A Web of Relations

Proefschrift
ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit van Leiden
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus Prof. Mr. P.F. van der Heijden,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag 29 november 2011
klokke 16.15 uur

door
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geboren in Doornspijk
in 1960
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A Web of Relations

A grammar of rGyalrong
Jiăomùzú (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 → 2 or 1 > 2. But because in the Jiäomûzú 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 no-

gloss<sub>i</sub>  a small number subscribed to the gloss of a verb indicates the root of an irregular verb, as in: /leʔt/ hit<sub>i</sub> and /laʔt/ hit<sub>2</sub>

…♫ this symbol after a word indicates a loanword from Chinese, as in: bawbaw♫

*  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 [təˈskrəʔ]
    b. a stress mark in phonemic transcription indicates grammatically contrastive stress, as in /kə-vi-ŋ/

[ ]  a. phonetical transcription, as in: [təˈskrəʔ]
    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-skruʔ/

*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 *kaleʔt* ‘hit’…..
c. italics also occur for translations of Chinese and Tibetan words, as in: statue or image of a deity; deity; lit. Tibetan: བྱང་ འས། *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
ERFL 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
The Jiāomùzú 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.
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 /kʰ-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-miʔ for the generic form. The genitive has w-amʔ but not w-a-miʔ.

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 marmpoŋ, ‘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: 果克基, གོག་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 Hóngkāi. 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 Dimínglù1 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 Dimínglù 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, རྒྱུ་shang) for ‘township’, xiàn (县, རྒྱུ་shan) for ‘county’ and zhōu (州, དབྱང་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 [pkraʃiʃ tʰeɾan] is thus glossed as bkra-shis Tshe-ring and found in the translation as bkra-shis Tshe-ring.

1 Sichuānshěng Ābà Zàngzú zìzhìzhōu dìmínglù (四川省阿坝藏族自治州地名录 [Record of placenames for Ābà Tibetan Prefecture]).
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2 Tibetan spelling of place names is famously haphazard and can have several widely accepted variants. *Cog-tse* also often occurs as *lCog-rtse*, see for example the early work of Nagano.
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 rGyalrong\(^3\) 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 Chéngdū\(^5\) at the time, simply announced that she was taking me home, to her rGyalrong village in the heart of Jiāomùzú\(^6\) 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-ring\(^9\) and Tāěrmū\(^10\) from Kǒnglóng,\(^11\) Lha-rgyal\(^12\) and all his people from Pâerbā,\(^13\) teacher rDo-rje\(^14\) from Púzhì\(^15\) and Tshe-dbang sGron-ma\(^16\) 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

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\(^{3}\) Jiāróng 嘉戎, in older literature also spelled 嘉绒, 羌族 rGyal-rong.

\(^{4}\)央倩, dByangs-cin.

\(^{5}\)成都.

\(^{6}\)脚木足, Kyom-kyo.

\(^{7}\)蒲志.

\(^{8}\)玛玛.

\(^{9}\)斯卡尔玛．

\(^{10}\)塔尔姆.

\(^{11}\)孔龙, mKho-no.

\(^{12}\)拉倉．

\(^{13}\)帕尔巴, Phar-pa.

\(^{14}\)卓赛.

\(^{15}\)蒲志, Pho-gri.

\(^{16}\)贡玛．
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’. Secondly, the term can carry very different meanings, depending on whether it is defined by historical, geographical or political arguments, among other possibilities. 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 Sìchuān 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 (Ānduō) Tibetan and are usually bilingual in rGyalrong.

The rGyalrong call themselves kaʁuʔ, a designation traditionally used in opposition with the terms pot, ‘Tibetan’ and koɾaʔ, ‘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 Míng and Qing dynasties the rGyalrong

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21 The full designation is rGyal-mo tsha-wa rong, རུགམགཙག་གིང, meaning ‘the hot valleys of the queen’. The ‘queen’ refers to mount Mòěrduō (墨尔多, 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, Si-khron.

24 安多, Ānduō.

25 明.

26 清.
principalities were incorporated into the tūsī system.\textsuperscript{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 tūsī. 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\textsuperscript{28} or ‘rGyalrong Tibetans’. For rGyalrong speakers, the original self appellation karuʔ 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

\textsuperscript{27} A tūsī (土司) is a hereditary local ruler whose temporal authority derived from the Chinese emperor. The tūsī 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 tūsī lineages, perceived by their retainers and other subjects as kings, and addressed as such.

\textsuperscript{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 Sichuän 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. 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. 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 tūsī 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. 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 Zànlā Āwàng Cuòchéng (赞拉阿旺措成, bTshan-Iha Ngag-dbang Tshul-Khrims) and Prins 2006, at www.gyalrong.latse.org.
30 bTshan-Iha 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).
Otızer alredery used the term ‘Chiang’ to refer to ethnic groups spread out over a large area from north-west Sichuán down to northern Yúnnán. 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.”

The current linguistic label ‘Qiangic’ was introduced by Sūn Hóngkāi in the 1960s to cover the Qiāng, Púmǐ 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 Sichuán has thirteen members divided in a northern and a southern branch. The northern branch is phonologically and morphologically more complex and includes Qiāng, Púmǐ, Müyá, Ėrgōng, rGyalrong, Lavrun and Tangut. The southern branch, which is less complex phonologically and morphologically, and less well-researched than the northern branch, consists of Zhābā, Quèyù, Guīqióng, Ėrsū, Nàmùyì and Shǐxīng. The idea of the Qiangic grouping as a genetically related subgroup within Tibeto-Burman rests on shared lexical items and typological similarities. Chirkova 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

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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.
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 being genetic in nature. Katia Chirkova, who is documenting the Qiangic languages of Mùlǐ 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, which gives a fairly complete overview of the language.42 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 Hóngkāi’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.43 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.44 The second branch is Lavrung, and the third is rGyalrong proper. At present, the Horpa-Shàngzhái group is under debate by Suzuki as well as Jesse Gates who maintain that the Horpa-Shàngzhái complex actually consists of several languages.45 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.46 The third branch of the tree, rGyalrong proper, in Sun’s proposal is subdivided in three varieties, West (Sìdàbà),47 North (Chábǎo)48 and East (Sìtǔ).49 Jackson Sun has written extensively on the Western group50 and Guillaume Jacques continues to research the Northern varieties.51 The

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40 木里, Mi-li.
41 Chirkova 2011: 7-9, 14, 22.
42 桌克基, Cog-tse.
43 Lín Xiàngróng 1993.
44 Sun 2000a.
45 上寨, sTod-sde.
46 Suzuki 2010; Gates 2011.
47 Huáng Bùfán (黄布凡) 2007.
48 四大坝, sTod-pa.
49 茶堡, Ja-phug.
50 四土.
51 Sun 2004, 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 Lín You-Jing on Zhuōkèjī. 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 1990s as well as on more recent data from an extensive rGyalrong survey undertaken by Professor Nagano that is still ongoing, I divide rGyalrong into Northern, Central and Southern.

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 Rìbù (日部, རོ་བུ་ rDzong-'bur) Township of Mǎěrkāng (马尔康, རུང་ ལག་པ་ ‘Bar-khams) County and a North-Eastern branch centred on Lóngěrjiǎ (龙尔甲, སྦྱོར་ རྡོག་ རྒྱաད) Township in Mǎěrkāng County. The North-Western dialects are spoken in Rìbù, Cǎodēng (草登, སང་ རྒྱ་ ཚོས་ Tsho-bdun) and Kāngshān (康山, སྦྱོར་་ དགུམ་ STo-d-pa) Townships of Mǎěrkāng County, Kēhé (柯河, དཔལ་ ཀྲོ་ Khog-po), Kuāshā (垮沙, སྦྱོར་ མཁབགོེབ mKar-gsar) and Róngān (茸安, སྦྱོར་ སྐོང་ ལམ་ Rong-wam) Townships of Ābà (阿坝, སྟོང་ སྐོང་ སྤྱོད་ རྡུང་ ཆུབ་ Ba-ma-ri) County, and parts of Shīlǐ (石里, ནག་ ཆུ་ Si-li) Township of Rǎngtáng (壤塘, སྦྱོར་ ནུག་ སྤོང་ ‘Dzam-thang). These townships are all in Ābà Prefecture. North-Western rGyalrong is also spoken in Gēlètuó (歌乐沱, གོའི་ སྐོ་ Go-la-thang) Township of Sèdá (色达, སྨོ་ སྨུ་ gSer-thar) County of Gānzī (甘孜, སྲོལ་ ཐོ་ སྨུ་ dKar-mDzes) Prefecture. North-Eastern is spoken in Lóngěrjiǎ, Shāěr (沙尔, སྨོ་ སྨུ སྙིང་ སྲོག་ སྦྱོར་-rdbus) and Dāzàng (大藏, སྨོ་ སྨུ སྨོ་ སྨུ་ Da-tshang) Townships of Mǎěrkāng County. Central rGyalrong is spoken in the Mǎěrkāng County townships of Báiwān (白湾, སྨོ་ སྨུ སྕེ་ སྨུ་ brag-bar), Dāngbā (党坝, སྨོ་ སྞི་ སྨུ་ Dam-pa), Sōnggāng (松岗, སྨོ་ སྞི་ སྨུ་ rDzong-'gag), Bēnzĕn (本真, སྨོ་ པེ། སྨུ་ Pin-cin), Zhuōkèjī, Suōmó (梭磨, སྨོ་ སྦྷུ་ སྨུ་ Sa-stod) and Lúhuāzhèng (芦花镇, སྨོ་ སྨུ་ སྨུ་ rDo-kha-kren) Townships of Hēishuǐ (黑水, སྨོ་ སྨུ་ Khro-chu) County and part of Baǒxìng (宝兴) County. Southern rGyalrong is spoken in the eastern part of Jīnchuān County, parts of Lǐ County, and Bādǐ (巴底, སྨོ་ སྨུ་ Brag-steng) Township, Tāipíngqiáo (太平桥) Township and part of Bānshānmén (半扇门) Township in Dānbā (丹巴, སྨོ་ སྨུ་ 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 Sìtū. 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 Sichuān.

1.3 Jìāomùzú and its dialects

This study is a descriptive grammar of the dialects spoken in Jìāomùzú Township. The name derives from rGyalrong comma, meaning ‘flat place in the middle of the valley’. Jìāomùzú is indeed beautifully situated on wide banks along the Jìāomùzú 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 Jìāomùzú. 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

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57 The website is maintained by David Gatehouse and receives regular updates from scholars working on a variety of Qiängic languages.
58 Jìāomùzú Xiāng in Mǎěrkāng Xiàn of Ābā Zàngzú Qiāngzú Zìzhizhoū, 脚木足乡马尔康县阿坝州藏族羌族自治州, Kyom-kyo Shang, Bar-khams Shan, rNga-pa Bod-rigs Tsh’ang-rigs Rang-skyong-khul.
59 Mǎěrkāng Dimínglì: 89.
 Jiǎomùzú township centre to the administrative seat of Máěrkāng 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 Máěrkāng, 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 wupʰaj 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 Kõnglóng, Păerbā and Púzhi, complemented by material from the Jiāomùzú Múchāng, 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 Jiāomùzú 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, ‘ Kyom-kyo rtsa-thang.
CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter I describe the main features of the phonology of the Jiāomùzú dialects. The description starts in section 2.2 with an overview of the Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú. 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú.

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 [kâˈleʔt̪] for phonetic transcriptions and slashes, like /ka-leʔt̪/ for phonemic transcriptions. I use a primary stress mark as in [koˈruʔ] 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.tsa.go.go/ while hyphens show morpheme breaks: /ta-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>retroflex</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>p pʰ b</td>
<td>t tʰ d</td>
<td>c cʰ j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k kʰ g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricate</td>
<td>ts tsʰ dz</td>
<td>tʃ tʃʰ dʒ</td>
<td>tʃ tʃʰ dʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>(f) v</td>
<td>s z (l)</td>
<td>ʃ ʒ</td>
<td>(ʂ)</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **vowels**

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

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

b. Consonant phonemes: phonetic description and allophones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close-mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

labials

/p/ voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive [p]
/pʰ/ voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive [pʰ]
/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) [ma'fɔŋ] leprosy, Chinese: 麻风, máfēng
     [je'fuŋ ɡa'vajŋ] married (literally: /je'fun/ '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. This is an innovation, as the use of /f/ in that dialect was still unknown in the 1950s. In the Jiāomûzû dialects, /f/ is often realised as [ɸ].

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alveolars

/t/ voiceless unaspirated dental plosive \[t\]
/tʰ/ voiceless aspirated dental plosive \[tʰ\]
/d/ voiced unaspirated dental plosive \[d\]
/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/  \[la'ʃe\]  Tibet  literary Tibetan: ལྷེ་, lHa-sa

/lhandɾe/  \[la'n̪dɾe\]  devil, demon  literary Tibetan: ལྷའདྲེ, lha-'dre

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

(3) /kaslep/  \[ka'slep\]  study, learn; lit. Tibetan: སྲོལ་བོད slob-sbyong

/sloppən/  \[slo'pən\]  teacher, master; lit. Tibetan: སྲོལ་པོན slob-dpon

Not all instances of /lh/ in Tibetan loans are pronounced uniformly as \[l\]. In Jiāomùzú the cluster is variously pronounced as \[l\], [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 /ɬ/ in phonemic descriptions.

(4) /lhe/  [xle] statue or image of a deity; deity; lit. Tibetan: བོད་ལ་
/lhandɾe/  [hαndɾe] ghost; lit. Tibetan: བོད་ལ་‘dre
/lharya/  [hαɾya] man's name; lit. Tibetan: བོད་ལ་རྒྱལ
/lhamo/  ['hamo] woman's name; lit. Tibetan: བོད་ལ་མོ

palatals

/c/  voiceless unaspirated palatal plosive  [c]
/cʰ/  voiceless aspirated palatal plosive  [cʰ]
/y/  voiced unaspirated palatal plosive  [ʃ]
/y/  voiceless unaspirated palatal fricative  [ʃ]
/z/  voiced unaspirated palatal fricative  [ʒ]
/p/  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) [ʂw ‘piŋ] thermos flask; Chinese: [ʂw ‘piŋ] 水瓶, shǔpíng
[ʈʂʰ ‘aŋ] tea; Chinese: [ʈʂʰ ‘aŋ] 茶, chá

Interestingly, though the word for 'tea' apparently is a direct loan from Chinese, the word for 'kettle', [cʰ ‘a ‘xh], reflects more an Amdo nomad pronunciation. Loans from Chinese, especially more recent ones, often reflect the pronunciation of the Sichuān dialect as spoken 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 Sichuān dialect. Consequently, it is borrowed into rGyalrong without retroflex. The word for umbrella does not have a retroflex in either standard Chinese or Sichuān dialect. The superscript numbers to the right of the phonetic transcription are tone marks:
(6) [wu'tswʰaʔŋ] his or her bed; Chinese standard: [tʂʰwaŋ³⁵], 床, chuáng, Sichuān dialect: [tʂʰwaŋ³¹]

[saʔŋ] umbrella; Chinese standard: [san²¹⁴], 伞, sān, Sichuān dialect: [san⁵³]

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

(7) [ʃəxˈʂeʔk] 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 [tʂ]

/tsʰ/ voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate [tʃʰ]

/dz/ voiced unaspirated alveolar affricate [dz]

/tʃ/ voiceless unaspirated palatal affricate [tʃ]

/tʃʰ/ voiceless aspirated palatal affricate [tʃʰ]

/dʒ/ voiced unaspirated palatal affricate [dʒ]

/tʃ/ voiceless unaspirated retroflexed affricate [tʃ]

/tʃʰ/ voiceless aspirated retroflexed affricate [tʃʰ]

/dʃ/ voiced unaspirated retroflexed flap affricate [dʃ]

Retroflexed flaps do not occur independently, so that /tʃ, tʃʰ, dʃ/ 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.rlbwek/, 'roll up (sleeves)'; /ta.rnd ʒak/, 'wrinkle'; /ka.nd⁸waʔp/, 'tumble, fall'; /ka.rdzwa/, 'dig'. The affricates /tʃ, tʃʰ, dʃ/ are realised anywhere between a post-alveolar and a palatal position:

(8) /katʃʰi/ [ka'cçʰi] go

/japtʃen/ [ja'ɸtʃen] 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.tʃʰi/, '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.
Mansier\textsuperscript{65} has commented on free variation between aspirated palatals and affricates for the Xiăojin 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.\textsuperscript{66} In previous literature on rGyalrong this same pattern is reflected, with some scholars reporting postalveolar and palatal affricates, but no palatal plosives,\textsuperscript{67} some finding one series of affricates and a palatal plosives series.\textsuperscript{68} Only one scholar, Kin P’eng\textsuperscript{69} attests both a double series of affricates and a palatal plosives series. In Jiăomüzú there is clear contrast between the post-alveolar affricates and palatal plosives. I give a full set of minimal pairs in Appendix A.

velars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/k/</th>
<th>voiceless unaspirated velar plosive</th>
<th>[k]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kʰ/</td>
<td>voiceless aspirated velar plosive</td>
<td>[kʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>voiced unaspirated velar plosive</td>
<td>[g]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>velar nasal</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occurrence of /g/ is relatively rare.

glottals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ʔ/</th>
<th>glottal stop</th>
<th>[ʔ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>glottal fricative</td>
<td>[h]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

\textsuperscript{65} Mansier (1983: 91-94).

\textsuperscript{66} The distinction is very clear in the spelling of literary Tibetan, and is maintained in the Amdo dialects of Mag-sar མག་སར་ and Tsho-bzhi བྲོལ་བཟི in Hóngyuán (红原, Hong yon ལྷོང་གནས) County, a little north of the rGyalrong areas: [tʃəʔ], ‘what’, literary Tibetan: ཚེ་ ཤ, [tʃʰə], ‘water’, literary Tibetan: མོ, ཟྣ, [czy], ‘genitive particle’, literary Tibetan: མོ, ལྭ, [cʰy], ‘dog’, literary Tibetan: མོ, khyu.

\textsuperscript{67} Jīn (金)1957, Chang Kun (Zhāng Kūn, 张琨) 1968, Lín Xiàngróng 1993.

\textsuperscript{68} Nagano 1984, Lin 2000.

\textsuperscript{69} Kin P’eng 1949.
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 phonemic 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:

\(^{70}\) 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: མ, 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) /han'roʔwɔ̊/ [han'roʔwɔ̊] soy bean; Chinese: 黄豆, huánɡdòu

/saʔnɔ̊/ [saʔnɔ̊] umbrella; Chinese: 伞, sān

/jaŋjuʔpɔ̊/ [jaŋˈjyʔpɔ̊] potatoe; Chinese: 洋芋, yāngyù

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) /pʰaroʔk/ [pʰɑˈrɔʔk̚] crow

/təwaʔm/ [təˈwaʔm̚] bear

/kʰraʔw/ [kʰr̥əʔw̚]; [kʰr̥əʔw] 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)

[paŋ′gor] /pak-ŋgor/ pork fat (pig + fat)

[paŋ′raʔ?] /pak-ŋraʔ/ wild boar (pig + wild)

Glottal stops, like other finals in Jiāomūzú, 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) [təpʃiʔ] /təpʃiʔ/ excrement

[təpʃiˈrboʔ] /təpʃiˈrboʔ/ fart

(19) [pkwaʔ?] /pkwaʔ/ chicken, hen

[pkwaˈpuʔ] /pkwaˈpuʔ/ chick, little bird

(20) [kaŋaˈtsɔʔ] /kanatsoʔ/ look, see

[ŋaˈtsɔŋ] /natsoŋ/ look, 1s

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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) | [tərəˈhaɾ kəˈva] | /tərəɦəɾ kəva/ | pant for breath |
| [təˈhem kəˈva] | /təhəm kəva/ | yawn |
| [haˈɾəɾo] | /həɾəɾo/ | that side |
| [waˈhum kəmiʔ] | /wəhum kəmiʔ/ | tasteless, bland |

(22) | [kəˈhaʔw] | /kəhəʔw/ | good; Chinese: 好, hǎo |
| [hun] | /hən/ | minute; Chinese: 分钟, fēnzhōng |

/h/ is sometimes realised as a velar fricative:

(23) | [mbaˈxe] | /mbahe/ | water buffalo; lit. Tibetan: མ་ཧེ, ma-he |

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 Jiāomùzú indicates a loss of final stops in some cases. I have found that within the different villages and settlements of Jiāomùzú there are differences in pronunciation of glottals and final consonants. For example, most Jiāomùzú speakers use [kəˈruʔ] for 'Tibetan, rGyalrong', as do speakers from other central rGyalrong dialects. But speakers from the Jiāomùzú Mùchǎng, the high altitude grasslands, say [kəˈruk]. 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 Xiāojīn. Professor Āwàng, a native speaker of the Xiāojīn dialect, when asked to write down in Tibetan script the word for 'put', gave མགོན་དགའ, ka-gtad, [kəˈxətə']. In both Jiāomùzú and Zhuōkèjī the word for 'put' is /kataʔ/, [kaˈtəʔ].

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 Yanmuchu\textsuperscript{72} proposed in their work on Suōmò. Interestingly, recent research\textsuperscript{73} 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

/e/ close-mid unrounded front vowel

*central vowels*

/ə/ mid unrounded central vowel

/a/ open unrounded central vowel

Scholars disagree as to the existence of the central vowel on a phonemic level. Jīn Péng,\textsuperscript{74} for the Suōmò dialect, concluded that it does exist, but has a tendency to turn into cardinal vowels, especially /e/ and /i/. Mansier,\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{72} Dài Qìngxià (戴庆厦) and Yanmuchu 1992.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{74} 金鹏 (Kin P’eng) (1957-58: 226-229).

