoŋ ɲa-va-w ɲos*
 business PRIMP-do-3s be
 He *is* doing business!

A copular sentence can be embedded in a larger sentence:

- (44) *manʃuʔ rgumbe [kəktu ki ɲos] ndoʔ taktsʰaŋ ɲni*
 besides monastery [big IDEF be] have sTag.tshang call
 Besides [that] there is a big monastery called sTag-tshang.

There is no special marking on any constituent of the predicate in a copular sentence. Predicate constituents found in copular sentences are, as in verbal sentences, nominals and adverbials. In example (40) above *kəpaʔ*, ‘Chinese’ is a proper noun. Adjectivals are nominalised forms of stative verbs:

- (45) *tət^ha tə kə-vəni ɲos*
 book C NOM-red be
 The book is red.

The predicate constituent can be a single word as in the examples above or a phrase. Example (46) has an adverbial phrase in a copular sentence:

- (46) *ɲa [təza ɲi-tʃiŋsəʔ ar-ar-səʔ w-əŋgi-j] ɲos-ɲ*
 I [male 3p-dorm 2-2-4 3s:GEN-inside-LOC] be
 I’m in the 224 guys’ dorm.

Linking verbs take marking for the verbal categories of person and number, mood, aspect, tense and evidentiality as well as causativity, in as far as the semantics of the linking verb allows. For example, because *ɲos* is a positive linking verb it cannot be negated by using negation markers from the mood category. Prefixing *ɲos* with non-perfective negation marker *ma-* does not generate the meaning ‘not be’:

- (47) * *ndə kəpaʔ maɲos*
 ndə kəpaʔ maʔk
 that Chinese not.be
 He is not a Han Chinese.

Example (48) is marked for number and person. Sentence (49) is marked for mood by interrogative *mə-* while (59) shows an irrealis construction. In (51) prefix *na-* marks *ɲos* for past perfective and example (52) has evidentiality marker *nə-*:

- (48) *lolo-ɲo kə-neʔk ɲos-jn*
 cat-p NOM-black be-3p
 The cats are black.
- (49) *ndə kəpaʔ mə-ɲos*
 that Chinese Q-be
 Is he a Han Chinese?

(50) nənʝo jontan w-əmba-j kə-tə-¹cəs-n a-nə-ŋos
 you Yon.tan 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC IMP-2-say-2s IRR-PFT-be
 You should talk to Yon-tan.

(51) lanpotʃ^he w-awo ato-j təzapu? ndo? na-ŋos
 elephant 3s:GEN-head above-LOC boy have PFT-be.
 A boy was sitting on the head of the elephant.

(52) tʃəʔ pakʃu ¹nə-ŋos
 this apple EV-be
 This is an apple.

Linking verbs can be nominalised:

(53) t^hi-ni ka-pso kə-maʔk kə-ŋos ma-kə-ʃi-jn ¹nə-ŋos
 what-p NOM-like NOM-not.be NOM-be NEG-NOM-know-3p EV-be
 They don't know right from wrong (they don't know how to behave properly).

The same copula is used for all functions such as defining, identifying and indication of role. Apart from the linking verbs described above, *kava*, 'do' and *kəŋɛr*, 'be changed' can function as copulas meaning 'become'.

(54) tʃəʔ tə ka-va ¹to-səjoʔk-ŋ tʃe wastop kə-mem va-w
 this C NOM-do PFT-finish-1s LOC very NOM-tasty become-3s
 This will be very tasty indeed once I've finished preparing it!

b. *Interrogatives*

The Jiāomùzú dialects have polar or yes-no questions as well as constituent questions. Polar questions are formed with the interrogative prefix *mə-* which covers the scope of the verb phrase or with interrogative particle *me*, which covers the scope of the sentence. Constituent questions use interrogative pronouns or adverbs, or the conjunction *rə*. Echo questions are used regularly too. They let the hearer check if he heard a speaker's statement correctly, or, by extension, express surprise or unbelief about a statement. In sections 1-3 on interrogatives I look at these three kinds of questions. Part 4 describes the way answers are formed and used.

1. *Polar questions*

Neutral polar questions are formed by prefixing question marker *mə-* to the verb phrase, as in (55a), or by inserting interrogative particle *me* at the end of a sentence, see (55b):

(55a) nənɔ mə-tə-tʰi-n
 you Q-2-go₁-2s
 Are you going?

(55b) nənɔ tə-tʰi-n me
 you 2-go₁-2s INTR
 Are you going?

The scope covered by *mə-* and *me* is not the same. Question marker *mə-* only covers the verb phrase, while interrogative particle *me* covers the scope of the sentence. In most cases this distinction will not change the meaning of a sentence in any drastic way. But subtle shades of meaning can be indicated by the choice of interrogative, as demonstrated by the following examples:

(56a) pkraʃis kə mə-no-to-top-n
 bKra.shis PR Q-AF-3/2-hit-2s
 Did bKra-shis hit you?

(56b) pkraʃis kə no-to-top-n me
 bKra.shis PR AF-3/2-hit-2s INTR
 Did bKra-shis hit you?

Sentence (56a) is a polar question marked by *mə-*. The scope of *mə-* is only the verb phrase *nototopn*, ‘he hit you’. The speaker questions the verb phrase: did the subject bKra-shis hit – or did he perform another action? Sentence (56b) has sentential interrogative marker *me*. The speaker questions the entire situation of what happened to the hearer. Perhaps there is some evidence of violence, maybe a black eye. The speaker wants to know how the black eye happened, and who caused it. The speaker’s guess is bKra-shis, and that there was hitting. But it may have been kicking by someone else.

Interrogative marker *me* also occurs as an interrogative conjunction in coordinated sentences. The meaning then is to present a choice, as in English ‘or.....or...’:

(57) nənɔ semcan kə-lok tə-ɲos-jn me təmɲak kə-ji tə-ɲos-jn
 you livestock NOM-herd 2-be-2p CON:INTR field NOM-sow 2-be-2p
 Are you herders or are you farmers?

When used as an interrogative conjunction, *me* can occur together with other conjunctions such as *rə*. For more on the use of *me* as a conjunction, see section 6.4 of the chapter on smaller word classes. Question marker *mə-* and interrogative particle *me* are mutually exclusive:

- (58) pkraʃis pəʃur lhamo w-əmba-j pakʃu mə-nə-mbuʔ-w
 bKra.shis yesterday lHa.mo 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC apple Q-PFT-give-3s
 Did bKra-shis give apples to lHa-mo yesterday?

pkraʃis pəʃur lhamo w-əmba-j pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w me
 bKra.shis yesterday lHa.mo 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC apple PFT-give-3s INTR
 Did bKra-shis give apples to lHa-mo yesterday?

* pkraʃis pəʃur lhamo wəmbaj pakʃu mənəmbuʔw me

There are some circumstances under which *mə-* cannot be prefixed to a verb phrase. In such cases interrogatives are formed with interrogative particle *me*. The use of *mə-* is prohibited if the verb phrase is already marked for negation. This holds both for imperfective aspect frames, which are marked for negation by *ma-*, and for perfective frames which have *ʃi-*:

- (59) pkraʃis pəʃnu ma-tʃʰi * pkraʃis pəʃnu məmatʃʰi
 bKra.shis today NEG-go₁
 bKra-shis will not go today.

pkraʃis pəʃnu ma-tʃʰi me
 bKra.shis today NEG-go₁ INTR
 Will bKra-shis not go today?

- (60) pkraʃis pəʃurtʃə ʃi-rʃi * pkraʃis pəʃurtʃə məʃirʃi
 bKra.shis the.other.day NEG/PFT-go₂
 bKra-shis did not go the other day.

pkraʃis pəʃurtʃə ʃi-rʃi me
 bKra.shis the.other.day NEG/PFT-go₂ INTR
 Did bKra-shis not go the other day?

It is possible to have *məma-* but only to form polite requests or imperatives, see section 7.9 on mood of the verb chapter. Combinations of *mə-* and perfective negation marker *ʃi-* do occur in real conditionals, see section 7.9 on mood.

There are two ways to construct leading polar questions. Leading questions for which the expected answer is ‘yes’ employ mood markers added to a statement to solicit the hearer’s agreement, or an interrogative construction with a linking verb. Mood markers occur in sentence final position. The Jiāomùzú dialects have several that solicit a hearer’s agreement when tagged on to the end of a statement:

- (61) nənʝo ʒik tə-tʃʰi-n la
 you also 2-go₁-2s MD:SA
 You're going too, right?

For more on mood markers, see section 6.5 of the chapter on smaller word classes.

Interrogatives formed with a linking verb can look like leading questions. The use of *ɣos* as an auxiliary in these cases expresses the speaker's certainty about his statement, but does not necessarily lead the hearer to agree with the speaker. The English gloss tends to give more of a semantic load than actually is there. Intonation and tone of voice can make questions such as (62) below into leading questions, if there is stress on the subject:

- (62) nənʝo ʒik tə-tʃʰi-n mə-ɣos
 you also 2-go₁-2s Q-be
 You're also going, aren't you?

Leading questions for which the expected answer is 'no' employ a negative statement with a linking verb or a mood marker. The examples below show a fairly neutral form with a linking verb in (63a) and a more leading construction with a mood marker in (64b):

- (63a) nənʝo ka-tʃʰi nə-si ma-^lnə-vi mə-ɣos
 you NOM-go₁ 2s:GEN-heart NEG-OBS-come₁ Q-be
 You don't want to go, right?

- (64b) nənʝo ka-tʃʰi nə-si ma-^lnə-vi la
 you NOM-go₁ 2s:GEN-heart NEG-OBS-come₁ MD:SA
 You don't want to go, right?

It is not possible to have a question-tag type construction and a mood marker in the same sentence:

- (64c) * nənʝo ka-tʃʰi nəsi manəvi məɣos la

2. *Constituent questions*

Interrogative pronouns and interrogative adverbs are used to form constituent questions. The main interrogative pronouns are *tʰi*, 'what', *si*, 'who' and *kətə*, 'which, who'. These pronouns question subjects, objects and patients. In (67a) *tʰi* questions the object *pakʃu*, 'apples'. In example (67b) *si* questions the subject *ɣa*, 'I'. Sentence (67c) shows *kətə* questioning the object *tətʰa*, 'book'. Note that these interrogatives can question the adjectival parts rather than the head of a noun phrase, as in (67d):

(67a)	nənʝo t ^{hi} kə-ra you what NOM-need What do you want?	[ŋa] pakʃu [ra] [I] apple [need] [I want] apples.
(67b)	si pakʃu ra who apple need Who wants apples?	ŋa I I.
(67c)	tət ^{ha} kətə 'nə-ŋos book which EV-be Which book is it?	namk ^{he} w-əmdok tə sky 3s:GEN-colour C The blue one.
(67d)	kətə w-ət ^{ha} who 3s:GEN-book Whose book?	pkraʃis w-ət ^{ha} bKra.shis 3s:GEN-book bKra-shis' book.

Adverbials of time and place can be questioned with *kəʃtɹə*, 'when' and *kətʃe*, 'where' respectively:

(68)	kətʃe tə-ŋos-n where 2-be-2s Where are you?	kantʃ ^h ak-j street-LOC [I'm] downtown.
(69)	jontan kəʃtɹə vi Yon.tan when come ₁ When wil Yon-tan come?	soʃnu tomorrow Tomorrow.

All other adverbials including manner and reason employ combinations consisting of *t^{hi}* plus a noun. The noun sometimes occurs as a genitive, but not always. Frequently used combinations are *t^{hi}isok*, 'in what manner, in what way, how'; *t^{hi}wutʃ^{he}*, 'for what reason, why'; *t^{hi}istok*, 'how many'; *t^{hi}wuʒak*, 'what time':

(70)	jondan krəŋ ma-vi Yon.tan maybe NEG-come ₁ Maybe Yon-tan will not come.	t ^{hi} wu-tʃ ^{he} what 3s:GEN-reason Why not?
	w-ama? ndo? 3s:GEN-business have He has something to do.	

- (71) pakʃu tʰi-stok ra kəsam tərpa
 apple what-quantity need three pound
 How many apples do you want? Three pounds.

Verbs and verb phrases usually are not questioned. It is possible to question them by employing *tʰi*, ‘what’ and a form of *kava*, ‘do’. The verb phrase in the question should fit the parameters of the verb phrase in the answer in terms of morphological marking for tense, aspect and other verbal categories. Note that sentence (c) and (d) are grammatically perfectly correct. They just do not fit with the form of the answer in (a), in which the verb is marked for observation, reflecting a present imperfective situation:

- (72a) pkraʃis narənə lhamo-ndʒ haitso 'na-ram-ndʒ
 bKra.shis and lHa.mo-3d chili.pepper OBS-dry-3d
 bKra-shis and lHa-mo are drying chili peppers.

- (72b) pkraʃis narənə lhamo-ndʒ tʰi 'na-va-ndʒ
 bKra.shis and lHa.mo-3d what OBS-do-3d
 What are bKra-shis and lHa-mo doing?

- */? pkraʃis narənə lhamo-ndʒ tʰi va-ndʒ
 bKra.shis and lHa.mo-3d what do-3d
 What do bKra-shis and lHa-mo do? (What will bKra-shis and lHa-mo do?)

- * pkraʃis narənə lhamondʒ tʰi tovandʒ

Question words are limited to the positions that can be held by the constituent that is being questioned, though they do not necessarily have to occur in the position held by the questioned constituent in a particular sentence. For example, in the sentence ‘bSod-nams hit bKra-shis yesterday’ the subject bSod-nams can be questioned with *si*, ‘who’. The interrogative pronoun can occur in all positions that the subject can occupy:

- (73a) pəʃur pkraʃis sonam kə no-top-w
 yesterday bKra.shis bSod.nams PR:AG AF-hit-3s
 Yesterday bKra-shis was hit by bSod-nams.

- (73b) pəʃur pkraʃis si kə no-top-w
 yesterday bKra.shis who PR:AG AF-hit-3s
 Yesterday bKra-shis was hit by whom?

- (73c) si pəʃur pkraʃis no-top-w
 who yesterday bKra.shis AF-hit-3s
 Who hit bKra-shis yesterday?

The other elements in the sentence do not change position. But often constituents that are not relevant to a speaker's question are omitted:

- (74a) jondan soʃnu vi
 Yon.tan tomorrow come₁
 Yon-tan will come tomorrow.

(74b) si soʃnu vi who tomorrow come ₁ Who will come tomorrow?	(74c) si vi who come ₁ Who will come?	(74d) si who Who?
(74e) yondan kəʃtɕə vi Yon.tan when come ₁ When will Yon-tan come?	(74f) kəʃtɕə vi when come ₁ When [will he] come?	(74g) kəʃtɕə when When?

The Jiǎomùzú question words not only work in main clauses and sentences but can also be employed to question all elements of phrases and subordinate clauses. For example, the object in sentence (75) is the noun phrase 'bKra-shis' three very black little pigs that are in the stable'. All the different elements can be questioned by the different question words as discussed above. Of course the contents of the sentence determines which question words are appropriate. Note that one question word can question an entire argument or parts of it:

- (75) ηa [$t^h u \eta g u$ $w-\eta g i-j$ $p k r a \eta i s$ $w u-j e$ $p a k t s a$ $k \eta n e \eta k$
 I stable 3s:GEN-inside- LOC bKra.shis 3s-POSS piglet black
 I bought [bKra-shis' three very black piglets that are in the stable].

$m a k \eta n d \eta a$ $k \eta s a m$ $t \eta$] $t o-k u-\eta$
 exceedingly three C PFT-buy-1s

$t^h i$	what (did I buy)	$p a k t s a$	piglets
$k \eta t \eta$	which (piglets)	$t^h t u \eta g u$ $w \eta g i j$	the ones in the stable
		$p k r a \eta i s$ $w u j e$	bKra-shis' piglets
		$k \eta n e \eta k$ $m a k \eta n d \eta a$ $t \eta$	the very black ones
		$k \eta n e \eta k$ $k \eta s a m$ $t \eta$	the three black ones
$s i$	whose (piglets)	$p k r a \eta i s$ $w u j e$	bKra-shis' piglets
$k \eta s t \eta$	where	$t^h t u \eta g u$ $w \eta g i j$ $t \eta$	the ones in the stable
$t^h i s o k$	what sort	$k \eta n e \eta k$ $m a k \eta n d \eta a$	very black
$t^h i s t o k$	how many	$k \eta s a m$	three

Another example is (76) in which the relative clause 'who had been hit by a car' can be questioned by several of the question words discussed above:

- (76) ηa [$k^h o r l o$ $n \eta-k \eta-r t s \eta$ $w-\eta r m \eta$ $t \eta$] $n a-m \eta t o-\eta$
 I vehicle PFT-NOM-hit 3s:GEN-person C PFT-see-1s
 I saw the man who had been hit by a car.

$t^h i s o k$	what kind (of man)	$k^h o r l o$ $n \eta k \eta r t s \eta$ $t \eta$	the one hit by a car
$t^h i$ $n \eta k \eta r t s \eta$	hit by what	$k^h o r l o$	a car
$k \eta t \eta$	which (man)	$n \eta k \eta r t s \eta$ $t \eta$	the one who was hit

It is possible to question more than one thing in a sentence:

- (77a) $p k r a \eta i s$ $p \eta s u r$ $k^h \eta n a$ $k i$ $n a-m \eta t o-w$
 bKra.shis yesterday dog IDEF PFT-see-3s
 bKra-shis saw a dog yesterday.

- (77b) $s i$ $k \eta s t \eta$ $t^h i$ $n a-m \eta t o-w$
 who when what PFT-see-3s
 Who saw what when?

- (77c) pkraʃis kəʃtɾə kʰəna tʰəstok na-məto-w
 bKra.shis when dog how.many PFT-see-3s
 bKra-shis saw how many dogs when?

In principle there is no limit on how many constituents can be questioned in a sentence, though two or three seems to be the utmost number in normal speech. The more question words the more unnatural the question becomes.

3. Questions formed with *rə*

On the word, the phrase and the sentence level the conjunction *rə* can occur with non-verbal as well as verbal constituents. In such situations *rə* functions as a question marker. Questions with *rə* typically ask ‘how about...’, ‘what if...’ or ‘what happened to...’. The answer to such an open ended question can be just about anything as long as it links in with the topic raised in the question. For examples of the use of *rə* in forming questions with words and phrases, see section 6.4 in the chapter on smaller word classes. Here is an example on the sentence level. Sentences (65) and (66) show the difference in meaning between questions with *me* and *rə*:

- (65) pkraʃi ma-vi me
 bKra.shis NEG-come₁ INTR
 bKra-shis is not coming?
- (66) pkraʃis ma-vi rə
 bKra.shis NEG-come₁ INTR/CON
 What if bKra-shis doesn’t come?

4. Echo questions

The Jiǎomùzú dialects employ echo questions both for polar questions and constituent questions. Example (78a) shows a yes-no echo, while example (78b) has a question word echo:

- (78a) ɲa kʰantʃak-j tʃʰi-ɲ kʰantʃak-j [tə-tʃʰi-n] me
 I street-LOC go₁-1s street-LOC [2-go₁-2s] INTR
 I’m going into town. [You’re going] into town?
- ə əhə
 yes no
 Yes. No.

- (78b) ηa $k^hant\{ak-j$ $t\{^hi-\eta$ $[n\grave{a}\eta\phi]$ $k\grave{a}t\{e$ $[t\grave{a}-t\{^hi-n]$ $k^hant\{ak-j$
 I street-LOC go_1-1s [you] where $[2-go_1-2s]$ street-LOC
 I'm going into town. [You're going] where? Into town.

In the echoes normally the subject, such as *nəŋɔ*, 'you' in (78a) above, is omitted. Also the verb does not have to occur. It is fine to just have the adverbial *kant^hakj* and an interrogative. It is also possible to use a mood marker in echoes, as in (79). It is the echo to 'I'm going into town'. The mood marker *ju?* indicates the affirmation of a previously known fact:

- (79) $k^hant\{ak-j$ $ju?$
 street-LOC MD:RA
 You're going into town?

Echoes work not only for statements but also for questions. Example (80a) demonstrates a yes-no question echo. Note that the question omits subject and verb and can make use either of an interrogative or a mood marker. Example (80b) gives a question word question echo. It is possible to have more than one question word in an echo. In fact, many can be employed just as in English. But the more question words are piled up in one sentence, the more unnatural the sentence tends to become:

- (80a) $n\grave{a}\eta\phi$ $kant\{ak-j$ $t\grave{a}-t\{^hi-n$ me
 you street-LOC $2-go_1-2s$ INTR
 Are you going into town?

$k^hant\{ak-j$ me	$k^hant\{ak-j$ $ju?$
street-LOC INTR	street-LOC MD:RA
[Am I going] into town?	[Am I going] into town?

$kr\grave{a}\eta$ $t\{^hi-\eta$
 perhaps go_1-1s
 Perhaps.

- (80b) $pkra\{is$ t^hi $w-\grave{a}t\{^he$ $k^h\grave{a}$ $w-\grave{a}mba-j$ $n\eta il\grave{a}k$ $'na-le?t-w$
 bKra.shis what 3s:GEN-reason dog 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC stone OBS-hit₁-3s
 Why is bKra-shis throwing stones at the dog?

si $k\grave{a}$ t^hi $w-\grave{a}t\{^he$ si $w-\grave{a}mba-j$ t^hi $'na-le?t-w$
 who PR:AG what 3s:GEN-reason who 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC what OBS-hit₁-3s
 Why is who throwing what at whom?

pkraʃis tʰi w-ətʃʰe kʰə w-əmba-j nʃilək 'na-leʔt-w
 bKra.shis what 3s:GEN-reason dog 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC stone OBS-hit₁-3s
 Why is bKra-shis throwing stones at the dog?!

All elements in a sentence can be subject to echo questioning. Example (80b) above shows questioning with question words for subject bKra-shis, direct object *nʃilək*, ‘stones’, and patient *kʰə*, ‘dog’. Echoes without question words repeat the questioned constituent. In (81b) below it is the subject, in (c) the patient, in (d) the direct object:

(81a) ʃa nənʃo tətʰa mbuʔ-ŋ
 I you book give-1s
 I’ll give you a book.

(81b) nənʃo juʔ
 you MD:RA
 You’ll give me a book?

(81c) ʃa juʔ
 I MD:RA
 You’ll give *me* a book?

(81d) tətʰa juʔ
 book MD:RA
 You’ll give me a *book*?

Example (82) shows questioning of an adverbial in (82b) and of a verb in (82c):

(82a) ʃa soʃnu tʃʰi-ŋ
 I tomorrow go₁-1s
 I’m leaving tomorrow.

(82a) soʃnu me
 tomorrow INTR
 You’re leaving *tomorrow*?

(82b) tə-tʃʰi-n me
 2-go₂-2s INTR
 You’re *leaving* tomorrow?

For compound verbs either the verb or the noun part can be questioned:

(83a) ʃa zala 'kə-leʔt-ŋ
 I layer PRIMP-hit₁-1s
 I’m painting the wall.

(83b) zala me
 layer INTR
 You’re painting *the wall*?

(83c) zala 'kə-tə-leʔt-w me
 layer PRIMP-2-hit-2s INTR
 You’re *painting* the wall?

More than one element at a time can be subject to echo questioning, as in example (83c) above, and the following example:

- (84) ηa sofnu mborke-j tʃʰi- η
 I tomorrow Măěrkāng-LOC go₁-1s
 I'm going to Măěrkāng tomorrow.

$kəʃtʃə$ $kətʃə$ tə-tʃʰi-n
 when where 2-go₁-2s
 You're going where when?

mborke-j sofnu
 Măěrkāng-LOC tomorrow
 To Măěrkāng, tomorrow!

5. Answers

There are two different ways of forming answers to yes-no questions. The speaker can answer with a complete sentence, of which the verb phrase is the most important part. Example (85a) below shows this strategy. Or the answer can consist of a simple yes or no, as in example (85b). It is not possible to use linking verbs to answer questions:

(85a)	$nənʃo$ mə-tə-tʃʰi-n you Q-2-go ₁ -2s Are you going?	$[\eta a]$ tʃʰi- η [I] go ₁ -1s I am (going).	$[\eta a]$ ma-tʃʰi- η [I] NEG-go ₁ -1s I'm not (going).
(85b)	$nənʃo$ mə-tə-tʃʰi-n you Q-2-go ₁ -2s Are you going?	$\emptyset$ yes Yes.	$\emptyset h\emptyset$ no No.
(85c)	$nənʃo$ mə-tə-tʃʰi-n you Q-2-go ₁ -2s Are you going?	* ηos	* $maʔk$

As in other sentences, answers very often are elliptic, without overt subject or object. The minimum answer to a yes-no question is a verb phrase, unless forms of 'yes' or 'no' are used. For example, sentence (86a) can be answered with just *tʃʰiŋ*, 'go' or *matʃʰiŋ*, 'not go'. Both 'yes' and 'no' are stand-alone answers without the need for other constituents, though they can be combined with a verb phrase and, if the speaker desires, other constituents. The other possible answer to a yes-no question is *krəŋ*, 'maybe, perhaps'. This adverbial cannot occur by itself but must be accompanied by a verb phrase or a linking verb:

- (86) nənʃo mə-tə-tʃʰi-n krəŋ tʃʰi-ŋ * krəŋ
 you Q-2-go₁-2s maybe go₁-1s
 Are you going? Perhaps.

The answers ‘yes’, ‘no’ and ‘maybe’ are also used with leading positive and negative questions:

- (87) nənʃo ʒik tə-tʃʰi-n la ə əhə krəŋ tʃʰi-ŋ
 you also 2-go₁-2s MD:SA yes no maybe go₁-1s
 You’re also going, aren’t you? Yes. No. Perhaps [I’ll go].

- (88) nənʃo ka-tʃʰi nə-si ma-^lnə-vi la
 you INF-go₁ 2s:GEN-heart NEG-OBS-come₁ MD:SA
 You don’t want to go, right?

ə	əhə	ŋə-si	krəŋ	^l na-vi
yes	no	1s:GEN-heart	perhaps	OBS-come ₁
Yes.	No.		Perhaps	[I want to].

A positive answer to a leading negative question agrees with the premise of the question, while a negative answer contradicts the premise. The answer ə, ‘yes’ to (88) means that the speaker doesn’t want to go. The negative answer əhə, ‘no’ means that the speaker does want to go.

In answers to question word questions the constituent that answers the question can take the same position as the question word, or any other position that is grammatically permissible for that kind of constituent. For example, adverbials of time and place can take first place in a sentence. They may also occur after the subject. In answers the adverbial can occupy either place, no matter the position of the adverbial interrogative in the question. Example (89a) is correct to answer either (89b) or (89c):

- (89a) soʃnu pkrəʃi narənə lhamo vi-ndʒ
 tomorrow bKra.shis and lHa.mo come₁-3d
 Tomorrow bKra-shis and lHa-mo will come.

- (89b) pkrəʃi narənə lhamo kəʃtɹə vi-ndʒ
 bKra.shis and lHa.mo when come₁-3d
 When will bKra-shis and lHa-mo come?

- (89c) kəʃtɹə pkrəʃi narənə lhamo vi-ndʒ
 when bKra.shis and lHa.mo come₁-3d
 When will bKra-shis and lHa-mo come?

Like answers to polar questions, answers to question word questions often leave out constituents. In the following examples the answers consists of a subject only:

(90a) pərmor si vi
tonight who come₁
Who is coming tonight?

(90b) ak^hə namk^ha
uncle Nam.kha
Uncle Nam-kha.

(91a) nəŋʝo kətə tət^ha ra
you which book need
Which book do you want?

(91b) rʝaŋkə w-əmdoʔk tə
green 3s:GEN-colour C
The green one.

The positive answer *owe*, ‘ok, sure’ is used to agree with a speaker’s statement (92b) or imperative, (92a). This answer cannot be used in response to a yes-no question or question word question as demonstrated in (92c):

(92a) soʃnu tawo tsa ji-^lvi-n
tomorrow early little IMP-come₁-2s
Come a bit early tomorrow.

owe
okay
Okay.

(92b) ŋa tʃ^hi-ŋ ra
I go₁-1s need
I have to go.

owe
okay
Okay.

(92c) ʝuʔ-stso mə-na-ndoʔ
water-hot Q-OBS-have
Is there any hot water?

ə * owe
yes
Yes.

c. *Negative sentences*

1. *Introduction*

The Jiăomùzú dialects employ negative morphemes as well as negative verbs to express standard negation in verbal clauses. For this reason it would be perfectly acceptable to describe patterns of negation only in the chapter on verbs. However, a proper treatment of negation in Jiăomùzú should include also issues less directly related to the verb, such as negative adverbs, negative transport and constituent and sentential negation. Since the concept of negation is expressed in such a broad variety of ways it seemed to me appropriate to describe the most common possibilities in a separate section on negative sentences.

The most common way of expressing negation in the Jiăomùzú dialects is through the negative morphemes *ma-*, *mə-* and *ji-*, which are affixed to the verb root, and the negative verbs *miʔ* and

maʔk. Part 1 and 2 of this section discuss the use of the negative morphemes and verbs. Constituent and sentence negation are covered in the part 3, followed by a description of negation and focus in part 4. Part 5-10 look at negative transport, adverbs and quantifiers, negative coordinators, negative conjunctions, the negation of yes/no questions and derivation of lexical items, respectively.

2. Negative morphemes

The negation markers *ma-*, *mə-* and *ji-* are used to negate verb phrases. They occur in initial position in the verb phrase. The morphemes reflect differences in tense, aspect and mood. Marker *ma-* is used in imperfective situations, whereas *ji-* is used in perfective sentences. In prohibitives *mə-* is used. The negative morphemes are mutually exclusive.

(93)	nənʝo mə-tə-tʃʰi-n you Q-2-go ₁ -2s Are you going?	ɲa ma-tʃʰi-ɲ I NEG-go ₁ -1s No, I'm not.

(94)	ɲa pəʃur təmor ʝa-ta-məmto-n I yesterday evening NEG/PFT-1/2-see-2s I didn't see you last night.

As opposed to:

(95)	pəmor ma-ɲa-məmto-dʒ tonight NEG-REC-see-1d I won't see you tonight.

The negation marker for perfective situations *ji-* replaces the consonant of the tense, aspect, evidentiality or attention flow marker which is placed next to it, but not the vowel, as demonstrated in example (96) and (97). Stress is not contrastive. I discuss tense and aspect marking, including vowel change influenced by marking for evidentiality, in section 7.4 of the chapter on verbs.

(96)	wuʝo no-to-məto-n he AF-3/2-see-2s He saw you.	wuʝo ji-no-to-məto-n he NEG-AF -3/2-see-2s He didn't see you.	[ʝotoməmton]
(97)	nə-pongeʔj na-rtak 2s:GEN-money PFT-enough You had enough money.	nə-pongeʔj ji-na-rtak 2s:GEN-money NEG-PFT-enough You did not have enough money.	[ʝartak]

In prohibitives *mə-* is used in second person forms:

- (98) mə-tə-^ltʃ^hi-n
PROH-2-go₁-2s
Don't go!
- (99) tʃ^haʔ tʃəʔ tə mə-tə-^lmoʔt-w
tea this C PROH-2-drink-2s
Don't drink this tea!

In the rare case that a third person prohibitive needs to be expressed, the normal negation marker *ma-* is used:

- (100) wuʃo ma-^ltʃ^hi to-cəs-ŋ
he NEG-go₁ PFT-say-1s
He doesn't go, I said!

In such sentences it is the tone of voice rather than the grammatical structure that determines the imperative character.

Polite imperatives are formed by combining question marker *mə-* prefixed to a negation marker. In most cases the negation marker is *ma-*:

(101)	na- ^l ju-n	mə-tə- ^l ju-n	mə-ma-tə- ^l ju-n
	IMP-sit-2s	PROH-2-sit-2s	Q-NEG-2-sit-2s
	sit down!	Don't sit!	Please take a seat!

Note that the polite imperative is similar to English constructions such as 'won't you sit down' or 'why don't you sit down', which are soft forms of imperatives. For more on polite imperatives see section 7.9 on mood in the verb chapter.

Negation marker *mə-* as used to negate imperatives is identical with the question marker *mə-*. Historically, the interrogative may derive from the negation marker.²¹⁷ Watters reports the same kind of flip-flop between negation and interrogative markers in some dialects of Kham, which differentiate the two with tense marking and verbal morpho-syntax.²¹⁸ The Jiǎomùzú dialects employ different stress patterns to distinguish between the two.²¹⁹ There is heavy stress on the verb root in prohibitives while the verb root in interrogatives does not have heavy stress. In this study I only mark stress on verb roots in prohibitives. Occurrences of *mə-* without any stress marking indicate interrogatives:

²¹⁷ Watters (2004:1, 2).

²¹⁸ Watters 2004.

²¹⁹ This is comparable to the Dutch use of *niet*, 'not'. The negator *niet* occurs at the end of sentences. With a question intonation it functions as an interrogative. With stress on the verb root it signals prohibitive. Thanks to Professor Kortlandt for providing this example from Dutch.

(102)	nənʃo mə-tə-tʃʰi-n you Q-2-go ₁ -2s Are you going?	nənʃo mə-tə- ^l tʃʰi-n you PROH-2-go ₁ -2s You don't go!
(103)	nənʃo mə-tə-leʔt-w you Q-2-hit ₁ -2s Do you [want to] hit?	nənʃo mə-tə- ^l leʔt-w you PROH-2-hit ₁ -2s Don't you hit!

This use of stress patterns in marking grammatical differences precludes stress or intonation for influencing the scope of negation in negated clauses, see below in the sections 4 and 5 on scope of negation and focus. For more on the use of stress to mark grammatical differences, see section 2.3 of the phonology chapter and sections 7.4 and 7.5 in the chapter on verbs.

Various dialects in the rGyalrong area employ different means to mark negation. Unlike Jiǎomùzú, some dialects have only *ma-* and *mə-*, as described by Lín Xiàngróng²²⁰ for Zhuōkèjī, and Kin P'eng²²¹ for Lǐxiàn. Some examples from Xiǎojīn below also show the difference clearly, with *ma-* for negative present tense marker and *mə-* to negate past tense as well as mark imperatives. The question marker is *ə*. The past tense and imperative negative markers are distinguished by variable stress. In the following examples I indicate stress only for the relevant segments.

- (104a) no mə-tə-tʃʰi-n ndə ɲa tʃʰi-ŋ
you NEG-2-go₁-2s if I go₁-1s
If you don't go, I will.

- (104b) no mə-tə-^ltʃʰi-n
you PROH-2-go₁-2s
Don't go!

- (104c) no mə-tə-tʃʰi-n mən (əŋo)
you NEG-2-go-2s INTR
You didn't go?

- (104d) no tʃʰa wutə mə-tə-^lmut-w
you tea that PROH-2-drink-2s
Don't drink that tea!

- (104e) no tʃʰa wutə mə-tə-mut-w mən (ə-ŋo)
you tea that NEG-2-drink-2s Q
You didn't drink that tea?

²²⁰ Lín (1993: 247-249).

²²¹ Kin (1949: 283). Lǐxiàn was called Tsa-kou-nao at the time of Kin's study.

(104f) no tʃ^ha wutə ə-tə-mut-w
 you tea this Q-2-drink-2s
 Will you drink this tea?

(104g) no tʃ^ha wutə ma-tə-mut-w mən (ə-ŋo)
 you tea this NEG-2-drink-2s Q
 Won't you drink this tea?

(104h) no tʃ^ha wutə na-tə-mut-2 ə-ŋo
 you tea that PFT-2-drink-s Q-be
 You drank that tea, right?

Note that, whereas in the Jiǎomùzú dialects in the absence of stress there would be confusion between the negative imperative marker and the question marker *mə-*, in the Xiǎojīn dialect the confusion would be between normal negative markers and negative imperative markers.

	Xiǎojīn	Jiǎomùzú
Q	ə-	mə-
NEG/IMP	mə-	mə-
NEG/PST	mə-	ʃ-
NEG/PR	ma-	ma-

Lín²²² and Kin²²³ consider the negation markers as found in the Zhuōkèjī and Lǐxiàn (Tsa-kou-nao) dialects to be adverbials. But there are several reasons for counting them as part of the verb phrase. First of all, negation markers can negate only verb phrases. Other constituents like noun phrases, see (105a) and (105b), adverbial phrases as in (105c) and (105d), and adpositional phrases, see example (105e), can only be negated with the help of negative verbs, or by using regular negation of the verb phrase, as shown in the examples below:

(105a) wuʃo smonbe maʔk
 he doctor not.be
 He is not a doctor.

(105b) wuʃo w-apu? mi?
 he 3s:GEN-child not.have
 He has no children.

²²² Lín (1993: 312-313).

²²³ Kin (1949: 283).

(105c) tascok tascok-sa-rko w-əngi 'nə-mi?
 letter letter-NOM-put 3s:GEN-inside EV-not.have
 The letter is not in the mailbox.

(105d) ɟarə koro m-andza-ŋ
 meat often NEG-eat-1s
 I seldom eat meat.

(105e) ɲa stonɟnu tʃe ma-rəʃniŋə-ŋ
 I every.day LOC NEG-happy-1s
 I'm unhappy all the time.

Note that in a sentence such as (105d) there may not be much difference between the English 'I don't often eat meat' and 'I often don't eat meat'. However, in (105e) there is a marked difference between the English 'Every day I'm not happy' as in: not all days are good, and 'I'm not happy every day', meaning I'm unhappy all the time. But for a native Jiāomùzú speaker these distinctions do not exist. The negation markers cannot modify non-verbal constituents, see below. Secondly, negation markers carry aspectual meaning and can cancel out their counterpart aspectual markers in the verb phrase, as shown in examples (96) and (97). For these reasons I consider the negation markers to be affixes rather than adverbials.

3. Negative verbs

Negative verbs are used to negate clauses which have noun phrases, adverbial phrases, etc., and other verb phrases. There are two negative verbs, *mi?* and *maʔk*. The verb *mi?*, 'not have, not exist, there is no...' is a negative existential verb, the opposite of the existential verb *ndo?*, 'have, exist'. The verb *maʔk*, 'not be, *x* is not *z*' is a negative linking verb, the opposite of the linking verb *ɲos*, 'be'. The negative verbs occur clause or sentence finally in the normal verb phrase slot, though the verb phrase can be followed by mood markers and question markers.

(106)	mə-to-tə-nəndza-n	pu mi?
	Q-PFT-2-have.a.meal-2s	yet not.have
	Have you eaten?	Not yet.

(107)	wuɟo kəpa? ɲos	wuɟo kəpa? maʔk
	he Chinese be	he Chinese not.be-3s
	He is Han Chinese.	He is not Han Chinese.

Negative verbs can occur by themselves, without any other sentence constituents. In these cases they usually are the answer to a yes-no question. Their usage thus depends on context.

(115c) juʔ-stso maʔk
 water-hot not.be
 That is not hot water. (...it is tea)

(115d) juʔ-stso miʔ
 water-hot not.have
 There is no hot water.

4. *Constituent and sentential negation*

Constituent negation is possible in the Jiǎomùzú dialects but the extent is limited due to the restrictions on the use of the negative morphemes *ma-*, *mə-* and *ji-*. These negation markers can only negate verbal constituents, as described above; they cannot directly negate non-verbs. Contrasting sentence pairs common in English like 'he does not have many books', where 'not' modifies the verb 'have' and 'he has not many books' in which 'not' modifies 'many books' cannot be formed with the regular negation markers in Jiǎomùzú. To negate any constituents other than verbs a negative verb must be used. This makes the scope of the negation sentential.

(116a) ŋa kə-mərtsap margaʔ-ŋ
 I NOM- spicy NEG-like-1s
 I don't like spicy [food].

(116b) ŋa ma-kə-mərtsap rgaʔ-ŋ
 I NEG-NOM-spicy like-1s
 I like non-spicy [food].

Two negative elements can occur together in one clause. There can be a nominalised verbal constituent with a verb phrase, each negated by a negative marker in first position:

(116c) ŋa ma-kə-mərtsap ma-rgaʔ-ŋ
 I NEG-NOM-spicy NEG-like-1s
 I don't like non-spicy food.

Semantically, this kind of double negation gives a positive meaning: I like spicy food.

Another possibility is to combine negation with sentential negation, using a sentence final negative verb:

(117a) həlan w-əndze kətsə-tsə ʒik kə-mərtsap miʔ
 Holland 3s:GEN-food little-RED also NOM-spicy not.have
 Dutch food is not at all spicy.

- (117b) həlan w-əndze ma-kə-mərtsap mi?
 Holland 3s:GEN-food NEG-NOM-spicy not.have
 All Dutch food is spicy.

A combination of two negated verbal constituents and a negative verb is possible - though native speakers remark that surely there are less convoluted ways to express this kind of meaning:

- (118) ɲa ma-kə-mertsap ma-kə-rgaʔ-ɲ mi?
 I NEG-NOM-spicy NEG-NOM-like-1s not.be
 It is not true that I don't like non-spicy food.

(119a)	pakʃu 'na-mem apple OBS-tasty (These are) tasty apples.	pakʃu ma-'nə-mem apple NEG-OBS-tasty The apples are not tasty.

(119b)	pakʃu kə-mem 'nə-mi? apple NOM-tasty OBS-not.have There are no tasty apples.	pakʃu ma-kə-mem 'nə-mi? apple NEG-NOM-tasty OBS-not.have There aren't any apples that taste bad.

- (119c) pakʃy kərgi ʒik ma-'nə-mem
 apple one also NEG-OBS-tasty
 Not even one apple tastes good.

- (119d) pakʃu kərgi ʒik ma-kə-mem 'nə-mi?
 apple one also NEG-NOM-tasty OBS-not have
 There is not even one bad apple.

5. Negation and prominence

Usually prominence of a constituent is achieved by a change in word order, with the prominent element in first position in the sentence. Negating such a topicalised sentence happens in the usual ways, with negation markers or through negative verbs:

- (120a) ʃwep^{hiŋ} w-əngi-j juʔ-stso ndo?
 thermos 3s:GEN-inside-LOC water-hot have
 There is hot water in the thermos.

- (120b) ʃwep^{hiŋ} w-əngi-j juʔ-stso 'nə-mi?
 thermos 3s:GEN-inside-LOC water-hot OBS-not.have
 There is no hot water in the thermos.

- (120c) ʃuʔ-stso ʃwep^hiŋꞌ w-əŋgi-j miʔ
 water-hot thermos 3s:GEN-inside-LOC not.have
 The hot water is not in the thermos. (...it's in the kettle)

Sometimes the difference between sentential and constituent negation is used for the purpose of giving prominence to a certain element, without changing the word order. In (121b) the occurrence of the negative verb *maʔk*, 'not be' gives prominence to *pəʃur*, 'yesterday'. In (122b) the use of *miʔ* emphasises the nominalised verb *kandoʔ*, 'be home' rather than the subject 'he':

- (121a) wuʃo pəʃur ʃi-^la-vi
 he yesterday NEG/PFT-NEV-come₁
 He didn't come yesterday.

- (121b) wuʃo pəʃur ʃi-kə-vi maʔk
 he yesterday PFT-NOM-come₁ not.be
 It wasn't yesterday that he came.

- (122a) jontan mə-ndoʔ ma-ndoʔ
 Yon-tan Q-have NEG-have
 Is Yon-tan home? No, he isn't.

- (122b) jontan mə-ndoʔ ka-ndoʔ miʔ
 Yon-tan Q-have NOM-have not.have
 Is Yon-tan home? No, he isn't (home).

There is thus no special construction in Jiǎomùzú for achieving focus in negative sentences. The same means that are used in normal sentences are used also in negative ones.

6. Negative transport

Negative transport or raising, where semantically an embedded clause is negated, but the negator is attached to the verb in the higher clause, occurs in Jiǎomùzú, though it is fairly rare and usually not the preferred way of expressing these meanings. So far, I have found negative transport to work only with verbs that have to do with emotions or thoughts of the subject in the main clause, such as *kasəso*, 'think' and *kanərgaʔ*, 'like':

- (123a) wuʃo ma-vi 'kə-səso-ŋ
 he NEG-come₁ PRIMP-think-1s
 I think he will not come.

- (123b) wuʃo vi ma-nə-səso-ŋ
 he come₁ NEG-EREFL-think-1s
 I don't think he will come.
- (124a) ʃopʃop kə-ndza-w ma-nə-rgaʔ-ŋ
 fish NOM-eat-3s NEG-EREFL-like-1s
 I don't like for him to eat fish.
- (124b) ʃopʃop ma-kə-ndza-w 'na-rgaʔ-ŋ
 fish NEG-NOM-eat-3s OBS-like-1s
 I like him not to eat fish.

In the view of native speakers, there is no need to state the obvious. Thus the preferred way of expressing the meaning of a sentence like 'I think he will not come' would be:

- (125) krəŋ ma-vi
 maybe NEG-come₁
 Maybe he won't come.

It is obvious that this statement reflects the speaker's thinking, so there is no need to express that explicitly in the sentence. This preference for leaving certain meanings implicit is a reason for the relative lack of negative transport in the Jiǎomùzú dialects.

7. *Adverbs, expressives and quantifiers*

Adverbs, expressives and quantifiers in Jiǎomùzú are negated in the usual way for non-verb phrase constituents, by negative verbs.

- (126) tascok lali-lali na-laʔt-w
 letter slowly-RED PFT-write₂-3s
 He slowly wrote the letter.
- (127) tascok lali-lali na-laʔt-w mi?
 letter slowly-RED PFT-write₂-3s not.have
 He didn't write the letter slowly.
- (128) lali-lali to-kə-ndza-w maʔk
 slowly-RED PFT-NOM-eat-3s not.be
 He didn't eat slowly.

There are no inherently negative quantifiers like 'nobody', 'nothing', or inherently negative adverbs such as 'nowhere', 'never', in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. To express that kind of meaning Jiǎomùzú also uses the negative verbs as discussed above:

- (129) w-ama? mi?
 3s:GEN-business not.have
 He has nothing to do.

- (130) wu-kə-narga? mi?
 3s:GEN-NOM-like not.have
 No-one likes her.

- (131) wu-sa-tʰi mi?
 3s:GEN-NOM-go₁ not.have
 He has nowhere to go.

- (132) sa-nəna to-'a-mi?
 NOM-rest PFT-NEV-not.have
 There was nowhere to sit down (and rest). (There was no place to sit down.)

The Jiǎomùzú dialects do not make use of explicit indefinites:

- (133) tətʰa? mə-'na-ndo?
 book Q-OBS-have
 Are there (any) books? / Are (the) books here?

Negative indefinites like 'not anything' or 'nothing', are expressed by a construction using *ʒik*, 'also', a negative affix or verb, and a word that carries the meaning which is negated. Often this word is a numeral rather than a pronoun. Note that the Jiǎomùzú forms can be used both as full noun phrases and as attributes. The difference between 'not any', 'nobody', 'no-one' etc. is expressed by the context. The grammatical construction for negative indefinites as such does not distinguish between these meanings:

- (134) kərgi ʒik ma-nə-rama-jn
 one also NEG-EREFL-labour-3p
 There aren't any working in the fields.

- (135) kərgi ʒik ʃi-'a-vi
 one also NEG/PFT-NEV-come₁
 nobody came.

- (136) kərgi ʒik ʃi-rjo-jn
 one also NEG/PFT-talk-3p
 no-one said anything.
- (137) korwe-ɲo pəʃnu kəʒu tə 'na-rama-jn
 farmer-p today all C OBS-labour-3p
 All the farmers work in the fields today.
- (138) korwe-ɲo kəʒu tə kərəma na-'a-miʔ-jn
 farmer-p all C labour PFT-NEV-not.have-3p
 None of the farmers worked in the fields.
- (139) korwe-ɲo kəʒu tə kərəma 'nə-maʔk-jn
 farmer-p all C labour OBS-not.be-3p
 Not all the farmers worked in the fields.
- (140) korwepa kərgi ʒik ʃi-'a-rama-jn
 farmer one also NEG/PFT-NEV-labour-3p
 Not even one farmer worked in the fields.

For extra emphasis *cə* can be added, expressing something like 'at all, even':

- (141) təʃeʔm cə ʒik kə-mbro miʔ
 house EMP also NOM-tall not.have
 The building is not at all tall.
- (142) cə ʒik ʃi-'a-məmtə-ŋ
 EMP also NEG/PFT-NEV-see-1s
 I didn't see anything at all.

There is no difference between specific and non-specific subjects or negative partitives:

- (143) təza kərgi ʃi-vu
 man one NEG/PFT-come₂
 A man didn't come. / One man didn't come.
- (144) tapuʔ kərgi ʒik ʃi-vu-jn
 child one also NEG/PFT-come₂-3p
 None of the children came. / Not (even) one of the children came.

'Always' and 'often' tend to overlap in Jiǎomùzú. These meanings are constructed in the same way, with *zak*, 'time', and a negative verb. The meaning 'always', semantically the logical extreme of 'often', receives extra emphasis with the use of locative *tʃe*, as in (147):

- (145) *zak ʃanjinjuwan^ᵛ tʃʰi ʃi*
time cinema go₁ MD:HON
He often goes to the cinema.

- (146) *ʃanjinjuwan^ᵛ zak kə-tʃʰi maʔk*
cinema time NOM-go₁ not.be
He doesn't often go to the cinema

- (147) *zak tʃe tʃʰaʔ ʃo kə-moʔt*
time LOC tea always NOM-drink
He always drinks tea.

'Never', unlike other adverbs, cannot be expressed by simply negating *zak tʃe*, 'always' with a negative verb. A specific adverb, *wuk^hwoj*, is used in combination with the regular verb phrase negator *ma-*. The adverb *wuk^hwoj* cannot occur by itself in positive sentences. However, it only becomes a negator when combined with *ma-*. It is not inherently negative in the independent way the English adverbs are.

- (148) *wuk^hwoj tawu ma-moʔt-ŋ*
always smoke NEG-drink-1s
I never smoke.

- (149) *wuk^hwoj ʃanjinjuwan^ᵛ ma-rəm̩pɔ*
always cinema NEG-watch
He never goes to the cinema.

7. Negative coordinators

I have not found negative coordinators like the English 'neither...nor'. Again, these meanings are expressed by a combination of *zik*, 'also', and a negative morpheme, or *zik* and a negative verb:

- (150) *ma-^lnə-stsi zik ma-^lnə-məʔtak zik*
NEG-OBS-hot also NEG-OBS-cold also
Neither cold nor hot.

- (151) kə-mbro ʒik 'nə-maʔk kə-kman ʒik 'nə-maʔk
 NOM-tall also OBS-not.be NOM-short also OBS-not.be
 Neither tall not short.

Because noun phrases cannot be negated by negative morphemes, but only through a negated verb, constructions like 'neither bKra-shis nor sGrol-ma' become fairly complicated. They might not use the normal coordinators:

- (152) pkraʃis tarngaʔ kə-va ma-mk^has sgrölma ʒik ndʒa
 bKra.shis dance NOM- do NEG-proficient sGrol.ma also same
 Neither bKra-shis nor sGrol-ma can dance well.

8. Negative conjunctions

There are negative conjunctions in Jiāomùzú, *menə*, 'lest' and *maʃki*, 'unless' being the most frequently used ones:

- (153) k^horlo ʃi-raro-ŋ menə laktʃe ka-sə-naktʃət ma-k^hut
 vehicle VPT-look.for-1s CON thing NOM-CAUS-take NEG-can
 I'm going to look for a truck, lest I won't be able to send the stuff (with the driver).

As postal and freight services in the rGyalrong areas are limited, often goods and mail are transported by private truck through the goodwill of the drivers. The verb *kasənakrət* means 'to get someone to take something on one's behalf'.

- (154) kəruʔ-skaʔt kə-səkʃot harʒa menə si tə-sə-ndoʔ-w
 Tibet-language NOM-teach Lha.rgyal CON who 2-CAUS-have-2s
 Who, apart from (unless it is) lHa-rgyal, can teach Tibetan?

The verb *kasəndoʔ* literally means 'cause to have'. The question in the second clause of (154) means something like 'who are you going to make appear', apart from lHa-rgyal?

- (155) ŋa tascok kaleʔt ma-səjoʔk-ŋ maʃki dienjiŋꞌ kə-namɲo ma-tʃ^hi-ŋ
 I letter write₁ NEG-finish-1s unless movie NOM-watch NEG-go₁-1s
 I won't go watch a movie unless I've finished this letter.

9. Negative answers to polar questions

There are two possible ways of negating yes/no questions in Jiāomùzú with only one word: either one of the negative verbs, or the all encompassing *əhə*, 'no'. With the negative verbs one still has to

pay attention to the context. The verbs relate to the contents of the question. The negative existential verb *mi?* cannot be used to answer a question with a linking verb like *ɲos*. The negative *əhə* can be used in all contexts.

(156)	jontan	mə-ndo?	mi?	*maʔk	əhə
	Yon-tan	Q-have	not.have	not.be	no
	Is Yon-tan	home?	No.		No.

(157)	juʔ-stso	mə-ɲos	* mi?	maʔk	əhə
	water-hot	Q-be	not.have	not.be	no
	Is this hot	water?		No.	No.

(158)	nənjo	ɲ-aʃu	mə- ¹ na-tə-məto-w
	you	1s:GEN-key	Q-OBS-2s-see-2s
	Have you	seen my	keys?

?	mi?	* maʔk	əhə
	not.have	not.be	no
			No.

In example (158) the question might be answered with *mi?*, but by far and away the preferred answer in such situations is a simple *əhə*.

10. *Derivation of lexical items*

I have not found any negative formatives, other than the ones described above, that can be used in the derivation of lexical items, as in English 'un-', 'non-', 'de-', '-less'. Negation in Jiăomùzú works exclusively through negated verb phrases and negative verbs, with the additional help of some emphasis markers and special adverbials.

d. *Imperatives*

I discuss imperatives extensively in section 7.9 on mood. Here I just give a quick overview of the different types of imperatives. Usually imperatives address second person audiences. Positive imperatives consist of an orientation marker prefixed to a verb root 1 for verbs that distinguish between root 1 and root 2, and prefixed to root 3 for verbs that distinguish between root 1 and root 3. The verb root is heavily stressed. The second person marker *tə-* is deleted:

(159)	nənjo	soʃnu	to- ^h tʃi-n
	you	tomorrow	IMP-go ₁ -2s
	You go	tomorrow!	

Negative imperatives or prohibitives are formed by prefixing *mə-* to a verb root 1 for verbs that distinguish between root 1 and root 2, or root 3 for verbs that distinguish between root 1 and root 3. The second person marker remains:

- (160) *nənjo soŋnu mə-tə-^ltʰi-n*
 you tomorrow PROH-2-go₁-2s
 You don't go tomorrow!

Polite imperatives prefix *məma-* to a verb root 1 or root 3. The verb can be neutral, as in (161a), or honorific as in (161b). The second person marker remains:

(161a) <i>məma-tə-ndza-w</i> IMP:POLITE-2-eat-2s Please eat!	(161b) <i>məma-tə-ksor-jn</i> IMP:POLITE-2-eat:HON-2:HON Please eat!

Distal or postponed imperatives as well as jussives or third person imperatives have an irrealis structure. Example (162a) shows a distal imperative. Sentence (162b) is an example of a third person imperative:

- (162a) *tascok ka-leʔt 'na-tə-səjoʔk-w tʃe sloppən w-əmba-j*
 letter NOM-hit₁ PFT-2-finish-2s LOC teacher 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC
 When you've finished the letter, hand it in to the teacher.

a-to-tə-^lkʰam-w
 IRR-IMP-2-hand-2s

- (162b) *təjuʔ aja a-kə-leʔt-w*
 water older.sister IRR-IMP-hit₁-3s
 Let my older sister fetch the water!

The imperative structures as described above also cover hortatory and exhortative meanings, though the village of Shíjiāng uses a marker *ta-* for exhortatives. Declaratives are used for situations in which a speaker exhorts a person to participate in an event along with the speaker:

- (163) *tʰi-dʒ*
 go₁-1d
 Let's go!

Imperatives can be part of embedded sentences as well as main clauses. Example (164) is from the A-mysis Sgo-ldong story, see Text 1 at the end of this study. A-mysis Sgo-ldong desires the demon he wants to fight to come out of his stronghold. He conveys a message for the demon through the

demon's son. The entire construction is a quote, given by the son to his father, as indicated by *nacəs*, 'said'. The first imperative, *navin*, 'come' is part of A-myis Sgo-ldong's message to the demon. The second imperative is *tocəs*, 'tell'. This imperative is addressed by A-myis Sgo-ldong to the son, urging him to give the message to his father. Literally the sentence means "He said: 'Say to your father: Come on down!'"

- (164) n-apa w-əmba-j ana sku-j kərek na-'vi-n
 2s:GEN-father 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC down upstream-LOC one IMP-come-2s
 'Tell your father to come down!', he said,....
- nə to-'cəs na-cəs k^honə
 CON IMP-say PFT-say CON

e. *Exclamations and quotes*

Jiäomùzú does not have a special format for exclamations, like the English 'how beautiful, how terrifying'. Exclamatory meanings are expressed by adding *kərek*, 'one' to a normal declarative sentence. The numeral *kərek* can be used in a number of situations as an adverb of degree, see the chapters on nouns and adverbs. Very often there is only a verb phrase following *kərek*, but a subject can be added:

- (165) kərek 'na-mpʃer n-ənge kərek 'na-mpʃer
 one OBS-beautiful 2s:GEN-clothing one OBS-beautiful
 How beautiful! Your dress is so beautiful!

Quotes are always direct and have the structure of complements in complex sentences. Indirect speech can be expressed only by direct speech constructions in which the quotation is the complement clause:

- (166) wuʃo kə [waŋmo ma-'nə-mpʃer] na-'a-cəs
 he PR [dBang.mo NEG-OBS-beautiful] PFT-NEV-say
 "dBang-mo is ugly," he said.
 He said that dBang-mo is ugly.