\textsuperscript{75} Mansier (1983: 141-146).
harmonisation and assimilation explain much of the instability of the rGyalrong vowels noted by Jīn 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 Jiāomùzú 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/ [mbrˈzaʔ] knife

The Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú dialects as more 'heavy' than the Suōmò or Zhuōkèjī dialects:

(25)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jiāomùzú</th>
<th>Suōmò</th>
<th>Zhuōkèjī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grass plot</td>
<td>/kajvuʔ/</td>
<td>[kaipi]</td>
<td>[kuipiʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buy</td>
<td>/kaku/</td>
<td>[kaki]</td>
<td>[kaki]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grey</td>
<td>/kabu/</td>
<td>[kəgbɪ]</td>
<td>[kəbgi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>/kəbdu/</td>
<td>[kəwdi]</td>
<td>[kəwdi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>/ʃnu/</td>
<td>[sni]</td>
<td>[sni]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cardinal vowel /i/ is mostly stable.
Cardinal vowel /e/ can be realised as [ɛ], especially in stressed or accented syllables:

(26) /kʰajpʰeʔʔs/ [kʰajpʰeʔʔs] marmot
/tɔmiʰek/ [tɔmiʰek] waist
/sən/ [snən] glue
/səkle/ [səxˈle] saw

76 The Suōmò data are from Jīn 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 Jiǎomùzú 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:

\[
(27) \quad /\text{t}o\text{wa}ʔ\text{m}/ \quad [\text{t}o\text{wa}ʔ\text{m}̚] \quad \text{bear}
\]

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 [e]. This can make it hard to distinguish between /a/ and /e/:

\[
(28) \quad /\text{ka}\text{l}eʔ\text{t}/ \quad [\text{ka}\text{l}eʔ\text{t}], [\text{ka}\text{l}æʔ\text{t}] \quad \text{hit}
/\text{tɾo}\text{zan}/ \quad [\text{tɾo}\text{zen}], [\text{tɾo}\text{zen}] \quad \text{portion, ration}
/\text{nɾ}\text{a}\text{m}/ \quad [\text{nɾ}\text{a}\text{m}] \quad \text{religious dance}
/\text{mar}\text{sr}/ \quad [\text{mar}\text{sr}], [\text{mar}\text{sr}] \quad \text{fresh butter}
/\text{tam}\text{ŋa}ʔ\text{n}/ \quad [\text{tam}\text{ŋe}ʔ\text{n}] \quad \text{bad omen}
\]

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/:

\[
(29) \quad [\text{e}] \quad /\text{lhe}/ \quad \text{deity}
[\text{a}\text{nɾd}e] \quad /\text{lhand}e/ \quad \text{ghost}
\quad [\text{e}\text{h}e], [\text{e}\text{h}e] \quad /\text{e}\text{h}e/ \quad \text{liquor}
\quad [\text{e}\text{h}a:\text{la}] \quad /\text{e}\text{h}a:\text{la}/ \quad \text{distiller's yeast}
\]

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: दग्न, 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.:

\[
(30) \quad /\text{təmdo}ʔ\text{k}/ \quad [\text{təmdɔʔk}] \quad \text{colour}
/\text{mbro}\text{t}^\text{b}ʔ\text{ʔ}/ \quad [\text{mbro}\text{t}^\text{b}ʔ\text{ʔ}] \quad \text{colt}
/\text{zgro}\text{k}/ \quad [\text{zgɾɔk}] \quad \text{bracelet}
\]

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

\[
(31) \quad /\text{pat}j\text{u}/ \quad [\text{pa}τjy] \quad \text{bird}
/\text{təɾ}\text{ŋu}/ \quad [\text{təɾŋy}] \quad \text{name}
/\text{pəɾu}/ \quad [\text{pəɾy}] \quad \text{mouse}
\]
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 Jiāmùzú word. For clarity a dot separates syllables while a hyphen connects morphemes:

* a single unprefixed 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.go.jo/, 'yellow weasel'; /na.ma.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 ko- 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 ko- (see for example sections 7.1 and 4.3). In the word koruʔ, ‘Tibetan’, neither ko-nor ruʔ have meaning by themselves:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(32)</th>
<th>/ko. paʔ/</th>
<th>Han Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ko.ruʔ/</td>
<td>(rGyalrong) Tibetan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*/ruʔ-ndzu/</td>
<td>/ko.ruʔ-ndzu/</td>
<td>Tibetan log ladder (Tibetan-log ladder)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*/paʔ-ndze/</td>
<td>/ko.paʔ-ndze/</td>
<td>Han Chinese food (Han Chinese-food)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* two affixes and a root: /ka-sa-psəʔ/, '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 pa- 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'; /ko-mŋi/, 'five'.
* a root combined with a number of affixes: /ma-ka-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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Example Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>/ca/ musk deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kʰə/ hound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/a.rdi/ turban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV</td>
<td>/mbu.ru/ plough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/zji-məj/ fifteen (ten-five)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCV</td>
<td>/rdwe/ argali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ta-ndzi/ tusk (prefix-root)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>/kʰoŋ/ tiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/tʃʰət/ goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC</td>
<td>/ka-kəpət/ livestock (prefix-root)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kron.kron/ throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCVC</td>
<td>/ka-rscat/ eight (prefix-root)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/spjan.kə/ wolf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCC</td>
<td>/tʰo-jn/ ascend-3p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/tʃʰi-ndʒ/ go-3d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
CCVCC /zdeʔm/ [zdeʔm] cloud
/ka.ntʃak-j/ [kaʔntʃej] in town (root-LOC)

CCCVC /ta-mbraʔm/ [ta'braʔm] measles (prefix-root)
/rdzwa-ndʒ/ [rdzwandʒ] dig-3d

CVCC /ka-ŋan-ndʒ/ [kaŋendʒ] the two evil ones
/ka-və-mot-ndʒ/ [kaˈvamondʒ] the two who are blown away

CCVCC /ka-pjis-ndʒ/ [kaˈpjindʒ] the two who apply ointment
/ka-ŋa-ndzor-ndʒ/ [kaˈŋandzondʒ] the two who bark

CCCVCC /ka-rmbat-ndʒ/ [kaˈmbandʒ] the two who draw near
/ka-mpʃar-ndʒ/ [kaˈmpʃandʒ] the two beautiful ones

CVCCC /na-laʔt-jn/ [naˈlæjn] hit, second or third person plural perfective
/ka-neʔk-ndʒ/ [kaˈnendʒ] the two black ones

CCVVCC /ka-mtʃoʔk-ndʒ/ [kaˈmtʃoŋndʒ] the two old ones
/ka-koʔt-ndʒ/ [kaˈkɔndʒ] the two who engrave

CCCVCC /ka-ʃkraʔk-ndʒ/ [kaˈʃкраŋndʒ] the two clever ones
/ka-skriʔn-ndʒ/ [kaˈskrindʒ] 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. Jiāomùzú CV patterns call for syllables that consist of 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú syllable canon can be represented in a formula as follows:

\[(C1)(C2)C3(C4)V(C5)(C6)\]

The consonants between brackets are optional. A Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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-rambok/ mane (of a horse) (prefix-root)
/kə-rscat/ eight (prefix-root)
/ka-mpʃar/ beautiful (prefix-root)
/ca-mpsɔ/ musk (deer-musk)
/to-jmbak/ leaf (prefix-root)
/kʰa. jŋguʔ/ trough

Some of the data with the glide /j/, such as /kʰajŋguʔ/ is suspect, in that /j/ may be an infix or part of a merged prefix 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
/to-skruʔ/ body (prefix-root)
/spjaŋ,kə/ wolf
/ka-mbjam/ fly (v) (prefix-root)
/rdwe/ argali
/to-ntwa/ sickle (prefix-root)
/to-nggli/ falsehood (prefix-root)
/to-skliʔ/ bear, endure (prefix-root)

In this pattern, C2 can be filled by /p, m, n, s, z, r, ŋ, k, ʃ, j/. C3 can be filled by /p, pʰ, b, t, d, ts, dz, dʒ, cʰ, 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-ŋi/ hair (prefix-root)
/kɔ mbuʔ/ yak calf
/kɔ-ʃpɔt/ livestock (prefix-root)
/tɔ-pʃiʔ/ excrement (prefix-root)
/tɔ-ktʃa/ 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) /kʰa._priʔ/ snake
/pja.rgoʔt/ vulture
/ta-vluʔ/ age (prefix-root)
/swej/ barley

In this pattern C3 can be filled by /p, pʰ, m, tʰ, r, s, z, v, j, ts, ʃ, ʒ, cʰ, k, kʰ, g, w/.

Final clusters
Jiaomùzú 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 /ndʒənə/, a variant of /nənəndʒə/ (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 Jiǎomǔzú can have only one vowel. The simplest Jiǎomǔzú 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)
/tśa.ɡə.jo/ yellow weasel /ja.ɡət/ balcony
/kʰo.roʔk/ ant /kə.par/ jackal
/ka.laʔ/ rabbit /leŋ.leŋ.ʃuʔ/ 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 Npʰ Nb Nts Ntsʰ Ndʒ
Nt Ntʰ Nd Ntʃ Ntʃʰ Ndʒ
Nc Ncʰ Nj Ntŋ Ntŋʰ Ndʒ
Nk Nkʰ 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 Jiǎomǔzú are similar to the clusters in literary Tibetan that are transcribed with ཉ, 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: བར་ཁམས Bar-khams, 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 /ntʃʰ/ and /ntʃ/ are lacking in my data. More data gathering will eventually
show whether these clusters do not exist in Jiăomùzú or if my initial data set simply missed them.

Examples of prenasalised series:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(41)</th>
<th>/mp/</th>
<th>/kampʃok/</th>
<th>build, erect</th>
<th>/ka.mpuʔ/</th>
<th>cloth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/mpʰ/</td>
<td>/tampʰet/</td>
<td>vomit</td>
<td>/tampʰi/</td>
<td>outside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mb/</td>
<td>/tambat/</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>/tambilʔ/</td>
<td>rope</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nt/</td>
<td>/tɔntwa/</td>
<td>sickle</td>
<td>/tɔntok/</td>
<td>beak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ntʰ/</td>
<td>/kantʰen/</td>
<td>pull</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nd/</td>
<td>/sondiʔ/</td>
<td>day after tomorrow</td>
<td>/tandar/</td>
<td>rubbish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nc/</td>
<td>/tancap/</td>
<td>shadow side of a slope</td>
<td>/kancau/</td>
<td>transport</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ncʰ/</td>
<td>/kɔncʰat/</td>
<td>flat</td>
<td>/kʰancʰwak/</td>
<td>pit, stone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>/kʰanjarara/</td>
<td>cicada</td>
<td>/ŋuruʔ/</td>
<td>nit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋk/</td>
<td>/kavanʃka/</td>
<td>chew</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋkʰ/</td>
<td>/taŋkʰuʔ/</td>
<td>behind, back</td>
<td>/kannkʰun/</td>
<td>incarnate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋɡ/</td>
<td>/kanangɔ/</td>
<td>share</td>
<td>/ŋkʰunɡuʔ/</td>
<td>pestle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nts/</td>
<td>/karantsuk/</td>
<td>cut up</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ntsʰ/</td>
<td>/kantsʰok/</td>
<td>gnaw</td>
<td>/kɔntʰɔʔp/</td>
<td>hasty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ndz/</td>
<td>/kawandzor/</td>
<td>grind</td>
<td>/tandzwi/</td>
<td>tusk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ntʃ/</td>
<td>/kantʃʰa/</td>
<td>butcher</td>
<td>/kantʃʰiʔ/</td>
<td>choose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ndʒ/</td>
<td>/tarndʒak/</td>
<td>wrinkle</td>
<td>/wunjondʒ/</td>
<td>3d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ntʃʰ/</td>
<td>/kantʃok/</td>
<td>wild goose</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ntʃʰ/</td>
<td>/kantʃəʔp/</td>
<td>tumble, fall</td>
<td>/tandəʔu/</td>
<td>skin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Jiăomùzú CV pattern requires each syllable to also have a vowel. For example, /kʰoroʔk/, 'ant' consists of the prefix /kʰ/- which occurs in animal names signalling 'non-mammal'. The morpheme break is after /kʰ/- But the most basic syllable pattern consists of one consonant and one
vowel, requiring a syllable break after \( k^h o \). In the examples in this section a hyphen marks the morpheme boundary, a dot indicates the syllable break:

\[
\begin{align*}
(42) \quad [k^h o'roʔk] & \quad /k^h-o.roʔk/ \quad \text{ant} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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 Jiāomùzú dialects it is easy to establish clear, unequivocal syllable breaks based on CV patterns and morphological information, since many Jiāomùzú 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
(43) \quad [n̪at̪əˈʃok̚] & \quad */na-tə-ʃoʔk/ \quad \text{finished, 2s} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
(44) \quad /ka-joʔk/ & \quad \text{end (dynamic verb prefix-root)} \quad [ka'joʔk'] \\
/kə-sə-joʔk/ & \quad \text{finish (dynamic verb prefix-causal marker-root)} \quad [kə'si'joʔk'], \quad [ka'ʃoʔk'] \\
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
(45) \quad /na-tə-sə-joʔk-w/ & \quad \text{finished (past-2-causality-root-2s)} \quad [nətə'ʃoʔk'] \\
\end{align*}
\]

Sometimes the apparent loss of vowels leads to seemingly impossible consonant clusters, as in \([mbrza]\), 'knife'. Jiāomùzú cannot have four consonants in an initial cluster, so there must be a syllable break. But it is unclear how it should be applied: \(/mbo.rzą/ \text{ and } /mbr.ża/ \) 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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mǐyàluó79</td>
<td>[brtza]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāngbà</td>
<td>[mbɔˈrtze]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāshīduō</td>
<td>[brstza]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Báiwān</td>
<td>[mbɔˈrstsa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baòxing</td>
<td>[mbɔˈrtsa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dānbā</td>
<td>[zəˈgrɪʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bādī</td>
<td>[zəˈgroʔk]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on a comparison with Bāoxìng and Báiwān the Jiǎomùzú variant [mbɔrta] could be analysed as /mbɔrtza/.

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

(47) /kə-raʔm/  
     dry (non-process verb; prefix-root)  

/kə-raʔ-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:

---

79 米亚罗, 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.
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) \[ja ˈŋxwo¤\]  matches  */ja.ŋxwo¤/  /ja.ŋ.xwo¤/  Chinese: 洋火, yáng huǒ, 'foreign fire'

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 /məntoʔk/ or /mən.toʔk/. There is no direct match in the literary Tibetan form, which is མག་ོ, 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 /məntoʔk/. 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.
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

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

(54) ['nəmäʔk], ['nəmäʔ] no, not at all

Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú Mùchǎng pronounce 'sheep' as [kəˈjʊʔk], and 'Tibetan' as [kəˈrʊk], with a clear final plosive. Also, Professor Āwàng suggests that [təˈroʔ], 'leader' derives from an ancient tribal name pronounced [təˈrɔk]. The descendants of the people bearing this name became leaders, and the word [təˈrɔk], 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 Púzhì:

(55) [ka'ndza] /kandza/ eat

[ŋə'ndzen] /ŋə-ndze-ŋ/
EREFL-eat-1s
I eat by myself (without any company).

[ŋə ŋə'ndzeʔŋ] /ŋə ŋə-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 ŋə- 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 Jiăomuzǔ dialects, the Northern dialect of Chábào does not have tone, though stress is contrastive.\(^85\) Lin, in her most recent work on the Central dialect of Zhuŏkējì, 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.
available, so that it is not clear yet whether the tones function on a phonological level only or are contrastive on a morphological level also.

i. Stress, pitch and accent

Contrastive stress or accent can arise only through morphology. On the phonological level stress is not contrastive. Discussions of contrastive stress on the morphological level can be found in subsection 2 below as well as section 2.3.j of this chapter and in sections 7.4 and 7.5 of the verb chapter. A simple pitch-accent system assigns relative high and low pitch to every syllable in a word, with the accent on the syllable that sounds loudest and has the highest pitch. I give examples of the various pitch patterns below. A stress marker marks the accented syllables. For ease of reading syllables in the examples are separated by a dot. High and low pitch is marked by H and L respectively below the corresponding syllables.

1. Pitch

Pitch patterns for two syllable words

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

(56) /kʰa.ˈɲuk/ pika /tə.ˈnuʔ/ breast
     L   H     L   H

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:

(57) /tʃu.ˈsrem/ otter, of /tə.ˈɟuʔ/, 'water', and /srem/, 'otter'
     L   H     L   H

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

88 The unpublished data are from an extensive survey of rGyalrong dialects undertaken by Professor Nagano.
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.kˈi.ˈru/ taste
    L H H
/kʰa.rdi.ˈliʔ/ 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) /kʰa.ˈmŋaʔm.mŋaʔm/ small bell for leading a circle dance
    L H L
/ta.ˈʃom.tʃom/ 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) /kʰa.jpə.lo.ˈta/ skipping (a child's game)
    L H H H
/kə.ˈŋa.gu.ˈʔ/ bent, scorched
    L H H H
/ka.ˈŋa.pʰət.pʰət/ lose contact with
    L H L L

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) /kʰa.ˈpə.lo.lo/ butterfly
    L H L L
/da.ˈtsə.go.go/ two stringed instrument
    L H L L
/ka.ˈŋa.pʰət.ˈpʰət/ bent
    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 2.3.1 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) /ˈmbroʔ-w-a.rmbok/ mane (of a horse) (horse-3s.mane)
      H L L
/
/smok-ka.njam/ down (a very soft kind of hair) (wool-soft)
      H L L

/kʰor.lo-\text{'}mnu/ augur, drill (wheel-drill)
      L H H
/ta.waʔ-p-\text{'}jeʔm/ sewing kit (needle-house)
      L H H

/kʰa.\text{'}mtse-pə.rjo/ centipede (bug-hundred)
      L H L L
/\text{tə.} \text{f}mi-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) /\text{tə.} \text{f}mi/ tongue

/\text{tə.} \text{w}o/ head

/\text{tə.} \text{f}mi-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:
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 Jiăomùzû:

- 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 /kʰajpəlolo/, '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 /kəkavafki/, 'burnt', will sound like a mid level and a high level pitch respectively.

Accented syllables in Jiăomùzû 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-tʃi-n/  Will you go? (INT-2-go-2s)
     L  H  L

(65b) /mə-tə-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 na- 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 na- which signals outside authority, see example (66). First and second person present imperfective aspect is marked by the stressed prefix ka-, 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/  [kaˈtɔp]  hit (INF-root)
    /kə-topŋ/  [ˈkətɔm]  I’m hitting (PRIMP-root-1s)
    /ŋa-top-w/  [ŋəˈtɔp]  he is hitting (PRIMP-root-3s)
    /na-top-w/  [nəˈtɔp]  he hit (PFT-root-3s)
    /naˈ-top-w/  [ˈnətɔp]  hit! (IMP-root-2s)
    /na-top-w/  [nəˈtɔp]  he is hitting (OBS-root-3s)
    /naˈ-ə-top-w/  [ˈnətɔp]  he hit (PFT-NEV-root-3s)
    /ma-top-w/  [maˈtɔp]  doesn't hit (NEG-root-3s)
    /na-topŋ tʃe/  [ˈnətɔm tʃe]  once I will have hit (PFT-root-1s LOC)

(67) /ka-mem/  [kəˈmɛm]  tasty (INF-root)
    /na-mem/  [ˈnəmɛm]  tasty (OBS-root)
    /maˈ-na-mem/  [maˈnəmɛm]  not tasty (NEG-OBS-root)

(68) /ka-ɲu/  [kəˈɲu]  live, be at home (INF-root)
    /ɲu/  [ɲu]  is at home (root)
    /ma-ɲu/  [maˈɲu]  is not at home (NEG-root)
    /na-ɲu/  [ˈnəɲu]  is at home (OBS-root)
    /maˈ-na-ɲu/  [maˈnəɲu]  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:

\[(69) /k/ \sim [ɣ] /tokənətsɔŋ/ [tɔŋənətsɔŋ] \text{ look, 1s past} /kanəknu/ [kanəɣnu] \text{ feel guilty} /g/ \sim [ɣ] /təgʒo/ [təɣʒɔ] \text{ genital organ} /zgogden/ [zgoɣden] \text{ threshold} /p/ \sim [ɸ] /pkwaʔ/ [ɸkwaʔ] \text{ chicken} /tapke/ [təˈɸke] \text{ be full (after eating)} /b/ \sim [β] /bopɟop/ [bɔp̚ɟɔp] \text{ fish} /b/ \sim [β] /kəbde/ [kəβde] \text{ good} \]

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

\[(70) /kəsnəna/ [kəznənə] \text{ stop, cease} /r/ \text{ can be devoiced after } /k/ \text{ and especially } /kʰ/: \]

\[(71) /kʰroŋkʰroŋ/ [kʰrɔŋkʰr̥ɔŋ] \text{ throat} /kʰɾəʔw/ [kʰɾəʔw] \text{ rice} \]

**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 [u] or even [o]:

\[(72) /kəmrbru/ [kəmbrɔ] \text{ yak} /tavlu/ [taˈvlə] \text{ age} /mepʰuʔ/ [meˈpʰuʔ] \text{ poplar} /kətsəɾu/ [kətsəɾu] \text{ salty} \]
The vowel /ə/ in non-accented syllables can assimilate to [ɜ] before /o, w/, and to [i] or [e] before palatals and alveolars occurring in a following syllable:

(73) /təjla/  [te'jla, ti'jla]  milk
/təjwaʔk/  [te'jwaʔk]  neighbour
/təskruʔ/  [ti'skruʔ]  body
/təʃnaʔ/  [tiʃnaʔ]  heart
/təŋgro/  [toŋgro]  sinew, tendon
/təmŋok/  [to'mŋok]  bread
/kəwas/  [kə'was]  fly

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

(74) /tajmi/  [te'jmi]  tail
/tajʃen/  [tejʃen]  scales, steelyard
/kaktor/  [ko'ktɔɾ]  break up, scatter
/pʰaroʔk/  [pʰaroʔk]  crow
/karnaʔk/  [ko'ɾnaʔk]  deep
/kapsak/  [ko'psak]  light, not dark
/kawoʔr/  [ko'woʔɾ]  help with physical labour
/kawu/  [ko'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/  [paŋndze]  swill, pigs feed
/pʰa mbo/  [pʰaŋmbo]  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:
pictures of your family

eight

hand-digit

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) /kantʃak/ [ka'ntʃej]
market, town
at the market, in town

/kʰa/ [kʰej]
room
in the communal kitchen or livingroom

/ʈəŋɡu/ [ʈəŋɡi]
inside
on the inside

/stoŋ-pa/ [stoŋpe]
every-year
in every year, yearly

(78) /loser w-ɔʒak-j/ [wu'ʒe?]
New.Year
at New Year's
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 \([u]\):

\[
(80) /ta-miʔ/ \quad \text{leg} \quad /w-a.miʔ/ \quad /wə.miʔ/ \quad \text{his leg} \\
3s:GEN-leg
\]

\[
(81) /tə-skruʔ/ \quad \text{body} \quad /w-ə.skruʔ/ \quad /wu.skruʔ/ \quad \text{his body} \\
3s:GEN-body
\]

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 \([u]\):

\[
(81) /hawʂuзи/ \quad \text{number} \quad /wu-hawʂuзи/ \quad /wu'hawksuзи/ \quad \text{his number} \\
3s:GEN-number
\]

In the Jiāomùzú 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**

Jiāomùzú 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 /\( m, n \)/, final fricative /\( s \)/ and final glides /\( l, r \)/. 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 *tascokt kaleʔt*, 'write [any kind of writing]'. The verb *kasaʔram* 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(82)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kanəjup</td>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>/nəjup-ŋ/</td>
<td>[nəˈjum]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaleʔt</td>
<td>write</td>
<td>/leʔt-ŋ/</td>
<td>[lεʔn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karəʔk</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>/raʔk-ŋ/</td>
<td>[ɾaʔŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kataʔ</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>/taʔ-ŋ/</td>
<td>[taʔŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasəraʔm</td>
<td>dry</td>
<td>/səraʔm-ŋ/</td>
<td>[soراحةm]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kandon</td>
<td>read</td>
<td>/ndon-ŋ/</td>
<td>[ndon]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanəkroʔs</td>
<td>discuss</td>
<td>/nəkroʔs-ŋ/</td>
<td>[nəkroʔŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapʰəl</td>
<td>offer up</td>
<td>/pʰəl-ŋ/</td>
<td>[pʰən]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaskoʔr</td>
<td>hire</td>
<td>/skoʔr-ŋ/</td>
<td>[skoʔŋ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Jiǎomůzǔ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(83)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>katop</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>/tə-top-w/</td>
<td>[təˈtop]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaleʔt</td>
<td>write</td>
<td>/tə-leʔt-w/</td>
<td>[təˈleʔt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəpjaʔk</td>
<td>thirsty</td>
<td>/tə-pjaʔk-n/</td>
<td>[təˈpaʔk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kataʔ</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>/tə-taʔ-w/</td>
<td>[təˈtaʔw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasəraʔm</td>
<td>dry</td>
<td>/tə-səraʔm-w/</td>
<td>[təساʔraʔm]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kandon</td>
<td>read</td>
<td>/tə-ndon-w/</td>
<td>[təˈndon]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanəkroʔs</td>
<td>discuss</td>
<td>/tə-nəkroʔs-w/</td>
<td>[təˈnəkroʔw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapʰəl</td>
<td>offer up</td>
<td>/tə-pʰəl-w/</td>
<td>[təˈpʰəw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaskoʔr</td>
<td>hire</td>
<td>/tə-skoʔr-w/</td>
<td>[təˈskoʔr]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

63
1d -dʒ - plosives remain, though they are sometimes hard to hear; [t] implodes into the suffix; final glottal disappears
- nasals remain
- fricatives and glides drop out

(84) kanəjup  sleep /nəjup-dʒ/  [nəˈjupdʒ]  we two sleep
kaleʔt  write /leʔt-dʒ/  [ledʒ]  we two write
karəʔk  run /rəʔk-dʒ/  [rəkdoʒ]  we two run
kataʔ  put /taʔ-dʒ/  [tadʒ]  we two put

kasəraʔm  dry /səraʔm-dʒ/  [soˈramdʒ]  we two dry
kandon  read /ndon-dʒ/  [ndondʒ]  we two read

kanəkroʔs  discuss /nəkroʔs-dʒ/  [nəkrodʒ]  we two discuss
kapʰəl  offer up /pʰəl-dʒ/  [pʰədʒ]  we two offer up

kaskoʔr  hire /skoʔr-dʒ/  [skodʒ]  we two hire

2d/3d -ndʒ - plosives, glottals and nasals drop out or take the same place as second and third person dual markers
- fricatives and glides drop out

The examples are all third person forms, because the suffix marking is the same for second and third person:
(85)  kanəjup  sleep  /nəjup-ndʒ/  [nəˈjyndʒ]  they two sleep
       [ŋəˈjyndʒ]

       katop  hit  /təp-ndʒ/  [tɔndʒ]  they two hit

       kaleʔt  write  /leʔt-ndʒ/  [ləndʒ]  they two write

       karjoʔk  run  /rəjοʔk-ndʒ/  [rəndʒ]  they two run

       kataʔ  put  /taʔ-ndʒ/  [tandʒ]  they two put

       kasəraʔm  dry  /səraʔm-ndʒ/  [səˈramdʒ]  they two dry

       kandəj  read  /ndən-ndʒ/  [ndəndʒ]  they two read

       kanəkroʔs  discuss  /nəkroʔs-ndʒ/  [nəkrəndʒ]  they two
                          discuss

       kapʰəl  offer up  /pʰəl-ndʒ/  [pʰəndʒ]  they two offer
                          up

       kaskoʔr  hire  /skoʔr-ndʒ/  [skəndʒ]  they two hire

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

(86)  katop  hit  /təp-j/  [təj]  we hit

       kanəjup  sleep  /təjup-jn/  [təˈjyjn]  you (p) sleep

       kaleʔt  hit  /leʔt-jn/  [ləjn]  they hit

       kə̆jaʔk  thirsty  /jaʔk-ji/  [jaˈəj]  we are thirsty

       kataʔ  put  /taʔ-jn/  [təjn]  they put

       kasəraʔm  dry  /səraʔm-jn/  [səˈrajn]  they dry

       kandəj  read  /tə-ndon-jn/  [təndəjn]  you (p) read

       kanəkroʔs  discuss  /nəkroʔs-jn/  [nəkoj]  we discuss

       kapʰəl  offer up  /pʰəl-jn/  [pʰəj]  we offer up

       kaskoʔr  hire  /tə-skor-jn/  [təˈskojn]  you (p) hire

**Final vowels**
All six of the Jiăomùzú 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 /tarko-w/ [tɔ'ɾko] you put
/kaptʁu/ melt /ptʁu-w/ [ptɾu] he melts
/kamejkrə/ climb /mejkrə-w/ [me'jkrə] she climbs
/kava/ do /tɔva-w/ [tɔ'və] you do
/karəkse/ use up /rəkse-w/ [rəksə] 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) /kaptʁu/ melt /ptʁu-j/ [ptɾyj] we melt
/kavavu/ cry /vavu-jn/ [va'vyjn̥] 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
/kanətʃe/ get drunk /nətʃe-ŋ/ [ni'tʃẽŋ] 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 gos, ‘be’, maʔk, ‘not be’ and the existential verb miʔ, ‘not have’. In the following examples hyphens in the first line separate morphemes:

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

(92) ŋə-pərəɛj ˈnə-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) tamiʔ leg nominal prefix ta- and root -miʔ
təskruʔ body nominal prefix ta- and root -skruʔ
kʰaʃpa frog non-mammal prefix kʰ and root -aʃpa
kalaʔ rabbit mammal prefix k- and root -alaʔ

(94) w-amiʔ 3s:GEN-leg his leg
j-əskruʔ 1p:GEN-body our body
ɲi-kʰaʃpa 2p:GEN-frog your frog
wu-kalaʔ 3s:GEN-rabbit his rabbit

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

(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>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/pʰ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/pʰ/ak'mbo/</td>
<td></td>
<td>corpse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pʰak'mbo/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ka'pɔ]</td>
<td>/kapo/</td>
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<td>spin</td>
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<td>/kapʰo/</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/kampuʔ/</td>
<td>cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ka'mbuʔ]</td>
<td>/kambuʔ/</td>
<td></td>
<td>give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/rərpo/</td>
<td></td>
<td>king, ruler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tərboʔ]</td>
<td>/tərboʔ/</td>
<td></td>
<td>drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/təpaʔt/</td>
<td></td>
<td>flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[təmaʔ]</td>
<td>/tamaʔ/</td>
<td></td>
<td>work; business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/təwaʔm/</td>
<td></td>
<td>bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[təwaʔp]</td>
<td>/tawaʔp/</td>
<td></td>
<td>needle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/təpuʔ/</td>
<td></td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kəwə]</td>
<td>/kawu/</td>
<td></td>
<td>amulet box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kʰaʃpa/</td>
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<td>frog</td>
</tr>
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<td>[təʃwa]</td>
<td>/təʃwa/</td>
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<td>Phoneme</td>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/-/v/</td>
<td>/ta'pa/</td>
<td>father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kava/</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ta'puʔ/</td>
<td>child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ta'vø/</td>
<td>grandparent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰ/-/b/</td>
<td>/ka'mbem/</td>
<td>overflow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/tampʰeʔt'/</td>
<td>vomit (n)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/tarpʰu/</td>
<td>fir tree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/tə'boʔ/</td>
<td>drum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰ/-/m/</td>
<td>/ka'mɔʔt/</td>
<td>drink (v)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kapʰɔʔt/</td>
<td>pick; take off; reach for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pkwa'mo/</td>
<td>chicken, hen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pkwa'pʰo/</td>
<td>rooster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰ/-/w/</td>
<td>/pʰo'rɔʔkʷ/</td>
<td>crow, raven</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/waroʔ/</td>
<td>leader (3s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pʰot/</td>
<td>expression of disapproval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/wu'wot/</td>
<td>light (3s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰ/-/v/</td>
<td>/tə'pʰok/</td>
<td>salary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/tə'vok/</td>
<td>abdomen</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pʰi'rmu/</td>
<td>outsider</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kavi/</td>
<td>come</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/b/-/w/</td>
<td>/la'bat/</td>
<td>horn (musical instrument)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/tawat/</td>
<td>mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/-/v/</td>
<td>/la'bat/</td>
<td>horn (musical instrument)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/swi'vaʔt/</td>
<td>barley flour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Phono-Phonemic Transcription

#### 1. Pronunciation Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>音素</th>
<th>脚注</th>
<th>音</th>
<th>意义</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/m/-/b/</td>
<td>[koŋˈme rŭarpo]</td>
<td>/koŋme rŭarpo/</td>
<td>emperor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kʰoŋˈbe]</td>
<td>/kʰoŋbe/</td>
<td>viscera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[tʰaˈmɔʔkʰ]</td>
<td>/tarmoʔkʰ/</td>
<td>thunder; dragon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[tʰəˈrboʔ]</td>
<td>/tərboʔ/</td>
<td>drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/-/w/</td>
<td>[təˈwaʔp]</td>
<td>/tawaʔp/</td>
<td>needle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[təˈmaʔ]</td>
<td>/ta maʔ/</td>
<td>thing, business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kaˈmoʔt]</td>
<td>/kamoʔt/</td>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[wuˈwot]</td>
<td>/wuwoʔt/</td>
<td>light (3s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/-/v/</td>
<td>[təˈmaʔ]</td>
<td>/tamaʔ/</td>
<td>thing, business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kaˈva]</td>
<td>/kava/</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[təˈmuʔ]</td>
<td>/təmuʔ/</td>
<td>girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[təˈvoʔ]</td>
<td>/tavoʔ/</td>
<td>grandparent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/-/w/</td>
<td>[vaˈŋaʔr]</td>
<td>/vaŋaʔr/</td>
<td>bird of prey; buzzard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[waˈkej]</td>
<td>/wakaj/</td>
<td>on top; over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[təˈvoʔ]</td>
<td>/tavoʔ/</td>
<td>grandparent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[təˈwoʔ]</td>
<td>/tawoʔ/</td>
<td>head</td>
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### 2. Minimal Pairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>音素</th>
<th>脚注</th>
<th>音</th>
<th>意义</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/t/ -/tʰ/</td>
<td>[kaˈtaʔ]</td>
<td>/kataʔ/</td>
<td>put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[təˈtʰa]</td>
<td>/tətʰa/</td>
<td>book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[mboˈteʔmʰ]</td>
<td>/mboteʔmʰ/</td>
<td>kidney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[təˈmtʰeʔmʰ]</td>
<td>/tamteʔmʰ/</td>
<td>vegetable(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/ -/d/</td>
<td>[koˈdar]</td>
<td>/kədar/</td>
<td>slow (in thinking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[koˈtʰar]</td>
<td>/kətʰar/</td>
<td>developed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[roˈdak]</td>
<td>/rodaʔk/</td>
<td>(wild) animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[təˈtʰaʔkʰ]</td>
<td>/tətʰaʔkʰ/</td>
<td>weaving, knitting, plaiting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/t/ - /n/  
[ta‘miʔ]  /tamiʔ/  foot, leg  
[ŋa‘miʔ]  /namiʔ/  your leg (2s-leg)  
[ta‘mbat]  /tambat/  mountain  
[ˈncmpaʔt̪]  /nampaʔt/  cheap (OBS-cheap)  

/t/ - /r/  
[kaˈtaʔ]  /kataʔ/  put  
[kʰaˈraʔ]  /kʰaraʔ/  basket  
[ˈoˈskaʔt̪]  /oʃkaʔt/  language, speech  
[ˈoˈskar]  /oʃkar/  roast barley flour  

/t/ - /s/  
[kaˈtop]  /katop/  hit  
[tʰaˈsp̪]  /tʰspoʔ/  anus  
[taˈkaʔ]  /takaʔ/  hoof  
[saˈkʰa]  /sakʰa/  difficult  

/t/ - /z/  
[taˈt̪aʔk̚]  /t̪aʔt̪aʔk/  weave or knit work; plaiting  
[kʰoˈzaʔ]  /kʰozaʔ/  bowl  
[kaˈtop]  /katop/  hit  
[taˈzɔʔk̚]  /tazoʔk/  nail  

/t/ - /l/  
[laˈmɲy]  /lamɲu/  big bamboo basket  

/tʰ/ - /d/  
[to‘mtʰek]  /t̪omtʰek/  waist  
[kʰaˈmtʰe]  /kʰamde/  reins  
[taˈtʰa]  /tᵃtʰa/  book  
[daˈtsɔgogo]  /datɔgogo/  two stringed instrument  

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<p>| /tʰ/ - /n/          | [tʰə(tʰ,a)]     /tʰə(tʰ,a)/ | book                          |
|                    | [kʰəˈna]       /kʰəna/       | dog                          |
|                    | [tʰəŋ]         /tʰəŋ/         | go up, 1s prs.               |
|                    | [ŋəŋ]          /ŋəŋ/          | be, 1s prs.                  |
| /tʰ/ - /r/         | [tʰə(tʰ,a)]     /tʰə(tʰ,a)/ | book                         |
|                    | [kə'ra]        /kəra/         | want, need (n)               |
|                    | [ka(tʰ,o)]     /ka(tʰ,o)/     | ascend                       |
|                    | [tə'ro]        /təro/         | breast, chest                |
| /tʰ/ - /s/         | [tʰi]          /tʰi/          | what                         |
|                    | [si]           /si/           | who                          |
|                    | [tam(tʰ,eʔm)]  /tam(tʰ,eʔm)/ | vegetables                   |
|                    | [tʰ'sem]       /tʰsem/        | heart; thought               |
| /tʰ/ - /z/         | [tʰə(tʰ,a)]     /tʰə(tʰ,a)/ | book                         |
|                    | [tʰ'za]        /tʰza/         | male; son                    |
|                    | [ka(tʰ,oʔ)]    /ka(tʰ,oʔ)/   | ask                          |
|                    | [tə'zoʔk̚]     /təzoʔk̚/     | nail                         |
| /tʰ/ - /l/         | [ka(tʰ,oʔ)]    /ka(tʰ,oʔ)/   | ask                          |
|                    | [ka'lo]        /ka'lo/        | set out                      |
|                    | [tʰə(tʰ,a)]    /tʰə(tʰ,a)/   | book                         |
|                    | [la'mɲu]       /la'mɲu/       | big bamboo basket            |
| /tʰ/ - /lh/        | [tʰə(tʰ,a)]    /tʰə(tʰ,a)/   | book                         |
|                    | [la'ndɾe]      /la'ndɾe/      | ghost, demon                 |
|                    | [ka(tʰ,oʔ)]    /ka(tʰ,oʔ)/   | ask                          |
|                    | [ka'ʃok]       /ka'ʃok/       | appear, emerge               |
| /d/ - /n/          | [kəˈdu]        /kədu/         | heavy                        |
|                    | [tə'ɲə]        /tanu/         | father's sister              |
|                    | [da'tsɔgogo]   /da'tsɔgogo/   | instrument with two strings  |
|                    | [na'ɾəŋə]      /na'ɾəŋə/     | and                          |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/d/-/r/</td>
<td>/kəˈd̪ʉ/</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kəˈruʔ/</td>
<td>(rGyalrong) Tibetan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[dəˈtsəɡogo]</td>
<td>instrument with two strings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ra/</td>
<td>need</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/-/s/</td>
<td>/dəˈsket/</td>
<td>stone steps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/soˈnd̪iʔ/</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kəˈd̪ʉ/</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>/kəˈsuʔ/</td>
<td>sunny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/-/z/</td>
<td>/kəˈd̪ʉ/</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kʰəˈzu/</td>
<td>monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kəˈd̪ar/</td>
<td>slow (in thought)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kəˈzat/</td>
<td>busy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/-/l/</td>
<td>/təˈd̪aʔ/</td>
<td>tomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/təˈlaʔ/</td>
<td>road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/zɡərˈlɔk/</td>
<td>hunchback</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/wuˈmdoʔk̚/</td>
<td>colour (3s-colour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/-/lh/</td>
<td>/təˈd̪aʔ/</td>
<td>tomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ləndɾe/</td>
<td>ghost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/wuˈmdoʔk̚/</td>
<td>colour (3s-colour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kaˈlɔk/</td>
<td>appear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/-/r/</td>
<td>/təˈnuʔ/</td>
<td>breast, udder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/təˈruʔ/</td>
<td>horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kəˈneʔk̚/</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kəˈrek/</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
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<td>/n/-/s/</td>
<td>/soʔɾ/</td>
<td>louse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>/nɔrˈwu/</td>
<td>treasure</td>
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<td></td>
<td>/kəsali/</td>
<td>cover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kənəli/</td>
<td>owe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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c. (near) minimal pairs for palatals

/c/ - /cʰ/  
[kəˈcœ]  /kəkœ/  burn
[kəˈcʰœ]  /kəkʰœ/  break (string)

[zəˈmcaʔ]  /zəmcaʔ/  mist, haze
[kəˈcʰa]  /kəkʰa/  (be) together

/c/ - /ɟ/  
[kaˈcy]  /kəcu/  short
[τəˈɟʔ]  /təɟʔ/  water

[ca]  /ca/  musk deer
[jaˈʃka]  /jaska/  winnowing fan

/c/ - /ɲ/  
[naˈɲaʔ]  /napaʔ/  lamb
[ca]  /ca/  musk deer

[-ɲo]  /-ɲo/  plural and honorific marker
[coˈlo]  /colo/  seasoned rtsam-pa

/c/ - /tʃ/  
[ca]  /ca/  musk deer
[kəˈtʃa]  /kətʃa/  poor

[caʔŋ]  /caʔŋ/  mud wall
[τʃaʔŋ]  /τʃaʔŋ/  horse shoe

/c/ - /tʃʰ/  
[caʔŋ]  /caʔŋ/  mud wall
[τʃʰaŋ′ra]  /τʃʰaŋ′ra/  toilet

[kəˈcy]  /kəcu/  short
[kəˈtʃʰu]  /kətʃʰu/  sweet

/c/ - /dʒ/  
[τaˈcakcak]  /tacakcak/  awn of wheat
[τaʔmʒak]  /τaʔmʒak/  loess mud
/c/ - /ʃ/  
[ca] /ca/  musk deer  
[J'arɔ] /ʃarɔ/  bone  
[kɔ'cy] /kɔcu/  short  
[fɔ] /ʃu/  tree  

/c/ - /ʒ/  
[co'lo] /colo/  seasoned rtsam-pa  
[ʒɔʔ] /ʃoʔ/  curd  
[caʔk'caʔk] /caʔkcaʔk/  magpie  
[ʒak'ma] /ʃakma/  day  

/c/ - /ʃ/  
[caʔk'caʔk] /caʔkcaʔk/  magpie  
[kɔ'jaʔk] /kɔjaʔk/  thick  

/j/  
[co'lo] /colo/  seasoned rtsam-pa  
[jol've] /jolve/  curtain  

/ʃ/ - /ɔ/  
[kɔ'meʔæŋ] /kameʔan/  soothsayer  
[kɔ'njaem] /kɔnjam/  soft  
[eʔla] /eʔla/  distiller's yeast  
[ja'ɾɔ] /ʃarɔ/  meat  

/ʃ/ - /n/  
[eʔla] /eʔla/  distiller's yeast  
[ɲa'ɲaʔ] /ɲaɲaʔ/  lamb  

/ʃ/ - /tʃ/  
[kɔ'ʃe] /kɔʃe/  far  
[ʃe] /ʃe/  where  
[kɔ tʃa] /kɔʃa/  poor  
[kæʃa] /kaʃa/  right hand side  