Quotes usually occur between the subject, who is the person that gives the quote, and some form of a verb indicating verbal communication. The quote consists of the actual utterance, without grammatical modification. The subject can be marked by prominence marker *kə*, especially in dialogues or other situations where the attention of the hearer shifts from one subject or agent to another. Very common in quotes is the use of the verb *kacəs*, 'say'. Also possible are other verbs

that express some form of verbal communication, such as *kanak^{ho}*, ‘shout’, and *tacwer kaleʔt*, ‘scream’. Quotes can be very long and encompass strings of clauses or even sentences:

- (167) ndə w-əza w-əmba-j ɲa ɲ-əmba-j jaw
 that 3s:GEN-son 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC I 1s:GEN-vicinity-LOC hey
 He said to his son: “The one who is all the time calling ‘hey’, go and see

ʃi ka-və-cəs k^honə ndə si ka-cəs tə 'nə-ɲos
 always NOM-VPT-say CON that who NOM-say C EV-be
 who that is.”

kərek na-ʃi-na'tso-w to-kə-cəs na-ɲos
 one IMP-VPT-see-2s PFT-NOM-say PFT-be

It is possible to have the quote at the beginning of the sentence, with the subject following the quote and the verb phrase at the end:

- (168) jontan mə-vi pkraʃis kə na-t^{ho}?
 Yon.tan Q-come_i bKra-shis PR PFT-ask
 “Will Yon-tan come?” bKra-shis asked.
 bKra-shis asked if Yon-tan would come.

If there is a recipient in the sentence there will be an adverbial to express this after the subject:

- (169) pkraʃis ɲa ɲ-əmba-j so ma-vi na-cəs
 bKra.shis I 1s:GEN-vicinity-LOC tomorrow NEG-come_i PFT-say
 bKra-shis said to me: “I will not come tomorrow.”
 bKra-shis told me that he will not come tomorrow.

For more on quotes, see section 7.9 on mood of the verbs chapter.

8.2. *Complex sentences*

The Jiāomùzú dialects have a number of conjunctions, both for coordinating and subordinating purposes. Coordinating conjunctions and adverbs can be used on the word and the phrase level as well as to link clauses and sentences. I discuss coordination extensively in section 6.4.b and 6.4.c of the chapter on smaller word classes. Here I give only a brief overview of the different possibilities for coordination on the sentence level.

a. *Coordination*

The Jiǎomùzú dialects employ two means of coordinating sentences and clauses. The first way uses concatenative structures, that is to say, sentences and clauses are strung together without any conjunctions. Verbal sentences can be strung together like this without any morphological marking to indicate the end of one constituent sentence and the beginning of another. In example (170) I use slashes // to indicate the boundary between sentence constituents:

- (170) zjasam na-'a-mbi-jn // na-'a-mbi-jn
thirteen PFT-NEV-come:HON-3s:HON // PFT-NEV-come:HON-3s:HON
He came on the thirteenth day, [and] on the day when he came
- w-əʃnu bdewa na-pko-jn....
 3s:GEN-day peace PFT-bring-3s:HON
 he brought peace.....

Copular sentences do not repeat the copula after every constituent of a concatenative construction but put one copula at the end of the coordinated sentence. If the copula would occur after each constituent the construction would simply consist of a number of unconnected sentences instead of one long coordinated complex sentence. Again, sentence constituents are separated by slashes //:

- (171) ndə tə bdət tə k^həvok kəngu taʃcək na-ka-cu//
 that C demon C hole nine storey PFT-NOM/HON-open//
 As for the demon, A-myis Sgo-ldong made a hole of nine storeys deep
- ndə w-əŋgi-j na-ka-rko// w-ərka nə
 that 3s:GEN-inside-LOC PFT-NOM/HON-put // 3s:GEN-top CON
 and put the [dead body of] the demon in there; on top he put
- coŋba kəngu mp^hjar w-ərka nə kə-mp^hjar kəngu tarta
 flat.stone nine CL 3s:GEN-top CON one-CL nine cross.wise
 nine flat stones, layering them back and forth cross-wise;
- na-ka-taʔ // w-ərka-j mchortən kəngu taʃcək
 PFT-NOM/HON-put // 3s:GEN-top-LOC stupa nine storey
 [and] on top he had a stupa of nine storeys built.
- to-'a-sə-va 'nə-ŋos
 PFT-NEV-CAUS-do EV-be

The second possibility to coordinate sentences is through the use of coordinating conjunctions and other coordinators. Jiăomùzú has five coordinating conjunctions. The English ‘and, or, but’ roughly equal Jiăomùzú’s non-temporal conjunctions *narənə*, *merə* and *korənə* respectively. Jiăomùzú also has two temporal coordinating conjunctions *rə* and *rənə*. Of the coordinating conjunctions *rə* and *merə* can be used to form questions, see section 6.4 of the chapter on smaller word classes.

For this kind of coordinating conjunction there is one less coordinator than the number of elements that are coordinated. For example, in (172a) two simple sentences are linked by one conjunction, while in sentence (172b) three constituents are coordinated by two conjunctions. Sentence constituents are between square brackets with the conjunction in the middle, [] CON []:

- (172a) [pkraʃis cɔktse na-kʰrət-w] narənə [tərət na-va-w]
 [bKra.shis table PSTPROG-wipe-3s] and [dirt PSTPROG-do-3s]
 bKra-shis was wiping the tables and sweeping the floor.

- (172b) [pkraʃis cɔktse na-kʰrət-w] narənə [tərət na-va-w]
 [bKra.shis table PSTPROG-wipe-3s] and [dirt PSTPROG-do-3s]
 bKra-shis was wiping the tables and sweeping the floor

korənə [jontan tʰi ʒik ma-ʰnə-va-w]
 but Yon.tan what also NEG-OBS-do-3s]
 but Yon-tan didn’t do anything at all.

It is also possible to combine a concatenative construction, in which there is no conjunction between two constituents, with a conjunction elsewhere in the sentence. The concatenative part needs to come before the coordinating conjunction:

- (172c) [pkraʃis cɔktse na-kʰrət-w // lhamo tərət na-va-w]
 bKra.shis table PSTPROG-wipe-3s// lHa.mo dirt PSTPROG-do-3s
 bKra-shis was wiping the tables, lHa-mo was sweeping the floor

korənə [jontan tʰi ʒik ma-ʰnə-va-w]
 but [Yon.tan what also NEG-OBS-do-3s]
 but Yon-tan did not do anything at all.

Apart from the five coordinating conjunctions discussed above, Jiăomùzú employs correlative conjunctions such as *ʒik...ʒik*, ‘...as well as...’. Both elements of the conjunction must occur and there must be a verb phrase in each constituent of the complex sentence:

- (173) [ŋa ʒik vi-ŋ] [pkraʃis ʒik vi]
 [I CON come₁-1s] [bKra.shis CON come₁]
 I will come and bKra-shis will come as well.

* ŋa ʒik viŋ pkraʃis vi

* ŋa viŋ pkraʃis ʒik vi

The correlative conjunction in (173) is based on the adverb *ʒik*, ‘also’. The Jiăomùzú dialects have a number of adverbs that can function as conjunctions, such as *manji?*, ‘moreover, besides’, *maʃki*, ‘until, unless’ and *me*, ‘but for, except’. For examples, see chapter on smaller word classes. Here I give a few examples of adverbial conjunctions on the clause level. The conjunction *while* is expressed by *wuʒor*:

- (174) ŋa tʂʰaʔ 'kə-moʔt-ŋ wuʒor ʃanʂəʔ 'kə-namno-ŋ
 I tea PRIMP-drink-1s while TV PRIMP-watch-1s
 I’m drinking tea while I’m watching TV.

The meaning ‘not only...but also’ can be formed with adverbial conjunct *maktok*. The linking verb *maʔk*, ‘not be’ can also replace *maktok* to form the same meaning:

- (175) təmu kə-leʔt maktok kə kəktu makəndʒa kə-leʔt 'nə-ŋos
 rain NOM-hit₁ CON PR big very NOM-hit₁ OBS-be
 Not only does it rain, it is raining cats and dogs!

A real conditional form of the negative linking verb *maʔk*, ‘not be’ occurs with a conjunction to generate the meaning ‘either....or’:

- (176) ŋa mə-na-maʔk nə peciŋ tʃʰi-ŋ mə-na-maʔk nə tʃe-j
 I COND-PFT-not.be CON Běijīng go₁-1s COND-PFT-not.be CON here-LOC
 I’ll either go to Běijīng or I’ll stay here.

ŋi-ŋ

stay-1s

The conjunction ‘in order to, for the sake of’ makes use of the multi-purpose *wutʃʰe*, ‘for that reason’:

- (177) kawʃəɕ ka-va kə-ra w-ətʃʰe pkraʃis kə-cʰe makəndʒa
 exam NOM-do NOM-need 3s:GEN-reason bKra.shis NOM-far exceedingly
 In order to take the exam, bKra-shis had to walk an exceedingly long distance.
- na-vətʃi 'na-ra
 PFT-walk OBS-need

I have not found verb categories that cannot be coordinated with each other. For example, stative verbs and dynamic verbs can be coordinated, as long as the marking for various verbal categories does not lead to semantic clashes. In example (178) the first simple sentence has the stative verb *kəmpʃer*, ‘beautiful’, which is marked for observation. In the second constituent the verb phrase consists of the dynamic verb *kaku*, ‘buy’ marked for first person:

- (178) bawbaw ndə tə 'na-mpʃer // ɲa ku-ɲ
 bag that C OBS-beautiful // I buy-1s
 That bag is beautiful, I’ll buy it.

Jiāomùzú does not have verbs that are inherently active or passive. Passive marking occurs on a verb phrase to turn the verb from active into passive. Active verbs and verbs marked for passivity can be coordinated, as shown in the concatenative construction below:

- (179) koŋaŋɲuɕ-no ji-¹a-vi-jn // pkraʃis kə-ɲo-vəja //
 police-p PFT-NEV-come₁-3p // bKra.shis PFT-PAS-fetch //
 The police came, bKra-shis was caught and he was put in jail.
- kʰrəŋkʰe kə-ɲo-rko
 prison PFT-PAS-put

I have not found any other verbal categories that cannot be coordinated, unless there is a semantic clash between the different components.

Subjects and objects of complex sentences, once they have been identified in the first constituents, can be omitted in the following constituents. In sentence (180) the subject *bKra-shis* is only mentioned in the first constituent, as is the object *tətʰa*, ‘book’. There is no need to indicate the subject or object with pronouns:

- (180) pkraʃis tətʰa ki to-ku-w // bawbawᵛ w-əŋgi-j na-rko-w //
 bKra.shis book IDEF PFT-buy-3s // bag 3s:GEN-inside-LOC PFT-put-3s//
 bKra-shis bought a book, put it in his bag, and when he had come home

na-nəja tʃe təjeʔm w-əŋgi-j coksə w-aka-j
 PFT-go.home LOC house 3s:GEN-inside-LOC table 3s:GEN-top-LOC
 he put it on the table.

na-taʔ-w
 PFT-put₂-3s

The Jiāomùzú dialects have a tendency to avoid repetition or ‘clutter’ within a sentence once a constituent has been brought into the sentence and is clear to the hearers. This counters the habit to repeat constituents, especially verbal ones, on the discourse level. As said above, Jiāomùzú complex sentences tend to consist of very long strings of clauses that all interrelate through a variety of conjunctions and a web of discourse marking. It is probably more appropriate to think of such complex sentences as clause clusters, with each cluster forming a unit in the discourse. Head-tail linkage is very common. Especially in story telling one can often hear a speaker start a new clause cluster or string of clauses by repeating the last verb phrase, or a form of it, from the previous clause cluster. Often this sort of repetition is used to switch from an external, narrator’s perspective to an internal, ‘inside-the-story’ perspective. Many examples of this process can be found in the Amyis Sgo-ldong story, see Text 1 at the end of this study. Here I just give two examples of verb repetition in storytelling, for smaller sentences:

- (181) kə-kə-rʃi-jn na-kə-ŋos ka-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-go₂-3s:HON PFT-NOM-be NOM-say EV-be
 [And so] he set out, it is said.

kə-rʃi-jn tʃəʔ tʃe nə....
 PFT-go₂-3s:HON this LOC CON
 When he [had] set out,....

Here is another example of consecutive phrases. Listeners change from being onlookers from afar into people that are right at the scene, looking over 'her' shoulder as it were, to see whatever is there:

(182) ndə tə nənjo nə-ʃi-na'tso-w to-kə-cəs k^honə
 that C you IMP-VPT-look-3s PFT-NOM-say CON
 "Go and have a look!" he said [to her].

rə nə-kə-ʃi-natso-w k^honə
 CON PFT-NOM-VPT-look-3s CON
 So she went and had a look.

nə-ʃi-natso-w tʃəʔ tʃe nə.....
 PFT-VPT-look-3s this time CON
 When she looked.....

b. *Subordination*

1. *Subordinating conjunctions*

Subordinating conjunctions are used to subordinate the conjunct modified by the conjunction. Jiāmùzú has three subordinating conjunctions. The conjunction *nə* subordinates the conjunct it marks to a second conjunct, signalling that the first conjunct backs up or validates the information in the second conjunct. Conjunction *k^honə* signals condition while *wurənə* indicates reason or result. Both conjunctions also have an evidential aspect which signals to the hearer how reliable the information produced by the speaker is, with *wurənə* signalling the greater reliability or certainty. Often *k^honə* groups smaller actions into clusters that are together subordinated to a larger event. Jiāmùzú does not have special subordinating conjunctions to form complements, relative clauses or adverbial clauses. All types of subordinate clauses can also occur with *nə*, which gives subtle differences in meaning.

I discuss subordinating conjunctions extensively in section 6.4 of the chapter on smaller word classes. Here I just give examples of the use of *nə*, *wurənə* and *k^honə* on the sentence level. The example sentence is from the A-mysis Sgo-ldong story, see Text 1 at the end of the study. Sentence (183a) has no conjunctions. In sentence (183b) *nə* occurs generating the meaning ‘so that’ or ‘therefore’, with the emphasis of the sentence on the second clause, namely the spilling out of the brain. Example (183c) has *k^honə*. The implication is that the blow of the iron hammer created the conditions or circumstances under which it is possible for a bit of the brain to spill out, and that the brain did so right after the skull was breached by the hammer. The last example, (183d), employs *wurənə* which indicates causality. The brain spilled out because the blow with the iron hammer caused a small hole in the demon’s head.

(183a) amɲi zɡordən-ɲi kə wuɟo w-awo-j ʃamtok
 A.myis Sgo.lɔng-3s:HON PR:AG he 3s:GEN-head-LOC iron.hammer
 A-myis Sgo-lɔng hit his head with the iron hammer, [which caused a small

kərek to-kə-laʔt-ɲi w-ərnoʔk tsijok to-kə-kʰit na-ɲos
 one PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s:HON 3s:GEN-brain EXP PFT-NOM-spill PFT-be
 hole through which a bit of] his brain spilt out.

(183b) amɲi zɡordən-ɲi kə wuɟo w-awo-j ʃamtok
 A.myis Sgo.lɔng-3s:HON PR:AG he 3s:GEN-head-LOC iron.hammer
 A-myis Sgo-lɔng hit his head with the iron hammer, [which caused a small

kərek to-kə-laʔt-ɲi nə w-ərnoʔk tsijok to-kə-kʰit na-ɲos
 one PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s:HON CON 3s:GEN-brain EXP PFT-NOM-spill PFT-be
 hole through which a bit of] his brain spilt out.

(183c) amɲi zɡordən-ɲi kə wuɟo w-awo-j ʃamtok
 A.myis Sgo.lɔng-3s:HON PR:AG he 3s:GEN-head-LOC iron.hammer
 A-myis Sgo-lɔng hit his head with the iron hammer, [which caused a small

kərek to-kə-laʔt-ɲi kʰonə w-ərnoʔk tsijok to-kə-kʰit na-ɲos
 one PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s:HON CON 3s:GEN-brain EXP PFT-NOM-spill PFT-be
 hole through which a bit of] his brain spilt out.

(183d) amɲi zɡordən-ɲi kə wuɟo w-awo-j ʃamtok
 A.myis Sgo.lɔng-3s:HON PR:AG he 3s:GEN-head-LOC iron.hammer
 A-myis Sgo-lɔng hit his head with the iron hammer, [which caused a small

kərek to-kə-laʔt-ɲi wurənə w-ərnoʔk tsijok to-kə-kʰit na-ɲos
 one PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s:HON CON 3s:GEN-brain EXP PFT-NOM-spill PFT-be
 hole through which a bit of] his brain spilt out.

c. *Relative clauses*

I define a relative clause as a subordinate modifying clause within a noun phrase. In the Jiǎomùzú dialects constituents of all grammatical and semantic roles such as subject and object, obliques expressing instrument, purpose and manner and adverbials of time and place can be relativised. The sentences below give examples of relativisation for different sentence constituents. Example (184a) is a neutral declarative sentence. Example (184b) shows relativisation of the subject Yon-tan from sentence (184a). Subjects of transitive verbs are as easily relativisable as subject of intransitive verbs.

The object *kʰə*, ‘dog’ is relativised in (184c). The object here has also the patient role. Example (184d) demonstrates relativisation of an instrument, *tader*, ‘stick’, which becomes the subject of the main clause:

(184a) jontan kə tader kə kʰə 'na-top-w
 Yon.tan PR:AG stick PR:INSTR dog OBS-hit-3s
 Yon-tan is hitting the dog with a stick.

(184b) jontan tader kə kʰə ka-top 'na-saka
 Yon.tan stick PR:INSTR dog NOM-hit OBS-tired
 Yon-tan, who is hitting the dog with a stick, is tired.

(184c) jontan kə tader kə wu-ka-sə-top tə pkraʃis wu-kʰə
 Yon.tan PR:AG stick PR:INSTR 3s-NOM-CAUS-hit C bKra.shis 3s:GEN-dog
 The dog that Yon-tan is hitting with a stick is bKra-shis’.

'nə-ŋos
 EV-be

(184d) jontan kʰə kə-sə-top w-ader kə kə-skriʔn
 Yon.tan dog NOM-CAUS-hit 3s:GEN-stick PR NOM-long
 The stick that Yon-tan hits the dog with is very long.

makəndʒa 'nə-ŋos
 very OBS-be

Example (184c) shows that in the Jiăomùzú dialects relativisation of an object is a straightforward process. There is no need for complex maneuvers via passive constructions, as is the case in Căodēng, a Northern rGyalrong dialect.²²⁴ In (184) the element *tader*, ‘stick’ which is the instrument in examples (a), (b) and (c) becomes the subject. Though prominence marker *kə* no longer signals instrument here, it remains to apportion prominence to the rightful constituent. Since the complex subject also encompasses Yon-tan, a third person human element which ranks higher for prominence than the inanimate stick, and because Yon-tan performs an action while the stick does not, the hearer is inclined to give prominence to Yon-tan rather than to the stick. The prominence marker *kə* after *tader* ensures that prominence is with the subject. Sentence (184e) is a neutral sentence. Example (184f) has a relativised recipient:

²²⁴ Sun and Lin (2007: 12-14).

(184e) jontan lhamo wu-je zugolor nə-mbu?-w
 Yon.tan lHa.mo 3s-POSS walnut PFT-give-3s
 Yon-tan gave lHa-mo walnuts.

(184f) jontan zugolor sa-mbu? lhamo tə kə-mpʃer ki 'nə-ŋos
 Yon.tan walnut NOM-give lHa.mo C NOM-beautiful IDEF EV-be
 lHa-mo, to whom Yon-tan gave walnuts, is beautiful.

The final examples show relativised locatives. Example (184g) is a neutral sentence. In (184h) the locative *bawbaw wəŋgiʃ*, ‘in the bag’ is relativised. Note that of the original locative the part that specifies the precise location, *wəŋgiʃ*, ‘inside’ actually disappears in this relative construction:

(184g) jontan tətʰa bawbawꝰ w-əŋgi-j na-rko-w
 Yon.tan book bag 3s:GEN-inside-LOC PFT-put-3s
 Yon-tan put the book in the bag.

(184h) ŋ-andʃi? jontan kə tətʰa sa-rko bawbawꝰ tə rʃaŋkə 'nə-ŋos
 1s:GEN-friend Yon.tan PR book NOM-put bag C green EV-be
 The bag in which my friend Yon-tan put the book is green.

In (184h) it is not possible to nominalise the locative with *kə-* or *ka-*:

(184i) *tətʰa karko bawbawꝰ tə
 *tətʰa kərko bawbawꝰ tə

However, it is possible to have different nominalisers for certain locatives. In (185) *sando?* can be replaced with *kəndo?* without any problem. It is also possible to add *wusatʰe*, ‘place’ to the sentence, no matter which nominaliser is used:

(185) jini məntoʔk sa-ndo? (wu-satʰe) tarŋga? kə-va tʃʰi-j
 we:e flower NOM-have (3s:GEN-place) dance NOM-do go₁-1p
 We’re going to dance (in a place) where there are flowers.

(186) ŋa kəmtʃoʔk w-əpʰa-j poŋeʔj nə-vəja-ŋ
 I old.person 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC money PFT-fetch-1s
 I took money from the old man.

(187a) ŋa poŋeʔj ŋə-sa-vəja kəmtʃoʔk tə ŋ-əjwak ŋos
 I money 1s:GEN-NOM-fetch old.person C 1s:GEN-neighbour be
 The old man from whom I took money is my neighbour.

It is not grammatical to have a finite structure for the relativised locative in (187b):

(187b) * *ŋa poŋeʔj nəkəvəjaŋ kəmtʃoʔk tə ɲəjwak ɲos*

Relative clauses in Jiāomùzú are predominantly pre-nominal, though head-internal structures also occur. Relative constructions in the Jiāomùzú dialects most often have the relativised constituent first, followed by the head of the relative clause, with the option to add a determiner type word such as contrast marker *tə* or indefiniteness marker *ki* after the head. Sentences (188) and (189) give examples of prenominal relative clauses. In (188) *coktsə*, ‘table’ is the head of the noun phrase modified by contrast marker *tə*. The relative clause, which is placed before the head, is *lolo zakrən wəspok kəpi kərgaʔ*, ‘the cat likes to sit under’. In sentence (189) the head is *tapuʔ*, ‘boy’, with the relative clause before the head. But it is also possible to have the head in the relative clause, and a determiner either after the head or in final position in the relative clause, as in (190) and (191). Note that in (191) the head *tarke*, ‘donkey’, occurs after *ŋa*, ‘I’. The second type of relative construction occurs often when there is a personal name in the head of the relative clause, as in (192), or when the relativised sentence is very long:

(188) *ŋa [lolo zakrən w-əspok ka-ɲi kərgaʔ] wu-coktsə tə ku-ɲ*
 I [cat always 3s:GEN-underside NOM-sit NOM-like] 3s:GEN-table C buy-1s
 I’ll buy the table [that the cat likes to sit under].

(189) [*laktʃe na-kə-ʃi-nə-ku-w] tapuʔ tə si ʼnə-ɲos*
 [thing PFT-NOM-VPT-REFL-buy-3s] child C who EV-be
 Who is the child [that went down and bought something for himself]?

(190) [*ŋa tarke na-kə-varo-ɲ tə*] *wastop ma-kəndʒa na-ɲos*
 [I donkey PFT-NOM-own-1s C] very NEG-same PFT-be
 [The donkey that I owned] was exceedingly naughty.

(191) *ŋa [coktsə lolo zakrən w-əspok-j kə-ɲi] tə ku-ɲ*
 I table cat always 3s:GEN-underside-LOC NOM-sit C buy-1s
 I’ll buy [the table under which the cat always sits].

(192) *pkraʃis ŋa so kʰəzaʔ kə-mbuʔ-ɲ tə ɲ-əjwak ɲos*
bKra.shis I tomorrow bowl NOM-give-1s C 1s:GEN-neighbour be
bKra-shis, to whom I will give a bowl tomorrow, is my neighbour.

Jiāomùzú has no special conjunction or other marker that functions as a relativiser. The Jiāomùzú dialects form relative clauses by nominalising a verbal constituent. The nominaliser *kə-* forms agent nouns, *ka-* nominalises patients and *sa-* occurs with obliques. Once the verbal constituent is nominalised it can be linked to the head noun or noun phrase through genitive marking, though the

marking is not obligatory. The sentences in examples (193a) and (193b) are both correct. In (193a) the nominalised verb phrase *ḡəkətop*, '[the one] hit me' occurs without a genitive marker to connect it to the head of the relative clause, *sloppən*, 'teacher'. In example (193b) the third person possessive marker *wu-* connects head and nominalised verb phrase in the relative clause:

(193a) ḡa ḡə-kə-top sloppən tə pkraʃis 'nə-ḡos
 I 1s:GEN-NOM-hit teacher C bKra.shis OBS-be
 The teacher who hit me is bKra-shis.

(193b) ḡa ḡə-kə-top wu-sloppən tə pkraʃis 'nə-ḡos
 I 1s:GEN-NOM-hit 3s:GEN-teacher C bKra.shis OBS-be
 The teacher who hit me is bKra-shis.

The genitive construction can either be formed with the nominalised verb in the relative sentence, as in (194a), or with the head of the relative clause as in (194b):

(194a) pkraʃis wu-ka-rgaʔ sloppən tə jontan 'nə-ḡos
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-NOM-like teacher C Yon.tan EV-be
 The teacher whom bKra-shis likes is Yon-tan.

(194b) pkraʃis ka-rgaʔ wu-sloppən tə jontan 'nə-ḡos
 bKra.shis NOM-like 3s:GEN-teacher C Yon.tan EV-be
 The teacher whom bKra-shis likes is Yon-tan.

Native speakers have different opinions as to whether it is possible to have two genitive constructions, one marking the nominalised verb and the other marking the head of the relative clause. For some speakers (194c) is perfectly grammatical, while others reject it:

(194c) pkraʃis wu-ka-rgaʔ wu-sloppən tə jontan 'nə-ḡos
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-NOM-like 3s:GEN-teacher C Yon.tan EV-be
 The teacher whom bKra-shis likes is Yon-tan.

* pkraʃis wukargaʔ wusloppən tə jontan nəḡos

Jiäomùzú does not have relative pronouns or other relative words to express the head of a relative construction, a relative noun or noun phrase, as in English 'the man *who* I once hit'. It is also not possible to use personal pronouns to signal the head of a relative noun or noun phrase. In example (195) the third person singular personal pronoun *wuʃo*, 'he' cannot be inserted:

- (195) *ŋa to-kə-top-ŋ təza-pu? tə*
 I PFT-NOM-hit-1s male-child C
 The boy that I hit.

* *ŋa wuŋo tokətopŋ təzapu? tə*

Instead, the head is part of the relative clause and is expressed by a full noun or noun phrase, unless the item discussed by the speakers is known to all parties, in which case the noun can be omitted. So headless relative clauses are possible in Jiăomùzú:

- (196) *jontan nə-kə-rŋe-w tət^ha tə ŋa ŋə-je ŋos*
 Yon.tan PFT-NOM-borrow-3s book C I 1s-POSS be
 The book that Yon-tan borrowed is mine.

jontan nə-kə-rŋe-w tə ŋa ŋə-je ŋos
 Yon.tan PFT-NOM-borrow-3s C I 1s-POSS be
 The [one] that Yon-tan borrowed is mine.

- (197) *pkraʃis mk^hono ka-vətɕi kə-^la- tʃ^hi*
 bKra.shis Kǒnglóng NOM-walk PFT-NEV-go₁
 bKra-shis walked to Kǒnglóng.

mk^hono ka-vətɕi kə-tʃ^hi pkraʃis tə....
 Kǒnglóng NOM-walk NOM-go₁ bKra.shis C....
 bKra-shis, who walked to Kǒnglóng,....

mk^hono ka-vətɕi kə-tʃ^hi tə....
 Kǒnglóng NOM-walk NOM-go₁ C....
 [He who] walked to Kǒnglóng....

There are two morphologically distinct types of relative clause in Jiăomùzú. One type employs non-finite verb forms while the other uses finite verb forms. The two types differ in the meanings they can express.

Relative clauses that have a non-finite verb form can relativise all types of arguments. The non-finite verb form has no marking for tense and aspect or for person and number agreement. The nominalisers used in this type of structure are *kə-*, *ka-* and *sa-*, for subject, object and obliques respectively. Non-finite relative clauses can express a generic or habitual situation. Sentence (198b) of the following examples is a generic statement, without any marking for tense, aspect or person. The meaning actually is ‘the clothes which she washes’ in an habitual sense. lHa-mo is hired to wash my clothes, which she does regularly. The nominalised verb indicates ‘things that she washes’ in general, not in a time specific context. Sentence (198c) has a finite nominalised verb phrase,

which indicates that the clothes in lHa-mo's tub right now are mine. At other times she washes other people's clothes:

- (198a) lhamo tənge 'na-rstʃu-w
lHa.mo clothes OBS-wash-3s
lHa-mo is washing clothes.

- (198b) lhamo wu-ka-rstʃu tənge tə ɲa ɲə-je ɲos
lHa.mo 3s:GEN-NOM-wash clothing C I 1s-POSS be
The clothes which lHa-mo washes are mine. (The clothes of which lHa-mo
does the washing are mine.)