/ʃ/ - /tʃʰ/  
[kɔ'ʃe] /kɔʃe/  far  
[kɔtʃe] /kɔʃe/  pair  
[ʃʰa?] /ʃʰaʔ/  tea  
[eʔla] /eʔla/  distiller's yeast
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/cʰ/ - /dʒ/</td>
<td>/cʰa'lə/</td>
<td>distiller's yeast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ʃaro/</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/cʰe/</td>
<td>liquor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/skatʃe/</td>
<td>accent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/cʰa'la/</td>
<td>distiller's yeast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>/ʒak'ma/</td>
<td>day, time</td>
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<td>/ka'ʃeop/</td>
<td>break (string)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ʒoʔ/</td>
<td>curd</td>
</tr>
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<td>/cʰ/ - /j/</td>
<td>/cʰe/</td>
<td>liquor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/nəje/</td>
<td>yours (2s possessive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>/cʰa'lə/</td>
<td>distiller's yeast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ja'və/</td>
<td>grandfather (1p-grandparent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/ - /ɲ/</td>
<td>/kətʃyʔ/</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʃ/ - /tʃʰ/</td>
<td>/təmʒak/</td>
<td>loess mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/ - /ɲ/</td>
<td>/kətʃʔiʔ/</td>
<td>weaving implement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/ - /n/</td>
<td>/kətʃuʔ/</td>
<td>rotten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/ - /ŋ/</td>
<td>/kəpəʔ/</td>
<td>sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/ - /_OPERATOR_1/</td>
<td>/kənɡəʔarara/</td>
<td>cicada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/ - /_OPERATOR_1/</td>
<td>/kəntʃʰa/</td>
<td>butcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/ - /dʒ/</td>
<td>/təmja/</td>
<td>chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/’y/ - /’j/</td>
<td>[kəˈjoʔ]</td>
<td>/kəjoʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Jo]</td>
<td>/Jo/</td>
<td>dice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tə’jyʔ/</td>
<td>/təjuʔ/</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Jy]</td>
<td>/ju/</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/’y/ - /’y/</td>
<td>[jəbˈjɔp]</td>
<td>/jopjɔp/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ Joʔ ]</td>
<td>/ 3oʔ/</td>
<td>curd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ja’ska]</td>
<td>/jaska/</td>
<td>winnowing fan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[扎k’m]</td>
<td>/ ʒakma/</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/’j/ - /j/</td>
<td>[kə’joʔk]</td>
<td>/kəjoʔk/</td>
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<tr>
<td>[kə’joʔ]</td>
<td>/kəjoʔ/</td>
<td>sheep</td>
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<tr>
<td>[tə’jʔ]</td>
<td>/təjʔ/</td>
<td>face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ji’mə?]</td>
<td>/jimaʔ/</td>
<td>corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/’n/ - /tʃ/</td>
<td>[ka’ɲy]</td>
<td>/kaju/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kə’tʃʔʔ]</td>
<td>/kətʃuʔ/</td>
<td>rotten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[na’ɲaʔ]</td>
<td>/napaʔ/</td>
<td>lamb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kə’tʃa]</td>
<td>/kətʃa/</td>
<td>poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/’n/ - /tʃʰ/</td>
<td>[ka’ɲy]</td>
<td>/kaju/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kə’tʃʰʔy]</td>
<td>/kətʃʰu/</td>
<td>sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tʃʰaʔ]</td>
<td>/tʃʰaʔ/</td>
<td>tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[na’ɲaʔ]</td>
<td>/napaʔ/</td>
<td>lamb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/’n/ - /dz/</td>
<td>[tə’mpak]</td>
<td>/təmpak/</td>
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<tr>
<td>[tatʃo’m]</td>
<td>/tatʃom/</td>
<td>loess mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/’ŋ/ - /ʃ/</td>
<td>[ka’ɲy]</td>
<td>/kaju/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Jy]</td>
<td>/Ju/</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-nɔ]</td>
<td>/-nɔ/</td>
<td>plural marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Jo]</td>
<td>/Jo/</td>
<td>dice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/ - /ʒ/</td>
<td>[ka'ɲy] /kɐŋu/</td>
<td>live, stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kə'ʒy] /kəʒu/</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/ - /j/</td>
<td>[ji'ɾpe] /jirpe/</td>
<td>our village (1p-village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ni'ɾpe] /nirpe/</td>
<td>your village (2p-village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kə'joʔk] /kəjoʔk/</td>
<td>end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kə'ɲoʔ] /kəɲoʔ/</td>
<td>ready made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʃ/ - /ʃ/</td>
<td>[kə'tʃyʔ] /kətʃuʔ/</td>
<td>rotten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʃy] /ʃu/</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kə'tʃa] /kətʃa/</td>
<td>poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʃa'ɾə] /ʃaɾə/</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʃ/ - /ʒ/</td>
<td>[kə'tʃaʔk] /kətʃaʔk/</td>
<td>bitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʒak'ma] /ʒakma/</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kə'ma'ʒyr] /kəmaʒur/</td>
<td>spin, turn (stative verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kasəmtʃyr] /kasəmtʃur/</td>
<td>spin, turn (dynamic verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʃ/ - /j/</td>
<td>[kə'tʃa] /kətʃa/</td>
<td>poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kanə'ja] /kanəja/</td>
<td>go home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kə'tʃe] /kətʃe/</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[wu'je] /wuje/</td>
<td>his (third person possessive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʃʰ/ - /ʃ/</td>
<td>[kə'tʃʰy] /kətʃʰu/</td>
<td>sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʃy] /ʃu/</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʃʰaʔ] /ʃʰaʔ/</td>
<td>tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʃa'ɾə] /ʃaɾə/</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʃʰ/ - /ʒ/</td>
<td>[kə'tʃʰy] /kətʃʰu/</td>
<td>sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kə'ma'ʒyr] /kəmaʒur/</td>
<td>spin, turn (stative verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʃʰaʔ] /ʃʰaʔ/</td>
<td>tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʒak'ma] /ʒakma/</td>
<td>day, time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/tʃʰ/ - /ʃ/  
[ta'ptʃʰak]  /taptʃʰak/  middling, so-so
[sa'pjak]  /sapjak/  broom

[tʃʰaʔ]  /tʃʰaʔ/  tea
[jaʔk]  /jaʔk/  pad

/dʒ/ - /ʃ/  
[ka'ndʒyʔ]  /kandʒuʔ/  sue
[ka'pjy]  /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

[ʒoŋˈmar]  /ʒoŋmar/  dark butter
[ʃoŋˈce]  /ʃoŋce/  log

/ʃ/ - /ʃ/  
[ʃiˈɾa]  /ʃaɾa/  bone
[ʃaˈɾət̪]  /ʃawət/  balcony

[ʃo]  /ʃo/  dice
[ʃolˈve]  /ʃolvə/  curtain

/ʒ/ - /ʃ/  
[ʒakˈma]  /ʒakma/  day
[jaŋˈma]  /jaŋma/  bike

[ʒoʔ]  /ʒoʔ/  curd
[jolˈve]  /jolvə/  curtain

d. (near) minimal pairs for affricates

/ʈʃ/ - /ʈʃʰ/  
[ta'ʈɾo]  /tatrə/  mud
[ta'ʈʃʰoʔ]  /tattrəʔ/  lamp, light

[tɾaˈlaʔ]  /tɾalaʔ/  road
[zok'tʂʰa]  /zɔktʂʰa/  white bellied dzo
/tʃ/ - /dʃ/  [tʃaˈlaʔ]  /tʃalaʔ/ road
    [roˈdıː]  /rodıː/ envy
/tʃʰ/ - /dʃ/  [tʃʰaʔ]  /tʃʰaʔ/ white bellied dzo
    [roˈdıː]  /rođıː/ envy
/ts/ - /tsʰ/  [kəˈtsɔ]  /katsɔ/ not busy
    [kəˈtsʰɔʔ]  /katsʰɔʔ/ fat
    [tsarˈtsaʔ]  /tsartsaʔ/ fence
    [tsʰar]  /tsʰar/ bharal
/ts/ - /dz/  [tɔˈrtʃe]  /tɔrtʃe/ wrist; pulse
    [kəˈɲardzordze]  /kənاردzوردże/ dishevelled
    [kaˈptsak]  /kaptsak/ build
    [saˈndzət]  /sandzət/ upbringing, education
/tsʰ/ - /dz/  [kərtsʰwek]  /kartsʰwek/ roll up (sleeves)
    [kaˈrdzwa]  /kardzwa/ dig
/tʃ/ - /tʃʰ/  [kəˈtʃʰaʔ]  /kətʃʰaʔ/ sweet
    [tʃyˈtʃy]  /tʃuʃu/ crouch, squat
/tʃʰ/ - /dʒ/  [kəˈtʃʰaʔk]  /kətʃʰaʔk/ bitter
    [tʃtʃʰak]  /tatʃʰak/ loess mud
/tʃʰ/ - /dʒ/  [tʃʰaʔt]  /tʃʰaʔt/ goat
    [kaˈndʒaʔt]  /kəndʒaʔt/ hold
e. (near) minimal pairs for velars

/k/ - /kʰ/

[kəŋ] /koŋ/ price, cost
[kʰəŋ] /kʰoŋ/ tiger

[kə'kək] /kakaʔk/ peel, skin
[ja'kʰa] /jakʰa/ valley

/k/ - /ɡ/ [kanəŋka] /kanəŋka/ divide, split up
[kanəɾgaʔ] /kanəɾgaʔ/ like, cherish

[wa'ke] /wakaj/ before
[tʃa'geʔ] /tʃageʔ/ parrot, ara

/k/ - /ɲ/ [jan'ʃaʔ] /janʃaʔ/ felt blanket
[jaʔk] /jaʔk/ pad

[joŋ'ce] /joŋce/ log
[jok'ʃoʔk] /jokʃoʔk/ paper

/kʰ/ - /ɡ/ [kʰə] /kʰə/ dog
[gəʔr] /gəʔr/ enclosure

[kʰo] /kʰo/ room
[ta'goʔ] /tagoʔ/ fool

/kʰ/ - /ɲ/ [kʰoŋ] /kʰoŋ/ tiger
[ɲoŋ] /ɲoŋ/ be, 1s

[kʰə] /kʰə/ dog
[ɲo'ʃe] /ɲoʃe/ mine (1s possessive)

/ɡ/ - /ɲ/ [kanəɾgaʔ] /kanəɾgaʔ/ like, cherish
[ka'ɾnjaʔ] /kaɾnjaʔ/ borrow

[tʃa'geʔ] /tʃageʔ/ parrot
[po'ʃeʔ] /poʃeʔ/ silver
g. (near) minimal pairs for glottals

\[\text{ʔ}/ - /\text{h/}\]

- \[\text{ʔa}\text{ˈn̪a} \] /ana/ down there (near)
- \[\text{ha}\text{ˈn̪a} \] /hana/ down there (far)
- \[\text{ʔa}'\text{rdi} \] /ardi/ turban
- \[\text{ha}'\text{rdi} \] /hardi/ that side

Vowels

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

\[/i/ - /e/\]

- \[\text{kɔ}tʃʰ\text{e} \] /katʃʰe/ pair
- \[\text{lam kɔ}tʃʰ\text{i} \] /lam katʃʰi/ easy, smooth
- \[\text{me}ˈ\text{kaŋ} \] /mekaŋ/ relatives
- \[\text{miʔ} \] /miʔ/ not have

\[/i/ - /a/\]

- \[\text{tা}ˈ\text{miʔ} \] /tamiʔ/ leg
- \[\text{tা}ˈ\text{maʔ} \] /tamaʔ/ business, issue
- \[\text{ka}ˈ\text{vi} \] /kavi/ come
- \[\text{ka}ˈ\text{va} \] /kava/ do

\[/i/ - /u/\]

- \[\text{tা}ˈ\text{piʔ} \] /tapiʔ/ mud
- \[\text{tা}ˈ\text{puʔ} \] /tapuʔ/ child
- \[\text{kɔ}ˈ\text{mbiʔk} \] /kɔmbiʔk/ old
- \[\text{kɔ}ˈ\text{mbuʔ} \] /kɔmbuʔ/ calf

\[/i/ - /o/\]

- \[\text{tা}ˈ\text{ri} \] /tari/ laughter
- \[\text{tা}ˈ\text{ro} \] /taro/ chest
- \[\text{tɔˈmbri} \] /tɔmbri/ toy
- \[\text{kɔ}ˈ\text{mbro} \] /kɔmbro/ high
/e/ - /a/  
[kəʔk]  /keʔk/  hoe
[ka'kaʔk]  /kakaʔk/  tear, rip, peel

[la'ndɾe]  /landɾe/  ghost
[ʦo'ndɾa]  /tandɾa/  picture

/e/ - /u/  
[kə'rek]  /kərek/  one
[ka'ruʔk]  /kəruʔk/  lynx

[po'ʃyr]  /paʃur/  yesterday
[ʃer]  /ʃer/  glass

/e/ - /o/  
[ser'po]  /serpo/  yellow
[soʔʃ]  /soʔʃ/  louse

[kə'mbre]  /kəmbre/  thin, sparse
[ka'mbro]  /kəmbro/  high

/a/ - /u/  
[ʦa'kaʔ]  /takaʔ/  hoof
[ʦa'ku]  /taku/  mother's brother

[kə'ra]  /kəra/  need, desire
[ka'ruʔ]  /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'mbru]  /kəmbru/  cattle
[ka'mbro]  /kəmbro/  high

[ʦo'zur]  /təzur/  corner
[ʦa'zor]  /təzor/  crack, rift
b. (near) minimal pairs for central unrounded vowel /ə/ and other vowels

/ə/ - /i/

[kə'kʰi] /kəkʰi/ stupid
[kʰə] /kʰə/ hound

[kə'boʔk] /kəboʔk/ lonesome
[kə'mbiʔk] /kəmbiʔk/ old

/ə/ - /e/

[səm'saʔm] /səmsaʔm/ heel
[tə'sem] /təsem/ thought, mind

[cʰə'lə] /cʰalə/ distiller’s yeast
[tsʰə'le] /tsʰale/ welding

/ə/ - /a/

[tə'nuʔ] /tənuʔ/ father’s sister
[tə'nuʔʔ] /tənuʔʔ/ breast, udder

[tə'cʰə] /təcʰə/ wedge
[ca'ʃə] /caʃə/ distiller’s yeast

/ə/ - /u/

[kʰə] /kʰə/ hound
[ta'kʰu] /taʔkʰu/ cigarette

[təʃtɽəʔ] /təʃtɽəʔ/ body hair
[təʃtɽuʔ] /təʃtɽuʔ/ sweat

/ə/ - /o/

[tə'lo] /təlo/ yeast
[tə'loʔ] /təloʔ/ the animal signs of the twelve year cycle

[kʰə] /kʰə/ hound
[kʰo] /kʰo/ room

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

/-i/ - /-iʔ/

[tə'mbri] /təmbri/ plaything, toy
[tə'mbriʔ] /təmbriʔ/ rope (n)

/-e/ - /-eʔ/

I have found no pairs in my data
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/-a/ - /aʔ/</th>
<th>/ta’mbja/</th>
<th>/tambja/</th>
<th>cripple (n)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ta’mbjaʔ/</td>
<td>/tambjaʔ/</td>
<td>thunderbolt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ja’j]kra/</td>
<td>/jaʃakra/</td>
<td>boundary line</td>
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<tr>
<td>[ka’j]kraʔ/</td>
<td>/kaʃkraʔ/</td>
<td>sieve, sift</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/-o/ - /-oʔ/</th>
<th>/kəjo/</th>
<th>/kəjoʔ/</th>
<th>light (not heavy)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kəjoʔ/</td>
<td>sheep</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ta’r]o/</td>
<td>/taro/</td>
<td>chest, breast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ta’r]oʔ/</td>
<td>/taroʔ/</td>
<td>leader; chieftain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/-u/ - /-uʔ/</th>
<th>/tərupu/</th>
<th>/tərupuʔ/</th>
<th>chaff; scrapings left after threshing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/tərupuʔ/</td>
<td>seed (n)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tə’mu]</td>
<td>/təmu/</td>
<td>rain (n)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tə’muʔ]</td>
<td>/təmuʔ/</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/-ə/ - /-əʔ/</th>
<th>/kʰə/</th>
<th>/kʰəʔ/</th>
<th>hound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kʰəʔ/</td>
<td>pig-iron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rmb</td>
<td>/ta.rmbok/</td>
<td>mane (horse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mpʃ</td>
<td>/ka.mpʃok/</td>
<td>build, erect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rndʒ</td>
<td>/ta.rndʒak/</td>
<td>wrinkle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mps</td>
<td>/ca.mpsɔ/</td>
<td>musk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rŋg</td>
<td>/ka.rŋgop/</td>
<td>bind; tie up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rʃc</td>
<td>/kə.rʃɔcat/</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jŋɡ</td>
<td>/kʰa.jŋɡuʔ/</td>
<td>trough, water conduit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jmb</td>
<td>/tə.jmbak/</td>
<td>leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rʃc</td>
<td>/ra.rʃɔcat/</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jmb</td>
<td>/tə.jmbak/</td>
<td>leaf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2. C2C3C4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pkw</td>
<td>/ta.pkwot/</td>
<td>shape, form (P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbj</td>
<td>/ka.mbjam/</td>
<td>fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pkbw</td>
<td>/kə.mə.pkbwʔ/</td>
<td>faded (colour) (P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbr</td>
<td>/ta.mbraʔm/</td>
<td>measels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbw</td>
<td>/tə.mbwəʔm/</td>
<td>corpse (P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mpj</td>
<td>/kə.mpjəʔ/</td>
<td>warm (water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndʒw</td>
<td>/ka.ndʒwaʔp/</td>
<td>tumble, fall (P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mpbj</td>
<td>/kə.mpbʒam/</td>
<td>classifier cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndzw</td>
<td>/ta.ndʒwɔ/</td>
<td>tusk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbh</td>
<td>/mpbʒʰʔs/</td>
<td>Tibetan woolen cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntw</td>
<td>/tə.ntwaʔ/</td>
<td>sickle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbkr</td>
<td>/kə.mba.mkrak/</td>
<td>horizontal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ncbh</td>
<td>/kʰa.ncbʰwak/</td>
<td>pit, stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mkbh</td>
<td>/kə.mkʰwi/</td>
<td>patch, tinker (P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngl</td>
<td>/kə.mə.ngli/</td>
<td>con artist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mgr</td>
<td>/tə.mɡri/</td>
<td>arrow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

87
ŋkʰr /ka.ŋkʰrun/ be reborn
ŋgr /ka.ŋgrị/ thin, clear (soup) rdw /rdwe/ argali
ŋgl /ka.nglaʔ/ cross rdzw /ka.rdzwa/ dig rtsʰw /ka.rtsʰwek/ roll up (sleeves) rpj /ka.so.rpju/ congeal
spj /spjan.ka/ wolf zbr /ta.zbrok/ kick
skr /ta.skruʔ/ body zgr /zgrok/ bracelet
skl /ka.skliʔ/ endure
ʃkł /ka.ʃkli/ cross-eyed person ʒbr /ʒbruʔ/ corraclẹ jkr /ka.jkrəʔ/ sieve, sift ʒgr /ʒgroʔ/ mouth harp
ʃkr /ka.ʃkraʔk/ curse ʃ Pra /tə.ʃpros/
ʃ pr /tə.ʃpros/ climb kpj /ka.kpjer/ open, unfold

/pkw, plkw, nd ɽw, mbw/ and /mkw/ are particular to speakers from Púzhī. In Kǒnglóng these clusters occur as /pk, pʰk nd ɽ, mg/ and /mkʰ/ respectively. Also /jkr/ is particular to Púzhī. In Kǒnglóng it is realised as /jk/. Púzhī’s /kpj/ is /pʰj/ in Kǒnglóng.

3. C2C3

sp /spi.lem/ habit ɲg /ʃku.ɲguʔ/ pestle
sn /ka.snaʔ/ good ɲk /ka.va.ɲka/ chew
sk /ta.sker/ measurement ɲd /ka.ɲdor/ come lose, spread
se /sceʔk/ eagle ɲkʰuʔ /tə.ɲkʰuʔ/ behind, back
sm /smon.be/ doctor
stʃ /ta.stʃuʔ/ urine
sr /srem/ otter zd /ka.mazdək.pe/ pain, agony
st /ta.sti/ bladder zb /zbor.kʰok/ tortoise
sts /jʊʔ.stsoʔ/ hot water zg /ta.zgan/ back
sŋ /spet/ crupper strap zʃ /mbroʔ.zjok/ fetter
sŋ /ka.va.sŋop/ hot; muggy
skʰ /ka.skʰut/ provoke (P)
| kʃ | /ta.kʃi.ru/ | taste | jp | /kʰa.jpo.lo.lo/ | butterfly |
| ks | /sa.ksz/ | noon | jk | /ka.sa.jkoʔk/ | hook |
| kp | /sa.kpar/ | map | jm | /tə.jmi/ | tail |
| kt | /tə.kto/ | stomach | jv | /ka.jvul/ | level grass plot |
| kts | /tə.ksəʔ/ | boot, shoe | jtʰ | /tə.jtʰu/ | pillar |
| ktʃ | /ta.kʃjaʔ.m.tʃo/ | wheat straw torch | jn | /se.jnok.ka.va/ | hoe (weeds) |
| kpʰ | /kə.kpʰu/ | measureword plants | jg | /tə.jga.ka.leʔ/ | branch out |
| km | /kə.kmen/ | short | jd | /ka.və.jdoʔ/ | coax |
| kn | /ka.ɾə.kna/ | listen |

| ltʰ | /ta.ro.ltʰem/ | diaphragm | g3 | /tə.g3o/ | genital organ |
| ltʃ | /lʃa.lʃjaʔm/ | willow | x | nga mtʃaʔm? | threshold |
| ln | /ka.lni/ | knead | gn | /ka.nə.gnu/ | feel guilty |
| ld | /ka.ldaʔ/ | untie |
| lj | /lʃa.lʃjaʔm/ | willow |

| md | /tə.mdoʔk/ | colour | rŋ | /tə.ɾŋi/ | hair |
| mt | /tə.mtu.tə.ləʔt/ | tie a knot | rn | /tə.rna/ | ear |
| mb | /kə.mbʊʔ/ | yak calf | rŋ | /ɾŋa.mon/ | camel |
| mdz | /mdzə.ʃiʔk/ | flea | rm | /tə.rmoʔk/ | dragon |
| mdɾ | /mdɾon/ | wild yak | rts | /ka.rtsəʔ/ | deer |
| mts | /kʰa.mtsu.pəʔɾo/ | lizard | rŋ | /ɾŋar.pəʔ/ | king |
| mŋ | /tə.mŋaʔ/ | eye | rd | /kʰa.rdi.ʃəʔ/ | earth worm |
| mtfʰ | /tə.mtfʰu/ | mouth | rkʰ | /tə.rkʰoʔ/ | husk |
| mj | /tə.mjəʔ/ | chin | rt | /kʰa.rtoʔk/ | locust |
| mtɾ | /tə.mtɾi/ | drool | rg | /pja.rgoʔt/ | vulture |
| mk | /tə.mkəʔ/ | neck | rb | /tə.pʃiʔɾboʔ/ | fart |
| mtʰ | /tə.mtʰek/ | waist | rtsʰ | /tə.rtsʰoʔt/ | lungs |
| mj | /kʰa.mŋaʔm.ŋaʔm/ | small bell | rp | /tə.rpaʔk/ | shoulder |
| mp | /ka.mpuʔ/ | cloth | rŋ | /ka.ɾŋoʔk/ | chop |
| mkʰ | /ka.mkʰi/ | patch, tinker (K) | rtʃ | /kə.ɾtʃəʔp/ | harvest |
| meʰ | /kə.meʰen/ | soothsayer | rv | /kə.nə.rva.bjo/ | industrious |
| mtsʰ | /mtʰen.ji/ | vegetable oil | rpʰ | /tə.rpʰuʔ/ | fir tree |
| mc | /kə.mci/ | beggar | rz | /ʃu.ɾzək/ | tree trunk |
| ml | /tə.wu tə.mlɛ/ | offspring | rdz | /kə.ɾa.rdzo.ɾdze/ | disheveled |
| mdʒ | /ta.tʃo.mdʒak/ | loess mud |
| mg | /tə.meʔm/ | corpse (animal) (K) |
| mpʰ | /wə.mpʰoʃ/ | outside |
| mf | /ka.sa.mʃak/ | comb |