- (198c) lhamo tʃəʔ-pu kə-rstʃu-w tənge tə ɲa ɲə-je ɲos
lHa.mo this-now NOM-wash-3s clothing C I 1s-POSS be
The clothes which lHa-mo is washing just now are mine.

Most situations in which non-finite nominalised verb forms are used do not indicate habituality but rather a non-specific reference to the event expressed by the verb. Consider the following examples. The declarative in (199a) is the neutral sentence. The verb *kandza*, 'eat', is marked for tense and aspect, evidentiality and person and number. Sentence (199b) has a relative clause with the bears as its subject. The verb phrase is non-finite. Clearly, since the eating of the child is necessarily a one-off action, the verb form in (199b) does not signal habituality. Rather, the reference to the bears is non-specific. The speaker is not interested in the details concerning the eating of the child, when and how it took place. What interests the speaker is that he saw those bears:

- (199a) təwaʔm kəɲes tə tapuʔ to-¹a-ndza-ndʒ
bear two C child PFT-NEV-eat-3d
The two bears ate the child.

- (199b) tapuʔ kə-ndza təwaʔm kəɲes tə ɲa na-məto-ɲ
child NOM-eat bear two C I PFT-see-1s
I saw the two bears who ate the child.

Another factor that determines whether a finite or a non-finite verb form is used in Jiāomùzú relative clauses is the animacy hierarchy. Jiāomùzú has an animacy hierarchy which ranks grammatical persons from high to low: 1 > 2 > 3 human > 3 non-human, animate > 3 inanimate. In the verb morphology, the animacy is expressed in inverse marking with *wu-* if the subject or agent ranks lower than the object or patient. Inverse marking can also occur if two arguments are of the same ranking but the patient is for some reason more prominent or topical than the agent. In relative clauses, the difference in ranking or prominence shows in the choice of non-finite versus finite verb forms. An inverse ranking on the animacy hierarchy generates a non-finite verb form in the relative

clause, as shown in the examples below. Sentence (200a) has a direct situation, that is to say the agent, a first person, ranks higher on the animacy hierarchy than the patient, which is a third person. When the object of (200a), *sloppən*, ‘teacher’ is relativised, a finite verb form appears in (200b). But (200c) is an inverse construction in which the object outranks the agent. The verb is marked for passive with *ŋo-* rather than with the normal inverse marker *wu-* to give the first person object as much prominence as possible. The relativised subject in (200d) has a non-finite verb form:

(200a) <i>ŋa sloppən nə-top-ŋ</i> I teacher PFT-hit-1s I hit the teacher.	(200b) <i>nə-kə-top-ŋ sloppən tə</i> PFT-NOM-hit-1s teacher C The teacher whom I hit.
(200c) <i>sloppən ŋa ŋo-top-ŋ</i> teacher I 3/1:PAS-hit-1s The teacher will hit me.	(200d) <i>ŋə-kə-top sloppən tə</i> 1s:GEN-NOM-hit teacher C The teacher who will hit me.

Finite verb forms are used in all other relative clauses. These clauses inflect for all verbal categories, including mood, though there are limitations on which kinds of evidentiality, tense and aspect marking can occur. For example in (198) above, to express that the clothes which IHa-mo is washing right now are mine, a finite verb form must be used. Note that, though the verb is marked for person and number, the expected evidential or aspectual marking which would normally occur with a time reference such as *tʃəʔpu*, ‘just now’ is not there. Sentence (201), in which the verb is marked for observation with *na-*, is not grammatical. Another possibility here would have been *ŋa-* for present imperfective, as in (201b), but such constructions are also ungrammatical. In Jiāomùzú marking for imperfective aspect cannot occur in a relative clause, nor can evidentiality marking:

(201a) * *lhamo tʃəʔpu 'nakərstʃuw tənge tə ŋa ŋəje ŋos*

(201b) * *lhamo tʃəʔpu ŋakərstʃuw tənge tə ŋa ŋəje ŋos*

(202) *nənʒo to-kə-va-w tə kətʃe ŋos*
you PFT-NOM-do-2s C where be
Where are the ones that you made?

* *nənʒo to'akəvaw tə kətʃe ŋos*

The commonly found forms of relative clauses in Jiāomùzú are thus a clause with a non-finite verb form, expressing habituality or a non-specific reference to the event signalled by the verb, as in (203a); a relative clause with a finite verb marked for past, which can inflect for all verbal categories, as in example (203b), and a relative clause with a finite verb marking non-past, on which the possible marking for tense, aspect and evidentiality is restricted, as in sentence (203c):

- (203a) pkraʃis wu-kə-rgaʔ sloppən tə jontan 'nə-ŋos
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-NOM-like teacher C yon.tan EV-be
 The teacher who likes bKra-shis is Yon-tan.
- (203b) jontan tə pkraʃis na-kə-rgaʔ-w sloppən 'nə-ŋos
 Yon.tan C bKra.shis PFT-NOM-like-3s teacher EV-be
 Yon-tan is the teacher who liked bKra-shis
- (203c) tʃəʔ-pu pkraʃis kə-rgaʔ-w wu-sloppən tə jontan 'nə-ŋos
 this-now bKra.shis NOM-like-3s 3s:GEN-teacher C Yon.tan EV-be
 Right now Yontan is the teacher who likes bKra-shis.

In a recent paper on rGyalrong relative clauses Sun and Lin give an overview of the different types of relative clause in Zhuōkèjī, a Central rGyalrong dialect closely related to Jiǎomùzú, and Cǎodēng, a Northern rGyalrong dialect. Cǎodēng relative clauses use finite verb forms mostly for the core arguments subject and object, while non-finite verb forms occur mostly with peripheral arguments. In Cǎodēng adverbials expressing location must have a non-finite structure, but in Zhuōkèjī there is no such constraint. Furthermore, Cǎodēng subjects and objects can only be relativised if the relative clause gives a generic state of affairs. In Zhuōkèjī there is no restriction.²²⁵ The Zhuōkèjī relative clauses, in marking and meaning, distinguish the same two types as are found in Jiǎomùzú. However, the non-finite form in the Zhuōkèjī is less prone to be interpreted as indicating a general or habitual state of affairs. The restriction for inverse situations, which have to be marked by a non-finite verb form in the relative clause is the same.

d. *Complement clauses*

A complement clause is a sentence that is the subject or object of a predicate. Most Jiǎomùzú complements modify a verb, but I have found a few examples where there is no verb in the main clause, such as (204a):

(204a) ɳa [jontan ji-¹vi] I [Yon.tan IMP-come₁] I ordered Yon-tan to come.	(204b) ɳa [jontan ji-¹vi] to-cəs-ŋ I [Yon.tan IMP-come₁] PFT-say-1s I told Yon-tan to come.

Jiǎomùzú has both subject complements and object complements. Examples (205a) and (205b) show subject complements. Sentences (205c) and (205d) have object complements:

²²⁵ Sun and Lin (2007: 8-9).

- (205a) [sonam c^he moʔt] to-to na-va-ʒdor
 [bSod.nams liquor drink] more-RED PFT-CAUS-excessive
 [bSod-nams' drinking] got worse and worse.
- (205b) [pkraʃis k^harʃas kə-va] tərmu ɲ-awo na-ʃi-mɲam
 [bKra.shis song NOM-do] person 3p:GEN-head PFT-VPT-hurt
 [bKra-shis' singing] gave people a headache.
- (205c) ɲa [nənʃo mdzarti 'kə-tərgaʔ-w] ʃi-ɲ
 I [you peach PRIMP-2-like-2s] know-1s
 I know [that you like peaches].
- (205d) ɲa [wuʃo manʃuʔ vi] 'kə-səso-ɲ ko
 I [he again come₁] PRIMP-think-1s MD:ANX
 I'm afraid [he will come back].

Jiāomùzú does not have any words or markers that function as complementisers.

Equi-deletion deletes a subject or an object from the complement clause when that subject or object is co-referential with some argument in the main clause. In Jiāomùzú equi-deletion of subjects is quite frequent. In example (206a) the subject of the main clause, Yon-tan, is also the subject of the complement 'to plant barley'. The subject of (206b), *nənʃo*, 'you' is also the subject of the object complement clause. The subject of the complement clause is deleted while the subject in the main clause remains.

- (206a) jontan [sweʔj ji-w] 'na-səso-w
 Yon.tan [barley plant-3s] OBS-think-3s
 Yon-tan wants to plant barley.
- (206b) nənʃo [tərts^hot kəbdu tʃe vi] mə-tə-c^ha-n
 you [hour four LOC come₁] Q-2-able-2s
 Can you come at four o'clock?

Raising, also called transport, takes an element of the complement clause and makes it an argument of the main clause, while the meaning of the sentence remains the same. Negative raising occurs in the Jiāomùzú dialects. I give examples of negative raising in section 8.1.c on negation in this chapter. It is possible to use a predicate parenthetically, to say something about the complement rather than about the person performing the action indicated by the predicate. The speaker's point in the next examples is not that he is thinking; rather he makes a point about religion, underscoring it with the use of the predicate in different positions:

- (207a) *ŋa to-səso-ŋ c^hos tə kəru²²⁶ w-ama? 'nə-mi?*
 I PFT-think-1s religion C very 3s:GEN-business EV-not.have
 I think that religion is not very useful.
- (207b) *c^hos tə ŋa to-səso-ŋ kəru w-ama? 'nə-mi?*
 religion C I PFT-think-1s very 3s:GEN-business EV-not.have
 Religion, I think, is not very useful.
- (207c) *c^hos tə kəru w-ama? 'nə-mi? ŋa to-səso-ŋ*
 religion C very 3s:GEN-business EV-not.have I PFT-think-1s
 Religion is not very useful, I think.

Jiāomùzú has dependent as well as independent complement clauses. A complement is dependent if some aspect of its meaning or interpretation follows from information given in the main clause. Complements that are not dependent are indicative in their format, that means, they look like and behave like a normal declarative sentence. Dependent complements are marked in some way.²²⁷ My data on complements are very limited. Only a much more in-depth study than I am able to provide here will give more clues as to the system that underpins the Jiāomùzú complement clauses syntactically and semantically. At the moment I can give only some preliminary findings. In the Jiāomùzú dialects dependent complement clauses are restricted syntactically by the semantics of the verb in the main clause. For example, a non-reality verb like ‘hope’ or ‘desire’ in the main clause triggers irrealis marking in the complement clause, as in example (208a) and (208b) below. Modal verbs that express permission, such as ‘allow’, often have some form of relative tense in their complement clauses, see example (240). And for complements that have the same subject as the main clause, the tense and aspect marking in the complement clause must align with the marking in the main clause. If the main clause is marked for perfective, the complement cannot be marked for non-past:

- (208a) *pəʃurɬə [jontan narənə lhamo-ndʒ k^horlo kə-najo-ndʒ]*
 the.other.day Yon.tan and lHa.mo-3d bus PFT-wait-3d
 The other day having to wait for the bus made Yon-tan and lHa-mo more
- toto na-sak^ha*
 more.and.more PFT-tired
 and more tired.

* *pəʃurɬə [jontan narənə lhamondʒ k^horlo najondʒ] toto nasak^ha*

²²⁶ The adverb *kəru* is a dialect variant of *koro*.

²²⁷ Noonan (1994: 91).

But is it fine to have a nominalised verb in the complement clause indicating an unspecified meaning, as in (208b). The event of ‘waiting for the bus’ is non-specific in that the speaker gives no details about how long Yon-tan and lHa-mo waited, what the weather was like, whether there was a shelter, etc. The only information the hearer has is that Yon-tan and lHa-mo waited for the bus, and that it somehow made them more and more tired:

- (208b) pəʃurɿə [jontan narənə lhamo-ndʒ kʰorlo ka-najo]
 the.other.day Yon.tan and lHa.mo-3d bus NOM-wait]
 The other day the waiting for the bus made Yon-tan and lHa-mo more

 toto na-sak^ha
 more.and.more PFT-tired
 and more tired.

This is perhaps one reason why so many Jiăomùzú complements are nominalised: a nominalised verb has no time-specific marking, which makes it compatible with whatever the marking is on the verb in the main clause.

From a semantic point of view, the distinguishing factor in the morphology of the Jiăomùzú complement seems to be nominalisation. Non-nominalised complements appear with quotes, pretence verbs and desiderative verbs. Nominalised complement clauses occur with propositional attitude and commentative verbs, as well as with achievement and aspectual verbs. Fear verbs and knowledge verbs can have either independent or dependent complements, as can modal verbs. It seems therefore that the main semantic opposition governing complement clauses in Jiăomùzú is reality versus non-reality. Where the contents of the complement differ from the reality of the speaker’s world, a non-nominalised indicative structure is used. For all those complements that, in their content, relate to the speaker’s real world, nominalised structures are employed. Clearly pretence verbs such as ‘imagine’ and ‘deceive’ give entry to a make-believe world that is different from reality. Also desiderative verbs like ‘hope’ and ‘wish’ conjure up a world that is not reality, at least not yet. Quotes, which are always direct in Jiăomùzú, by definition do not reflect the speaker’s reality, but the reality of the person being quoted.

One complicating factor in considering the semantic distribution of complement clauses is that in Jiăomùzú there are relatively few verbs that differentiate between shades of emotional or abstract meanings. There tends to be just one verb that covers all shades of meaning. The English verbs ‘think’, ‘hope’, ‘desire’, ‘believe’ and ‘want’, for example, are all covered by the general use verb *kasəso*, ‘think’. Quite often modal verbs such as *kəc^ha*, ‘able’ and *kaʃpaʔ*, ‘can’ are used to express achievement type meanings such as ‘manage’, ‘fail’, and ‘try’. Also, the Jiăomùzú dialects tend to prefer quotes of direct speech or even just direct speech or an indicative sentence without a main clause rather than forming complements for certain classes of verbs. If there is a complement structure, it usually simply adds a frame with ‘say’ or an equivalent neutral verb to the indicative marked for causativity, which then makes the entire structure into a quote. Finally, manipulative verbs such as ‘order’ and ‘force’ do not really exist in Jiăomùzú. These sorts of meanings are

constructed with prominence marking for the subject combined with causativity markers in the verb phrase or a form of the modal verb *ra*, ‘need’, without an actual complement. Below follow examples of the different verb categories and their complements.

1. *Non-nominalised complement clauses*

The non-reality group with non-nominalised complements includes quotes, pretence verbs and desiderative verbs. I discuss quotes more extensively in section 8.1 on sentence types above. Here I give just one example. Note that the complement, indicated by square brackets, is a complete sentence which can stand alone, including an interjection *ahaha* and mood marker *ko*:

- (209) [ahaha j-apa j-apso-j ka-nəndʔi ʃi-'a-c^ha-jn
 [oh.oh 1p-father 1p-together-LOC NOM-bring.along NEG/PFT-NEV-able-3p
 "oh oh, we did not manage to bring our father along!" they said.
 ko] to-cəs-jn
 MD:ANX] PFT-say-3p

Pretence verbs such as ‘trick’, ‘deceive’ and ‘imagine’ have straightforward indicatives as their complement:

- (210) jontan w-əseʔm w-əŋgi-j [w-əʃeʔm zdombo ndoʔ]
 yon.tan 3s:GEN-heart 3s:GEN-inside-LOC 3s:GEN-house huge have
 Yon-tan imagines his house to be huge.
 'na-səso-w
 OBS-imagine-3s

Note that this sentence is also grammatical without the verb phrase *nasəsow*, ‘imagines’. In that case the sentence would mean something like ‘In Yon-tan’s imagination, his house is huge’.

Desiderative verbs such as ‘wish’, ‘desire’, ‘hope’ and ‘want’ have indicative complements, for the most part with verb phrases marked for irrealis. As described above, most of these meanings are expressed by *kasəso*, ‘think’:

- (211) ʔa [jontan a-ji-vi] na-səso-ŋ
 I [Yon.tan IRR-PFT-come_i] PFT-think-1s
 I hope [that Yon-tan will come].

The different shades of meaning can be seen clearly in the following examples. In (212) there is irrealis marking, showing that though the speaker wants Yon-tan to come, his coming may not

become reality. The modal verb *ra*, ‘need’, emphasizes the speaker’s strong desire for Yon-tan to come, literally meaning ‘I need for Yon-tan to come’:

- (212) η a [jontan a-ji-vi] ra
 I [Yon.tan IRR-PFT-come₁] need
 I want [Yon-tan to come].

The modal verb can be part of the complement, showing a strong desire but not the possibility to actually enforce the wish, as in (213). When ‘want’ has more of a manipulative meaning, as in (214), the irrealis marking disappears and modal verb *ra*, ‘need’ is added to the complement, and the complement verb *karstə*, ‘count’ is nominalised. The verb in the main clause is once again the neutral *kasəso*, ‘think’:

- (213) wuʃo [tapuʔ rnani a-mə-va-w ra] na-səso-w
 She [child chaos IRR-NEG-do-3s need] PFT-think-3s
 She wants [the child to be quiet].

- (214) wuʃo [tə^ha pok ka-rstə ra] na-səso-w
 He [book all NOM-count need] PFT-think-3s
 He wants [all the books to be counted].

A final example shows ‘want’ in a sense that, in the speaker’s mind, is more easily realised. There is no irrealis marking in the complement, but also there is no actual person marking, indicating that *tʃ^{hi}*, ‘go’ is used in a generic sense here. It is not so much the going that matters, but the idea of being in or going to Běijīng:

- (215) η a peciŋ tʃ^{hi} na-səso-ŋ
 I Běijīng go₁ PFT-think-1s
 I want to go to Beijing.

Manipulative verbs like ‘force’, ‘order’, and ‘make’ do not occur in Jiăomùzú, so there are no sentences that have complement clauses modified by these meanings. Instead, the verb is marked for indirect causativity if the agent controls or has volition over the action. The agent is marked as such by prominence marker *kə*, while the causee, who actually performs the act, is unmarked. In (216) the wind is not an agent in control of the action, so the verb *kacop*, ‘burn’, is not marked for causativity. But the verb *kanəʃmo*, ‘steal’ in (217) is:

- (216) k^halu kə təmtʃuk təjeʔm kərgi kərgi to-^la-cop-w
 wind PR fire house one one PFT-NEV-burn-3s
 The wind caused the fire to burn one house after another.

- (217) lhamo kə jontan pka? kərgi to-'a-sə-nəʃmo-w
 lHa.mo PR Yon.tan chicken one PFT-NEV-CAUS-steal-3s
 lHa-mo made Yon-tan steal a chicken.

It is possible to use a modal verb like *ra*, 'need', rather than causativity marking. In (218) observation marking with *na-* on the modal verb indicates outside pressure or obligation. It is also possible in this sentence to have *nasəleʔtʃin*, 'cause to write':

- (218) sloppən kə slopme-po tswopɛꞤ kəmɲi mpʰjar leʔt 'na-ra
 teacher PR student-p homework five CL hit₁ OBS-need
 The teacher had the students write five pages of homework.

Another frequently used strategy is to employ quotes rather than manipulative verbs:

- (219) ɲa [jontan ji-'vi] to-cəs-ɲ
 I [Yon.tan IMP-come₁] PFT-say-1s
 I told Yon-tan to come. (I ordered Yon-tan to come.)

2. Nominalised complement clauses

Complement clauses that anchor firmly to a speaker's reality are nominalised. This large group of verbs includes propositional attitude verbs, commentative and achievement verbs, as well as motion and aspectual verbs. The nominalisers *kə-* and *ka-* are both common, following the rules for agent and patient nominalisation as discussed in section 7.1 of the chapter on verbs. The nominalised verb phrase can be finite or non-finite. As with relative clauses, non-inflected verb forms give a generic interpretation of an event. For example, the boss in (222) regrets that he lacks the means to buy a car. The sentence does not indicate that there is a specific car at a specific time and place which the man is unable to buy. On the other hand, Yon-tan's stealing of the bike is an event which is firmly linked to time and place, and thus requires tense, aspect and number marking. Nominalised verb phrases in complement clauses can occur with the full range of tense, aspect, mood and number marking.

Below are some examples for each of the different categories in this group.

Propositional attitude verbs such as 'believe', 'be certain', 'deny' express the speaker's attitude towards the truth of the proposition in the complement clause:

- (220) [jontan jaɲmaꞤ to-kə-nəʃmo] tə ndʒondʒo ɲos
 [Yon.tan bike PFT-NOM-steal] C really be
 It is certain [that Yon-tan stole the bike].

- (221) [jontan jaŋma^ᵛ to-kə-nəfmo] ŋos ma-nə-cəs
 [Yon.tan bike PFT-NOM-steal] be NEG-EREFL-say
 Yon-tan denies [having stolen the bike].

Commentative verbs express the attitude of a speaker towards action or event in the complement clause. Many commentative verbs belong to the category of stative verbs, many of which express adjectival meanings:

- (222) taro tə [ts^hətsə^ᵛ ka-ku wu-poŋeʔj kə-miʔ] wastop 'na-najin
 leader C [vehicle NOM-buy 3s:GEN-money NOM-not.have] very OBS-pity
 The leader regrets [that there is no money to buy a car].

- (223) [jontan ji-kə-vu] 'na-mtsar
 Yon.tan NEG/PFT-NOM-come₂] OBS-strange
 It is odd that Yon-tan did not come.

The meanings expressed by achievement verbs such as ‘try’, ‘fail’, ‘manage’ are often expressed by modal verbs. The verb *kac^ha* indicates physical ability, while *kafpaʔ* signals learned ability:

- (224) jontan [təʃu ka-nəmgla] ji-'a-c^ha
 Yon.tan [water NOM-cross] NEG/PFT-NEV-able
 Yon-tan failed [to jump over the river].

- (225) [kəpaʔ-skaʔt ka-va] ʃpaʔ-w
 [Chinese-language NOM-do] can₁-3s
 She speaks Chinese.

Aspectual verbs such as ‘begin’, ‘stop’ and ‘be used to’ are all nominalised:

- (226) jontan [təmpok ka-va] na-saʃa-w
 Yon-tan [bread NOM-do] PFT-begin-3s
 Yontan started [to make bread].

- (227) ndə sta tə [pak-ʃa ka-ndza] na-ŋgrel
 that origin C [pig-meat NOM-eat] PFT-be.used.to
 From that time on they got into the habit of [eating pork].

The motion verbs ‘go’ and ‘come’ often occur with clausal complements:

- (228) pkraʃis kəpa tʃe kəʃes cʰa ʃi [wu-kə-natso] na-'a-tʃʰi
 bKra.shis year LOC two time always [3s:GEN-NOM-see] PFT-NEV-go₁
 bKra-shis went [to see her] twice a year.

3. *Categories of verb that take both kinds of complements*

There are some categories of verb that can take both nominalised and non-nominalised clausal complements. These categories include knowledge verbs, immediate perception verbs, fear verbs and modal auxiliary verbs. Admittedly these kinds of verb do not fit the hypothesis of a split between reality and non-reality underlying the dichotomy between nominalised and non-nominalised complements. Future efforts to analyse complement clauses should shed further light on the issue. Below follow some examples for each of the categories mentioned above.

Immediate perception verbs include ‘see’, ‘watch’, ‘hear’, ‘listen’. Though by far the most complements for this category are nominalised, some verbs can take either kind of complement. One example is the verb *kaməseʔm*, ‘hear’, in sentences (229) and (230):

- (229) pkraʃis kə [lhamo laktʃe kə-ndoʔ] na-'a-məseʔm
 bKra.shis PR [lHa.mo thing NOM-have] PFT-NEV-hear
 bKra-shis heard about [lHa-mo’s winning a prize].

- (230) [pkraʃis to-'a-ŋa-la-laʔt-s] mə-na-tə-məsaʔm-n
 [bKra.shis PFT-NEV-REC-RED-hit₂-3s] Q-PFT-2-hear₂-2s
 Did you hear about [bKra-shis having a fight]?

- (231) ŋa [jontan kʰarʃit kə-va-w] na-rəkna-ŋ
 I [jontan song NOM-do-3s] PFT-listen-1s
 I listened to [Yon-tan singing a song].

- (232) ŋa [jontan jaŋma kə-nəʃmo-w] na-məto-ŋ
 I [Yon.tan bike NOM-steal-3s] PFT-see-1s
 I saw [Yon-tan steal a bike].

- (233) nəŋʂo [pecin ka-tʃʰi] mə-tə-rəmpo-n
 you [Běijīng NOM-go₁] Q-2-experience-2s
 Have you been to Běijīng?

Knowledge verbs such as ‘know’, ‘discover’, and ‘realize’ can take both kinds of complements, as demonstrated for *kafi*, ‘know’ in example (234) and (235). Still, by far the most complements occurring with knowledge verbs in my data are nominalised:

- (234) [jontan ɲa ɲə-jaŋma to-kə-nəʃmo-w] ɲa 'na-ʃi-ɲ
 [Yon.tan I 1s:GEN-bike^ᵛ PFT-NOM-steal-3s] I OBS-know-1s
 I found out [that Yon-tan had stolen my bike].
- (235) ɲa [nənʃo mdzarti 'kə-tərgaʔ-w] ʃi-ɲ
 I [you peach PRIMP-2-like-2s] know-1s
 I know that you like peaches.

Fear verbs include verbs like ‘fear’ and ‘worry’. The examples below show nominalised and non-nominalised examples for *kəʒder*, ‘be afraid’

- (236) ɲa [jontan kə-vi] 'na-ʒder-ɲ
 I Yon.tan NOM-come₁] OBS-be.afraid-1s
 I'm afraid [Yon-tan will come].
- (237) ɲa [wuʃo manʃuʔ vi] 'na-ʒder-ɲ
 I [he again come₁] OBS-be.afraid-1s
 I'm afraid he will come back.
- (238) [nənʃo kawsəᵛ ma-tə-c^ha-n] ɲa na-nəsə-ɲ
 [you test NEG-2-able-2s] I PFT-worry-1s
 I'm worried that you will not pass the test.

Modal auxiliaries occur with both nominalised and non-nominalised complements:

- (239) nənʃo [tərts^hot kəbdu tʃe vi] mə-tə-c^ha-n
 you [hour four LOC come₁] Q-2-able-2s
 Can you come at four o'clock?
- (240) [ndə 'to-nə-ndʒi-w] jok
 [that FPFT-EREFL-take-2s] allow
 You can just [take it].
- (241) tɾala-j kə-ɲu tə [ka-sə-rwas] ʃi-'a-k^hut
 street-LOC NOM-sit C [NOM-CAUS-get.up] NEG/PFT-NEV-can
 The one who was sitting on the street could not get himself [to get up].

e. *Adverbial clauses*

Adverbial clauses modify a verb phrase or an entire sentence. Jiǎomùzú adverbial clauses express time, manner, place, reason and purpose, dative type meanings, and so forth. In Jiǎomùzú there are adverbial clauses that can be replaced by a non-derived single word adverb as well as clauses that cannot be replaced in this way. Clauses that can be replaced are locatives of time and place. Jiǎomùzú has a two sets of adverbialisers which turn a clause or sentence into an adverbial clause of time or place. The adverbialisers are clitics that are inserted at the end of the adverbialised clause or sentence. One set of Jiǎomùzú adverbialisers, including *no* ‘at the latest’ and *mo* ‘just then’ indicates time only. A second set has adverbialisers that can be used for either place or time reference. These adverbialisers include *tʃe*, ‘at’, *-j*, ‘at; towards’ and *cʰo*, ‘somewhere, sometime’. I discuss the adverbialisers for time and place extensively in section 5.6 of the chapter on adverbs. The examples used in this section mostly have *tʃe*, with *-j* by far the most commonly used adverbialiser. The examples below show locatives of time in (242a) and (242b). Sentences (242c) and (242d) have place locatives:

- (242a) ɲa [sofnu] va-ŋ (242b) [wuɟo ʼji-vi tʃe] ɲa va-ŋ
 I [tomorrow] do-1s [he FPFT-come₁ LOC] I do-1s
 I’ll do it tomorrow. I’ll do it when he comes.
- (242c) pkraʃis bawbawꞰ [tatʃe] na-ʼa-teʔ-w
 bKra.shis bag [here] PFT-NEV-put₁-3s
 bKra-shis put the bag here.
- (242d) pkraʃis wu-bawbawꞰ [wuɟo kə-məto-w tʃe] na-ʼa-teʔ-w
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-bag [he NOM-see-3s LOC] PFT-NEV-put₁-3s
 bKra-shis put the bag where he could see it.

The morphology of the adverbial clause is influenced by the main clause. The most commonly occurring adaptations include changes in the tense and aspect marking and nominalisation. Example (243a) has a neutral sentence, ‘bKra-shis will arrive’, and its adverbial clause counterpart in (243b). Note that the unmarked non-past verb form of (243a) changes to a relative tense, past-in-the-future, in (243b). The leaving of the subjects in the main clause hinges on bKra-shis’ having arrived, and the adverbial clause is marked accordingly. Sentence (243c) has a nominalised adverbial clause. bKra-shis’ arrival is linked to a nominal head, *ʒak*, ‘time’, not to the subject of the main clause. The verb in the adverbial clause is not marked for tense and aspect:

- (243a) pkraʃis məndə
 bKra.shis arrive
 bKra-shis will arrive.

- (243b) [pkraʃis 'ji-məndə tʃe] jiʃi tʃʰi-j
 [bKra.shis PFT-arrive LOC] we:i go₁-1p
 We will go [when bKra-shis gets here].

- (243c) [pkraʃis kə-məndə wu-ʒak tʃe] jiʃi tʃʰi-j
 [bKra.shis NOM-arrive 3s:GEN-time LOC] we:i go₁-1p
 We'll go [at the time when bKra-shis gets here].

Most adverbial clauses are not substitutable by a single word. These clauses encompass the following categories: manner, purpose, reason, circumstantiality, simultaneous events, conditionals, concessive, substitutive, additive and absolute clauses. Below follow examples of each category. Manner in the Jiāomùzú dialects is most often signalled by expressives rather than adverbs, see section 6.1 of the chapter on smaller word classes. Adverbial clauses most often use the noun *sok*, 'manner' to express manner, as in (244). Adverbial clauses indicating manner can also employ verbs like *kanatso*, 'look, see' and *kapsō*, 'compare, be similar' in a nominalised clause modified by *tʃe*:

- (244) wuʃo [kəsce tʰi sok kʰarʃit no-kə-səkʃot] tə tʰi sok
 she [before what manner song PFT/AF-NOM-teach] C what manner
 She sang in the way in which she had been taught to.

'na-va-w
 OBS-do-3s

- (245) [wuʃo kə-vətʃi ka-natso tʃe] w-ami? kəmɲam 'na-pso
 [he NOM-walk NOM-look LOC] 3s:GEN-leg hurt OBS-similar
 He walks as if his leg hurts. (From the look of his walking, his leg seems to hurt.)

Circumstantiality, which signals the circumstances under which the event in the main clause takes place, also employs nominalised clauses:

- (246) [wuʃo təlo təʃeʔm w-əŋgi-j ka-ŋgo] kətsə-tsə
 she milk house 3s:GEN-inside-LOC NOM-go.upstream little-RED
 She brought the milk into the house without spilling a drop.

ʒik ʃi-'a-kto
 also NEG/PFT-NEV-spill

Purpose and reason are often indicated by a nominalised clause without any other marking on them, as in example (247). Also frequently used is a nominalised verb phrase with a genitive construction

wutʃʰe, ‘for the reason of’, as in (248). Adverbials indicating reason or purpose can be marked for prominence by prominence marker *kə*:

- (247) wuʃo [piʃo^ɔ kə-moʔt] ji-rʃi
 he [beer NOM-drink] PFT-go₂
 He went out [to have a beer].
- (249) wuʃo [mborkʰe ka-tʃʰi wu-tʃʰe] kə to-napso
 he [Mǎěrkāng NOM-go₁ 3s:GEN-reason] PR PFT-get.up.early
 He got up early for the reason of going to Mǎěrkāng.

Simultaneous events can be expressed by adverbial conjunctions, see the chapters on adverbs and on smaller word classes. Also common are constructions that have a nominalised verb, as in (250). Example (251) shows the use of locative marking to express two actions happening at the same time. Note that in both examples the verb in the adverbial clause forms the background for the action of the main clause, and is therefore kept generic without tense and aspect marking:

- (250) ŋa [dianʃə^ɔ ka-namʃo] dzwonje^ɔ 'kə-leʔt-ŋ
 I [TV NOM-watch] homework PRIMP-hit₁-1s
 While watching TV I am doing my homework.
- (251) [jini kə-nəndze tʃe] kʰorlo ji-vu w-əskaʔt ki na-məjen-j
 [we:e NOM-eat LOC] car PFT-come₂ 3s:GEN-sound IDEF PFT-hear-1p
 While we were eating we heard a car arrive.

Conditionals in Jiǎomùzú are expressed on the verb. Real conditionals employ *mə-* while irrealis is expressed by *a-*. For a discussion of conditional marking, see section 7.9 of the chapter on verbs. The semantic distinction between ‘if’ and ‘when’ in Jiǎomùzú exists. Since ‘if’ indicates an irrealis or real conditional situation, marking with *mə-* or *a-* occurs. For the real conditional ‘when’ a locative like *tʃe* is employed to create an adverbial clause:

- (252) [təmu mə-na-laʔt] rə jino w-əmpʰi ma-tʃʰi-j
 [rain COND-PFT-hit₂] CON we:e 3s:GEN-outside NEG-go₁-1p
 If it rains, we won't go out.
- (253) [təmu kə-leʔt tʃe] jino w-əmpʰi ma-tʃʰi-j
 [rain NOM-hit₁ LOC] we:e 3s:GEN-outside NEG-go₁-1p
 When it rains, we don't go out.

Concessive clauses that express definite meanings such as ‘though’ or ‘apart from’ are formed with adverbial conjunctions. For a discussion see the chapters on adverbs and on smaller word classes.

Here I give just one example. The adverbial conjunction *me* means ‘only’. The other conjunction, *nə*, is a subordinating conjunction:

- (254) [poŋeʔj na-nə-pʰət-j me] nə ka-nəmbri na-rəʃniŋe-j
 money PFT-EREFL-lose-1p CON CON NOM-play PFT-pleasant-1p
 Apart from us losing our money, we had fun.

Indefinite concessive meanings employ clauses with an interrogative, as in (255):

- (255) [tʰi to-tə-cəs-n ʒik] ŋa ma-tʃʰi-ŋ
 [what PFT-2-say-2s also] I NEG-go₁-1s
 No matter what you say, I’m not going.

For substitutive clauses a form of comparisons is used. For an overview of comparisons, see section 7.1 in the chapter on verbs. The example here coordinates two possible actions with the conjunction *narənə*, ‘and’, then has the marker for comparisons *ndʒakaj*, ‘from the bottom’, after which follows the chosen course of action:

- (256) [laktʃe ka-ʃi-mbuʔ narənə jiji ka-tʃʰi ndʒ-aka-j] jiji
 [thing NOM-VPT-give and we:i NOM-go₁ 3d-bottom-LOC] we:i
 Rather than going ourselves we sent a present.

ma-kə-tʃʰi to-va-j
 NEG-NOM-go₁ PFT-do-1p

- (257) [təʃeʔm ka-ŋu narənə dianjiŋʷ kə-namɲo ndʒ-aka-j] təʃeʔm
 [house NOM-stay and movie NOM-watch 3d-bottom-LOC] house
 We stayed home instead of going to watch a movie.

ka-ŋu to-va-j
 NOM-stay PFT-do-1p

Additive clauses are formed with adverbial conjunctions, as discussed in section 5.7 of the chapter on adverbs and on smaller word classes. One example is:

- (258) [wuɔ laktʃʰe ka-mbuʔ maʔk kə] manʃuʔ kʰarʒit va-w ʰna-ra
 [he thing NOM-give not.be PR] ADV:CON song do-3s OBS-need
 In addition to giving a present, he had to sing.

Jiäomùzú does not have absolutive clauses in the proper sense of the word. Absolutive meanings are expressed by slotting locative markers into a normal, non-nominalised indicative sentence. The

adverbialiser *kʰo* in (259) means ‘right after, immediately’. Literally the sentence means ‘as soon as the letter arrived, lHa-mo phoned bKra-shis’:

- (259) [tascok ji-məndə kʰo] lhamo pkraʃis dianxwaꣳ na-laʔt-w
 [letter PFT-arrive ADVLS] lHa.mo bKra.shis telephone PFT-hit₂-3s
 The letter having come, lHa-mo immediately phoned bKra-shis.

- (260) [tapuʔ tərmu kəneʔk na-məto tʃe] coksə w-əŋkʰu-j na-ŋapki
 [child person black PFT-see LOC] table 3s:GEN-back-LOC PFT-hide
 Having seen the black man, the child hid behind the table. (When he saw the black man, the child hid behind the table.)

Speech act adverbial clauses consist of a direct speech sentence connected to the main clause with a conjunction:

- (261) [nəŋʂo krəŋ tə-ʃi-w] kʰonə tʃəʔ-pu təndze w-əvə ʰna-kəktu
 [you perhaps 2-know-2s] CON this-now food 3s:GEN-price OBS-big
 As I’m sure you know, the price of food is very high right now.

- (262) [[nəŋʂo ka-ʃə] nə-sem mə-ʰna-vi] nə pkraʃis
 [[you NOM-know] 2s:GEN-heart Q-OBS-come₁] CON bKra.shis
 In case you’re interested, bKra-shis came yesterday.

pəʃur ji-vu
 yesterday PFT-come₂

TEXTS

TEXT 1

The story of A-mysis Sgo-ldong

- 1 kəsce-sce bdət əʒi ʒəŋk^ham-j la
before-RED demon our world-LOC MD:SA
Long, long ago, there was a demon in our world, right.
- 2 bdət tʃəʔ tə bdət makəndʒa na-kə-ndoʔ na-ŋos
demon this C demon terrible PFT-NOM-have PFT-be
This demon was a very terrible demon.
- 3 rə bdət tə mənəŋos nə bdət tə w-ərɲi tə bdət tə
CON demon C FIL CON demon C 3s:GEN-name C demon C
The demon, eh, the demon's name - besides the demon
- c^happa ranliŋ kə-ɲi kə manjuʔ w-andʒiʔ tə mənəŋos nə
Chap.pa Rang.ling NOM-name PR moreover 3s:GEN-friend C FIL CON
called Chap-pa Rang-ling there was his lover, eh,
- w-arjaʔp tə mənəŋos nə bdət-mo haʃaŋ makə
3s:GEN-wife C FIL CON demon-FL Hashang Make
his wife, yeah, who was a demonness called Hashang Make.
- na-kə-ɲi na-kə-ŋos 'nə-ŋos
PFT-NOM-be.called PFT-NOM-be EV-be
- 4 rə ndzamləŋ kərgi tə ɲarpo kərgi tə mənəŋos nə
CON world one C king one C FIL CON
In the whole world there was one king -
- bdət tə kə tərmu ʃi kə-ndza na-kə-ŋos-jn 'nə-ŋos
demon C PR people often NOM-eat PFT-NOM-eat-3s:HON EV-be
the demon, he devoured people all the time.

5 rə tərmu tə ka-ndza tʃəʔ tʃe rə rjarpo kərgi tə
 CON people C NOM-eat this LOC CON king one C
 When [the manner in which] he ate people he grabbed a king

w-əspok kə-kə-nərko-w k^honə w-əspok-j
 3s:GEN-underside²²⁸ PFT-NOM-put-3s CON 3s:GEN-underside-LOC
 and put him under his rule; he did not allow that king to be independent,

ma-ka-ngo nə ʃi-kə-jok k^honə rə w-əspok
 NEG-NOM-go.upriver CON NEG/PFT-NOM-allow CON CON 3s:GEN-underside
 so he became subservient.

kə kə-rʃi-jn 'nə-ŋos
 PR NOM-go-3s:HON EV-be

6 na-kə-ra 'nə-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-must EV-be
 The king was forced to [do so by the demon].

7a rə manʃuʔ rjarpo kə kərgi tə ndə tə ʒik makmu narənə
 CON besides king PR one C that C also soldier and
 There was one king, who was protected to the utmost by fiercely fighting soldiers -

kac^ha kawo-j ʃi makəndʒa wu-sca ndə sok na-kə-va-jn
 left right-LOC often exceedingly 3s:GEN-likeness this manner PFT-NOM-do-3p

k^honə bdət tə wu-je ndə tə makəndʒa w-əpke na-kə-k^hut
 CON demon C 3s-POSS that C exceedingly 3s:GEN-appetite PFT-NOM-able
 [but] the demon had an exceedingly good appetite, so that he often could not eat his fill

tə k^honə ndə tə kə-c^ha ʃi menə
 C CON that C NOM-win often CON
 [and so] he often won, regrettably

²²⁸ The *təspok* is the space between the belly of a four legged animal and the ground. The word here is used in several different ways. It shows the demon as a wild animal which stands over its prey and devours it from the space between its front paws. Figuratively *təspok* also means ‘area of influence or authority’. While the demon is portrayed as a wild animal devouring prey, the reality is that he made war on many kings and usurped their territory, and so put them and their people under his own authority, in his *təspok*. Later on in the story the good king is also said to have people in his *təspok*, meaning they belong to his kingdom and are under his benevolent authority.

- 7b kəmaʔk kəmaʔk rjarpo-ni nə ma-kə-c^ha-jn
 other other king-p CON NEG-NOM-able-3p
 the other kings couldn't gain victory over him,
- ndə sok ʃi na-kə-ŋos na-ŋos
 that manner all.the.time PFT-NOM-be PFT-be
 it was like that all the time.
- 8 w-əŋk^hu? nə wot cə²²⁹ pot-j amɲi zgordən kacəs tə mənəŋos nə
 3:GEN-after CON Tibet POSS Tibet-LOC ancestor Sgo.ldong say C FIL CON
 Afterwards, the Tibetan, the Tibetan²³⁰ ancestor called Sgo-ldong,
- rənə saŋrɲi-ni kə ndə tə-ni tə mənəŋos nə əji-je tʃəʔ na
 FIL enlightened.one-p PR this C-p:HON C FIL CON 1p-POSS this down
 the honoured enlightened ones, those ones, well, to bring peace to our place here, to do
- bdewa kə-pkot ndə tə tə na-kə-sə-vu na-kə-ŋos-jn 'nə-ŋos
 peace NOM-carry that C C PFT-NOM-CAUS-come₂ PFT-NOM-be-3p:HON EV-be
 that they sent him.
- 9 rə rjarpo kərgi wu-je w-əspok-j mə'naŋos nə ndə tə
 CON king one 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-underside-LOC FIL CON that C
 One king had among his people, eh, there were a servant woman and her husband who
- jokmo narənə rənə j-apa kəpəs tə kərscaŋ-zɲi
 servant.woman and FIL 1p:HON:GEN-old.man two C eight-ten
 were already eighty years old, each one of the two was eighty years old.
- kə-vi nə kəpəs tə kərscaŋ-zɲi kaka kə-vi-ndʒ na-kə-ŋos 'nə-ŋos
 NOM-come₁ CON two C eight-ten each NOM-come₁-3d PFT-NOM-be EV-be
 The two of them were in their eighties.

²²⁹ This is a slip of the tongue. The narrator starts to say *wot cə*, from the Tibetan literary form བོད་ཀྱི, *bod kyi*, meaning 'from Tibet' or 'Tibetan'. He then corrects himself and goes on with the rGyalrong way of saying things.

²³⁰ Note that *bot-j* means 'from Tibet' as in 'from that place', indicating that Sgo-ldong was from Tibet, not from the rGyalrong area. The rGyalrong people traditionally used *kəruʔ* as their autonym, meaning 'person from the rGyalrong area'. The people from Tibetan areas were called *pot*. After the official designation of the Tibetan minority nationality in the 1950s the term *kəru* came to mean 'Tibetan' in a general sense, with no distinction of geographic region.

- 10 rənə ndə ndʒ-apu? ki kərscaŋ-zji ji-vu-ndʒ tʃə? tʃe ndʒ-apu?
 CON that 3d:GEN-child IDEF eight-ten PFT-come₂-3d this LOC 3d:GEN-child
 And then, a child - when they were eighty years old they had a child!
- ki na-kə-ndo? 'nə-ŋos
 IDEF PFT-NOM-have EV-be
- 11 ndʒ-apu? ki na-kə-ndo? tə mənaŋos nə ndə tə tə nə pot-j
 3d:GEN-child IDEF PFT-NOM-have C FIL CON that C C CON Tibet-LOC
 The child that the two [old people] had, eh, that one was the one called Tibetan
- amɲi sɡoldən kacəs tə ndə tə na-ŋos-jn kʰonə na-'a-sci
 ancestor Sgo.ldong say C that C PFT-be-3p:HON CON PFT-NEV-be.born
 ancestor Sgo.ldong; after he was born, [the first day] he ate a *ro*²³¹ of grain...
- w-əmp^hro tʃə? tʃe nə rənə tərɡo nə kə-ro.....w-əmo w-ənu?
 3s:GEN-after this LOC CON CON grain CON one-*ro*..... 3s:GEN-mother 3s:GEN-milk
 he drank his mother's milk and immediately he ate a *ro* of grain.
- tə ka-moʔt tə kʰonə tərɡo kə-tʃo to-kə-ndza-w 'nə-ŋos
 C NOM-drink C CON grain one-*tʃo* PFT-NOM-eat-3s EV-be
- 12 w-əmp^hro tʃə? tʃe nə w-apso nə kəpəs ro w-apso
 3s:GEN-after this LOC CON 3s:GEN-day.after CON two *ro* 3s:GEN-day.after
 After that, the next day, he ate two *ro* of grain, and the day after that he ate three
- nə kəsam ro w-əŋkʰu? nə ndə tə sok ʃi w-əjpo
 CON three *ro* 3s:GEN-after CON that C manner continuously 3s:GEN-*əjpo*
ro, and on and on like that, until he ate a *kəjpo*²³² [each day] and continued to do so.
- sok ʃi wurə ndə w-at^ham-j nə təndze-ɲi kərkən
 manner continuously CON:REASON that 3s:GEN-time-LOC CON food-p scarce
 On and on like that; at that time, food was scarce

²³¹ A *kəŋto* is a measure of volume like the British 'cup'. The measure is a bamboo or wooden container used predominantly to measure grain. For barley, a *kəŋto* contains one *tərpa*, 'pound' and eight *sraŋ*, 'unit of fifty grammes', so a total of 900 grammes. Since the *kəŋto* measures volume, the weight for other grains like wheat would be different, though the volume would be the same. The measure word is *kəŋto* for one unit, and *ro* for quantities from two onwards. So the boy ate on his first day a *kəŋto* of barley, and then two *ro*, on to three *ro*, etc.

²³² A *kəjpo* is ten *ro*.

k^honə ndə k^ho w-əmo narənə w-apa-ndʒ kə wuʃo-ndʒ
 CON that LOC 3s:GEN-mother and 3s:GEN-father-3d PR 3-d
 and moreover, his mother and father were already old, right,

ʒik kəmtʃoʔk 'nə-ŋos-ndʒ k^honə la
 also old EV-be-3d CON MD:SA

- 13 ka-ʃpət mə-kə-to-c^ha-ndʒ²³³ 'nə-ŋos
 NOM-bring.up TER₁-NOM-TER₂-able-3d EV-be
 [having exhausted all possibilities] there was simply no way [left] for them to bring up
 the child.

- 14a ka-ʃpət məto-c^ha-ndʒ tʃe j-apa kə la
 NOM-bring.up TER-able-3d LOC 1p:HON:GEN-old.man PR MD:SA
 When they were no longer able to bring it up, the old man said: "Come now,

tʃəʔ tʃ-apuʔ təza tə tʃəʔ tə sok ʃi ka-ʃpət nə
 this 1d:GEN-child boy C this C manner continuously NOM-bring.up CON
 this boy child of ours, we can't continue to bring it up like this.

ma-ngrel 'nə-ŋos k^honə ʃik^ha-j c^ho ki ʃi-p^hət-dʒ ra
 NEG-be.used.to EV-be CON forest-LOC LOC:IDEF IDEF VPT-throw-1d must
 We must abandon it some place in the forest, musn't we."

mə-maʔk²³⁴ to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 Q-not.be PFT-NOM-say EV-be

- 15 rənə j-apa kə ʃik^ha-j ka-p^hət w-uspe ka-nəvlo
 CON 1p:HON:GEN-old.man PR forest-LOC NOM-throw 3s:GEN-means NOM-deceive
 Then the old man, deceit being the means for abandoning [the child] in the forest,

ro-kə-tsep-w na-kə-ŋos
 PFT:towards.mountain-NOM-take-3s PFT-NOM-be
 took [the child] along [with him].

²³³ This form has marking for terminative aspect, *məto*, with nominaliser *kə* spliced into it. This happens because the nominalisation marker *kə* can appear only in the first or second slot of a verb phrase. In the following sentence the terminative aspect marking is kept together in *məto-c^ha-ndʒ*.

²³⁴ This interrogative form carries a strong flavour of a yes-no choice. The speaker is not looking for a discussion on the matter but seeks agreement or disagreement with his position.

- 16a ka-nəvlo ro-kə-tsep-w k^honə w-əza
 NOM-deceive PFT:towards.mountain-NOM-take-3s CON 3s:GEN-son
 He deceived him and took him along; then he said to his son:
- w-əmba-j nənjo mənəjos nə tər^hu kətsə ki na-kə-ndo?
 3s:GEN-toward-LOC you FIL CON pine.tree small IDEF PFT-NOM-have
 "You," - eh, there was a small pine tree there -
- k^honə nənjo mənəjos sta tʃəʔ nə-^lju-n
 CON you FIL origin this IMP-stay-2s
 "You stay right here.
- 16b rə mənəjos nə tʃəʔ w-əna tʃəʔ tʃe ʃu p^hot-ŋ
 CON FIL CON this 3s:GEN-below this LOC firewood cut-1s
 I'll cut firewood just below here.
- 16c w-əŋk^hu? nə ʃu-ni kə-p^hot-ŋ nə ndə tə nə ʃu w-əskaʔt
 3s:GEN-after CON firewood-p NOM-cut-1s CON that C CON firewood 3s:GEN-sound
 Afterwards, when there is no longer the sound of wood being cut,
- to-^a-mi? tʃəʔ tʃe narənə ŋa jaŋve letʔ-ŋ k^honə ndə tʃəʔ tʃe nə
 PFT-NEV-not.have this LOC FIL I signal hit₁-1s CON that this LOC CON
 I will make handsignals,
- a-na-tə-^lvi-n to-kə-cəs ^lnə-ŋos
 IRR-IMP:down-2-come₁-2s PFT-NOM-say EV-be
 and at that time you should come down."
- 17a owe to-kə-cəs ^lnə-ŋos k^honə
 okay PFT-NOM-say EV-be CON
 "Okay", the boy said -
- 17b karjo ʒik pok təskaʔt-ni ʒik pok tə ndə tə to-kə-məseʔm
 talk also all language-p also all C that C PFT-NOM-understand
 he understood everything that was said
- karjo to-kə-ʃpeʔ-w na-^a-stʃi k^honə
 talk PFT-NOM-can₃-3s PFT-NEV-be:CD CON
 and he also could talk, mercy on him.

- 17c w-apa nə wurə w-əza tə ka-nəŋgli wu-je wu-tʰe
 3s:GEN-father CON CON 3s:GEN-son C NOM-deceive 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-reason
 So the way in which the father deceived his son was like this:

kə nə ʃu wu-je ʃu-mden ki ndə tə sok ʃu-mden
 PR CON firewood 3s-POSS three-branch IDEF that C manner tree-branch
 there was a tree that had a branch, a branch that was like so,

kə-ndo? w-əmba-j h-ata tʃe na ŋilək ki na-kə-jok kʰonə
 NOM-have 3s:GEN-near-LOC D-above LOC down stone IDEF PFT-NOM-hang CON
 and from it he suspended a stone, from above hanging downwards;

- 17d ŋilək ki na-kə-jok kʰonə rənə tʃə? tə sok ʃu-mden w-əmba
 stone IDEF PFT-NOM-hang CON CON this C manner tree-branch 3s:GEN-vicinity
 having hung the stone he set it swinging towards the tree trunk in such a way

sku nteŋ-ntəŋ-ntəŋ to-kə-cəs sok to-kə-sə-wa-w na-'a-ŋos
 upstream pok-pok-pok PFT-NOM-say manner PFT-NOM-CAUS-do-3s PFT-NEV-be
 that it sounded like 'pok pok pok', that's how he made it work.

- 18 w-ənge tə ʃastot kəne?k na-kə-phot kʰonə h-ata tʃe na ndə tə
 3s:GEN-clothes C shirt black PFT-NOM-tear CON D-up LOC down that C
 He tore up his black shirt

ʃu-wo na ndə kərek na-kə-jok-w na-'a-ŋos
 tree-head down that one PFT-NOM-hang-3s PFT-NEV-be
 and hung it from the top of the tree.

- 19a tʃə? ŋ-apa tə tʃə?-pu nə ʃu kə-phot nə kə-sa-ʃi
 this 1s:GEN-father C this-now CON firewood NOM-cut CON NOM-CAUS-know
 The boy thought: "This father of mine, he is now chopping wood; [but] the

w-əska?t kə to-mi? kʰonə tʰi 'nə-ŋos
 3s:GEN-sound PR IMPF-not.have CON what EV-be
 sound by which I know he is chopping wood is no longer there; so now what?

- 19b pəʃkʰa ndə 'na-cəs kʰonə kərek ʃi-natso-ŋ 'na-ra to-kə-səso-w
 just.now that OBS-say CON one VPT-see-1s OBS-need PFT-NOM-think-3s
 He told me about this just now, I must go and have a look.

- 19c na-rji tʃəʔ tʃe nə rə tamk^hu kəneʔk tə mənəŋos nə jaŋve tə
PFT-go₂ this LOC CON CON cloth black C FIL CON signal C
When he went down - the black cloth, since there was wind the signal
- k^halu kə to-kə-va-w k^honə tʃəʔ sok vej-vej-vej-vej to-kə-cəs
wind PR PFT-NOM-do-3s CON this manner flap-flap-flap-flap PFT-NOM-say
was waving about, making a sound like flap flap flap flap -
- k^honə tamk^hu w-arna-j kərek na-kə-məndə na-'a-ŋos
CON cloth 3s:GEN-bottom-LOC one PFT-NOM-arrive PFT-NEV-be
he arrived underneath the cloth.
- 20 to-miʔ tʃəʔ tʃe nə ndə w-əŋk^huʔ nə pəʒur w-asta
PSTIMP-not.have this LOC CON that 3s:GEN-after CON again 3s:GEN-origin
When he found that [his father] was not there, after that he went back up to the place he
- sto to-kə-nəjwa na-'a-ŋos
upwards PFT-NOM-return PFT-NEV-be
had come from.
- 21a w-asta to-kə-nəjwa k^honə tər^hu w-apa-j na-kə-ŋi
3s:GEN-origin PFT-NOM-return CON pine.tree 3s:GEN-below-LOC PFT-NOM-stay
He returned to the place where he had come from and stayed near the pine tree.
- 21 k^honə ndə k^honə pəʒu patʃu mda ki nə-kə-bzok pəʒu patʃu sta
CON that CON mouse bird spear IDEF PFT-NOM-carve mouse bird origin
Then he carved a spear that could kill a mouse or a bird.
- ka-sat na-kə-saʒa-w kə rə ʃiru kalaʔ ka-sat
NOM-kill PFT-NOM-begin-3s PR CON pheasant rabbit NOM-kill
He began to kill animals for food, starting with mice and birds, then moving on to
- na-kə-saʒa-w o
PFT-NOM-begin-3s MD:CF
killing pheasants and rabbits for food too.
- 22 w-əmp^hro tʃəʔ tʃe nə rə kəmənk^huʔ nə to-kə-k^hut tə k^honə
3s:GEN-after this LOC CON CON in.the.end CON PFT-NOM-can C CON
Afterwards, eventually, having mastered the skill of hunting, he began

karts^he kərek kənes kəsam kəpdu ndə tə sok ʃi ka-sat
 deer one two three four that C manner often NOM-kill
 killing one, two, three or four deer, often like that, for food you see.

na-kə-sa-ʃa-w 'nə-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-CAUS-begin-3s EV-be

- 23 karts^he kəmənʃk^hu? nə..... karts^he kəngu tər^hu ʒənder.....w-ap^hispok-j...
 deer in.the.end CON deer nine pine.tree huge 3s:GEN-armpit-LOC...
 In the end the deer, ..eh, nine deer and logs of a tree.... under his arm...

tər^hu ʒənder kəngu ʃu ka-rko manʃu? w-ap^hispok-j
 pine.tree huge nine firewood NOM-put moreover 3s:GEN-armpit-LOC
 he put nine logs for firewood under his armpit and under his other arm, eh, he put

mənaŋos nə karts^he kəngu w-əngem tə w-ap^hispok-j ka-rko
 FIL CON deer nine 3s:GEN-dead.body C 3s:GEN-armpit-LOC NOM-put
 the carcasses of nine deer and in such a way he was able to survive.

ndə sok w-ərsca tə kə to-kə-c^ha na-kə-ŋos 'nə-ŋos
 that manner 3s:GEN-likeness C PR PFT-NOM-able PFT-NOM-be EV-be

- 24 a rʃarpo kərgi nə nde w-əŋk^hu-j nə h-ana-j rə təjzə²³⁵
 ah king one CON that 3s:GEN-back-LOC CON D-below-LOC CON muster
 Well then, after that, a king down in the valley called the people together.

na-kə-sə-va-w na-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-CAUS-do-3s PFT-be

- 25 a tʃə? tə bdət tə kə sok ʃi-ŋo pəʒək sok wu-vəravlak-j loskiʒik
 ah this C demon C PR manner we:i-p again manner 3/1-exterminate-1p for.sure
 "Ah, this here demon again is sure to destroy us

²³⁵ A *təjzə* is a celebratory meeting specifically connected to victory over an enemy. The word here is used in anticipation, since the victory over the demon has not been won yet. But since the rGyalrong New Year is said to be the commemoration of this victory the word *təjzə* is at the root of the festival and thus imported into this story. I have chosen here to translate it *muster* because the battle against the demon is still forthcoming and the people are gathered to prepare for it.

k^honə t^hi ka-va me nə ndə k^hormanj stamce-ce tə
 CON what NOM-do CON CON that people all-RED C
 what to do? All the people need to get

təjzə ki ka-va ra to-ka-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 muster IDEF NOM-do need PFT-NOM:HON-say EV-be
 together and be mustered," he said.