/mdɾon/, 'wild yak', is also often pronounced /mброŋ/.
ʃp /kaʃpat/ livestock 3g /kəʒoʔ/ boatman
ʃtʃ /ʃtoʔ/ dove 3d /kəʒdər/ afraid
ʃpʰ /kʰaʃpʰeʔʔs/ marmot 3b /təʒba/ cheek
ʃk /ʃkaʔm/ muntjac 3dʃ /kəʒdju/ peel off
ʃn /kʰaʃnaʔ/ spider
ʃt /ʃtʃʔ/ buttocks bd /kəbdu/four
ʃm /təʃmi/ tongue bj /kəʒnəɾvəjə/ industrious
ʃtʰ /mbəʃtiʔʔk/ saliva bg /təbga/ belch
ʃk /ʃkuŋguʔ/ pestle bʒ /kaʃbʒan/ practice
ʃʃ /ʃtʃək/ layer, floor, storey

脊 /kəʃpat/ livestock 3g /kəʒoʔ/ boatman
ʃtʃ /ʃtoʔ/ dove 3d /kəʒdər/ afraid
ʃpʰ /kʰaʃpʰeʔʔs/ marmot 3b /təʒba/ cheek
ʃk /ʃkaʔm/ muntjac 3dʃ /kəʒdju/ peel off
ʃn /kʰaʃnaʔ/ spider
ʃt /ʃtʃʔ/ buttocks bd /kəbdu/four
ʃm /təʃmi/ tongue bj /kəʒnəɾvəjə/ industrious
ʃtʰ /mbəʃtiʔʔk/ saliva bg /təbga/ belch
ʃk /ʃkuŋguʔ/ pestle bʒ /kaʃbʒan/ practice
ʃʃ /ʃtʃək/ layer, floor, storey

v3 /kəvʒer/ scrape × vəʒə. Also pronounced as /kəbʒer/.

daŋd /sa.nədʒot/ upbringing ʃʃ /təʃʃʔʔ/ excrement
ndʒ /ŋəʃʃʔʔ/ bedbug ʃʃ /təʃʃʔʔ/ compare
ŋj /kʰaŋja.rəraʔʔ/ cicada ʃk /kəʃki.ʃəla/ hide-and-seek
ntʃ /kəʃtʃək/ wild goose ʃtʃ /ʃaʃʃen/ stirrup
ntʃʰ /kəʃtʃʰa/ butcher ʃʃ /kəʃtʃʰaʔk/ filter
ndʒ /ŋəʃʃʔʔ/ 2d ʃkʰ /kəʃʃaʔk/ faded (K)
nk /kəŋkaʔ/ separate × nk
ntʃ /kəʃtʃək/ cut
ntʃʰ /kəʃtʃʰen/ pull

4. C3C4

wr /ʒgo.wre/ garden kr /kə.ʃre/ misbehave
wl /wlo.ɾəʔk/ trick kl /kə.kloʔk/ roll up
kw /kə.ɾə.ʃkam/ freeze

gr /wu.ɡaʔʔl/ system sr /sɾoŋ.laʔʔ/ ring
gl /kə.ɡlo.ʃke/ left handed person sw /swej/ barley
gj /kə.ʃə.ɡje/ measureword meal sl /kə.slep/ study
pw /pwa/?/ chicken (K)  jl /tə.jla/ cow
pr /kʰa.priʔ/ snake   jw /ta.jwaʔk/ neigbour
pj /pja.rogʔt/ vulture  jr /ka.no.jros/ ruminate

fw /ka.fwuʔ/ fly blow  vr /tʃə.vroʔ/ rtsam-pa mixed with tea
 jl /tə.jla/ joke  vj /tə.vjo/ marrow
jr /tə.jros/ trace, imprint  vl /tə.vluʔ/ age
jp /kə.ʃpat/ livestock

rw /tə.rwek.kʰə/ hound  zw /zwor.kʰoʔk/ tortoise  x zb
rl /tə.ʃluʔ/ hornless cow  zl /zla.wa/ moon
kʰr /kʰraʔw/ cooked rice  pʰj /wu.pʰjok/ direction
kʰl /tə.kʰla/ sleeve  pʰr /ka.pʰram ka.leʔʔ/ spray water

tʰw /kə.tʰwe/ fox  ʒw /ka.ʒwa.ʒwa/ shallow, flat

5. finals

tsw /ka.ʃswi/ lower  tʃʰw /ka.tʃʰweʔs/ reverse

p  /ka.top/ hit  ?p /tə.soʔp/ anus
k  /kə.ʃdoʔk/ one  ?k /kʰ.ʃtoʔk/ locust
k  /kə.ʃroʔk/ leader

m /srem/ otter  ?m /tə.waʔm/ bear
n /sren/ glue  ?n /tə.leʔʔn/ penis
ŋ /kʰoŋ/ tiger  ?ŋ /ʃaŋ/ horse shoe

s /kə.waʔs/ fly  ?s /ʃeʔs/ badger

r /kə.ʃar/ jackal  ?r /ʃoʔr/ louse
l /kə.ʃaʔral/ line up  ?l /wə.ʃraʔl/ system
w /to.ʒdaw/ eat, IMP  ?w /kʰraʔw/ rice
j /ʃwej/ barley  ?j /tə.paʔj/ claw
jn /ʃaŋ/ do, 3p
/dʒ/ /tʃidʒ/ 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 Jiāomǔzú 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. Jiāomǔzú distinguishes three persons, though the contrast between the marking for first person and second and third person indicates that Jiāomǔzú 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. Jiāomǔzú 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

Jiāomǔzú pronouns occur both in free and in bound forms. The free definite personal pronouns are listed below.
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 tʃʰi-ŋ  
1s go1-1s  
I go.

(2) ŋa nəŋ  nə tʃʰiŋʂə¤ tʃʰiŋʂə¤  
1s 2s 2p-dorm 1/2-VPT-see.off-2s  
I'll walk you back to your dorm.

(3) ŋa sʊŋu tʃə  tə wʊo w-əmpʰa-j kʰam-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 tʃʰiŋʂə¤, a loan from Chinese 寝室 qǐnshì, 'dorm' because more than two people live there. The Jiāomùzú plural marker is -ŋo or its variant -ŋi, depending on the dialect of the speaker. When the plural marker is prefixed it appears only as -ŋi-. Note that in (3) the demonstrative tʃə 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) ʈʃʰi-ŋ ne
go₁-1s  MD:CON
I have to go now.

(5) ko-vɔ-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 Jiǎomùzú. 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 wuɖo is left out. It is even possible to leave out ʈʃəʔ 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 soʃ nu  w-ɔmpʰa-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) nɔŋə ḳə-je?mbak-po  nj-i ndrə ma-ndoʔ?
2s 2s:GEN-family-p 2p:GEN-picture Q-have
Do you have pictures of your family?

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

(9) a natso-ŋ
yes see-1s
Yes, I do.
Note that in (7) the referent for *təndga*, 'pictures', is the hearer's family, and therefore marked for third plural. In (7), the first sentence of the exchange, *nəŋjo* and *naŋe?mbəkəŋ pəndə* 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 *tonatsəw*, '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) paŋnu ma-tʃʰi-ŋ today  NEG-go₁-1s
     I'm not going today.

(10b) ŋa ma-tʃʰi-ŋ korə kran  pkrəs  tʃʰi 1s  NEG-go₁-1s  but  maybe  bKrə-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 bKrə-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 \( p^h \) for male and \( m \) for female, which are loaned from Tibetan བོ pho and མ mo respectively, or by forms of the indigenous təza 'man, male' and təmu, 'woman, female':

(13) pkwaʔ chicken
    pkwaʔ-mo hen (chicken-FL)
    pkwaʔ-pʰo rooster (chicken-ML)

(14) sloppən təza (teacher + man) a male teacher
    sloppən təmu (teacher + woman) a female teacher

first person

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

(15) ŋəɟ 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 me 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, ji and jì, for inclusive and jìo and jìni for exclusive. 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 -ɲo and -ɲi 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.

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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 təjo and n for exclusive.
Where are the two of us going?

The two of us are going up to 'Bar-khams.

Where are you two going?

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 *kangle* 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 *tʃəɟo* 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:

We have running water (in our village).

Our house(hold) has running water.
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.

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 Jiāomùzú 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 *ŋyo* and *ŋŋondʒ* are frequently omitted, leaving only *ŋo* and *ŋondʒ*. 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 Jiāomùzú tendency to emphasise consonants and skip vowels, see section 2.3 of the chapter on phonology. Confusion with third dual *wuŋondʒ* 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 *wujo* 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 Jiāomùzú used *wujo*. The onset of modern society has brought more contact between the different dialects and both *mə* and *wujo* 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 Kōnglóng defined the difference between *mə* and *wujo* in terms of reflexivity, with *mə* being a non-reflexive third person pronoun and *wujo* 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 Xiāngrónɡ⁹² thinks rGyalrong borrowed the Tibetan word for 'person', ོ མི, 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 [ṃpi]. 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, *wujo* 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)  
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tə</em>-skruʔ?</td>
<td>*wəskruʔ?</td>
<td>3s:GEN-body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>body</td>
<td>body</td>
<td>his, her body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ta-rəʔp</em></td>
<td><em>wərəʔp</em></td>
<td>3s:GEN-wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>his wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(23)  
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kʰəzaʔ</em>?</td>
<td><em>na-kə-tʃʰop-w</em></td>
<td>*wuna <em>tə</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowl</td>
<td>who</td>
<td>PFT-NOM-break-3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>he</em></td>
<td><em>C</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who broke that bowl?</td>
<td></td>
<td>It was him!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

⁹⁰ Jǐn (1958: 77).
⁹¹ Tāermù, personal communication.
⁹³ Kāng 康, གཙོ་ 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-nos
        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 *nana* 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 *korekndʒ* and *korekŋo*, derived from the numeral *korek*, 'one'. It is difficult to say whether the derivatives of *korek* should be considered personal pronouns or indefinite pronouns, see section 3.1.e below. The numeral *korek* 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 *korek* is automatically out of the question because of that knowledge:

(25a) *wuŋo* tatʰa ki ndoʔ
        he book IDEF have
    He has a book.

(b) *mɔ* tatʰa ki ndoʔ
        he book IDEF have
    He has a book.

(c) *korek* tatʰa ki ndoʔ

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

(26) *tarmu* ki ji-vu
        person IDEF PFT-come,
    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) tərmu ki jivu
    person IDEF PFT-come
    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) wujo-no ni-laktʃe to-ʔa-na-ndru-jn kərek-ŋo ni-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.

     ji-ʔa-ndru-jn
    NEG/PRF-NEV-take-3p

Marker 'ʔ' in example (31) signals non-direct evidentiality, *na*- marks emphatic reflexivity and *ni-* 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 *wujo*, 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 Jiăomůzú. 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 kərekɲo and jargoɲo:

(32) ŋa wujo-no pakʃu kɔrgi na-mbuʔ-ŋ
1s 3-p apple one PFT-give-1s
I gave them an apple.

(33) ŋa kərek-ɲo pakʃu kɔrgi na-mbuʔ-ŋ
1s 3-p apple one PFT-give-1s
I gave them an apple.

(34) ŋa jargo-ɲo pakʃu kɔrgi na-mbuʔ-ŋ
1s 3-p apple one PFT-give-1s
I gave them an apple.

(35) jargo kəpaʔ-ɲo tarngaʔ ka-va ma-kə-ʃpaʔ-ʃn
dance Chinese-p 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) tʃəʔ tə tʃəʔ tə
person this C person that C
this person that person
Pronouns *wu*o 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.

\[\begin{align*}
(37) & \quad tʃəʔ \quad kəpət \quad nos \\
\text{this, it} & \quad \text{cow} \quad \text{be} \\
\text{It's a cow.}
\end{align*}\]

Sentence (38) is grammatically correct, but it can only be used in a denigrating manner and is not normal usage. 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 *wu*o 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.

\[\begin{align*}
(39) & \quad *wu*o \quad kəpa? \quad nos \quad tʃəʔ \quad kəpa? \quad nos \\
3s & \quad \text{Chinese} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{he, this} \quad \text{Chinese} \quad \text{be} \\
\text{He is Chinese.} & \quad \text{He, this is Chinese.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
(40) & \quad si \quad kə \quad to-ka-va-w \quad nos \quad tʃəʔ \quad kə \\
\text{who} & \quad \text{PR} \quad \text{PFT-NOM-do-3s} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{this} \quad \text{PR} \\
\text{Who did [it]?} & \quad \text{He did! (It was him!)}
\end{align*}\]

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*.

\(^{94}\) ཀྲེང་པོ་རྒྱལ་རོང་གཞིས་བོད་ལྱེ་ཚོ་ཞབས་བོད་ལྱེ་ཚོ་ཞབས་. 

104
The one from Tibet who is called A-myis Sgo-ldong,

he was sent to us by the enlightened ones

to come down and bring peace

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 to literally means 'the one that is in the direction towards the river'. The prefix h- marks distal:

He will meet bKra-shis at the East Gate.

The Jiàomùzú 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 -ɲo 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):

How many houses are there in your [village]?
In this example the speaker is addressing the question to just one person, *nəno*, 'you (s)'. But because he asks about the conditions in *nəno*'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) *nəno* semcan kə-lok ta-ŋos-jn me təmpak kə-ji ta-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-ʁi-ŋn
3s three C thing NOM-buy PFT-go-3p
The three of them went out to buy some things.

(46) * mə kəɲes tə laktʃe kaku jirjindʒ
(47) mə-ndʒ laktʃe kə-ku ji-ʁi-ndʒ
3d thing NOM-buy PFT-go-2p
The two of them went to buy something.

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

(48) tfono təza-ndʒ kə-varwek tʃʰi-diʒ, njo təmuʔ-ŋo n-aste na-ʃu-jn
1d,e man-2d NOM-hunt go-1d, 2s woman-p 2p:GEN-place IMP-sit-2p
We two guys are going to hunt, you girls stay here.

* tfono təza kəɲes kəvarwek tʃʰidʒ

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 *kəɲes*. 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:
Bring two bowls (out of many).

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 -ɲo: 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:

My older brothers are all married.

I have three older brothers.

bKra.shis, sKal-bzang and lHa.rgyal are going to dance.

bKra-shis, sKal-bzang and lHa-rgyal are going to dance.

This demon will once again destroy us all!
The plural marker -ɲo and the dual marker -ndʒ are attached to the last syllable of the word or phrase that they dualise or pluralise:

(56) tətʰa ndə-ndʒ tətʰa ndə-ɲo tarmu tʃaʔ tə-ɲo
    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 Jiǎomizú dialects employ a simple system whereby nouns and pronouns can be changed from neutral forms into honorifics. The plural marker -ɲo is affixed to a word:

(57) smonbe-ɲo sloppən-ɲo nəŋo-ɲo
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-ɲo smonbe tə-ɲos-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:
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 ņa-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 (63b) ŋ-andt̰i? lelej
child dear 1s:GEN-friend dear
dearest child my dear friend

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

Jiāomùzú has two non-specific indefinite or generic pronouns: təɟo 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 བང་rang, 'self, oneself, own' and བང་པོ rang rang, 'one's own'. However, in some Jiāomùzú dialects raŋraŋ can mean 'other':

(64) raŋraŋ w-ərmuŋo  
other 3s:GEN-person-p

The pronoun təɟo is obviously the indigenous term, conforming to the forms of the definite personal pronouns as listed above. Like the definite pronouns, təɟo is used to form genitives and generally behaves like the free personal definites, except that it does not inflect for number. In təɟo we have indeed the most generic pronoun, not just in meaning but also in form. The second syllable of the pronoun is -ɟo, with -ɟ- 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 təɟo can be used interchangeably:

(65) raŋraŋ ka-nəndza  
self INF-eat
Eat [something] oneself.

təɟo ka-nəndza  
self INF-eat
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 təɟo tə kə-kʰut ŋos  
work that C self C INF-can be
That job this person can do.
Huáng notes that a marker *ta-* prefixed to a noun gives the meaning of 'my own'. Though Huáng does not mention *tajo* it is clearly the origin of his marker *ta-*. In his data *ta-* is prefixed to full nouns that retain their nominal prefixes, as in *tatarbo*, 'my own drum'. If a noun does not have a nominal prefix, *ta-* is prefixed directly to the root, as it is with many Chinese loanwords. Prefixing with *ta-* from free pronoun *tajo* also occurs in the Jiāomùzú 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 *ta-*

(67) ta^h^a N-book ta-ta^h^a one's (own) book
t^o*k^o?k paper to-t^o*k^o?k one's (own) paper
dijansə TV ta-dijansə one's (own) tv

(68) nda tormu ta ka-ŋan ki 'na-ŋos taje?m w-ŋgi 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,
tje ta-dijansə ta-jawkoŋə manju? ta-t^o*h^a?dem kã şu ta
LOC GENR-TV GENR-remote.control also GENR-thermos all C one's remote control and one's thermos.
na-c^b^op-w
PFT-break-3s

The use of *ta-* 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) …dijansə jawkoŋə manju? ta-t^o*h^a?dem kã şu ta na-c^b^op-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 *ta-* here refers to the owner of the things broken by the bad person, not to the person breaking the things.

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95 黄 (Huáng) (1993: 28).
The pronouns ʈəɟo and ṭraŋraŋ can carry the meaning of 'each', in sentences such as:

(70) ʈəɟo ʈəprak ʈəɟo ka-nɔndru
self portion self INF-take
Each should take his own portion.

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

(71) mɲi re poneʔi ƙəmpʰjar ka
person each money CL one
Every one gets one [unit of] money.

(72) tərmu rere təcʔm kaka 'na-ndoʔ
person each house one OBS-have
Every person gets one house.

(73) kaka na-ˈmbu-w
one IMP-give-2s
Give one [to each person]

Note that instead of tərmu rere often the standard expression mɲi re, which is a loan from Tibetan མགི་
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-nədzæŋkpe ra
thief INF-watch.out.for need
One should beware of thieves.

(75) takʰuʔ 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 na- 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':
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 kərek can do service, see section 3.1.b on third person free pronouns. More often, to express these concepts, Jiāmùzú uses a noun plus the marker for indefiniteness ki, 'a, one'. The interpretation of such constructions depends largely on context. The meaning of tərmu ki can be 'a person' or 'one person' or 'a certain person' as well as 'someone':

(77) tərmu ki laktʃe ki satʃʰe ki
    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) tʰi ndoʔ ndoʔ what + have + have all kinds
    katʃe kə-ndoʔ where + NOM-have everywhere, wherever
    si ndoʔ ndoʔ who + have + have everyone

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

(79) kəʃtʃə mə-na-vi ʒik kʰut.
    when COND-PFT-come₁ also allow
    You can come whenever.

    tʰi mə-na-ndoʔ ʒik kʰut.
    what COND-PFT-have also allow
    Whatever is available is ok.

    si mə-na-vi ʒik kʰut.
    who COND-PFT-come₁ also allow
    Whoever comes is fine.

Jiāmùzú 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.
We Tibetans all know how to dance.

You thieves!

Those Chinese can't dance.

Jiāomǔzú 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:

They wrote a letter.

They wrote each other letters.

At New Year we gave each other gifts.

A specific kind of reciprocity can be expressed by the prefix kaʃa-, 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 kafapʰakja, 'husband and wife'; kafandriʔ, '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>1d</th>
<th>1p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ŋ-</td>
<td>ŭ-</td>
<td>j-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>nd-</td>
<td>j-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>ŭond-</td>
<td>j-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Jiăomăzu dialects. The following table includes these variants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ŋ  a</td>
<td>n  ŋ j o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>w  u j o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>ŭond j o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1d</th>
<th>1de</th>
<th>2d</th>
<th>3d</th>
<th>1pi</th>
<th>1pe</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1di tʃ  o j o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1de tʃ  o n o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d n  ŋ n j o n dʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d w  u j o n dʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pi j i j o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pe j i n o</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p n j i n j o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p w  u j o n j o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A comparison of the pronouns leads to the following conclusions:

- 揖 (ŋ) - first singular
- 人 (n) - second person
- 无 (w) - third person
- 希 (tf) - dual, first person
- -dʒ - dual, second and third person
- 近 (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, 人ə, 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 Jiǎomùzú 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 -jo 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 Jiǎomùzú there may be a split of first versus second and third person, rather than a first versus second versus third contrast. The normal marker -jo, 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  kʰonə…
    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 Jiāomùzú verb paradigm for person and number. I give the paradigm for simple transitive and intransitive verbs here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person, number</th>
<th>intransitive verb</th>
<th>transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s 1</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tə- -n</td>
<td>tə- -w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d 1</td>
<td>-dʒ</td>
<td>-dʒ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tə- -ndʒ</td>
<td>tə- -ndʒ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-ndʒ</td>
<td>-ndʒ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p 1</td>
<td>-j</td>
<td>-j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tə- -jn</td>
<td>-jn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-jn</td>
<td>-jn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Zhuōkèji96 the plural forms for second and third person all end in palatal nasals, as would be expected from the analysis of the pronouns. Jin97 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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.

97 Jin (1958: 102).
a. Bound possessive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>single</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ŋ-</td>
<td>ŋʃ-</td>
<td>ŋ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>(nənjo)ndʒ-</td>
<td>ŋ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>wujʊndʒ-</td>
<td>wuʃiŋ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td>ŋ-</td>
<td>ŋ-</td>
<td>ŋ-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Genitives in Jiǎomûzû 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 [wuskru?] for /wəskru?/, '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 ŋʃ-əskruʔ our body t-amiʔ our leg
  2 (nənjo)ndʒ-əskruʔ your body (nənjo)ndʒ-amiʔ your leg
  3 wujʊndʒ-əskruʔ their body wujʊndʒ-amiʔ their leg

p 1 j-əskruʔ our body j-amiʔ our leg
  2 ŋ-əskruʔ your body ŋ-amiʔ your leg
  3 wuʃiŋ-əskruʔ their body wuʃiŋ-amiʔ their leg

HON ŋ-əskruʔ his body ŋ-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
  kʰafpa frog nə-kʰafpa your frog
  məntoʔk flower ni-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 wujʊndʒ-, 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) \[\text{wu}∀\text{ond}ʒ-\text{anje} \quad \text{ka-nəsəcəmdo} \quad \text{kə-rgaʔ-ndʒ} \quad 'nə-ŋos}\n\[3d \quad 3d:\text{GEN-clothes} \quad \text{NOM-swap} \quad \text{NOM-like-3d} \quad \text{EV-be}\]

They like to wear each other’s clothes.

(89) \[\text{wu}∀\text{ond}ʒ-\text{anje} \quad \text{ka-nəsəcəmdo} \quad \text{kə-rgaʔ-ndʒ} \quad 'nə-ŋos}\n\[3d:\text{GEN-clothes} \quad \text{NOM-swap} \quad \text{NOM-like-3d} \quad \text{EV-be}\]

(They) like to wear each other’s clothes.

Honorific forms use ɲi- 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 ɲi- is prefixed to the noun. For nouns that have noun marker ta- the consonant is replaced by ɲi- while the vowel a- remains in place:

(90a) \[\text{tamiʔ}\]
\[\text{leg}\]

(90b) \[\text{jointan} \quad \text{w-amiʔ}\]
\[\text{Yon.tan} \quad 3s:\text{GEN-leg}\]

(90c) \[\text{sloppan ɲ-amiʔ}\]
\[\text{teacher} \quad 1s:\text{HON:GEN-leg}\]

(90d) \[\text{blame ɲi-ʒap}\]
\[\text{lama} \quad 3s:\text{HON:GEN-leg:HON}\]

(90e) \[\text{the teacher’s leg}\]
\[\text{the lama’s leg}\]

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) \[\eta \quad \text{wu-picipn} \quad \text{rna-ŋ} \quad 'kə-səso-ŋ}\n\[1s \quad 3s:\text{GEN-notebook} \quad \text{borrow-1s} \quad \text{PRIMP-want-1s}\]

I want to borrow his notebook.

(92) \[\text{kʰut kʰut} \quad \text{wu-saːjup} \quad \text{w-orka-j} \quad ŋos\]
\[\text{can} \quad \text{can} \quad 3s:\text{GEN-bed} \quad 3s:\text{GEN-top-LOC}\]

No problem. It’s on his bed.
Used less frequently than the bound set, Jiǎomùzú 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>single</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 incl.</td>
<td>ŋa ŋə</td>
<td>ŋə ŋə</td>
<td>jijo jije</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excl.</td>
<td>ŋa ŋə</td>
<td>ŋə ŋə</td>
<td>jino jije</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ŋonjo ŋəje</td>
<td>ŋonjo ŋəje</td>
<td>jiji jije</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŋonjo ŋəje</td>
<td>ŋonjo ŋəje</td>
<td>jini jije</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wujo wuje</td>
<td>wujo wuje</td>
<td>wujo nije</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wujo wuje</td>
<td>wujo wuje</td>
<td>wuji nije</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

(95) tə a ndə ŋa ŋə je ŋos
book that C 1s-POSS be
That book is mine.

(96) ŋə ŋə saŋup tə wu-je 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 Jiǎomùzú 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 Jiǎomùzú. 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) ŋ-a jze  w-arja?p
1s:GEN-older.brother  3s:GEN-wife
My older brother's wife.

(98) təza  ni-tʃiŋəɔʔ  wu-hawʂuɔʔ  tʰistok  ηos
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) ŋa  mdzorge  ka-ŋgo  wu-pʰjawɔʔ  ku-ŋ
1s   Ruòěrgài98  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 -ɲo. The plural is expressed by the bound possessive ɲi- 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 wuŋjnj. 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) ʧəʔ  w-əndɾa  'na-mpʃar
this  3s:GEN-picture  OBS-beautiful
This is a beautiful picture.

98 若尔盖,  mDzod-dge.
What kind of leaves are these?

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.

A man whom I know lives here.

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:

in, inside
out, outside

in the bag
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-ŋugu 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 w-ŋugu-j tə ndoʔ
     bag 3s:GEN-in-LOC   book   have
     There is a book inside the bag.

      bawbaw w-ŋugu  tə kampuʔ ŋos
      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 wngu 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: tfəʔ and ndə. The demonstrative tfəʔ 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 tfəʔ or ndə. Logically tfəʔ 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 tfəʔ, 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:
What is this? This is a book.

That is my older brother.

The notebook is on his bed, you can just take it.

This paper is mine.

This white paper is mine.

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

This paper is mine.

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:

*This person' is correct, but *tʃəʔ tʃəʔ is ungrammatical. However, the majority of speakers from Jiăomùzú seem to agree to the outline as given in the body of the text.

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99 Though some native speakers, especially people hailing from Jiăomùzú Mûchâng, insist that the demonstrative, when used adjectivally, can only occur in the slot before the noun it modifies. So tʃəʔ tʃəʔ, 'this person' is correct, but tʃəʔ tʃəʔ is ungrammatical. However, the majority of speakers from Jiăomùzú seem to agree to the outline as given in the body of the text.
The demonstrative pronouns can be marked for number:

(119) \( \text{ndə} \quad \text{ndə-nd}5 \quad \text{ndə-nd}5 \quad \text{ŋa} \quad \text{ŋa-je} \quad \text{ŋos} \)

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) \( \text{tət}^h \text{a} \quad \text{ndə-nd}5 \quad \text{tət}^h \text{a} \quad \text{ndə-po} \quad \text{tərmu} \quad \text{tʃəʔ-ŋo} \)

book DEM-d book DEM-p person DEM-p

those two books those books these people

(120b) * \( \text{ndənd}3 \quad \text{tət}^h \text{a} \)

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 \( \text{tət}^h \text{a} \quad \text{ndə-nd}5 \), ‘those two books’ in (120a) are less correct than \( \text{ndə} \quad \text{tət}^h \text{a} \text{nd}^h \text{ʒ} \), 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 \( \text{tʃəʔ}, \text{tʃəʔ-ŋo}, \text{ndə}, \) or \( \text{ndə-ŋo} \) is used. If the demonstrative is used adjectivally the honorific covers the scope of the noun phrase and is suffixed to it:

(121a) \( \text{tʃəʔ} \quad \text{təŋkə-ŋo} \quad \text{tʃəʔ} \quad \text{skə-ŋo} \)

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) \( \text{təŋkə} \quad \text{tʃəʔ-ŋo} \quad \text{blame ndə-ŋo} \quad \text{blame ndə-ŋo} \)

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-ŋo 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, -ŋo 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-ŋo blame-ŋo 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 Jiǎomùzú 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 Jiǎomùzú dialects, tʰi, kətə and si, 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 'na-ŋos tʃəʔ tə tʰi 'na-ŋos
        person DEM C INT EV-be DEM C INT EV-be
Who is that?        What is this?

(123a)  kətə w-ətʰa
        who 3s:GEN-book
whose book?

(123b)  tətʰa kətə 'na-ŋos
        book which EV-be
Which book is it?
Interrogative pronoun *kətə* occurs frequently in greetings where it functions as an adverbial of place, such as:

(124) kətə ta-tʃʰi-n  
      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  'na-ŋos  
      DEM INT 3s:GEN-book EV-be  
Whose book is this?

(126) naŋọ na-bawbaw  tʰi w-əmdoʔk  'na-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  'na-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 tʰi 'naŋos
DEM INT EV-be
What is that?

(129) pkrajis kə ndə tʰi 'naŋos na-tʰoʔ-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-rjɪ
child thing NOM-buy PFT-go₂
The child went to the store.

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

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

(133) kʰapriʔ kə kə-pja-sə-mtʃuk-w
snake PR PFT-REFL-CAUS-bite-3s
He was bitten by a snake.
I saw someone who was bitten by a snake.

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 Jiāomùzú. 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. Jiāomùzú 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 kʰ- and k- mark non-mammal and mammal, respectively. Subsection 4.2.b looks at distinctions in nouns. Beyond common and proper nouns Jiāomùzú also distinguishes for animacy and countability of nouns. Both are expressed through number marking. Collectivity and definiteness are not marked distinctions for Jiāomùzú 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 -puʔ, 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 -po. 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 Jiāomùzú 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'.

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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 tapuʔ, 'boy' is the head of tapuʔ katsə, 'the little boy', which is the subject, and popotʰaŋ, from Chinese 泡泡糖 páopáotáng, 'bubblegum' is the object:

1. tapuʔ katsə nə popotʰaŋ 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. ndəɲo sloppən ɲos-jn
   that-p teacher be-3p
   They are teachers.

In example (2) sloppən, 'teacher', is the predicate connected to the subject ndəɲo, 'they', by the linking verb ɲos, 'be'.

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

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

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 paktsa kəsəm paktsa kə-neʔk
piglet piglet three piglet NOM-black
three piglets 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) kəneʔk and kəsanərgəʔ, 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-neʔk kə-sa-nərgəʔ kəsəm ndoʔ
piglet NOM-black NOM-CAUS-cute three have
There are three black, cute piglets.

* paktsa kə-sa-nərgəʔ kə-neʔk kəsəm ndoʔ
piglet NOM-CAUS-cute NOM-black three have
There are three cute, black piglets.

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 makəndəpə, 'very' in (6) or expressives, as ḳʰuʔkʰuʔkʰuʔ, '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 makəndɾa kəsam ndoʔ piglet NOM-black very three have
There are three very black piglets.

* paktsa kəneʔk kəsam makəndɾa '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) makəndɾa, 'very' only covers kəneʔk, 'black'. And tsa, 'very' in (9) only covers kəsanəɾgaʔ, 'cute', not the other adjectives kəneʔk and կտծʰο, '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 makəndɾa kə-tsʰo kə-sa-nəɾgaʔ to piglet NOM-black very NOM-fat NOM-CAUS-cute C I'll sell the fat, cute, very black piglet.

ŋa kə-mpʰel-ŋəŋos I NOM-sell-1s be

(9) tʰunγgu w-ʊŋgi-j paktsa kə-neʔk kə-tsʰo kə-sa-nəɾgaʔ 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 to pkraʃis wu-paktsa 'nə-ŋos very C bKra.shis 3s:GEN-piglet EV-be

(10) h-ana tʃe paktsa kəsam to kə-sa-nəɾgaʔ 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 *wuv jot, 'many', which come after adjectives and are in most cases mutually exclusive with numerals because of semantic clashes:

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

* paktsa kə-neʔk kəsam wuv jot ndoʔ

Classifiers modify nouns, often occurring after numerals:

(12) ŋokʃoʔk kəsam pʰjar 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) ndə ma-'nə-haʔw tətʰa ma-'nə-haʔw
DEM NEG-OBS-good book NEG-OBS-good
That is not good. The book is not good.

ndə w-ətʰa ma-'nə-haʔw tətʰa ndə ma-'nə-haʔw
DEM 3s:GEN-book NEG-OBS-good book DEM NEG-OBS-good
That book is not 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) ŋokʃoʔk kə-neʔk kəsam pʰjar tʃəʔ tə ŋa ŋə-je ŋos
paper NOM-black three CL DEM C I 1s-POSS be
These three sheets of black paper are mine.

tʃəʔ wu-ŋokʃoʔk kə-neʔk kəsam pʰjar tə ŋa ŋə-je ŋos
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) \[
\text{raʔs } kə-neʔk } \ ηk^bukŋk^buk \ tə wuvjot ndo? \\
\text{cloth NOM-black like.ugly C many have} \\
\text{There is a lot of ugly black cloth.}
\]

(16) \[
paktsa kə-neʔk \ makəndغا ki ndoʔ? \\
piglet NOM-black very IDEF have \\
\text{There is a very black piglet.}
\]

* paktsa kəneʔk makəndغا kəsam ki ndoʔ?  
* paktsa kəneʔk ki tə ndoʔ?  
* paktsa kəneʔk tə ki ndoʔ?  
* paktsa kəsam ndə ki ndoʔ?

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) \[
[t^bunγu \ w-ʊŋgi-j \ paktsa kə-neʔk \ kə-tsʰo \ kə-sa-ŋnarga? \\
stable 3s:GEN-inside-LOC piglet NOM-black NOM-fat NOM-CAUS-cute \\
The very cute, black, fat piglet that is in the stable, I will sell it.
\]

\[
tsa \ tə ] ηa mɨpʰel-ŋ\textsuperscript{100} \\
\text{very C I sell-1s}
\]

(17b) \[
sofnu ηa [t^bunγu \ w-ʊŋgi-j \ paktsa kəsam kə-neʔk \\
tomorrow I stable 3s:GEN-inside-LOC piglet three NOM-black \\
Tomorrow I will sell the three black fat very cute piglets that are in the stable.
\]

\[
kə-tsʰo \ kə-sa-ŋnarga? \ makəndغا] \ kə-mpʰel \ ŋos-ŋ \\
NOM-fat NOM-CAUS-cute very NOM-sell be-1
\]

\textsuperscript{100} The verb \( kampʰel \), ‘sell’ has a dialect variant \( kampʰer \) which is used on the Jiāomuzú grasslands. In this study I use only \( kampʰel \).
(17c) soñu nə [tʰuŋg w-ŋi-j nəm wu-jə paktə 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-nərgə? makəndəʔa] kə-mpʰel nəs-ŋ
        NOM-black NOM-fat NOM-CAUS-cute very NOM-sell be-1s
        stable.

(17d) * nəm wuje paktə tʰuŋgu wəŋgi kəneʔk kətsʰo kəsam tə nə kəmpʰelŋ nəs

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) nə nəm wu-jə tʰuŋg w-ŋi-j paktə 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-mpʰelŋ nəs
        NOM-sell-1s be

(18b) nə tʰuŋg w-ŋi-j nəm wu-jə paktə 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-mpʰelŋ nəs
        NOM-sell-1s be

In example (18a) nəm wuje modifies tʰuŋg, 'stable', while in (18b) it modifies paktə, 'piglet'.

4.2 Features of nouns

a. The concept of noun in Jiāomùzú

Consider the following example:

(19) coktsə w-ərka-j tətʰə ndoʔ
        table 3s:GEN-surface-LOC book have
        There are books on the table.
        There is a book on the table.
The noun təʔə, '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 Jiāomùzú, 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-ʔaŋak ji-ˈa-vi
mushroom INF-mature 3s:GEN-time PFT-NEV-come1
The mushrooms are ripe.

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

(20c) ndʒ-əjmoʔk-ɲo nə-na-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 Jiāomùzú nouns as described above, it is not surprising that the Jiāomùzú dialects do not have articles.
The nominal prefixes: ta-, tə-, kʰ- and k-

Jiāomùzú 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 ta- and tə-, which he considers variant forms of one prefix.102 Mansier, who wrote a phonology of the Southern rGyalrong dialect of Xiǎojīn, gives ta- as well as tə-, as does Jacques for the Northern rGyalrong dialect of Japhug (Chábāo), though there the phonetics are slightly different.103 Sun104 noticed for Căodēng, 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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-n tok  be ak
  ta-rmoʔk  thunder  tə-rmok  brains
  ta-pa  father  tə-mgri  arrow
  ta-sti  bladder  tə-rpa  axe
  ta-ru  thread  tə-fuʔ  berry

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

(22) kʰ-orok  ant  k-ɔmbuʔ  calf
  kʰ-ajpololo  butterfly  k-ɔrtseʔs  deer
  kʰ-ɔna  dog  k-ɔwas  fly
  kʰ-anjararaʔ  cicada  k-ɔtʰwe  fox
  kʰ-alju  hawk  k-ɔpar  jackal

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

(23) peʔs  badger  paʔfu  bird
    tsʰar  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)  təkʰoŋbe  viscera  kʰoŋbe  viscera
      kʰŋamonoŋ,  camel  ŋamonoŋ  camel
      kəŋamonoŋ

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 Jiǎomùzú 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 Jiǎomùzú 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:
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 təo, '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 ta- 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 ta- 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 *ta*-.*. 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 *ta*- are the same at 17% each, with *ta*- slightly more prevalent than *ta*- in the category of plants and agriculture. Outside of the direct sphere of the human body, where *ta*- 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 *ta*- 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 Jiāomùzú dialects preserve, in the nominal prefixes *ta*- and *ta*-,* a system of marking all entities, objects and relations in a speaker's world according to concentric circles. Words marked with *ta*- 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 *ta*- puts boundaries between oneself and all else, emphasising an inward focus. Prefix *ta*- signals the relation between two disparate entities, emphasising an outward focus.
This is not to say that in the innermost circle there are no unprefixed nouns or nouns with \( ta^- \), or that \( ta^- \) does not occur outside the smallest circle. It is rather a matter of clustering, with the heaviest concentration of \( ta^- \) in the smallest circle, \( ta^- \) in circle two, and unprefixed 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 \( k\sigma^- \), as in \( kafmo \), 'thief', literally 'the one who steals' and \( ka\text{pot} \), 'livestock', literally 'the ones that are bred'. Prefix \( k^h^- \) occurs occasionally, for example in \( k^h\text{za} \), '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(25)</th>
<th>( k^h\text{o\text{ro}\text{t}} )</th>
<th>( k^h\text{ajpo\text{lolo}} )</th>
<th>( k^h\text{apri}\text{ʔ} )</th>
<th>( k^h\text{ovulolo} )</th>
<th>( k^h\text{alju} )</th>
<th>ant</th>
<th>butterfly</th>
<th>snake</th>
<th>tadpole</th>
<th>sparrow hawk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( k\text{\text{ambu}}\text{ʔ} )</td>
<td>( k\text{\text{at\text{we}}} )</td>
<td>( k\text{\text{artse\text{ʔ}}} )</td>
<td>( k\text{\text{ru\text{ʔ}}} )</td>
<td>( k\text{\text{ala\text{ʔ}}} )</td>
<td>calf</td>
<td>fox</td>
<td>deer</td>
<td>lynx</td>
<td>rabbit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are some notable exceptions to this rule. In the category mammals the word for ‘dog’, $kʰəna$, has the aspirated marker. A possible explanation for this is that $kʰəna$ may be cognate to literary Tibetan $kʰyɨ$, '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 $kʰənas$, 'crossoptilon' (a kind of bird) and $kʰəwas$, 'fly'. In the $kʰ-$ category I found $kʰəɲuk$, for ‘pika’ and $kʰəʃpʰeʔt$, ‘marmot’. I have not found an explanation for these aberrant forms. Also I have no explanation for the fact that about half of the vocabulary of animal names has neither $kʰ-$ nor $k-$. In any case, there are more than enough words with the 'animal prefixes' $kʰ-$ 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 $tʰ-$ and $tʰ-$ 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 Jiăomûzû dialects distinguish between the categories of 'human' and 'other'. In essence, $tʰ-$ and $tʰ-$, $kʰ-$ 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 Jiăomûzû dialects have borrowed vocabulary from Chinese as well as Tibetan. Loanwords from Chinese and Tibetan often occur without the common Jiăomûzû noun prefixes. In fact, I have in my data only two Chinese loans that have a nominal prefix, $tʰpeki$, 'bedding', from Chinese 铺盖 $pʰai$, 'bedding, bedclothes' and $tʰcən$, 'injection', from Chinese 针 $zhɵn$, 'needle, injection'. In the case of 'needle' $tʰ$ may actually not be a nominal prefix but rather a phonologically adapted form of the Chinese verb 打 $dʰ$, 'hit', which combines with 'needle' to form the verbal compound $dʰ zhɵn$, 'give an injection'. In Jiăomûzû such verbal compounds when borrowed are frequently interpreted as nouns, so that they then occur with a verb like $kʰəlt$, 'hit'. Loans from Tibetan occur with a noun marker more frequently, see the examples below. Example (26) shows Jiăomûzû common nouns that are loans from Tibetan and Chinese:

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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’, $kʰəwas$, has a velar in Ja-phug (βɣaza, ‘fly’) but most animal names there have a uvular, apparently without distinguishing between mammal and non-mammal: qachɣa, ‘fox’; qala ‘rabbit’; qapri, ‘snake’ (Jacques, personal communication). It may be that Jiăomûzû had velars as well as uvulars historically and that some of the aberrant synchronic forms have their roots in forms that have disappeared.
Here are some examples of loans from Tibetan that do take the normal noun prefixes:

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

b. Distinctions in nouns

Jiăomùzú 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 to 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 Jiəomùzú does not distinguish for this category in its nouns.

*Proper nouns and common nouns*

Jiəomùzú distinguishes between proper nouns and common nouns. Proper nouns indicate one specific member of the noun class such as ṭjakar 'India', ḫamo, 'Ḫa-mo', or renbamila, '[the House] Renbamila'. Common nouns indicate any member of a subgroup of nouns, such as tōtʰa 'book' or kʰəna, 'dog'. Common nouns inflect for number:

\[(28)\] kʰəna \quad \text{dog} \\
\quad kʰəna-ndʒ \quad \text{two dogs (d)} \\
\quad kʰəna-ɲə \quad \text{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 \quad bKra-shis \\
\quad pkraʃis-ndʒ \quad bKra-shis and one other person \\
\quad pkraʃis-ɲə \quad 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:

\[(30)\] * ṭjakarndʒ 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 kəpes kə-ndoʔ miʔ kerek tə gandzo daŋba \\
\quad Dānbā two NOM-have not.have one C Gānzī Dānbā \\
\quad There are no two Dānbā's; there is one Dānbā in Gānzī and

kerek tə maerḵhəŋ daŋba ŋos \\
\quad one C Māerkāng Dāngbā be \\
\quad one Dāngbā in Māerkāng.
It is possible to use number marking on House names.\textsuperscript{106} The noun then indicates the people of the house rather than several houses of the same name:

\begin{align*}
\text{(32) } & \text{zwaŋli} & \text{zwaŋli-po} & \text{\textquoteleft m̥-t̥o-ndoʔ\textquoteright -jn} \\
& \text{The House Zwangli} & \text{Zwangli-p} & \text{Q-2-have-2p} \\
& \text{People of the house of Zwangli, are you here?}
\end{align*}

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 Jiāomùzú 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 bKrashis':

\begin{align*}
\text{(33) } & \text{pkraʃis-ndʒ} & \text{ma-vi-ndʒ} \\
& \text{bKra.shis-3d} & \text{NEG-come1-3d} \\
& \text{bKra-shis and [his friend] are not coming.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{(34) } & \text{harja-po} & \text{tascock kə-le\textquoteleft tʃʰi-jn \textquoteleft na-ŋos} \\
& \text{lHa.rgyal-p} & \text{letter NOM-write go1-3p EV-be} \\
& \text{lHa-rgyal [and his friends] are going to write letters.}
\end{align*}

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:

\begin{align*}
\text{(35) } & \text{pkraʃis skalbzaŋ harja-po} & \text{tascock kə-le\textquoteleft tʃʰi-jn \textquoteleft na-ŋos} \\
& \text{bKra.shis sKal.bzang} & \text{lHa.rgyal-p} & \text{letter NOM-write go1-3p EV-be} \\
& \text{bKra-shis, sKal-bzang and lHa-rgyal are going to write letters.}
\end{align*}

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

Both proper nouns and common nouns form genitive constructions:

\begin{align*}
\text{Both proper nouns and common nouns form genitive constructions:}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{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 tūsī. 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.
For more on genitives, see section 4.2.d on inflectional morphology below.

_Animate and inanimate nouns_

The Jiǎomùzú 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) tətʰa ndoʔ tətʰa kəsəm ndoʔ * tətʰa kəsəm ndoʔ jn

There is a book. There are three books. There are books.

(38) ŋəjze ndoʔ

I have an older brother. I have older brothers.

ŋəjze kəsəm ndoʔ jn

I have three older brothers.

*ŋəjze kəsəm ndoʔ?