- 26 k^hormanj stamce təjzə ki to-va-jn tʃəʔ tʃe ndə j-əmo
 people all muster IDEF PFT-do-3p this LOC that 1p:HON:GEN-mother
 When all the people came together for the muster, that old man and the old woman,

narə j-apa-ndʒ kə h-ardo tapt^hə tʃe na-kə-ŋi
 and 1p:HON:GEN-father-3d PR D-towards.river low.place LOC PFT-NOM-sit
 the two of them sat at the lower end.²³⁶

- 27a rə wastop skarme ki 'na-kəsna tso-jn nə wastop skarme
 CON very star IDEF OBS-good see-3p:HON CON very star
 Then they laboured to get a good divination done. When the excellent divination

'na-kəsna tso-jn tʃəʔ tʃe nə
 OBS-good see-3p:HON this LOC CON
 was in progress, [the astrologer] said:

- 27b a j-əmo j-apa ki kərscaŋ-zʃi kə-vi
 ah 1p:HON:GEN-mother 1p:HON:GEN-father IDEF eight-ten NOM-come
 "There are an old mother and an old father who are already in their eighties,

ki makəndʒa tavlu kəktu ki kə-vi ndʒ-apu? ki
 IDEF very age big IDEF NOM-come₁ 3d-child IDEF
 who are very very old indeed and who gave birth to a child.

na-kə-sci ki 'na-ndo?
 PFT-NOM-give.birth IDEF OBS-have

²³⁶ Traditionally in rGyalrong culture people are seated according to their social status and rank. The old parents had no status because they were very poor and had no rank in the king's court. They were seated at the far or lower end of the king's hall.

27c ndə tə tə kə tʃəʔ tə bdət tə ndə kə ka-pter mə-ji-c^ha nə
 that C C PR this C demon C that PR NOM-break²³⁷ COND-NEG/PFT-able CON
 If that child is not able to completely destroy that demon,

 ndə k^honə kə-c^ha miʔ-jn to-ka-cəs
 that CON NOM-able not.have-3p PFT-NOM/HON-say
 then no one else can. He is the only one."

28 tsopa-ni kə wastop skarme ki na-kə-tso-w w-əŋk^huʔ-j
 diviner-p:HON PR very star IDEF PFT-NOM-look-3s 3s:GEN-after-LOC
 That's what the diviner said after he had done a very careful divination.

 k^honə ndə to-ka-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 CON that PFT-NOM-say EV-be

29a²³⁸ rənə k^hormaŋ stamee to-ka-sə-bzə k^honə ndə tʃe nə
 CON people all PFT-NOM/HON-CAUS-call.together CON that LOC CON
 At at that time, when the people had all been called together, they said over and over

29b j-əmo j-apa-ndʒ nəŋʂo n-apuʔ
 1s:HON:GEN-mother 1p:HON:GEN-father-3d you 2s:GEN-child
 again: "Mother, father, what is your child like? What is your child like? What is your

 t^hi sok ndoʔ nəŋʂo n-apuʔ t^hi sok ndoʔ nəŋʂo n-apuʔ
 what manner have you 2s:GEN-child what manner have you 2s:GEN-child
 child like? [And they] continuously said: "What is really the case [about this child];

²³⁷ The verb *kapter* means 'break' in the sense of 'causing to be obedient or accept a ruler', as of 'breaking a horse'.

²³⁸ The following passage in the story gives the excited responses of the villagers to the pronouncement of the diviner. They know there is only one such old couple in their midst but have no idea about the existence of a child. They cluster around the old people and ask them incessantly (29). The old man answers that he got rid of the child a few years ago (30a). While the exchange with the villagers is going on the diviner, who does not know the couple, but is interested in the commotion, comes to see what is the matter (30b). Hearing the conversation, he concludes that this is the old couple indicated in his calculation, and that their child must be the one who can defeat the demon (30c). One of the more challenging aspects of rGyalrong narratives and conversation is that so many actors are not explicitly mentioned. In this passage, for instance, it is not at all clear who comes towards the old couple. Only the internal logic of the story – the fact that just before the hubbub caused by the villagers the diviner was the focus of the story – helps make the choice of the diviner as the person addressing the old couple in 30c.

t^hi sok ndo? t^hi sok ndo? ʃi t^hi to-kə-psok
 what manner have what manner have continuously what PFT-NOM-like
 what is the story?” – over and over (well eh) “what’s the story?” they said [in a way

ɲos ʃi (ndə tə wurə) t^hi to-kə-psok ɲos to-ka-cəs
 be continuously (that C CON) what PFT-NOM-like be PFT-NOM-say
 that demanded an answer], all of the people spoke like that to the ones who were sitting

- 29c k^honə w-əŋk^hu? ndə tə wu-je təpe
 CON 3s:GEN-behind that C 3s-POSS all.of.the.people
 there in the back.

- 30a rə ndɾamən kəsam kəbdu to-kə-pa 'na-ɲos nə ndə tapu?
 CON a.while three four PFT-NOM-year OBS-be CON that child
 “It’s been about three or four years, my getting rid of that child, about

ro-ka-ʃi-p^hət tə ndə tə ndə sok to-kə-pa
 PFT:to.mountain-NOM-VPT-throw C that C that manner PFT-NOM-year
 that many years have passed.

'na-ɲos k^honə
 OBS-be CON

- 30b ndə j-əmo j-apa ndʒ-əmba-j
 that 1p:HON:GEN-mother 1s:HON:GEN-father 3d:GEN-proximity-LOC
 [The diviner], when he came to where the old couple was,

rə-məndə tʃə? tʃe nə ndə tʃe na
 PFT:to.river-arrive this LOC CON that LOC down
 said to them:

- 30c a nənʒo ndə sok kə-vi tə wu-rtəs makəndɾa ndə k^honə
 ah 2s that manner NOM-come₁ C 3s:GEN-number different that CON
 “Well, the outcome of the calculation [of the divination] is amazing.

ndʒənʒo ndʒ-apu? kə-ŋər kə-ndo? 'nə-mi? k^honə ndʒənʒo
 2d 2d:GEN-child NOM-change NOM-have EV-not.have CON 2d
 your son, there is no doubt about it, your child is a king,

ndʒ-apu? rʒarpo ki 'nə-ŋos kʰonə ndʒənʒo ndʒa-pu? ka-vi
 2d-child king IDEF EV-be CON 2d 2d-child NOM-come
 and he must come [you must produce him]."

ra to-ka-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 need PFT-NOM/HON-say EV-be

- 31a rənə a ndə tʃəno tʃ-apu? nə kəsce-sce tʃəʔ-pu
 CON ah that 1d 1d:GEN-child CON before-RED here-now
 The old couple said: "Ah, yes, our child – some three or four years ago

kəsam kəpdu to-kə-pa sci kʰonə tʃ-apu? nə kə-ndo? mi?
 three four PFT-NOM-year be.born CON 1d:GEN-child CON NOM-have not.have
 a child was born to us but now we don't have a child.

- 31b kə-mi?
 NOM-not.have
 No we don't at all.

- 31c wu-tʃʰe kə-ndo? mi? kʰonə tʰi ʒik a ka-ʃi-naro
 3s:GEN-information NOM-have not.have CON what also ah NOM-VPT-search
 We have no information, no idea about this child, no clue as to where one, ah,

wu-spe nə kə-ndo? mi? to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 3s-material CON NOM-have not.have PFT-NOM-say EV-be
 should go to look for it."

- 32 rʒarpo kə kə-mi? ma-kə-kʰut ʃi ma-ka-vi ma-kə-jok
 king PR NOM-not.have NEG-NOM-can MD:THR NEG-NOM-come NEG-NOM-allow
 Then the king said: "You can't not have him, or else... It is not allowed for him

ʃi to-ka-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 MD:THR PFT-NOM/HON-say EV-be
 not to be produced, or there will be consequences."

- 33 rənə kʰonə j-apa nə wu-kə-naro
 CON CON 1s:HON:GEN-father CON 3s:GEN-NOM-search
 So the father had no choice but to go and look for the child.

ro-kə-r̥ji 'na-kə-ra na-'a-ŋos
 PFT:to.mountain-NOM-go₂ OBS-NOM-need PFT-NEV-be

- 34 j-apa nə wu-kə-naro ro-kə-r̥ji
 1s:HON:GEN-father CON 3s:GEN-NOM-search PFT:to.mountain-NOM-go₂
 So the father went to look for him.

k^honə w-aka tʃəʔ tʃe nə ndə tə w-əmba-j
 CON 3s:GEN-bottom this LOC CON that C 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC
 At the place from before, when he arrived at that place

ro-məndə tʃəʔ tʃe nə j-apa nə k^honə
 PFT:to.mountain-arrive this LOC CON 1p:HON:GEN-old.man CON CON
 the old man – now, beside [that place] there was a pile of bones like this,

o w-arnam-j ʃarə rərep tə tʃəʔ tə sok təjeʔm kəpsok kəktu
 MD:CF 3s:GEN-side-LOC bone pile C this C manner house similar big
 as big as a house; bones of the purest white piled up in a great expanse

ʃarə rərep kəpraʔm zijok-zijok sa kə rərep
 bone pile white EXP:bright.and.expansive earth PR pile
 on the ground - there was someone there who had made that pile!

to-ka-səva na-kə-ndoʔ na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-do PFT-NOM-have PFT-NEV-be

- 35 a tʃəʔ tə nəŋjo n-əza tə wu-kə-ndza tə w-arnam tʃəʔ
 ah this C you 2s:GEN-son C 3s:GEN-NOM-eat C 3s:GEN-side this
 [The old father said to himself:] "Oh, this one....the one who ate your son....

tə ʃarə rərep kə-sə-va tə nəŋjo n-əza tə to-kə-ndza ʃi k^honə
 C bone pile NOM-CAUS-do C you 2s:GEN-son C PFT-NOM-eat MD:HON CON
 the one who made this pile of bones here to the side, he surely ate your son.

t^hi a-to-va-ŋ ŋə-ka-tsep nə kə-ndoʔ miʔ k^honə
 what IRR-PFT-do-1s 1s:GEN-NOM-take CON NOM-have not. have CON
 What to do? There is nothing for me to bring home!" he was convinced.

to-kə-so
 PFT-NOM-think

- 36 j-apa nə makəndʒa to-kə-nəsu to-kə-ʒdar
 1s:HON:GEN-old.man CON very PFT-NOM-believe PFT-NOM-afraid₂
 The old man very much believed [that his son had been eaten] and was terribly scared

na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NEV-be
 [that the king would punish him for not delivering the boy].

- 37 rə tərphu w-awo-j to-kə-rji kʰonə wamo
 CON pine.tree 3s:GEN-top-LOC PFT-NOM-go₂ CON what.on.earth
 Nevertheless he climbed to the top of the tree – “I’ll have a look at whatever is

tʰi sok 'nə-ŋos kərek natso-ŋ kʰonə tərphu w-awo sto
 what manner OBS-be one see-1s CON pine.tree 3s:GEN-top upwards
 coming!” - so he climbed up to the top of the tree,

to-kə-rji kʰonə w-awo mdzo-j w-əla-j to-kə-rji
 PFT-NOM-go₂ CON 3s:GEN-top tip-LOC 3s:GEN-middle-LOC PFT-NOM-go₂
 to the centre of the top of the tree he went, and from there he kept on looking down

ndə na rənə ana-j kə-vi tə ʃi
 that downwards CON below-LOC NOM-come₁ C continuously
 to see who would come below.

na-kə-natso na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-see PFT-NEV-be

- 38 kərek ji-vu tʃə? tʃe nə satʃʰe ka-sadəkdek
 one PFT-come₂ this LOC CON earth NOM-shake
 Right at the approach of someone below, the earth began to shake.

w-apʰispok-j kə-təcu mənəŋos nə tərphu ʒənder kəngu ʃu
 3s:GEN-earmpit-LOC one-opening FIL CON pine.tree huge nine wood
 Under his one arm, really, he had nine logs of firewood and

na-kə-ndo? manʃu? kə-təcu mənəŋos nə kartsʰe kəngu
 PFT-NOM-have moreover one-opening FIL CON deer nine
 under his other arm he had nine dead deer;

w-əngem tə w-ap^hispok-j kə-təcu ndə tə sok na-kə-kcar
 3s:GEN-dead.body C 3s:GEN-armpit-LOC one-opening that C manner PFT-NOM-carry
 under his arms, like that,

ndi ji-kə-vu k^honə tərpu kəngu ʃu tə
 towards.speaker PFT-NOM-come₂ CON pine.tree nine wood C
 he came up carrying all that;

to-kə-plu-w k^honə w-ərka-j karts^he kəngu tə kə ka-sa-pu
 PFT-NOM-burn-3s CON 3:GEN-top-LOC deer nine C PR NOM-CAUS-roast
 he made a fire of the nine logs and roasted the nine deer on it,

rənə to-kə-ndza-w na-'a-ŋos
 CON PFT-NOM-eat-3s PFT-NEV-be
 and then he ate.

- 39 to-ʃkut tʃəʔ tʃe nə a h-ata nə w-əsto-j
 PFT-finish.meal this LOC CON ah D-above CON 3s:GEN-lap-LOC
 When he had finished eating -

makəndʒa to-kə-ʒdar k^honə w-aʃcu ʒik nə-kə-ʃlak na-'a-ŋos
 very PFT-NOM -afraid₂ CON 3s:GEN-pee also PFT-NOM-drip PFT-NEV-be
 you see, the one up above was so terribly scared that he pissed in his pants,

wə-ʒdar kə
 3s:GEN-afraid₂ PR:REASON
 because of his fear.

- 40 w-apa nə wə-ʒdar kə w-aʃcu nə-ʃlak tʃəʔ tʃe nə
 3s:GEN-father CON 3s:GEN-afraid₂ PR:REASON 3s:GEN-pee PFT-drip this LOC CON
 While his father was so scared that he wet his pants,

w-əza w-ajiʔk w-əŋk^huʔ təʃuʔ c^hot c^hot c^hot kə-cəs kə
 3s:GEN-son 3s:GEN-back 3s:GEN-back water pling pling pling NOM-say PR
 water came spashing pling pling pling onto the back of his son's hand.

na-kə-vu na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-come₂ PFT-NEV-be

- 41 rə a t^{hi}i kə-ŋos menə to-kə-so
 CON ah what NOM-be CON PFT-NOM-think
 "What on earth is the matter here?" he thought.
- 42 kərek to-natso-w tʃəʔ tʃe nə ndə tʃe nə w-apa
 one PFT:up-look-3s this LOC CON that LOC CON 3s:GEN-father
 When he looked up, just then, he saw the one who was just then sitting up there!
- h-ata tʃəʔ tʃe kə-ŋi tə na-kə-məto-w na-'a-ŋos
 D-above this LOC NOM-sit C PFT-NOM-see-3s PFT-NEV-be
- 43a a ŋ-apa ŋə-tə-ŋos-n k^honə kərek na-'vi-n
 ah 1s:GEN-father 1s-2-be-2s CON one IMP:down-come₁-2s
 "Hey, my father, it's you! Come on down.
- 43b tawo ʒik ʒa-ŋa-məmtə-dʒ k^honə aha tʃəʔ ʒə-nipa ja
 before also NEG/PFT-REC-see-1d CON INT this NEG/PFT-well MD:SUP
 We didn't see each other before; oh dear, this really wasn't done very well,"
- to-kə-cəs k^honə
 PFT-NOM-say CON
 he said.²³⁹
- 43c rənə apa ndə na-'vi-n t^{hi}i ʒik təʒder ma-ra
 CON father that IMP:down-come₁-2s what also fear NEG-need
 And then, "Father, come on down, there is no need at all to have any fear.
- 43d ŋa n-əza ŋos-ŋ
 1s 2s:GEN-son be-1s
 I'm your son.
- 43e rə w-aka tʃəʔ tʃe ndə na-kə-pso ŋos ndə sok
 CON 3s:GEN-before this LOC that PFT-NOM-compare be that manner
 The way it was before,

²³⁹ This sentence expresses the son's embarrassment about not noticing his father up in the tree earlier, before he ate all the meat, leaving nothing for his father. It is a good example of rGyalrong hospitality: any host would be mortified at having unexpected guests and finding himself unable to provide even the smallest refreshment for them.

rjarə nə ɛʝi-je kəsce como ka-cəs na-kə-ŋgrel
 meat CON 1p-POSS before *como* NOM-say PFT-NOM-be.used.to
 meat – we used to say ‘*como*’²⁴⁰ –

ndə w-əngu tʃəʔ tʃe wuvjot ki rə-kə-kʰit kʰonə
 that 3s:GEN-inside this LOC much IDEF PFT:toward. river-NOM-pull CON
 he pulled lots of meat from there [between his teeth];

46 rə rjarə nə la wuvjot to-kə-ndza-w 'nə-ŋos
 CON meat CON MD:SA much PFT-NOM-eat-3s EV-be
 [A-myis Sgo-ldong] you see ate lots of meat; [and he pulled enough from between his

47 w-apa nə kəndzət e tʃəʔ sok kəndzət me la
 3s:GEN-father CON a.tiny.bit eh this like a.tiny.bit only MD:SA
 teeth to fill a *como*, so that] his father could eat no more than only

ka-ndza ʝi-kə-cʰa na-'a-ʃci
 NOM-eat NEG/PFT-NOM-able PFT-NEV-be:CD
 the smallest amount [of it], more's the pity.

48 tawo w-əʃwa na-kə-nakjok tə la ndə wu-je sto
 before 3s:GEN-tooth PFT-NOM-pick.one's.teeth C MD:SA that 3s-POSS up
 The meat that he had picked out from between his teeth before, he pulled out

ndə sok kərʝik rə-kə-kʰit na-'a-stʃi
 that manner EXP:a.big.pile PFT:towards.river-NOM-pull PFT-NEV-be:CD
 before his father in such a huge pile – mercy -

kʰonə ndə.kʰo kəndzət me nə kandza ʝi-kə-cʰa
 CON no.way.but a.tiny.bit only CON eat NEG/PFT-NOM-able
 that he had no way to eat but only a tiny little bit of it.

²⁴⁰ A *como* is a tray or trough shaped implement fashioned from a hollowed out block of wood used for kneading dough or butter. It has a volume of about ten liters. Nomadic herders used them because they were movable. rGyalrong farmers now usually have fold-up tables that are built into a wall of the communal kitchen for preparing dough.

49a a ŋ-əza c^hasumtʃ^he rjarpo kə nə ŋa nə
 ah 1s:GEN-boy please²⁴¹ king PR CON I CON
 "My dear boy, please, the king - I

tʃəʔ tə sok kə-tə-ndoʔ-n nə t^hi ʒik ma-'nə-ʃi-ŋ k^honə
 this C manner NOM-2-have-2s CON what also NEG-OBS-know-1s CON
 had no idea whatsoever that you were [still] alive like this -

49b rjapo kə nə tʃəʔ tə rə nəŋo nə-je kərscaŋ-zji
 king PR CON this C CON you 2s-POSS eight-ten
 the king said this, that you, the son of old people in their eighties,

ji-mo-ji-pa kə-ŋu tə kərscaŋ-zji kə-vi-jn
 1s:HON:GEN-mother-1s:HON:GEN-father NOM-stay C eight-ten NOM-come₁-2p
 the child of you two old people in their eighties -

tʃəʔ tʃe ndʒ-apuʔ kə ndə tə tə mənəŋos nə ndə tə tə bdət tə wu-je
 this LOC 2d-child PR that C C FIL CON that C C demon C 3s-POSS
 really, he is the one who is able to destroy the demon;

wu-kə-pter kə-c^ha tə nə ndə tə me nə kə-maʔk
 3s:GEN-NOM-destroy NOM-able C CON that C only CON NOM-not.be
 Except for him, there is no one else [who can do it].

kə-ndoʔ miʔ na-cəs-jn k^honə
 NOM-have not.have PFT-say-1s:HON CON

49c ŋa nə tʃəʔ-pu tʃəʔ sok kə-tə-ndoʔ-n kə-ŋos nə ma-'nə-ʃi-ŋ
 I CON this-now this manner NOM-2-have-2s NOM-be CON NEG-OBS-know-1s
 I had no idea about your being alive

k^honə
 CON

50 w-əŋk^huʔ-j nə kə-tə-ndoʔ-jn sok rə
 3s:GEN-back-LOC CON NOM-2-have-2s:HON manner CON
 And then - I had no idea that you were still alive in this manner -

²⁴¹ Professor Āwàng spells this word སྐལ་སྤྱོད་མཆོག་ (skyabs su mche) in his lexicon of the bTshanlha dialect. The term can be used either to request a favour, like 'please' or as an expression of gratitude, 'thank you' and normally occurs in situations that call for respectful terms of address.

ma-'nə-ʃi-ŋ kʰonə ma-ka-va-naro-n nə ma-'nə-jok
 NEG-OBS-know-1s CON NEG-NOM-VPT-look.for-1/2 CON NEG-OBS-allow
 I had no option but to come and search for you;

r̥jarpo kəpke 'nə-ŋos kʰonə nə-kə-naro
 king authority EV-be CON 2s:GEN-NOM-look.for
 the king is the law so I came to look for you.

ro-vu-ŋ
 PFT:to.mountain-come₂-1s

- 51 h-ardu rə mənəŋos nə rənə ma-kə-vi-n nə ma-kə-jok ju
 D-below CON FIL CON FIL NEG-NOM-come₁-2s CON NEG-NOM-allow MD:C
 Over there in the valley...eh, well, you absolutely must come

stʃi na-cəs
 be:CD PFT-say
 he said over and over again.

- 52 ha ndə mənəŋos nə rtsamko ki ndə tə tə rə-'tsep-w
 well that FIL CON rtsam.pa.bag IDEF that C C IMP:to.river-take-2s
 Ok, well, [said the son,] take this here rtsam-pa bag.

- 53 w-əŋkʰu? manju? mənəŋos nə ə tangor kəngu mpʰjar tərscoḱ
 3s:GEN-back besides FIL CON eh side.of.fat nine CL *tərscoḱ*
 And you must also, eh, have a *tərscoḱ*²⁴² made of nine sides of pork fat with the

ka-sə-tʃop ra
 INF-CAUS-sew need
 skin still on it.

- 54 ə tartsi kəngu mpʰjar w-artu ka-sə-tʃop ra
 eh lard nine CL 3s:GEN-hat INF-CAUS-sew need
 [And] eh you must have a hat made of nine sheets of lard.

- 55 manju? mənəŋos nə ʃam-rstʃa? pərja-kərscaṭ-zji tərpa kəṭʰot
 besides FIL CON iron-claw hundred-eight-ten pound full.measure
 Besides you need to make a rake²⁴³, one that weighs fully

²⁴² A *tərscoḱ* is a traditional Tibetan robe made of skins worn with the leather side out and the fleece on the inside.

wu-je ʃam-ʃtʰat ki ka-va ra
 3s-POSS iron-claw IDEF INF-make need
 one hundred and eighty pounds.

- 56 ʃam-to mənəŋos nə pərʃa-kərscat-zʃi tərpa ki kətʰot
 iron-hammer FIL CON hundred-eight-ten pound IDEF full.measure
 [And] you have to make an iron hammer that weighs fully one hundred and eighty

wu-je wu-ʃam-to ki ka-va ra
 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-iron-hammer IDEF INF-make need
 pounds.

- 57 ʒonpjak²⁴⁴ mənəŋos nə pərʃa-kərscat-zʃi tərpa kətʰot
 shovel FIL CON hundred-eight-ten pound full.measure
 [and] a shovel that weighs fully one hundred and eighty pounds.

wu-je wu-ʒonpjak ki ka-va ra
 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-shovel IDEF INF-make need

- 58 tʃəʔ tə w-əŋkʰuʔ tʃəʔ tʃe tʃəʔ tə ŋə-rtse-kʰok tə mənəŋos nə
 this C 3s:GEN-back this LOC this C 1s:GEN-deer-bag C FIL CON
 After that, you have to fill up my deerskin meat bag

ŋə-candru ʃa-kʰok tə ndə tə w-əngu tʃəʔ tʃe rənə
 1s:GEN-deerskin meat-bag C that C 3s:GEN-in this LOC CON
 with lots of rtsam-pa.

təskar wuvjot ki ka-rko ra ə
 rtsam.pa much IDEF INF-put need eh

²⁴³ There is a pun here. The word for ‘rake’, *ʃamkʰret*, literally means ‘iron claw’. Later in the story A-myis Sgo-ldong will have a contest in clawing. The demon only has his own claw of flesh and blood but A-myis Sgo-ldong uses his ‘iron claw’ and wins. Throughout the contests A-myis Sgo-ldong uses giant versions of tools and implements intimately familiar from rGyalrong farmers’ daily life. In this way the story shows that with inventivity and enterprise simple farming folk can overcome adversity and misfortune and affirms the farmer’s identity and values. For more on the central role of the A-myis Sgo-ldong story in rGyalrong culture, see Prins 2007.

²⁴⁴ A *ʒonpjak* is an implement used in baking bread. The dough is put on a flat iron surface connected to a long handle, and the whole put on the open fire. Once the bread is somewhat cooked it is shoved into the hot ashes, after which the *ʒonpjak* is withdrawn until the bread is done. The *ʒonpjak* is the natural complement of the *como* or baking trough.

- 59 manʃuʔ mənəŋos nə k^hamgok²⁴⁵ jiʃo mbotaʃam ka-cəs tə
 besides FIL CON pressure.cooker we:i *mbotaʃam* NOM-say C
 And also you need a pressure cooker, what we call a '*mbotaʃam*',
- təjam kəpaʔ-jam kəktu makəndʒa w-ərsca tə
 pot Chinese-pot big exceedingly 3s:GEN-likeness C
 which is similar to an exceedingly big Chinese pot,
- ndə tə w-əŋgi-j c^hədə kəngu təjam ka-va ra to-kə-cəs
 that C 3s:GEN-inside-LOC porridge nine pot INF-make need PFT-NOM-say
 you need to make nine pots of porridge," the son said.
- na-ŋos
 PFT-be
- 60 ndə-ŋo 'to-sa-va-va-jn k^ho ŋa ndə wu-zakma tʃəʔ tʃe kərek
 that-p PFT-CAUS-prepare-RED-3p CON I that 3s:GEN-time this LOC one
 "When you are done preparing all that, on that day I will come," he said
- ŋgo-ŋ to-ka-cəs nə
 go.upstream-1s PFT-NOM/HON-say CON
- 61 wurənə rʒapo kə nə ndə sok c^ha-ŋ kə-cəs tə nə noskiʒik
 CON king PR CON that manner capable-1s NOM-say C CON of.course
 The king [thought or said]: "If he says he can do it like that, then sure, let's do it!"
- 62 ŋk^hormanʃ nə təpʃe kə-va stamce tə to-'a-sa-məmtə k^honə
 people CON blacksmith NOM-do all C PFT-NEV-CAUS-meet CON
 [He] got all the people who were blacksmiths to meet together in order to do the
- ʃam-rstʃaʔ ʃam-to ʒoŋpjak ndə-ŋo təpʃə kə-va-ŋi kə
 iron-claw iron-hammer shovel that-p blacksmith NOM-do-p PR
 forging; the blacksmiths all began to make that iron claw, and the iron
- ka-səva na-kə-saʃo-w 'nə-ŋos
 NOM-prepare PFT-NOM-begin-3s EV-be
 hammer, and the shovel.

²⁴⁵ A *k^hamgok* is an early version of a high pressure cooker. It is a pot the lid of which fits very tightly so that no steam can escape. This sort of pot was often used for cooking meat. Since meat is cooked in large quantities and in huge chunks, the pots for cooking meat are very large.

63a ə nk^hormanɣ-ni mənəŋos nə wu-rtse-k^hok tə mənəŋos nə
 eh people-p FIL CON 3s:GEN-deer-bag C FIL CON
 The people eh....the deerskin bag.....

ndə tə tə w-əŋgu tʃə? tʃe a rjapo kə tʃə? sok w-ərscat
 that C C 3s:GEN-inside this LOC ah king PR this manner 3s:GEN-likeness
 in that bag at that time...ah, the king said: “Oh well, a bag [so puny] as this,

tə narənə ŋə-ʃo ŋame kə-pjot jok to-kə-cəs na-ŋos rə
 C CON 1s:GEN-self own NOM-fill permit PFT-NOM-say PFT-be CON
 I myself can take care of filling it up on my own.”

63b wuʃo w-ərgo wastop kəktu kə-ndo? stamce tə na-rko-w
 he 3s:GEN-grain very big NOM-have all C PFT-put-3s
 When he had put all the grain that he had, a very large amount indeed, in the bag -

tʃə? tʃe w-apa tʃe rscamja²⁴⁶ ki sok me nə ndo? kə
 this LOC 3s:GEN-bottom LOC pinch IDEF manner only CON have PR
 mercy, there was only a tiny bit in the bottom of the bag, like the pinch one

na-kə-mi? na-^la-stʃi
 PFT-NOM-not.have PFT-NEV-be:CD
 puts in a tea bowl!