(39) w-əŋkʰuʔ nə wu-kʰakpe-pə kə-ndoʔ

Later, there were stories about him.
The animate category includes animals, but not plants:

\[(40)\] pak kəsam ndo?-jn
pig three have-3p
* pak kəsam ndo?

There are three pigs.

\[\text{məntoʔk kəsam ndo?} \quad \text{məntoʔk kəsam ndoʔjn}\]
flower three have
There are three flowers.

Inanimate nouns normally do not mark for number on the noun itself either, but express plurality by adding a numeral or quantifier, as shown in (41a and b), though plural marking can occur, see (39) above and the discussion on count and non-count nouns below. The distinguishing fact for animacy is number marking on the verb, not on the noun:

\[(41a)\] ? məntoʔk-ɲo na-маca
flower-p PFT-many
\[(41b)\] məntoʔk kəʒu tə na-sna
flower all C PFT-good
All the flowers were good.

Sometimes an inanimate noun is understood to represent animate beings and is treated as an animate noun as to number marking:

\[(42)\] nəŋo ʰistok jeʔm tə-ndoʔ-jn kəŋes-zji-kəmmi jeʔm 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 jeʔm, 'house', is an inanimate noun, the speaker obviously has the concept of households or family groups consisting of people in mind, and marks the verb in the second sentence for plural accordingly. Note that the plural marking on the verb in the question does not signal the plurality of jeʔm but rather of nəŋo, 'you', the subject. Even though nəŋo is singular, plural marking occurs because 'you' is a short form of address in which the speaker implies the wider meaning 'your home place'.

Though Jiāomùzú 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.

The distinction between animate and inanimate nouns, signalled through number marking is, to my knowledge, common throughout Jiāomùzú. Only the nomadic pastoralists on the high altitude grasslands of the Jiāomùzú Mùchāng do not make the distinction. They would not use number marking on either sentence in example (38). When number marking does occur they interpret it as honorific marking, signalling respect being paid to the brothers because they are older. It may be
that the Mūchāng pastoralists, who are bilingual in ṡGyalrong 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 Jiāomūzú. 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  makmə-ɲo
soldier, army    soldier-p
soldiers
*armies

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

(44) makmə kəɲes təpʰok na-ndoʔ  juʔ-ʔa  pʰari 'na-ɲos
army  two  group  PFT-have  river-bank  across  EV-be
Two armies faced each other across the river.

Note that the numeral kəɲes 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) təɲuʔ  təɲuʔ  kəsam  təɲuʔ  kəsam pʰinŋə
water  water  three  water  three  bottle
three [bottles of] water  three bottles of water

tarni  tarni kəsam  tarni  kəsam rdok
gold  gold three  gold  three ingot
three [ingots of] gold  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 -ɲo 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) təɟuʔ-ɲo ʃʰiɲø ʔəna-ɲut
     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 tlin 'electricity' and ɻɬqɨ, '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 ʔ 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-ɲo ʔəndoi?
     butter-p Q-have
     Do you have [the] butter?
     Where is [the] butter?

In this case it is clear, from the use of -ɲo, 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-ɲo ɭ-ɬambe ɭa-ɬam-n
     gold-p 1s:GEN-toward IMP-give-2s
     Give me the gold!
(50) tarni ɲ-ambe na-kʰam-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 tarni 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 ma-ʔna-rtak
3s:GEN-money-p Q-OBS-sufficient
Does he have enough money?

(52) wu-poŋeʔj ma-ʔna-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 tarngaʔ 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:
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 Jiǎomùzú 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 Jiǎomùzú 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 Jiǎomùzú dialects employ several prefixes that are attached to verbs. Gender is not normally marked on Jiǎomùzú 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 morphophonemic alternations alone (as in ‘man’ and ‘men’). Diminutives are formed with the suffixes -puʔ 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 Jiāomùzú. 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
\( kʰəluʔ \) insect, worm
tarmoʔk \( kʰəluʔ \) 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
tarŋi hair
taworŋi hair (of the head)

kam door
təmpʰi the outside
mpʰikam gate
* The prefixes of both words that make up the compound disappear:

(56) təmɛnək  eye
təɾɲi  hair
mɲakɾɛni  eyelash
tamaɾ  butter
kəsər  fresh
marser  fresh, newly churned butter

təstɔʔk  bean
kɔktu  big
stoʔkkɔtu  broadbean

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

(57) mbrɔʔ  horse
tarmbok  mane
mbrɔʔ  w-armbok  mane ('the mane of the horse')
horse  3s:GEN-mane
tɔmtʃʰu  mouth
təɾɲi  hair
tɔmtʃʰu  w-əɾɲi  beard ('the hair of the mouth')
mouth  3s:GEN-beard
tɔʃmi  tongue
tawo  head
tɔʃmi  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 təɾɲi, ‘hair’:

(58) təmto  forehead
təɾɲi  hair
təmtoɾɲi  fringe, bangs
w-əmtoɾɲi  * təmto wəɾɲi
3s:GEN-fringe
his fringe

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The last form, *tamto week*, 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) \(c^b\)e liquor lhe deity
tələ yeast bzova maker, artisan
c\(^a\)lə distiller’s yeast lhavzo 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) kəʃe where \(t^b\)i what
kəndo? have (nom) ndo? have
kəʃe kəndo? everywhere, \(t^b\)i ndo? ndo? all kinds; all possible, wherever

(61) wəjo \(t^b\)indo?ndo? na-ka-pecər to w-amdo?k ‘na-ka-mpʃer
he all PFT-NOM-make 3s:GEN-colour OBS-NOM-beautiful
All that he made was beautiful in colour.

\(’nə-ŋos
EV-be

(62) ŋa kəʃe kə-ndo? pok to-ka-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-lop herd kə-lop herder
ka-natʃ\(^b\)e drink; get drunk kə-natʃ\(^b\)e drunk
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
kʰorlo ka-leʔt drive a car kʰorlo 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-mpʰel sell
sa-mpʰel 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 kanəpy, '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 sayup, 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 sampʰel, '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, Jiāomūzú does not have a nominaliser to-. I discuss the case of to- in section 7.1 on nominalisation of the verbs chapter.

According to Jin and Lin108 the aspectual prefix to- can be used as a nominaliser in constructions such as tokanpu, 'adopted child, foster child', from kanpu, 'adopt' (I use Jin's transcriptions here for his examples). Jin and Lin interpret the prefix as a perfective marker. The Jiāomūzú dialects differ in this respect from Zhuōkèjī and Suōmò. In Jiāomūzú 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 kʰatʃak.

imperfective aspect marker *to-* but the presence of *ka-* 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) kʰalat ka-ndza na-sajoʔk-w
     rtsam.pa NOM-eat PFT-finish-3s
     He finished eating rtsam-pa.

kʰalat ka-ndza to-sajoʔk-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 to w-apsi na-ka-ndɾu-w ʰna-ŋos
     donkey C 3s:GEN-with PFT-NOM-take-3s EV-be
     He took the donkey with him.

     tarke to w-apsi to-ka-ndɾu-w ʰna-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 Nagano 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 Jiǎomůzú 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 Jiǎomůzú the directional words for the set meaning 'vertically up' are as follows:

---

(69) vertically up  ata  noun  the place on high, the high place  
sto  adverb  above, high  
katʰo  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) wujo  j-ørpe-vu  ŋos  
he  1pGEN-village-NOM  be  
He is from our village.  

wujo  mkʰono-vu  'ŋa-ŋos  
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 tsʰoŋ kava, ‘do business’ is borrowed from Tibetan tshong, ‘trade’. Nominalisation of this compound results in tsʰoŋ kə va, literally ‘doer of trade’. The second term, as shown in (71b) is tsʰoŋpe, ’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  
tsʰoŋ ka-va  do business  ཐོང་ བི་ tshon rgyag  
tsʰoŋ ka-va  trader  

(71b) tsʰoŋ-pe  trader (loan from Tibetan)  ཐོང་པ་ tshong-pa  
tsʰoŋ-pe-wa  trader (loan from Tibetan re-nominalised with -pa)
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 ཁྲ་སྦྱོར་‘brog-pa
mbrokpewa nomadic herder

**Gender**

The default for Jiăomùzú 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 Jiăomùzú 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
tapuʔ child, young
kəjoʔ sheep sarna ram
jomo, moluk ewe
ɲapa lamb

Other nouns take suffix *-mu* or *-za*, from təmu, 'female', and təza, 'male', to mark gender for female and male respectively:

(73) tapuʔ child
tapuʔ-μu a female child
tapuʔ-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:
lawsəʷ teacher, from Chinese 老师 laoshi, 'teacher'
lawsəʷ təmu female teacher

Jiāomùzú: * lawsəmu
Běnzhēn: lawsəmu female teacher

(76) lawsəʷ təmu ʒik ndoʔ lawsəʷ təza ʒik ndoʔ
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, -pʰo and -mo respectively:

(77) pkwaʔ chicken kʰonj tiger
pkwaʔ-mo hen kʰonj-mo tigress
pkwaʔ-pʰo rooster kʰonj-pʰo 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 kʰonj təmu for 'tigress'. 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 -pʰo.

(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:

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110 Namkha, personal communication.
(79) rta  
horse, from literary Tibetan རྣ་ rta 

rta-mo, rgonme  
mare, literary Tibetan: རྣ་མོ། rta rgod-ma 

rta-pʰo  
stallion, literary Tibetan: རྣ་པོ། rta-gseb, or རྣ་པ། rta- 
pʰo, 'male horse' 

mbroʔ 
horse 

* mbroʔ-pʰo 
* mbroʔ-mo 

mbroʔ təmu  
mare 

mbroʔ təza  
stallion 

Interestingly, the word normally used for 'horse' is the indigenous mbroʔ 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 pʰo-, while pʰolək follows the more formal literary Tibetan form:

(80) ḱəna  
dog 

pʰo-tʃʰə  
male dog 

pʰo-lək, holək  
ram 

mo-tʃʰə  
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 ḱkhyi, 'dog' and literary Tibetan ḱlug, 'sheep'. In some cases the root changes to something not recognizably Tibetan or native:

(81) lolo  
cat 

literary Tibetan: བཀྲས་ zhi-mi 

pʰo-ɾə, horə  
tom cat 

mo-ɾə  
female cat 

It may be that there was an indigenous term for ‘cat’ with the root –ɾə, 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.
Many diminutives are formed by adding a third person possessive form of tapuʔ, 'child, young', to the noun. The resulting diminutives are syntactic constructions rather than morphologically derived:

\[(82)\] kʰoŋ tiger \(\rightarrow\) kʰoŋ w-apuʔ
tiger 3s:GEN-child
tiger cub

kəzu monkey \(\rightarrow\) kəzu w-apuʔ
monkey 3s:GEN-child
young of a monkey

kʰapri snake \(\rightarrow\) kʰapri w-apuʔ
snake 3s:GEN-child
young of a snake

Some nouns can be simply suffixed with -puʔ, from tapuʔ:

\[(83)\] təmu woman \(\rightarrow\) təmu-puʔ
girl, daughter

təza man \(\rightarrow\) təza-puʔ
boy, son

pwaʔ chicken \(\rightarrow\) pwaʔ-puʔ
chick

sarna ram \(\rightarrow\) sarna-puʔ
young ram, male lamb

kʰəna dog \(\rightarrow\) kʰəna-puʔ
pup

Some nouns can be modified by either form:

\[(84)\] lolo cat

lolo-puʔ kitten

lolo w-apuʔ kitten

Note that -puʔ 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:

\[(85)\] tɔtʰa book * tɔtʰa-puʔ

tajiʔk hand * tajiʔk-puʔ

məntoʔk flower * məntoʔk-puʔ

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':

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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':

(86)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pak</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pak-tsa</td>
<td>piglet, small pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rgambe</td>
<td>box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rgambe-tsa</td>
<td>small box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam</td>
<td>door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam-tsa</td>
<td>window</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not possible to have both -tsa and -puʔ to generate meanings like 'a small boy':

(87)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʰəna</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰəna-puʔ</td>
<td>pup, young of a dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰəna-tsa</td>
<td>pup, small dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwaʔ</td>
<td>chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwaʔ-puʔ</td>
<td>chick, small chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* pwaʔtsa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pak</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pak-tsa</td>
<td>piglet, small pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* pakpuʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Meanings like 'a small girl' are formed with the use of a diminutive prefix plus kətsə, 'small':

(88)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>təza</td>
<td>man, male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təza-puʔ</td>
<td>boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* təzaputsa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təmu</td>
<td>woman, female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təmu-puʔ</td>
<td>girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təmu-puʔ kətsə</td>
<td>a small girl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
d. Inflectional morphology

Apart from the class and subclass markers tə-, ta-, kə-, kʰ- 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) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{tatʰa} & \quad \text{book} & \quad \text{tarmu} & \quad \text{person} \\
\text{tatʰa-ndʒ} & \quad \text{two books} & \quad \text{tarmu-ndʒ} & \quad \text{two people} \\
\text{tatʰa-ɲo} & \quad \text{books} & \quad \text{tarmu-ɲo} & \quad \text{people}
\end{align*}
\]

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 kəɲes, '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) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{tatʰa-ndʒ} & \quad \text{to-ˈku-w} \\
\text{book-d} & \quad \text{IMP-buy-2s} \\
\text{Buy the two books!}
\end{align*}
\]
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:

(93b) təthə kaŋes to-'ku-w
book two IMP-buy-2s
Buy two books!

* təthəndʒ kaŋes tokuw

(93c) təthə-ŋo 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) kʰɔna-ŋo to-'ku-w
dog-p IMP-buy-w
buy the dogs!

(94b) kʰɔna kəmŋi to-'ku-w
dog-p five IMP-buy-w
buy five dogs!

Plural marking with -ŋo can be used to mark the wider meaning of 'et cetera, and such, the like', as in example (95):

(95) kantʃʰak-j ka-ndza kᵃ-mpʰer wuvjot 'na-ndoʔ swej-ŋo pakju-ŋo
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-puʔ tə-ndʒ] ndʒə-vlu 'ndʒə
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 jimaʔ tajji-ŋo 'kə-ji-j manjuʔ ʒugolor pakʃu ndoʔ
we:ε 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-ŋo 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-ŋo 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] manjuʔ [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 Jiǎomùzú nouns:

(100) coktse w-ərka-j təhə ndoʔ
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 *to* 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 *korek*, 'one', or *ki* which can mean 'one' or function rather like an indefinite article, similar to English 'a':

(101a) coktse w-ərka-j  tətʰa  kerek  ndoʔ
      table  3s:GEN-top-LOC  book  one     have
There is one book on the table.

(101b) coktse w-ərka-j  tətʰa  ki  ndoʔ
      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  tətʰa  kəsam  ndoʔ
      table  3s:GEN-top-LOC  book  three  have
There are three books on the table.

Note that no plural marking occurs on *tətʰa*, '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  tətʰa  kə-maca  ndoʔ
      table  3s:GEN-top-LOC  book  NOM-many  have
There are many books on the table.

(104) wujo  kʰɔzaʔ  tɔnges  me  miʔ?
      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:
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 กายес, '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:
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 Jiāomùzú 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 -ɲo:

\[(106)\]  
\[kʰajswepʰɪŋ\]  
thermos.flask  
Chinese:  
开水瓶 \textit{kāishuǐpíng}  

\[kʰajswepʰɪŋ-nd\]  
thermos.flask-d  

\[kʰajswepʰɪŋ-ɲo\]  
thermos.flask-p  

\[dijanʂə\]  
television  
Chinese:  
电视 \textit{diànshì}  

\[dijanʂə-nd\]  
television-d  

\[dijanʂə-ɲo\]  
television-p  

dijan  
television  
s\textit{diànshì}  
dijan șə  
television  
dijan şə-ɲo  
television-p  

dijan  
television  
s\textit{diànshì}  

\[rʒarpo\]  
king  

\[rʒarpo-nd\]  
king-d  

\[rʒarpo-ɲo\]  
king-p  

\[tsʰoŋpe\]  
businessman  

\[tsʰoŋpe-nd\]  
businessman-d  

\[tsʰoŋpe-ɲo\]  
businessman-p  

\[tsʰoŋpe\]  
businessman  

\[tsʰoŋpe-nd\]  
businessman-d  

\[tsʰoŋpe-ɲo\]  
businessman-p  

\[tsʰoŋpe\]  
businessman  

tshon-pa  
rʒarpo  
king  

\[tsʰoŋpe\]  
businessman  

\[tsʰoŋpe-nd\]  
businessman-d  

\[tsʰoŋpe-ɲo\]  
businessman-p  

A noun marked for honorific also requires plural marking on the verb:

\[(107)\]  
blame-ɲo  
kʰəzaʔ-ɲo  
tʃəeʔm-ɲo  
lama-3s:HON  
bowl-3s:HON  
house-3s:HON  
honoured lama  
bowl (HON)  
house (HON)  

\[(108)\]  
smonbe-ɲo  
jintshu  
tə-ɲu-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:

\[(109)\] amŋi zgordanŋ-ŋi 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:

\[(110)\] bdæt tə kə tərmu ji kə-ndza na-kə-ŋos-ŋn ʰnaŋos
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 bdæt, '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 na 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 ɲ-apkʰe nə-kə-nərko-jn ʰnaŋos.
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 ɲapkʰe, ‘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 -ɲo. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(113)</th>
<th>low register</th>
<th>high register, HON</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tajiʔk</td>
<td>tapʰjak</td>
<td>ᵃPHYAG</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tandze</td>
<td>gsolve</td>
<td>ʰGSOl BA</td>
<td>food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawoɾni</td>
<td>skra, gtɾa</td>
<td>skra</td>
<td>hair</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamiʔ</td>
<td>taʃap</td>
<td>zhab</td>
<td>leg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawo</td>
<td>ɾa</td>
<td>dbu</td>
<td>head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təmpak</td>
<td>spjen</td>
<td>ʰSpyen</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Honorifics based on loans do form genitives and inflect for number like other nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(114a)</th>
<th>hand</th>
<th>ɲi-pʰjak</th>
<th>your hand (HON)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>təmpak</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ɲi-spjen</td>
<td>your eye (HON)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʂʰaʔ</td>
<td>tea</td>
<td>ɲi-gsolja</td>
<td>your tea (HON)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(114b) ɲi-pʰjak-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. Jiāomùzú vocatives are derived from kinship terms, most of which have noun prefix -ta. The nominal prefix is replaced with vocative prefix a-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(115)</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>vocative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta-pa</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>a-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-mo</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>a-ma, a-mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-jze</td>
<td>older brother</td>
<td>a-jze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-ja</td>
<td>older sister</td>
<td>a-ja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ŋapa n-aka-j ŋik kɔmdok ki wu-gzak 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,

kɔmdok ki 'nɔ-ŋos to-kɔ-cos 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 Jiàomùzú 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 təɟo, '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 -ɲo 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 ɲo-, ɲi-. As for the other genitive markers, the consonant of the noun prefix is replaced while the vowel remains. Here is the overview of markers:
The second person dual form is usually shortened to \(nd\), while the third person dual \(wu\) mostly occurs in full. Third person plural forms \(wu\) and \(wu\) both occur, apparently without difference in meaning. A special case is the indefinite personal pronoun \(t\), 'self, one, one self'. It can be used in genitive constructions and some native speakers do accept such forms as \(t\), 'one's own book'. Note that in such cases the noun marker \(t\) is not replaced, so that it is actually not a standard form of genitive construction. Mostly genitives derived from \(t\) 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 \(t\) or \(t\) are prefixed with the entire first syllable of the appropriate pronoun, as shown in the following example for \(w\), 'flower':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Key</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>(\eta)</td>
<td>(\eta)</td>
<td>(\eta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d</td>
<td>(\tau)</td>
<td>(\tau)</td>
<td>(\tau)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>((\eta))</td>
<td>((\eta))</td>
<td>((\eta))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td>((\eta))</td>
<td>((\eta))</td>
<td>((\eta))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
<td>(\iota)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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) $k^h$alju $ŋa$-$k^h$alju $kala?$ $wu$-$kala?$
hawk 1s:GEN-hawk rabbit 3s:GEN-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 $wəŋkʰuʔ$, which can mean 'after', 'behind' or 'later', depending on the context in which it is used:

(120) $tə$-$ŋkʰuʔ$? 3s:GEN-back the back of an entity, the time after an event

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) ŋa [tʃəʔ tə sok w-əmdoʔk] nargaʔ-ŋ
   I [this C like 3s:GEN-colour] like-1s
   I like a colour like this one [has].

(122) pkrajis [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-fwet[ʰi]ʔ
       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) ŋa pkrajis w-ətoʔn to-kə-va-ŋ ŋos
   I bKra.shis 3s:GEN-matter PFT-NOM-do-1s be
   I did it for bKra-shis.

(125) ŋa ənŋo na-tʰe ta-kə-va-ŋ ŋos
   I you 2s:GEN-reason 1/2-NOM-do-1s be
   I did it for you.

dative: (126) tʃəʔ pkrajis w-əmba-j nə-ˈmbuʔ-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 marker kə. Otherwise a genitive construction is used:

(127) tʃəʔ tə kəjoʔ w-əsmok ˈna-ŋos
   this C sheep 3s:GEN-wool OBS-be
   This is wool from a sheep.
Comitatives: Comitatives are formed with *tapso*, 'together'. A comitative can be negated only through negative marking on the verb, not on *tapso*.

(128) ŋa pkraʃsi w-apso ji-ŋ
I bKra.shis 3s:GEN-together PFT-go₂-1s
I went with bKra-shis.

(129) pkraʃis ŋa ŋ-apso ji-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 ka-ŋkɔr 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 ka-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 tʃla ma-kə-fpa? ki 'na-ndo
    there LOC joke NEG-NOM-can, 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.
The knowledge of that person is great.

I use it for my work.

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.

I used a stone as a hammer.

Since he had no blankets on his bed he used his clothes as a blanket.

She talked about the thief.

He wrote to bSod-nams about the money.

The top of the tree the tail of the dog
price: (145) poŋeʔ j kəŋes mpʰjar w-əvə to-ku-ŋ
money two CL 3s:GEN-price PFT-buy-1s
I bought it for two yuan.¹¹²

value: (146) ŋə poŋeʔ j ʔarəŋa wu-piru ki ndo?
I money hundred 3s:GEN-coral IDEF have
I have a piece of coral worth one hundred yuan.