64 ndə k^hormanɣ-ni stamce tə-ni ndə tə təʃəm kərek
 that people-p all C-p that C kitty one
 [But] when the people all pulled together, each giving a little bit,

na-va-jn tʃə? tʃe ndə tʃe nə rtsam-k^hot tə ka-pjot na-^la-c^ha-jn
 PFT-do-3p this LOC that LOC CON rtsam.pa-bag C NOM-fill PFT-NEV-able-3p
 they were able to fill up the bag, that's what is said.

ka-cəs ^lnə-ŋos
 NOM-say EV-be

²⁴⁶ Before pouring tea rGyalrong people often put a pinch of rtsam-pa in their bowl. This small amount of rtsam-pa is called the *rscamja*. For lack of a better term I translate it here as ‘pinch’.

64 ndə rtsam-k^hok ka-pjot na-kə-c^ha-jn ndə nə stombrel na-kə-ndo?
 that rtsam.pa-bag NOM-fill PFT-NOM-able-3p that CON celebration PFT-NOM-have
 It is said that after they had managed to fill up that bag they held a celebration.²⁴⁷

na-kə-ŋos ka-cəs 'nə-ŋos
PFT-NOM-be NOM-say EV-be

65 ə ndə w-əŋk^hu? nə ndə wu-ʒakma tʃe rʃi-ŋ to-kə-cəs
 eh that 3s:gen-back CON that 3:GEN-time LOC come₂-1s PFT-NOM-say
 Well, then - he had said that he would come at that time [when the people had finished

wu-ʒakma tə tʃe nə rənə na-ka-vu-jɪn ˈnə-ŋos
 3s:GEN-day C LOC CON CON PFT-NOM/HON-come₂-1s:HON EV-be
 all the preparations], and right at that time he did come!

66 na-kə-vu-jn k^honə ndə rə ə c^hədə narə kəngu tajam ndə tə
 PFT-NOM-come-1s:HON CON that CON eh porridge FIL nine pot that C
 He came, and the nine pots that were sitting there,

tə-ni tə tɔjam makəndʒa kəkʈu w-əŋgi tʃəʔ tʃe
C-p C pot exceedingly big 3:GEN-inside this LOC
those exceedingly big pots full of porridge -

kə-kə-ʃkut na-¹a-ŋos
PFT-NOM-finish PFT-NEV-be
he polished off everything that was in those pots.

67 rə ndə ɲ-ərsco:k mənaɲos nə tangor kəngu mp^hjar tə
 CON that 1s:HON:GEN-clothes FIL CON side nine sheet C
 Then about his clothes, he put on the robe that was made out of nine sides of

to-kə-nə-wat-w	na- ¹ a-ŋos
PFT-NOM-EREFL-put.on-3s	PFT-NEV-be
pork-fat including the skin,	

²⁴⁷ Since the king could not fill the bag, the chances of enlisting A-myis Sgo-ldong's help in defeating the demon diminished rapidly. The moral here is, of course, that when people work together they can accomplish what one individual cannot.

- 68 w-artu mənəŋos nə tartsi kəngu mp^hjar wu-je w-artu tə
 3s:GEN-hat FIL CON lard nine sheets 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-hat C
 the hat that was made of nine sheets of lard he put on.

to-kə-nə-taʔ-w na-^la-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-EREFL-put.on-3s PFT-NEV-be

- 69 ʃam-to pərja-kərscaŋ-zji tərpa kə-t^hot tə
 iron-hammer hundred-eight-ten pound NOM-full.measure C
 The iron hammer that weighed fully one hundred and eighty pounds,

ʒoŋpja pərja-kərscaŋ-zji tərpa kə-t^hot tə
 shovel hundred-eight-ten pound NOM-full.measure C
 the shovel that weighed fully one hundred and eighty pounds,

ʃam-rstʃaʔ mənəŋos nə pərja-kərscaŋ-zji tərpa kə-t^hot tə
 iron-claw FIL CON hundred-eight-ten pound NOM-full.measure C
 and the iron claw that weighed fully one hundred pounds,

ndə tə-ŋo ɲ-apk^he no-kə-nə-rko-ɲn rənə
 that C-p 3s:HON:GEN-fold.of.robe AF-NOM-EREFL-put-3s:HON CON
 he put them in the fold (breastflap, bossom) of his robe.

kə-kə-rji-ɲn na-kə-ŋos ka-cəs ^lnə-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-go₂-3s:HON PFT-NOM-be NOM-say EV-be
 And so he set out, it is said.

- 70 ha kə-rji-ɲn tʃəʔ tʃe nə wuʃo nə rjapo kə kərgi tə
 well PFT-go₂-3s:HON this LOC CON he CON king PR:ERG one C
 Well, he set out, and in the meantime he [the demon] had killed off one king;

na-kə-raklat k^honə ndə wu-rjasep w-əŋgi na-kə-nə-ɲu
 PFT-NOM-destroy CON that 3s:GEN-king's.seat 3s:GEN-in PFT-NOM-EREFL-live
 he himself moved into that king's palace and lived there.

na-nə-scit k^honə
 PFT-EREFL-move CON

- 71 rənə wu-k^hambu²⁴⁸ sto-j jawnəjaw jawnəjaw ʃo
 CON 3s:GEN-yard upwards-LOC hey hey continuously
 From below at street level someone was calling up again and again: "Hey, hello there!"
- to-kə-ʃi-cəs na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-VPT-say PFT-NEV-be
 Hey!"
- 72 ha rə w-əza stoŋ kəktu tə w-əmba-j ŋa ŋ-əmba-j
 well CON 3s:GEN-son SUP big C 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC I 1s:GEN-vicinity-LOC
 So he said to his oldest son: "Someone is calling me over and over,
- jaw ʃi kə-və-cəs k^honə ndə si ka-cəs tə 'nə-ŋos kərek
 hey often NOM-VPT-say CON that who NOM-say C EV-be one
 go and see who it is that is calling."
- na-ʃi-na'tso-w to-kə-cəs na-'a-ŋos
 IMP-VPT-see-2s PFT-NOM-say PFT-NEV-be
- 73 kərek na-ʃi-natso-w wu-tʃe-j aha ŋ-apa n-aka-j ʒik
 one PFT-VPT-see-3s 3s:GEN-here-LOC oho 1s:GEN-father 2s:GEN-bottom-LOC also
 After [the son] had gone to look [he returned] and said, "Oh boy, dad, there is someone
- kənəmdok ki wu-gzək kəmdok ki 'nə-ŋos to-kə-cəs na-'a-ŋos
 strong IDEF 3s:GEN-build strong IDEF EV-be PFT-NOM-say PFT-NEV-be
 out there who is stronger than you, handsome and well-built, his strength is greater!"
- 74 rə jaw to-ʃi-cəs tʃe nə²⁴⁹ a n-apa w-əmba-j ana
 CON hey PFT-VPT-say LOC CON eh 2s: GEN-father 3s: GEN-vicinity-LOC below
 When he [the oldest son] went [back] to answer [A-myis Sgo-ldong's call], [A-myis
- kərek naro-n to-ʃi-'cəs to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 one look.for²⁵⁰-2s IMP-VPT-say PFT-NOM-say EV-be
 Sgo-ldong] said: 'Go tell your father to come down and meet me here.'"

²⁴⁸ Traditional rGyalrong houses have a stable for livestock on the ground floor, with an enclosed yard attached to it. The yard is called the *k^hambu*. On the second level is the main floor with the communal kitchen and living room, and the main door of the house. Visitors to the house will call up from the yard at ground level for admittance.

²⁴⁹ The person calling here is the son, who, after reporting to his father that there is a strong person standing outside, goes back to see what this person actually wants.

²⁵⁰ The verb *kanaro* means both 'look for' and 'meet'.

- 75a ndə nə rənə w-apa n-aka-j kənəmdok ki 'nə-ŋos
that CON CON 3s:GEN-father 2s:GEN-bottom-LOC strong IDEF EV-be
When the son told his father that there really was one out there stronger than him,
- 75b n-apa w-əmba-j ana ki naro-n na-'a-cəs
2s:GEN-father 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC below IDEF meet-2s PFT-NEV-say
who had told him [the son] to tell his father to come down and meet with him,
- to-kə-cəs tʃe na-ŋos
PFT-NOM-say LOC PFT-be
- 75c kən^haʔm ŋə-ʃo ŋ-aka-j kənəmdok si 'na-ndoʔ to-kə-cəs
stupid 1s-self 1s:GEN-bottom-LOC strong who OBS-have PFT-NOM-say
[the father] said "You stupid boy, who can there be that is stronger than I am??"
- w-əza w-əʒba-j ki kərek nə-kə-laʔt w-əza
3s:GEN-son 3s:GEN-cheek-LOC IDEF one PFT-NOM-hit₂ 3s:GEN-son
and he dealt his son a blow on the cheek, [so that]
- ler na-kə-nə-sat na-'a-ŋos
EXP:instantly PFT-NOM-EREFL-kill PFT-NEV-be
with one fell blow he instantly killed his son.
- 76 rə pəʒik w-əza təli ki na-kə-ndoʔ na-'a-ŋos
CON still 3s:GEN-son middle IDEF PFT-NOM-have PFT-NEV-be
There was still a second son.
- 77 w-əza təli tə kə ha jawnəjaw jawnəjaw ʃi na-kə-cəs k^honə
3:-son middle C PR oh hey hey often PFT-NOM-say CON
That second son, since there was this incessant calling of "hey, hey hello there!",
- pəʒik ndə ma-ka-ʃi-natso nə ʃo-kə-k^hut k^honə
still that NEG-NOM-VPT-see CON NEG/PFT-NOM-can CON
that [second one] had no option but to go and see, so
- w-əza təli tə nə-kə-ɾʃi na-'a-ŋos
3:GEN-son middle C PFT-NOM-go₂ PFT-NEV-be
the second son went out.

78a w-əza təli tə nə-rji tʃəʔ tʃe nə ndə tʃe nə pəʒik a ŋ-apa
 3:GEN-son middle C PFT-go₂ this LOC CON that LOC CON still well 1s:GEN-father
 When the second son had gone out [and looked], at that time he also said to his father:

ŋ-ajze nə na-tə-sat -w menə kə-ŋər kə-mi? nəŋo
 1s:GEN-older.brother CON PFT-2-kill-3s CON NOM-change NOM-not.be you
 "Well, father, even killing my older brother isn't going to change anything:

n-aka-j kənəmdok ki 'nə-ŋos
 2s:GEN-bottom-LOC strong IDEF EV-be
 there is one stronger than you [out there]. That one said:

78b ja n-apa w-əmba-j ana-j kərek na-'vi-n to-'cəs-n
 ya 2s:GEN-father 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC below-LOC one IMP-come-2s IMP-say-2s
 "Listen, tell your father to come on down."

na-cəs k^honə
 PFT-say CON

78c ŋə-ʒo w-aka-j kənəmdok si 'na-ndo? to-kə-cəs
 1s:GEN-self 3s:GEN-vicinity -LOC strong who OBS-have PFT-NOM-say
 "Who is there that is stronger than I am!" [the father] said,

78d w-əʒba-j kərek nə-ka-laʔt na-'a-ŋos
 3s:GEN-cheek-LOC one PFT-NOM-hit PFT-NEV-be
 [and] he dealt him a blow to his face.

79 pəʒik w-əza təli tə na-kə-nə-sat na-'a-ŋos
 still 3s:GEN-son middle C PFT-NOM-EREFL-kill PFT-NEV-be
 He himself killed his second son.

80 pəʒik jawŋəjaw jawŋəjaw ʃi to-kə-cəs k^honə
 still hey hey often PFT-NOM-say CON
 Still there was this ongoing calling: "Hey, hey!"

81a ha w-əza stoŋ kətsu w-əmba-j nəŋo nə-ʃi-na'tso-w
 well 3s:GEN-son SUP small 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC you IMP-VPT-see-2s
 Well, [then] he said to his youngest son: "You go and have a look."

to-kə-cəs
 PFT-NOM-say

- 81b wurə w-əza tə nə stoŋ kətsu tə pəzɪk kərek nə-kə-ʃi-natso-w rənə
 CON 3s:GEN-son C CON SUP small C still one PFT-NOM-VPT-see-3s CON
 So when his youngest son had gone to have a look, [he came back] and said:
- 82c he haha ŋ-apa nəŋɔ n-aka-j kənəmdok ki 'nə-ŋos kʰonə
 oh well 1s:GEN-father you 2s:GEN-bottom-LOC strong IDEF EV-be CON
 "Really, father, there is one who is stronger than you [down there],
- n-apa w-əmba-j ana sku-j kərek na-'vi-n nə
 2s:GEN-father 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC down upstream-LOC one IMP-come-2s CON
 he told me to tell you to come down.
- to-'cəs-n na-cəs kʰonə
 IMP-say-2s PFT-say CON
- 82d nəŋɔ n-aka-j kənəmdok 'nə-ŋos
 you 2s:GEN-LOC strong EV-be
 He is stronger than you.
- 82e ŋ-ajze-ndʒ kəpəs tə na-tə-sat-w menə nəŋɔ n-aka-j
 1s:GEN-older.brother-3d two C PFT-2-kill-2s CON you 2s:GEN-bottom-LOC
 Even though you killed both my older brothers, there is one who is stronger than you."
- ʒɪk kənəmdok ki 'nə-ŋos to-kə-cəs
 also strong IDEF EV-be PFT-NOM-be
- 82f ŋə-ʃo ŋ-aka-j kənəmdok si 'na-ndoʔ to-kə-cəs
 1s:GEN-self 1s:GEN-bottom-LOC strong who OBS-have PFT-NOM-say
 "Who is there that is stronger than me??" [the father] said.
- 82g pəzɪk w-əʒba-j nə-kə-laʔt-w ler na-kə-nə-sat-w
 still 3s:GEN-cheek-LOC PFT-NOM-hit-3s EXP:instantly PFT-NOM-EREFL-kill-w
 And with one swift blow he killed him instantly.
- na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NEV-be
- 83 a jawnəjaw ʃi to-kə-cəs kʰonə ndə kʰonə hawə w-arjaʔp
 ah hey often PFT-NOM-say CON that CON o.dear 3s:GEN-wife
 Well there was that ongoing calling of "Hey, hey there!",

w-əpraʔk ji-kə-məndak na-'a-ŋos
 3s:GEN-turn PFT-NOM-be.one's.turn PFT-NEV-be
 so that, oh dear, it then was his [the demon's] wife's turn.

- 84a w-arjaʔp nə ana ndə bdət-mo makəndʒa rənə srənmo²⁵¹ makəndʒa
 3s:GEN-wife CON FIL that demon-FL exceedingly FIL demoness exceeding
 His wife was a terrific demoness, like a horrifyingly fierce *srənmo*, more's

w-ərscaɬ tə na-kə-stʃi na-'a-ŋos kʰonə
 3s:GEN-likeness C PFT-NOM-be:CD PFT-NEV-be CON
 the pity.

- 84b ndə tə zik pəzik nə nənʒo nə-ʃi-na'tso-w to-kə-cəs kʰonə
 that C also still CON you IMP-VPT-see-2s PFT-NOM-say CON
 The demon said [to her]: "you also go and have a look."

- 84c rə nə-kə-ʃi-natso-w kʰonə
 CON PFT-NOM-VPT-see-3s CON
 So she went and looked.

- 84d nə-ʃi-natso-w tʃəʔ tʃe nə ha ŋ-əza-ŋo kəsam tə na-tə-sat-w
 PFT-VPT-see-3s this LOC CON well 1s:GEN-son-p three C PFT-2-kill-2s
 And when she had gone and looked [and had returned] she said [to her husband]: "Well,

menə ha nənʒo n-aka-j kənəmdok ki 'nə-ŋos to-kə-cəs
 CON ah you 2s:GEN-bottom-LOC strong IDEF OBS-be PFT-NOM-say
 even though you have killed my three sons, there is one that is stronger than you."

- 84e nə ndə tʃe ŋə-ʒo ŋ-aka-j kənəmdok si 'na-ndoʔ
 CON that LOC 1s:GEN-self 1s:GEN-bottom-LOC strong who OBS-have
 Then he said: "Who is there that is stronger than I am?"

to-kə-cəs w-arjaʔp w-əzba-j kərek nə-laʔt-w tʃe kasat
 PFT-NOM-say 3s:GEN-wife 3s:-cheek-LOC one PFT-hit₂-3s LOC kill
 He slapped her face, but he since he wasn't able to kill her

²⁵¹ The *srənmo* in rGyalrong tradition is a very powerful female kind of demon. This sort of demon can be expelled but it cannot be manipulated into submission, neither can it be killed by humans.

ji-kə-c^ha na-'a-stʃi nə manʃu? kərek nə-kə-laʔt-w w-arʃaʔp
 NEG/PFT-NOM-able PFT-NEV-be:CD CON again one PFT-NOM-hit-3s 3s:GEN-wife
 he dealt her another blow, and so he himself killed his wife.

na-kə-nə-sat-w na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-EREFL-kill-3s PFT-NEV-be

- 85a w-ən^huʔ pəʒik ato sto jawnəjaw jawnəjaw ʃi
 3s:GEN-back still above upwards hey hey often
 After all that, still down below the calling of "Hey, hey hello there!" went on and on.

to-kə-cəs k^honə
 PFT-NOM-say CON

- 85b ata-j ata-j ata-j-ʃo ʃi to-kə-cəs k^honə
 up-LOC up-LOC up-LOC-self often PFT-NOM-say CON
 "Hey, up there, up there, hey you people up there!" on and on it went.

- 86 rə pəʒik wuʃo ma-ka-l^hoʔk nə məto-kə-k^hut na-'a-ŋos
 CON still he NEG-NOM-appear CON TER-NOM-can PFT-NEV-be
 There was no way for him not to show himself.

- 87a wuʃo nə-l^hok tʃəʔ tʃe nə
 he PFT-appear this LOC CON
 Just as he was coming out, he thought -

pəʒik wuʃo ʒik w-əndʒo tʃe kə ŋ-əza narə rənə
 still he also 3s:GEN-truth LOC PR 1s:GEN-son CON FIL
 when he realised [that the one looking for him] truly [was stronger than himself] – he

ŋ-arʃaʔp-ɲo ka-nə-sat 'na-ʃi-vaca-ŋ k^honə
 1s:GEN-wife-p NOM-EREFL-kill OBS-VPT-be.wrong CON
 thought to himself: "I am the one to blame for killing my wife and my sons, and that's

w-əndʒo 'nə-ŋos to-kə-səso
 3s:GEN-truth OBS-be PFT-NOM-think
 the truth."

- 87b wuʃo ʒik wuʃo ana makəndʒa sijiŋ kə to-kə-ʒdar
 he also he below exceedingly EXP:hair.on.end PR PFT-NOM-afraid₂
 And he was so terribly scared that his hair stood on end.

na-'a-ŋos nə
PFT-NEV-be CON

- 88c ndə tə nə w-əndʒo wu-zəkrjət kəktu ki 'nə-ŋos
that C CON 3s:GEN-truth 3s:GEN-physical.form big IDEF OBS-be
"That one is really very strong," he thought.

kʰonə to-kə-səso kʰonə
FIL PFT-NOM-think CON

- 88d ndə tʃe nə zet to-ʒdar tʃəʔ tʃe nə
that LOC CON little PFT-afraid₂ this LOC CON
At that time, just while he was a little scared,

- 88e tʃəʔ wu-grawla kə ndə tə ʒik wu-grawla kə na-kə-snam
this 3s:GEN-courage PR that C also 3s:GEN-courage PR PFT-NOM-implode
his courage also imploded.

na-'a-ŋos
PFT-NEV-be

- 89a rə ndə kʰonə wuʒo nə ma-ka-rji ji-kə-kʰut kʰonə
CON that CON he CON NEG-NOM-go₂ NEG/PFT-NOM-can CON
There was no way for him to avoid going down.

- 89b ha n-andʒiʔ ŋa a təkʃet kə-nəsapso ki kə-vu-ŋ kʰonə
well 2s:GEN-friend I eh strength NOM-compare IDEF NOM-come₂-1s CON
"Friend, I've come to have a match to see who's stronger," said A-myis Sgo-ldong.

- 89c rə kalu ki mə-nəsapso-dʒ to-kə-cəs na-'a-ŋos
CON wrestling IDEF Q-compare-1d PFT-NOM-say PFT-NEV-be
"Shall we have a wrestling match?"

- 90 ha owe to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
well yes PFT-NOM-say EV-be
"Okay," said the demon.

- 91 kalu kərek to-kə-va-jn na-'a-ŋos
wrestling one PFT-NOM-do-3p PFT-NEV-be
They had a bout of wrestling.

- 92 rə kalu kərek to-va-jn ndə tʃe nə kərgi tə kə kərek
 CON wrestling one PFT-do-3p that LOC CON one²⁵² C PR one
 While they wrestled, the demon dealt A-mysis Sgo-ldong a terrific blow;
- nə-kə-laʔt-w tə ndə tʃe bdət tə zik makəndʒa
 PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s C that LOC demon C also exceedingly
 and at that time, the demon, more's the pity, really
- kə-ŋac^hac^ha ki na-kə-stʃci na-'a-ŋos
 NOM-quite.strong IDEF PFT-NOM-be:CD PFT-NEV-be
 had quite some strength!
- 93a ndə k^honə zik amɲi zgordən-ɲi zik hajzik dʒamən
 that CON also A.mysis Sgo.ldong-3s:HON also a.little quite
 He caused A-mysis Sgo-ldong quite some trouble.
- na-kə-sə-k^ha na-'a-ŋos nə
 PFT-NOM-CAUS-difficult PFT-NEV-be CON
- 93b w-əŋk^huʔ-j pəzɪk amɲi zgordən-ɲi wuʃo ɲi-praʔk kərek
 3s:GEN-back-LOC still A.mysis Sgo.ldong-3s:HON he 3s:HON:GEN-turn one
 After that, A-mysis Sgo-ldong's turn came [at wrestling], so
- to-kə-məndak k^ho
 PFT-NOM-be.one's.turn₂ CON
- 93c kərek na-laʔt-w tʃəʔ tʃe nə ndə tʃe nə pəzɪk ndə tə tə katʃap
 one PFT-hit₂-3s this LOC CON that LOC CON still that C C throw.down
 when he dealt a blow, just then, he managed to throw down the demon.
- na-kə-c^ha-jn na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-able-3s:HON PFT-NEV-be
- 94 ja tʃəʔ w-əmp^hro tʃəʔ tʃe t^hi nəsapso-dʒ to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 INT this 3s:-after this LOC what compare-1d PFT-NOM-say EV-be
 Well, after this he said: "What kind of match shall we have next?"

²⁵² Numerals as well as demonstratives are commonly used by speakers who, for some reason, do not want to use a person's proper name. In this case the narrator is disinclined to honour the demon by using even a personal pronoun or demonstrative, showing his contempt of the demon. Also, as in many cultures, in rGyalrong there is a tendency to avoid mentioning or naming evil.

- 95a ə tʃəʔ w-əmp^hro tʃəʔ tʃe nə tarku ki nəsapsoʔt-dʒ to-kə-cəs
 eh this 3s:GEN-after this LOC CON fist IDEF compare-1d PFT-NOM-say
 "After this, let's have a boxing match," he said;
- 95b rə tarku nə bdət tə w-əmba-j nəŋjo bdət c^happa raŋ.liŋ
 CON fist CON demon C 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC you demon Chap.pa Rang.ling
 then, for the boxing, A-mysis said to the demon: "You," - to demon Chap-pa Rangling -
 w-əmba-j nəŋjo to-va-səʔja-w to-kə-cəs
 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC you IMP-VPT-begin-2s PFT-NOM-say
 "you start."
- 95c wuŋjo bdət c^happa raŋliŋ tə kə amɲi zgordəŋ-ni ɲa-wo
 he demon Chap.pa Rang.ling C PR A.mysis Sgo.ldong-3s:HON 3s:HON:GEN-head
 Then the demon Chap-pa Rang-ling hit A-mysis Sgo-ldong a blow, smack right on
 ɲo tarku to-kə-laʔt-w
 EXP:right.on fist PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s
 his head, with his fist.
- 95d tangor kəngu mp^hjar... maʔk tartsu kəngu mp^hjar tə ndə tə
 pork.side nine sheet not.be lard nine sheet C that C
 The blow caused the nine sides of pork fat – no, the hat made of nine sheets of lard,
 k^hapacacak na-^la-sə-va-w
 grind.to.powder PFT-NEV-CAUS-do-3s
 to completely disintegrate.
- 96 ɲ-awo-j zəmə mənə na-ʃi-mdə-w kacəs ^lnə-ŋos nə
 3s:HON:gen-head-LOC almost CON PFT-VPT-arrive-3s say EV-be CON
 Just a little more and he would have touched on his head.
- 97 rə ndə k^honə amɲi zgordəŋ-ni kə nə pəzɪk wuŋjo w-awo-j
 CON that CON A.mysis Sgo.ldong-3s:HON PR CON still he 3s:GEN-head-LOC
 Then A-mysis Sgo-ldong hit the demon over the head with the iron hammer,
 ʃam-tok kərek to-kə-laʔt-jn k^honə w-ənoʔk tsɪjok
 iron-hammer one PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s:HON CON 3s:GEN-brain EXP:erupt
 so that his brain forcefully spilled out.

- 98a ha pəʒik ndə w-əmp^hro t^hi nəsapso to-kə-cəs
ah still that 3s:GEN-after what compare PFT-NOM-say
After all that he said: "What other kind of contest shall we have?"
- 98b a jakpozak ki nəsapso to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
ah open.hand IDEF compare PFT-NOM-say EV-be
Let's have a contest of fighting with open hands."
- 99a jakpozak ki to-kə-nəsapso nə wuʒo kə ʒik pəʒik
open.hand IDEF PFT-NOM-compared CON he PR also still
So they had this contest of openhanded fighting,
- amɲi zgordən ɲi-ʒba-ʒ jo kərek nə-kə-laʔt-w
A.myis Sgo.llong 3s:HON:GEN-cheek-LOC EXP:right.on one PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s
in which the demon smacked A-myis Sgo.llong precisely right on the cheek,
- 99b rə pəʒik wastop na-kə-vəkʃet na-'a-stʃi k^honə
CON still very PFT-NOM-powerful PFT-NEV-be:CD CON
and since he was still very powerful, more's the pity,
- 99c xər ka-məʒir kə-ra kəsok w-ərsəcət tə sok ki
EXP:full.circle NOM-spin NOM-need manner 3s:GEN-likeness C manner IDEF
he gave A-myis Sgo.llong a blow such that it almost sent him spinning,
- nə-kə-laʔt-w na-'a-stʃi nə
PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s PFT-NEV-be:CD CON
more's the pity.
- 99d pəʒik amɲi zgordən wuʒo ɲi-praʔk to-kə-məndak k^honə
still A.myis Sgo.llong he 3s:HON:GEN-turn PFT-NOM-be.one's.turn₂ CON
Then it was A-myis Sgoldon's turn,
- tʃəʔ sok manʒuʔ kərek nə-kə-laʔt-ɲi na-'a-ŋos
this manner also one PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s:HON PFT-NEV-be
and he hit him like so!

100 kərek nə-laʔt-jn tʃəʔ tʃe nə tʃəʔ tʃe nə w-aworpi kə-məʒur
 one PFT-hit₂-3s:HON this LOC CON this LOC CON 3s:GEN-dizzy NOM-spinning
 When he hit him, at that time, [the blow was to terrific that] it made [the demon feel] as

w-ərscat tə kərek nə kə-sə-va-jn na-¹a-ŋos
 3s:GEN-likeness C one CON NOM-CAUS-do-3s:HON PFT-NEV-be
 if he was spinning with dizziness.

101a a tʃəʔ w-əmp^hro tʃe t^{hi} nəsapso to-kə-cəs nə tərstʃaʔ
 ah this 3s:GEN-after LOC what compare PFT-NOM-say CON claw
 "Well, what kind of match shall we have next?" he said;

nəsapso to-kə-cəs
 compare PFT-NOM-say
 "Let's have a contest in clawing," he said.

101b hə rə bdət c^happa raŋliŋ ndə ndə tə w-əmba-j nənʃo
 eh CON demon Chap.pa Rang.ling that that C 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC you
 eh, "You start," said A-mysis Sgo-ldong to the demon Chap-pa Rang-ling;

to-va¹sce-w to-kə-cəs k^honə
 IMP-go.first₁-2s PFT-NOM-say CON

101c bdət c^happa raŋliŋ tə ndə tə wuʃo w-ajiʔk ndʒondʒo tə
 demon Chap.pa Rang.ling C that C he 3s:GEN-hand really C
 demon Chap-pa Rang-ling's hand was a real hand [made of flesh],

na-¹a-kə-stʃi k^honə
 PFT-NEV-NOM-be:CD CON
 more's the pitty -

101d ndə tajakndzəru tə tərstʃaʔ kərek ka-laʔt tʃəʔ tʃe təʃkra sku
 that nail C claw one NOM-hit₂ this LOC side upstream
 when he clawed with the nails of his hand,when he struck deep into [A-mysis

kərek ka-laʔt tʃəʔ tʃe tangor kəngu mp^hjar tə w-əngu tʃe
 one NOM-hit₂ this LOC side.of.pork nine sheet C 3s:GEN-inside LOC
 Sgo-ldong's] side and then ripped downwards, A-mysis Sgo-ldong's robe, which was

w-arzu tə menə ndə tə w-ərka-j stamce pok tə rə
 3s:GEN-layer.of.fat C except that C 3s:GEN-top-LOC all all C CON
 made of the nine sides of pork fat with the skin still on, except for the fat [on the inside

kə-kə-p^hjak na-'a-ŋos kacəs 'nə-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-tear PFT-NEV-be say EV-be
 of the robe], the outside of the robe was utterly ripped apart, that's what they say.

- 102 ha rənə kərek nə-kə-rakʃok tə ndə k^honə tangor
 ah CON one PFT-NOM-tear.with.claw C that CON side.of.pork
 Ah, with one tearing rip [of his claw] downwards,

kəngu mp^hjar tə ndə tə w-arpek nə-kə-rakʃok na-'a-ŋos
 nine sheet C that C 3s:GEN-piece PFT-NOM-tear PFT-NEV-be
 he tore that [robe], made of nine sides of pork fat and skin, to pieces.

- 103a wurə ampi zgordən ʒi-praʔk to-kə-məndak k^honə
 CON A.myis Sgo.ldong 3sHON:GEN-turn PFT-NOM-be.one's.turn₂ CON
 Then A-myis Sgo-ldong's turn came,

- 103b wu-je w-arnok kə ʃam-rstʂaʔ kərek kalaʔt tʃəʔ tʃe
 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-brain PR iron-claw one hit₂ this LOC
 When he gave one blow with his iron rake to the demon's brain [and ripped down-

wu-naŋce w-undʂu rə rʂiek rə-kə-k^hit
 3s:GEN-intestine 3s:GEN-reality CON EXP:all.at.once PFT-NOM-spill
 wards], his intestines all at once, with a blob sound, spilled out,

- 103c rənə ndə k^honə w-arnok narə rənə ndə tə nə to-kə-ʃmu-jn
 CON that CON 3s:GEN-brains and CON that C CON PFT-NOM-mix.together-3p
 so that his brains and his intestines all got mixed up in a big heap,

k^honə
 CON

- 103d ndə k^honə bdət c^happa ranliŋ ndə tʃe na-'a-kə-ptəl-jn
 that CON demon Chap.pa Rang.ling that LOC PFT-NEV-NOM-destroy-3s:HON
 and so the demon Chap-pa Rang-ling was destroyed at that time, it is said.

'nə-ŋos kacəs 'nə-ŋos zo
 EV-be say EV-be MD:end

- 104a rə ha bdət tə ka-ptəl na-c^ha-jn tʃəʔ tʃe nə
 CON ah demon C NOM-destroy PFT-able-3s:HON this LOC CON
 When the demon had been defeated by A-myis Sgo-ldong,

nk^hormanj stamce tə wastop kə-ŋalalaʔt nə h-anu-j
 people all C very NOM-fight₂ CON D-downriver-LOC
 All the people fought tremendously hard; downriver,

- 104b ha rjapo h-anu tə kə təmdə rjapo ndə tə wu-nk^hormanj
 ah king D-downriver C PR Təmdə king that C 3s:GEN-people
 ah.... the king downriver, the people of the king of Təmdə, and the ones

h-aku wu-je bdət wu-je wu-spok to-kə-ŋaru-w
 D-upriver 3s-POSS demon 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-underside PFT-NOM-take.part-3s
 upriver, the people who had become part of and taken part in the demon's dominion.

- 105 wuʃo zik tawo tʃe kərek ka-ŋa-la-laʔt
 he also head LOC one NOM-REC-RED-fight₂
 He [the king or leader of a people] himself fought first of all,

rənə ndə tə w-əmp^hro mo tʃe ʃi-nk^hormanj stamce tə
 CON that C 3s:GEN-next directly LOC 3s:HON:GEN-people all C
 and then right after that he made all his people fight -

ka-sə-lalaʔt kəsce ndə na-kə-ngrel na-'a-ŋos la
 NOM-CAUS-fight₂ before that PFT-NOM-be.used.to PFT-NEV-be MD:SA
 that's how they did things long ago, right.

- 106a bdət tə wurə wuʃo-ndʒ makpo-ndʒ tə kərek ka-ŋalalaʔt k^honə
 demon C CON 3-d general-3d C one NOM-fight₂ CON
 the demons - when those two generals fought,

- 106b ndə tʃe nə ʃikpe-ʃime tə sok ʃi-k^ha-j tʃəʔ tʃe nə
 that LOC CON precisely C manner 3p:GEN-middle-LOC this LOC CON
 at that time precisely from among their midst

bdət tə mənəŋos nə ndə k^honə ka-sat rə ka-pker narə
 demon C FIL CON that CON NOM-kill CON NOM-divide CON
 the demons²⁵³ were divided out [from among the good people] and killed and

²⁵³ In traditional rGyalrong culture it is quite normal to speak of enemies as 'demons'. I am not certain whether the narrator here means that in the army of the demon there were many smaller demons that had to be vanquished and killed or if it concerns human enemy troops. It is most likely that the good people of Təmdə fought enemy troops made up of all the people who had been oppressed by the demon and that the demons who were divided out and killed were those people who had become collaborators of the demon in the general oppression of their fellow humans.

ndə tə na-səjok-jn tʃeʔ tʃe nə h-aku w-ərscaɬ-j
 that C PFT-finish-3HON this LOC CON D-upriver 3s:GEN-likeness-LOC
 when that was finished, the ones who lived upriver

ʃniŋe.ʃnerga kə satʃʰe makəndʒra w-ərscaɬ ndə tə sok kə
 happy PR place exceedingly 3s:GEN-likeness that C manner PR
 made their country a very happy one.

to-kə-va-jn kʰonə
 PFT-NOM-do-3p CON

106c h-aku h-anu kə-ɲi tə kə-cʰa to-^la-ŋaməmtə-jn kʰonə
 D-upriver D-downriver NOM-live C NOM-able PFT-NEV-see-3p CON
 the ones upriver saw that the ones from downriver had won

106d rjapo kərgi w-əspok to-^la-va-jn kʰonə
 king one 3s:GEN-underside PFT-NEV-do-3p CON
 and they all became the people of the one king.

106e ndə tə bdət tə mənəŋos nə ndə tə ə kʰəvək kəngu taʃcək
 that C demon C FIL CON that C eh hole nine floor
 As for the demon, A-mysis Sgo-ldong made a hole nine storeys deep

na-ka-cu ndə w-əŋgi-j na-ka-rko w-ərka nə coŋba kəngu
 PFT-NOM-open that 3s:GEN-in-LOC PFT-NOM-put 3s:GEN-top CON flat.stone nine
 and put the demon in there; on top he put nine flat stones which he layered crosswise

mpʰjar w-orka nə kə-mpʰjar kəngu tarta na-ka-taʔ
 sheet 3s:GEN-top CON one-sheet nine cross.wise PFT-NOM-put
 back and forth beautifully;

w-ərka-j mɕʰorten kəngu taʃcək to-^la-sə-va-jn kʰonə
 3s:-on-LOC stupa nine layer PFT-NEV-CAUS-do-1s:HON CON
 on top of that they built a stupa nine storeys high.

106f ndə nkʰormanj nə ndə-je dɛwa təscit ji-^la-vi kʰonə
 that people CON that-POSS peace happiness PFT-NEV-come CON
 Peace and happiness came to those people,

106g pot-je ampi zgordən-ni ndə tə zjasam na-mbi-jn
 Tibet-POSS A-mysis Sgo.ldong-p:HON that C thirteen PFT-come:HON-3s:HON
 so the Tibetan ancestor Sgo-ldong, he came on [the] thirteen[th] day;

106h na-mbi-jn w-əʃnu dewa na-pko-jn ka-cəs tə
 PFT-come:HON-3s:HON 3s:GEN-day peace PFT-carry-3s:HON NOM-say C
 on the day that he came he brought peace, about that saying

w-arngaʔ-ni kə-ndoʔ
 3s:GEN-dance-p NOM-have
 there are dances

w-əŋkʰuʔ nə wu-kʰakpe-ni kə-ndoʔ ndə tə tə mənaŋos nə ndə tə
 3s:GEN-after CON 3s:GEN-story-p NOM-have that C C FIL CON that C
 Afterwards, there were also stories [about him], that is how it is, they say.

ʼnə-ŋos kacəs ʼnə-ŋos o
 EV-be say EV-be MD:CF

TEXT 2

How the thrush deceived the rabbit.²⁵⁴

1. mbərtʃu ki kalaʔ ki na-kə-ndoʔ-ndʒ 'nə-ŋos
thrush IDEF rabbit IDEF PRF-NOM-have-3d EV-be
There were a rabbit and a bird.

2. ndə-ndʒ ndə rənə mbərtʃu kə nə kalaʔ kanəvlo wu-tʃ^he kə talek
that-3d that CON bird PR CON rabbit cheat 3s:GEN-reason PR trap
Well, about those two - in order to cheat the rabbit the thrush set up a trap for the
express purpose of catching the thrush;

to-'a-kataʔ w-əŋgi sku wuʒo ku na-kə-mbjam nə
PFT-NEV-put 3s:GEN-inside inwards he downstream PFT-NOM-fly upstream
he flew into it, back and forth and up and down he flew.

na-kə-mbjam 'nə-ŋos
PFT-NOM-fly EV-be

3. e ŋa-je kalaʔ tʃəʔ tə kapsoʔt stʃi tʃəʔ tə kapsoʔt tʃəʔ tə
hey 1s-POSS rabbit this C be.similar be:CD this C be.similar this C
"Hey, my friend rabbit, this is all there is to it!

kamaʔk stʃi to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
not.be be:CD PSTIMP-NOM-say EV-be
It's a piece of cake!" he said.

4. ku kərek nə kərek na-mbjam ndə tʃe nə a kalaʔ kə
downstream one upstream one PSTPROG-fly that LOC CON oh.well rabbit PR
When he was flying back and forth like that

²⁵⁴ This story is a moral lesson, often used to teach children that they can outsmart those who are more powerful or more clever than they are, if they use their brains - they can be thrushes, so to speak. A common manner of speech which shows the other side of the equation is *nənʒo pəʃnu kalaʔ totəvaw*, 'you were a rabbit today'. The speaker here tells the hearer that, though he thought he was smart like the traditional rabbit, he was outsmarted by someone.

ʒik ɲa kaŋgo kə-kʰut mə-maʔk-ɲ to-kə-səso-w 'nə-ɲos
 also I go.downstream NOM-can Q-not be-1s PSTIMP-NOM-think-3s EV-be
 "Oh well," thought the rabbit, "I can have a go too, can't I?"

5. w-əŋgi sku kə-rʒi tʃe nə ndə rə w-əmka kə
 3s:GEN-inside inwards NOM-go₂ LOC CON that CON 3s:GEN-neck PR
 When he had gone in[to the trap] - then his neck got stuck, causing his lips to be

kə-ndʒe-w kʰonə w-əʃwa rɲek-rɲek to-'a-kə-sə-va-w
 NOM-get.stuck-3s CON 3s:GEN-tooth EXP-RED: grinning PFT-NEV-NOM-CAUS-do-3s
 pulled back in a wide grin [the ghastly grin of death] - at that time

tʃe nə e kalaʔ tari w-ari təʃwa w-arɲekrɲek kacəs tə tʃəʔ
 LOC CON hey rabbit laugh 3s:GEN-laugh tooth 3s:GEN-grinning say C this
 "Hey, rabbit, the expression 'laughing with a wide grin in a manner that shows a full set

tə ɲos kəne to-'a-cəs kʰonə kalaʔ kanəvlo kə-cʰa tə mbərtʃu kərek
 C be MD:AS PSTIMP-NEV-say CON rabbit cheat NOM-able C thrush one
 of bright white teeth', I'm telling you, that's what this is!" the thrush said; now that's

na-ɲa-ndoʔ kacəs 'nə-ɲos
 PFT-IMPS-have say EV-be
 why they say that there once was a thrush who managed to cheat a rabbit.

TEXT 3

The eighteen rGyalrong kingdoms

1. ɣarɔŋ ɣarkap wu-je t^{hi} sok $\text{kə-kə-c}^{\text{hak}}$
rGyalrong kingdom 3s-POSS what manner PFT-NOM-establish
How the rGyalrong kingdoms came into being.

2. rdɔŋɣja $\text{ts}^{\text{ha}}\text{ja}$ ralpo kacəs ki na-kə-ndo? 'nə-ŋos
Rdɔŋɣja Tsha^hja Ralpo say IDEF PFT-NOM-have EV-be
There was a man called Rdɔŋɣja Tsha^hja Ralpo.

3. ɣjarpo kacəs ki na-kə-ndo? rdɔŋɣja $\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\text{aralpo}^{255}$ wurənə w-əza
king say IDEF PFT-NOM-have Rdɔŋɣja Tsharalpo CON 3s:GEN-son
A man who was called a king, Rdɔŋɣja Tsharalpo, well he had three sons.

 kəsam na-kə-ndo? 'nə-ŋos
three PFT-NOM-have EV-be

4. ndə rə w-əza kəsam tə ndə t^{hi} sok na-ndo?-jn tʃə? tʃe nə
that CON 3s:GEN-son three C that what manner PFT-have-3p this LOC CON
So at that time, the manner in which those three sons lived, well in those days -

 kə-ŋnu kə nə ndə ʒəŋkem tə tərmu makəndʒa kərkən na-kə-ŋos 'nə-ŋos
one.day PR CON that land C person very sparse PFT-NOM-be EV-be
one day - that land was very sparsely populated,

 wurənə rənə spjaŋkə kəməca ki spjaŋ-nak kacəs kəməca makəndʒa
CON FIL wolf many IDEF wolf-black say many very
so [one day] lots of wolves, the kind that is called "black wolves", enormous

 ji-kə-vu-jn wurə təza-ŋo kəzu tə $\text{na-kə-p}^{\text{h}}\text{o-jn}$ 'nə-ŋos
PFT-NOM-come₂-3p CON son-p all C PFT-NOM-flee-3p EV-be
numbers of those wolves came, and the sons all ran away.

²⁵⁵ The narrator here makes a slight mistake and muddles the name of the king. The name proper is *rdɔŋɣja ts^haja ralpo*, as in the previous sentence.

5. nə-p^ho-jn tʃe nə ɲ-apsɔ-j ɲ-apa tə
 PFT-run away-3p LOC CON 3p:GEN-together-LOC 3p:GEN-father C
 When they ran, they did not manage to bring their father with them.
- ka-nəndʒi ɟ-'a-c^ha-jn
 NOM-take.along NEG/PFT-NEV-able-3p
6. ɟi-kə-c^ha-jn 'nə-ŋos
 NEG/PFT-NOM-able-3p EV-be
 They did not manage it.
7. tambat w-awo-j to-lhok tʃe təŋk^hu? na-lhok tʃə? tʃe nə
 mountain 3s:GEN-head-LOC PFT-appear LOC back PFT-appear this LOC CON
 When they emerged at the top of a mountain and had crossed over and
- nəŋɔ n-apsɔ-jn ɲ-apa mə-ndo? nəŋɔ n-apsɔ-jn
 you 2s:GEN-together-2p 1s:GEN-father Q-have you 2s:GEN-together-2p
 reappeared on the other side of it, they all called out one to the other, saying: "Is my
- ɲ-apa mə-ndo? kacəs kəʒu-ʒu tə to-'a-ŋa-k^hori-jn
 1s:GEN-father Q-have say all-RED C PFT-NEV-REC-call-3p
 father with you all? Is my father with you all?"
8. to-ŋa-məmto-jn tʃə? tʃe nə ɲ-apa ɲ-apsɔ-j
 PFT-REC-meet-3p this LOC CON 3p:GEN-father 3p:GEN-together-LOC
 When they met each other they found that they had not succeeded in bringing their
- ka-nəndʒi ɟ-'a-kə-c^ha-jn
 NOM-bring.along NEG/PFT-NEV-NOM-able-3p
 father along with them.
9. ahaha ɟ-apa ɟ-apsɔ-j ka-nəndʒi ɟ-'a-c^ha-jn
 ahaha 1p:GEN-father 1p:GEN-together-LOC NOM-bring.along NEG/PFT-NEV-able-3p
 "oh oh, we did not manage to bring our father along!" they said.
- ko to-kə-cəs
 MD:ANX PFT-NOM- say
10. na-jwa-jn tʃə? tʃe nə ɲ-apa tə ndə rənə ndə tə ɲi-sa-ɲu
 PFT-return-3p this LOC CON 3p:GEN-father C that FIL that C 3p:GEN-NOM-live
 Upon their return home, [it turned out that] their father - at their place they used to

tʃəʔ tʃe təkuʔ ʃi kacop na-kə-ŋgrel 'nə-ŋos rənə ndə tə
 this LOC dried.dung often burn PFT-NOM-be.used.to EV-be CON that C
 burn dried yak dung; they had stacked that yak dung around the enclosure [for animals];

ʃuk^har na-ka-taʔ tə kəʒu tə na-kə-cop wurənə ʃu p^haŋmo
 enclosure PFT-NOM-put₂ C all C PFT-NOM-burn CON wood conflagration
 and all this dung had been burnt and the wooden enclosure went up in a great

to-'a-kə-teʔ-w 'nə-ŋos
 PFT/P-NOM-put₁-3s EV-be
 conflagration.

11. təkuʔ p^haŋmo to-'a-kə-teʔ-w ndə tə ʃeŋʃeŋ ʃeŋʃeŋ kə-mber
 dried.dung conflagration PFT-NEV-NOM-put₁-3s that C EXP EXP NOM-burn
 While the dried dung burnt in a huge fire spewing smoke and sparks

w-əla-j ɲ-apa na-kə-ndoʔ 'nə-ŋos wurənə spjaŋkə-ɲo
 3s:GEN-middle-LOC 3p:GEN-father PFT-NOM-have EV-be CON wolf-p
 their father stood in the middle [of the enclosure]

kə kandza ʃi-kə-c^ha-jn 'nə-ŋos
 PR eat NEG/PFT-NOM-able-3p EV-be
 and so the wolves had not been able to devour him.

12. ndə ʃi-c^ha-jn tʃe nə təza-ɲo kə nə a tʃəʔ-pu narə
 that NEG/PFT-able-3p LOC CON son-p PR CON well this-now and
 The wolves having failed to eat their father, the sons

j-apa na-nəməto-j spjaŋkə kə nə ʃi-no-ŋo-ndza tʃəʔ-pu nə
 1p:GEN-father PFT-find-1p wolf PR CON NEG/AF/PFT-PAS-eat this-now CON
 [said]: "well, now that we have found our father, and the wolves have not eaten

j-apa na-kə-nəsten.....²⁵⁶ kəhaw makəndʒa na-kə-nəsten 'nə-ŋos
 1p:GEN-father PFT-NOM-care.for good very PFT-NOM-care.for EV-be
 him, now we must take care of our father....they took very good care of their father."

²⁵⁶ The narrator switches here in mid-sentence, from direct speech (the sons talking about taking care of their father) to narration (the narrator telling the audience that the sons took good care of their father).

13. korə wurə ɲ-apa na-kə-mtʂoʔk ndə tə ɲ-apa tə na-kə-ʃu 'nə-ŋos
but CON 3p:GEN-father PFT-NOM-old that C 3p:GEN-father C PFT-NOM-die EV-be
But then, since their father was old, he died.
14. ɲ-apa na-ʃu tʃe nə wuʂo-ɲo kə a tʃəʔ-pu nə jiʂo kaʃiktek
3p:GEN-father PFT-die LOC CON 3-p PR well this-now CON we:i brothers
After their father had died, they said: "Well, now we three brothers
- kəsam tʃəʔ sok ʃə ka-ɲu nə-maʔk
three this manner unsatisfactory NOM-live OBS-not be
should not live alone like we used to.
- tʃəʔ tə tambat tə w-əŋkʰuʔ kə nə tsʰo kəsam 'na-ndoʔ ndə
this C mountain C 3s:GEN-behind PR CON lake three OBS-have that
Behind this mountain, as we remember, there are three lakes.
- w-əpʰa-s kərek tʰo-j to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
3sGEN-vicinity-LOC one ascend-1p PFT-NOM-say EV-be
Let's go up to that area."
15. mtsʰo kərek taŋmo nə ɤo-mtsʰo²⁵⁷ kacəs 'nə-ŋos
lake one that's.right CON milk-lake say EV-be
One lake, yes that was called Milk Lake.
16. kərek taŋmo nə maŋʃuʔ kərek taŋmo nə ser-mtsʰo²⁵⁸ kacəs 'nə-ŋos
one that's.right CON besides one that's.right CON gold-lake say EV-be
One, that's right, another lake, yeah, was called Gold Lake.
17. kərek tə spjaŋ-mtsʰo kacəs
one C wolf-lake say
One was called Wolf Lake.
18. mtsʰo kəsam tə wurənə ndə tə kaʃiktek-ɲo wurənə wu-takpo kaka tə
lake three C CON that C brothers-p FIL 3s:GEN-owner one.each C
The three brothers went for the purpose of becoming masters, each of one lake.

²⁵⁷ The word *ɤomtsʰo* comes from literary Tibetan འཁྲུ་, *oma*, 'milk' and མཚོ་, *mtsho*, 'lake'. The normal Jiāomùzú term for 'milk' is *təloʔ*. The use of Tibetan terms in this story points to a high register, as do honorific stems for verbs. This myth of origin is, for the narrator, clearly more than 'just a story'.

²⁵⁸ The word *sermtsho* is a Tibetan loan, from literary Tibetan གསེར་, *gser*, 'gold' and མཚོ་, *mtsho*, 'lake'. The indigenous Jiāomùzú term for gold is *tarni*.

to-kə-ʃi-va-jn 'nə-ŋos
PFT-NOM-VPT-do-3p EV-be

19. ndə-j w-əmto-j na-ɲu tʃəʔ tʃe nə wurə w-əŋgi sto
that-LOC 3s:GEN-edge-LOC PFT-live this LOC CON CON 3s:GEN-inside upward
After they had started living up there,

kəʃoʔ w-apuʔ kətsə-tsə kəmpʃer makəndʒa kəpraʔm kaka
sheep 3s:GEN-child small-RED beautiful very white one.each
three small white lambs, very beautiful, came up, one out of each lake.

to-kə-lhok 'nə-ŋos
PFT-NOM-appear EV-be

20. o ndə rə ndə tə-ɲo na-kə-nə-ʃpət k^honə ndə sok na-kə-ɲu
well that CON that C-p PFT-NOM-EREFL-breed CON that manner PFT-NOM-live
Well, then, they lived there, they themselves breeding the lambs; but when they

'nə-ŋos koronə ndə tə na-ɲu tʃəʔ tʃe ndə wurə w-əŋgi sto
EV-be but that C PFT-live this LOC that CON 3s:GEN-in upwards
lived there, then up out of the lakes emerged three very beautiful women.

pəʒuk təmuʔ kəmpʃer makəndʒa kəsam to-kə-lhok 'nə-ŋos
again woman beautiful very three PFT-NOM-appear EV-be

21. ndə nə təmuʔ kəmpʃer mts^ho w-əŋgi sto təmuʔ kəmpʃer kəsam
that CON woman beautiful lake 3s:GEN-in upwards woman beautiful three
When those three very beautiful women came up out of the lakes, they lived there and

to-lhok tʃe nə ndə tə w-əŋgi na-kə-ɲu rənə ser-mts^ho kacəs
PFT-appear LOC CON that C 3s:GEN-in PFT-NOM-live CON gold-lake say
then the one called Goldlake, yeah, she became the wife of the oldest brother.

taɲmo nə w-ajze stoŋ kəktu w-andʒiʔ²⁵⁹ to-kə-va-w
that's.right CON 3s:GEN-older.brother most big 3s:GEN-friend PFT-NOM-do-3s

'nə-ŋos
EV-be

²⁵⁹ The word *tandʒiʔ* means 'friend', but is often used to refer to a spouse or lover.

22. ʁo-mts^ho kacəs taŋmo nə w-ajze kəməla w-andʁi?
 milk-lake say that's.right CON 3s:GEN-older.brother middle 3s:GEN-friend
 The one called Milklake, that's right, she became the wife of the middle brother.
- to-kə-va-w 'nə-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-do-3s EV-be
23. spjaŋ-mts^ho kacəs nə stoŋ kətsə wu-je w-andʁi? nə-'a-kə-va-w
 wolf-lake say CON most small 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-friend PFT-NEV-NOM-do-3s
 And the one called Wolflake became the wife of the youngest brother.
- 'nə-ŋos
 EV-be
24. ndə tə nə-va-w tʃe nə ndə rənə ndə tə wu-p^ha-s no-s
 that C PFT-do-3s LOC CON that CON that C 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC down-LOC
 As they lived like that, these couples had children, so then when
- ɲ-apu? na-kə-ndo? wurənə ndə tə ɲ-apu? na-ndo? na-ndo?
 3p:GEN-child PFT-NOM-have CON that C 3p:GEN-child PFT-have PFT-have
 these children had many many children, lots and lots of descendants,
- na-ndo? na-ndo? ʃi ʃi ʃi tʃe nə ndə rənə ser-mts^ho kacəs
 PFT-have PFT-have often often often LOC CON that CON gold-lake say
 the children of the one called Goldlake became,
- wu-je w-apu? taŋmo nə ndə rə kəməvurŋk^hu? təʃok kərscaŋ
 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-child that's.right CON that CON in.the.end clan eight
 in the end, eight clans.
- nə-kə-va-w 'nə-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-do-3s EV-be
25. ʁo-mtsho kacəs taŋmo nə təʃok kətʃoʔk nə-kə-va-w 'nə-ŋos
 milk-lake say that's.right CON clan six PFT-NOM-do-3s EV-be
 The descendants of the one called Milklake, right, developed into six clans.

26. *kombo fox tək²⁶⁰ kacəs tə nə-kə-ve-w 'nə-ŋos*
kombo clan six say C PFT-NOM-do-3s EV-be
 They became what is called the six clans of the Milk people.
27. *spjaŋ-mts^ho kacəs taŋmo nə ndə tə wu-je taŋmo təʃok kəpdu*
wolf-lake say that's.right CON that C 3s-POSS that's.right clan four
 The descendants of the one called Wolflake increased and became four clans.
- to-kə-tʃ^hak 'nə-ŋos*
PFT-NOM- EV-be
28. *mə.spjaŋ sde wʒə²⁶¹ kacəs tə ndə tʃe wurənə rjaron rjarkap*
person.wolf village four say C that LOC CON rGyalrong kingdom
 They are called the four villages of the Wolf people;
- corjeɽ²⁶² wu-je w-əʃok tə ndə tə kaʃikte kəsam ɲi-p^ha*
eighteen 3s-POSS 3s:GEN-clan C that C brothers three 3p:GEN-vicinity
 and so those clans of the Eighteen Kingdoms of the rGyalrong came from three
- na-kə-mbjo-ɲn ŋos kacəs ŋos*
PFT-NOM-come/HON-3p be say be
 brothers, it is said.
29. *wurənə təza kəktu wu-je taŋmo tə xserwa mtʃerjat²⁶³*
CON son big 3s-POSS that's.right C xserwa mtʃerjat
 So the oldest brother's descendants, that's right, they became the eight clans of the Gold
- kəməla wu-je taŋmo kombo sotək*
middle 3s-POSS that's.right kombo sotək
 people, the descendants of the middle one, right, became the six clans of the Milk
- kətsə wu-je taŋmo mə spjaŋ sde wʒə kacəs wurə*
small 3s-POSS that's.right person wolf village four say CON

²⁶⁰ A Tibetan appellation, from literary Tibetan ཤོག་རྩལ, *shog drug*, 'six clans'.

²⁶¹ A Tibetan appellation, literary Tibetan: མི་སྤྱང་སྡེ་བཞི, *mi spyang sde bzhi*, 'the four villages of the wolf people'.

²⁶² A Tibetan appellation, from literary Tibetan: རྒྱལ་རོང་རྒྱལ་ཁམ་བོ་བརྒྱད, *rGyal rong rgyal khab bco brgyad*, 'the eighteen kingdoms of rGyalrong'.

²⁶³ A Tibetan appellation, from literary Tibetan ཚོ་བ, *tshopa*, 'tribe' and བརྒྱད, *brgyad*, 'eight'.

people; and the descendants of the youngest brother, right, became the four villages of
 təʃok corscat tə ndə tʃe kə kətʃʰak ŋos kacəs
 clan eighteen C that LOC PR develop be say
 the Wolf people; the eighteen clans, that is how they developed, it is said,

rʃaronʃ rʃarkap corscat wu-je tə
 rGyalrong kingdom eighteen 3s-POSS C
 the eighteen kingdoms of the rGyalrong.

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