(147) piru poŋeʔ j kətəŋk-ʔarəŋa w-əvə ki ndo?
coral money six-hundred 3s:GEN-price IDEF have
A piece of coral worth six hundred yuan.

extent: (148) lijaŋsaŋu w-əgeʔm w-ambro kərscat 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-kʰi 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 to 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) \[pkraʃis \; w-əmpʰi \; w-ərmu \; ə̝\]  
\[bKra.shis \; 3s:GEN-outside \; 3s:GEN-person \; be\]  
bKra-shis is an outsider.

\[pkraʃis \; tə \; w-əmpʰi \; w-ərmu \; ə̝\]  
\[bKra.shis \; C \; 3s:GEN-outside \; 3s:GEN-person \; be\]  
bKra-shis is an outsider (as opposed to other people there who are insiders).

\[sonam \; tə-ŋo \; w-əmpʰi \; w-ərmu \; ə̝-jn\]  
\[bSod.nams \; C-p \; 3s:GEN-outside \; 3s:GEN-person \; be-3p\]  
bSod-nams and his people are outsiders (as opposed to other people there who are insiders).

(151) \[wuŋəʒu \; tə \; ma-’nə-haʔw\]  
\[3s:GEN-hatred \; C \; NEG-OBS-good\]  
Hatred is not a good thing (as opposed to other qualities that may be talked about).

Contrast marker to cannot occur independently:

(152) \[təlʰa \; kəsam \; tə \; ɾəŋəkə \; w-əmdoʔk \; ’nə-ə̝\]  
\[book \; three \; C \; green \; 3s:GEN-colour \; EV-be\]  
The three books are green.

* to ɾəŋəkə w-əmdoʔk ə̝-ə̝

But to 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) \[pəʃnu \; tə \; na-’a-jo \; ɾəŋəkə \; tə \; na-’a-jo\]  
\[today \; C \; PFT-NEV-light \; 1s:GEN-burden \; C \; PFT-NEV-light\]  
Today[’s 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’. However, unlike a pronoun *tə cannot occur by itself in pronoun position:

(154) tʃəʔ fokʃoʔk ŋos * tə fokʃoʔk ŋos
this paper be
This is paper.

nəŋo ma-tə-tʃʰi-n * tə ’mətətʃʰi-n
you Q-2-go,-2s
Are you going?

It also cannot replace a pronoun in adjectival position:

(155) ndə kʰəzaʔ nəŋo nə-je ma-ŋos * tə kʰəzaʔ nəŋo nəje maŋos
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 nəŋo nə-je ma-ŋos
bowl that you 2s-POSS Q-be
That bowl is yours, right?

kʰəzaʔ ndə tə nəŋo nə-je ma-ŋos
bowl that C you 2s-POSS Q-be
That bowl (as opposed to other bowls present) is yours, right?

kʰəzaʔ to nəŋo nə-je ma-ŋos
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 Jiǎomūzú dialects it is not a pronoun. Contrast marker *tə can modify demonstratives:

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-ŋ
       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) nəŋə təjeʔm h-ato-j mə-ŋos
       you house D-up-LOC Q-be
       Is your house up on the mountain?

       nəŋə təjeʔm hato tə mə-ŋos
       you house D-up C Q-be
       Is your house the one up on the mountain?

       h-ato təjeʔm tə nəŋə na-je mə-ŋos
       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 təkʃoʔk ɲos tʃəʔ təkʃoʔk 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 ə is:

\[(162) \quad \text{tʃəʔ ʃəʔ ʊŋə} \quad \text{tə ʊŋə} \quad \text{də} \quad \text{be} \]

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.

\[(163a) \quad \text{təza tʃəʔ ə ə-ajzə ʊŋə} \quad \text{də} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{də} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{1s:GEN-older.brother} \quad \text{be} \]

This man is my older brother.

\[(163b) \quad \text{təza tə ə ə-ajzə ʊŋə} \quad \text{də} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{1s:GEN-older.brother} \quad \text{be} \]

This man is my older brother.

\[(163c) \quad \text{təza tʃəʔ ə ə-ajzə ʊŋə} \quad \text{də} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{də} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{1s:GEN-older.brother} \quad \text{be} \]

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.

\[(164a) \quad \text{tʃəʔ məntəʔk əsəm ə-na-mpʃar} \quad \text{də} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{flyer} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{OBS-beautiful} \]

These three flowers are beautiful.

\[(164b) \quad \text{tʃəʔ məntəʔk əsəm tə ə-na-mpʃar} \quad \text{də} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{flyer} \quad \text{three} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{OBS-beautiful} \]

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 ə 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) nəŋo ə kə tʃə ji-kə-tə-vu-n ənos
    you C where PFT-NOM-2-come-2s be
    Where do you come from?

(166) kʰaʃpa ə kə nəŋo ə təŋli na-tə-və-w tə-kə-cəs-w ənos
    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 to 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) lolo  kə-neʔk ənos
    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 lolo  kə-neʔk ənos
    this C cat NOM-black be
    This is a black cat.

(167c)  lolo  tə kə-neʔk ənos
    cat C NOM-black be
    The cat 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) paːɡar kə-ndza tə lolo  kə-neʔk tə 'nə-ənos
    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) lolo tə-ɲə paːɡar ka-ndza kə-rɡaʔ-ʃn ənos
    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-jo nga nga-paŋgar ta 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 *korek* and *korgi*, 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) tatʰa ndoʔ?
book have
There are/is a book(s).

(168b) tatʰa ki ndoʔ?
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 *ta*, 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-orka-j tatʰa ki ndoʔ?
desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC book IDEF have
There is a book on the desk.

* cokrtse wərkaj ki ndoʔ?

The indefiniteness marker only occurs directly after the constituent it modifies and cannot be placed in the middle of a syntactical unit:
There's a man with a big belly.

* [taza ki wəvok kəktu ki] 'nando?

* [taza ki wəvok kəktu] 'nando?

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 kəɟoʔ, 'sheep', while (172b) refers to sheep known to the speaker:

(172a) pəzar kajve kəJoʔ 'na-ndo?
summer meadow sheep OBS-have
Sheep graze in the meadow in summer.

(172b) pəʃnu kajve kəJoʔ '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 kəJoʔ 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 kəJoɲo, 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 kəJoʔ with ki signals that there is only one sheep in the meadow. Number marking cannot occur:

(173) pəʃnu kajve kəJoʔ ki 'na-ndo?
today meadow sheep IDEF OBS-have
A/one sheep is grazing in the meadow today.

* pəʃnu kajve kəJoʔ ki 'nandoʔ-jn
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) sətswan-j tʂʰaʔ tə kə-ji ndoʔ-jn
      Sichuān-LOC tea NOM-grow have-3p
      Tea grows in Sichuān. (They grow tea in Sichuān.)

In (175) tə can be omitted but ki cannot occur to mark generalness:

(175) tʂʰaʔ kəsna tə w-əjmbak kə-tsətsə ŋos
      tea good C 3s:GEN-leave NOM-small be
      A good tea has very small leaves.

* tʂʰaʔ kəsna ki wəjmbak kətsətsə ŋos

(176) təmər kə-haʔw tə serpo ŋos
      butter NOM-good C yellow be
      Good butter is yellow.

* təmər kəhaʔw ki serpo ŋos

(177a) pkraʃis təʔa to-ku-w
       bKra.shis book PFT-buy-3s
       bKra-shis bought a book/books.

(177b) pkraʃis təʔa ki to-ku-w
       bKra.shis book IDEF PFT-buy-3s
       bKra-shis bought a book.

There is only one marker for indefiniteness, ki. To distinguish between referential and non-referential indefinites other strategies have to be employed:
(177c) pkraʃis  tʰi  w-ɔtʰa  to-ku-w
   bKra.shis  what  3s:GEN-book  PFT-buy-3s
   bKra-shis bought some book or other.

(177d) pkraʃis  tʰi  kə  w-ɔtʰa  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-ɔtʰa  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  kəɾo?  kəbdə  kəmŋi  ki  ndo?
      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) poŋeʔ]  kəmŋi-zjí  caʔm  ki  ndo?
      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)  nga pakʃu zji caʔm \(\text{ki}\) ndoʔ?
I apple ten at.most IDEF have
I have about ten apples, no more.

*  nga pakʃu zji 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) ndə makmə ŋos
that soldier be
He is a soldier.
(181b) ndə makmə *ki* ŋos
that soldier IDEF be
He is a soldier or something.

(182a) lhamo ŋintəhu na-ju
lHa.mo Chéngdū PFT-live
lHe-mo lived in Chéngdū.
(182b) lhamo ŋintəhu *ki* na-ju
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) ndə njilək to-vajə-w
that stone PFT-pick-3s
He picked up the stone.
(183b) ndə njilək *ki* to-vajə-w
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) kæscæ kæscæ tərmu \(\text{ki}\) ŋintəhu ji-kə-vu ˈnaŋos
before before person IDEF Chéngdū PFT-NOM-come2 EV-be
Long long ago a man came from Chéngdū.

* kæscæ kæscæ tərmu ŋintəhu jikəvi nəŋos
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-kʰit-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 kʰalet ki to-ndza-j  
     we:e rtsam-pa IDEF 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 ʔəs  
     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**

Jiàomùzú numerals are based on the decimal system. There are few classifiers in the Jiàomùzú 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) tərmu kəsam ndo? kəsam ndo?
       person three have three have

There are three people. Three. (There are three.)

There is no term to express zero or nought. If needed literary Tibetan དབུ་ thug is used. Numerals from one through to nine are all prefixed by kə-:

(190) kərek 1 kətʃoʔk 6
     kəŋes 2 kəfnəʔs 7
     kəsam 3 kərscat 8
     kəbdu 4 kəŋu 9
     kəmŋi 5 zji 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 kʰəzaʔ, 'bowl' and təʃnu, 'day', function as classifiers:

(191) mpʰjar sheet
     kə-mpʰjar one sheet of…
     šokʃoʔk kə-mpʰjar one sheet of paper
     šokʃoʔk kəbdu mpʰjar four sheets of paper
     kʰəzaʔ bowl
     kə-kʰəzaʔ one bowl of…
     kʰrəʔw kə-kʰəzaʔ one bowl of rice
     kʰrəʔw kəsam kʰəzaʔ three bowls of rice
     təʃnu day
     kə-ʃnu one day
     kəsam ũnu three days

There are three words in Jiàomùzú 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.
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  təŋtok kəbdru rgi
     one  bread four  CL
     four pieces of bread

kərtok  tərni kəsam 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  zjiʃpəʔk  16
    zjaʃes  12  zjiʃnəʔs  17
    zjasam  13  zjarscat  18
    zjibdu  14  zjingu  19
    zjimpi  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  katʃoʔk-zji  60
    kənes-zji  20  kəʃnəʔs-zji  70
    kəsam-zji  30  kərscat-zji  80
    kəbdru-zji  40  kəŋgu-zji  90
    kəmpi-zji  50  porja  100
Adding a number from 1 through 9 forms numerals up to one hundred:

(197) kesam-zji-kəsam 33
koŋnuʔ-s-zji-kəṭpoʔk 76
kəŋes-zji-kəmŋi 25
kərscat-zji-kəŋu 89
kəŋu-zji-kəɾek 91

Larger numbers are formed along the same principles:

(198) 300 kəsam-pəɾja  stonτso 1000
500 kəmŋi-pəɾja  krəτso 10,000
425 kobdu-pəɾja-kəŋes-zji-kəmŋi  krəτso-zji; mbəmkτer 100,000
687 kəɾtʃoʔk-pəɾja-kərscat-zji-kəŋnaʔs  krəτso  pəɾja 1,000,000

Other often used terms for 'one million', pʃawa and saja are derived from literary Tibetan བོད 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) ɲa kəsam tətsʰot na-ta-najo-n
I three hour PFT-1/2-wait-2s
I waited for you for three hours.

(201) tətsʰot 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,  year three  CL
three men  be five years old  three years old

* kəsam lo vi  kəsam pa  vi  be three years old
* kəsam lo wəŋkʰuʔ tʃe kəsam pa wəŋkʰuʔ  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 kəɾek to…, kəŋes to…, kəsam to… 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 tagbo from literary Tibetan བོད་རྒྱལ་མ། dang-po, 'first' and nipa from བོད་རྒྱལ་མ། 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 Jiaomuzi. 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) zji wa-zji
    ten at.least-ten

Prefix wa- cannot occur with nouns or quantifiers, unless the quantifier is based on a numeral:

(204) təvek * wavek wuvjot *wawuvjot
    half many

(205) kəkərgi¹¹⁵ some (Q)
    wa-kəkərgi at least some

laktʃe ni-rni wa-kəkərgi ma-'nɔ-ʃpaʔ-ŋ
thing p:GEN-name at.least-some NEG-REFL-can,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) təlhə kəbdut kəmpni caʔm
    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) kənəs-zji-kəmpni jeʔm caʔm ndoʔ-jn
    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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zji} & \quad \text{təro} & \quad \text{zji-ro} \\
\text{ten} & \quad \text{extra} & \quad \text{more than ten}
\end{align*}
\]

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  
\text{at.least-ten-extra}  
\text{definitely more than ten}

(211) jiga-fiŋtʃiʔ-ro caʔm  
\text{one-week-extra}  
\text{at.most}  
\text{More than one week but less than two weeks}

**Numerals in daily life**

Though Jiǎomùzú 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 Jiǎomùzú is common. For some time references in contemporary contexts there is no proper Jiǎomùzú equivalent, in which case a Chinese numeral is used. For example, day, month and year tend to be all in Chinese numerals:

(212) ndə aŋliŋljo nda w-apa na-kə-sci 'nə-ŋos  
\text{that}  \text{2009}  \text{year}  \text{3s:GEN-CL}  \text{PFT- NOM-be.born}  \text{EV-be}  
\text{He was born in 2009.}

In (212) aŋliŋljo nijan is loaned from Chinese 二零零九年, èr líng líng jiǔ nián. It is possible to use Jiǎomùzú numerals to express the year. In more formal situations or among older people one might still hear something like (213):

(213) lo ston-tso-kənq-gyu w-apa  
\text{year}  \text{thousand-two-nine}  \text{3s:GEN-CL}  
\text{[in] the year}  \text{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', སྒྲ་ stags, instead of the indigenous kʰog.

195
Jiamo 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) *nd po zar ndzam la sci-pa tʃe na ko sci na-no*

*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 *ka-tho* or *tʰowa*. The second half, with the waning moon, is called *ka-mbot* or *ɟowa*. Days are counted in native numerals:

(216) *ka-tho ka-sam* the third day of the waxing moon

*ɟowa ka-ɲes* 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) *zlawa daŋbo* the first month

*zlawa ɲespa* the second month

*zlawa samb* the third month

The word for 'month, moon' as well as the numerals are loans from:

(217) *zlawa daŋbo* the first month

*zlawa ɲespa* the second month

*zlawa samb* the third month

There are also no names for the day of the month. Dates can be expressed either in Jiamo numerals or in Chinese:

(218) *paʃnu ka-sam-zji nos today three-ten be*

*Today is the thirtieth.*
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 karek the first day (of the month)
     tsepsa kapes the second day
     tsepsa kəsamzi the thirtieth day

To express things like 'weekend' or 'Monday' native speakers use Chinese terms, sometimes with an adapted meaning:

(221) pəʃnuʃiŋtʃʰi¤ˈnəŋos  kə-ratʰa 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) ʃiŋtʃʰiji ka-ratʰa
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:
The third day of the fifth month of the year of the tiger.

Days are divided into several periods that each have their own name, beyond the normal morning, afternoon and evening, such as farkʰa, 'the time when the cock crows; the crack of dawn' and tanam, 'when the sun comes up; very early morning'. Traditionally Gyalrong 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. 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) wuCalibriˈ o tatsʰot  kazam tʃe  ji-rjɪ
He went at three o'clock.

(226) xwotseCSI tatsʰot  kazam taʃek tʃe  ji-manda
The train arrived at half past three.

(227) ʃe  kə-ratʰa 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 tatsʰot, '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) kərscaCSI [mpʰjar] tʃe  kə-tarpʰa ʰna-ŋos
It's eight (yuan) per pound.

Phone numbers are exclusively in Chinese, including emergency numbers:

(229) ka-ŋalat mə-na-ndoʔ rə jawjawlinCSI ka-nakʰo
If there is a fight, call 110.
The emergency number here, 110, is from Chinese —— yāoyāolìng. 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 ə defines the entity as opposed to other entities around. However, the presence of ə 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) təzəpu? ə kə-ŋəʔk jɪ-ŋi-ndʒ
    boy        C NOM-run PFT-go-3d
    The two boys went running.

(230b) təzəpu? kə-ŋəʔk jɪ-ŋi-ndʒ
    boy    NOM-run PFT-go-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) wuvjot much, a lot, many
    təgres (a) few
    kəʒu all
    kɔmco that, several
    kəkɔrtokrtok some
    caʔm at most
    stamce all, entire
    tsat a little

    rere...kaka each...one
    ndoʔmiʔ about; approximately
    kətəpʰok several
    tʰomatʰo about; more or less
    ndoʔndoʔ all; every
    kərgirgi some
    kɔmɔŋju all, whole

Some of the quantifiers derive from numerals, classifiers or verbs. Most often compounding or reduplication form quantifiers derived from other words:
(232)  ndoʔ  have (verb)  təpʰok  group (CL)
miʔ  not have (verb)  kə-  one
ndoʔmiʔ  about, approximately  kətəpʰok  several

kərgi  one (numeral)  kartok  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)  kəɾuʔ  kəʒu tə  kəʒu kəɾuʔ-ŋo
Tibetan  all  C  all  Tibetan-p
all Tibetans  all Tibetans

kəʒu kəɾuʔ-ŋo tə  kəɾuʔ-ŋo  kəʒu tə  * kəʒu tə kəɾuʔŋo
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 kəʒu, 'all' is a quantifier but kəməca, 'many' is a stative verb:

(234)  kəʒu  all  * 'naʒu  * 'naʒujn
kəməca  many  'na-məca  'na-məca-jn
OBS-many  OBS-many-3p

Here are some sample sentences:

(235)  tsʰe wuvjot 'na-ndoʔ  tətʰa təŋes ki  'na-ndo
salt  much  OBS-have  book  few  IDEF  OBS-have
There is a lot of salt.  There are a few books.

tətʰa kəməcok ndoʔ  ʃu kətəpʰok na-pʰo-jn
book  several  have  tree  several  PFT-cut-3p
There is a pile of books.  Several trees were cut.

tandzam w-ətɬa  tsat tʃe əs
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:

\[(236)\]  
\[kəʒu \text{ na-cu} \quad ηα \text{ kəmcok kaku η-o} \text{ si} \quad 'na-vi\]  
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:

\[(237)\]  
\[ndo?ndo? \to \text{ ji-joς} \quad kəmji \text{ kaka 'na-ŋos} \]  
all  C one-jiǎo  five  each  EV-be  
Each one is five jiǎo.

\[(238)\]  
\[wuvjot \text{ ki na-kʰit-j} \]  
many  IDEF  PFT-pick-1p  
We picked an amazingly large amount.

They also occur with prominence marker ʔkə:

\[(239)\]  
\[pijoς \text{ w-apkap kəkətoko}t\text{tok \kə na \mbərza? kə 'na-vəja-jn} \]  
beer 3s:GEN-cap  some  PR CON  knife  PR  OBS-fetch-3p  
Some open beer bottles with a knife,

\[kəkətoko}t\text{tok kə na \n-pəʃwa kə 'na-ci-jn} \]  
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 Jiǎomùzú.

\[(240a)\]  
\[təza-ŋo \text{ w-əvek tə comco-vu 'na-ŋos} \]  
boy-p 3s:GEN-half  C  Jiǎomùzú-person  EV-be  
Some of the boys are from Jiǎomùzú.

\[(240b)\]  
\[təza-ŋo \text{ lan}ʃin \text{ ka-leʔt \kər-ga? kə-təpʰok} \]  
boy-p  ball  NOM-hit  NOM-like  one-group  
Some boys like football.

In (240a) tovek literally means 'half', but it can be used to express 'a part of', as can kətəpʰok. 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-ŋo kartok ʒik jiʔ-ːa-rətʰa-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-ːa-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) kətəpʰok taza-ŋo mbotan ka-leʔt 'na-rgaʔ-jn
several boy-p ball NOM-hit OBS-like-3p
Some of the boys like to play football.

(242b) taza kətəpʰok mbotan kaLɛʔt kærɡaʔ makændra 'na-nədoʔ?
man several ball hit NOM-like very OBS-have
Some guys love to play basketbal.

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 Jiǎomùzú dialects have both bound classifiers, which cannot occur independently, and free classifiers based on nouns, though Jiǎomùzú 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 kəmŋi 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:
The classifier here is *pfu*, which is used with objects of long thin shape. Nouns that take *pfu* include *mantoʔk*, 'flower', *jopjop*, 'fish', *kʰapri*, 'snake', *takʰu*, 'cigarette', *pangən*, 'river' and *scape*, 'sword' - but not *mbarza*, 'knife'. Other commonly used classifiers in Jiǎomùzú are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mpʰjar} & \quad \text{sheet, layer; for flat rectangular things} \\
\text{bəm} & \quad \text{pair} \\
pfu & \quad \text{for long thin things} \\
kor & \quad \text{pack load (animals as well as humans, carried on the back)} \\
tʰən & \quad \text{for food; meal} \\
kpʰu & \quad \text{for trees} \\
tʃʰc & \quad \text{set; for clothes} \\
cʰa & \quad \text{time; turn} \\
mpʰrəm & \quad \text{line, row, queue} \\
rdok & \quad \text{piece}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mpʰjar} & \quad \text{classifier for flat rectangular things, 'sheet', 'unit of money'} \\
pọŋeʔj kə-mpʰjar & \quad \text{money one-CL} \\
pọŋeʔj zji mpʰjar & \quad \text{money ten CL} \\
one yuan & \quad \text{ten yuan} \\
\text{ʃokʃoʔk kəsəm pʰjar} & \quad \text{* ʃokʃoʔk kəsəm kəmpʰjar} \\
\text{paper three CL} & \quad \text{three sheets of paper.}
\end{align*}
\]

Frequently only a numeral and a classifier are used, with the head noun implicit:

\[
\begin{align*}
tʰistok kə ra & \quad \text{kəmj kəmpʰjar} \\
\text{how many PR need} & \quad \text{five CL} \\
\text{How many do you want?} & \quad \text{Five (sheets).}
\end{align*}
\]
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 mpujar, 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 cʰa, '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 cʰa-j to-¹a-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) kʰəzaʔ kʰroʔw kə-kʰəzaʔ kʰroʔw kebdw kʰəzaʔ
bowl rice one-CL rice four CL
one bowl of rice four bowls of rice
tərpə pakʃu kə-tərpə pakʃu kənaʔ tərpə
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 jum of 'pot' does not form the meaning 'many pots':

(250) tajam pot * tajamjam * tajam tajam
kʰəzaʔ bowl * kʰəzaʔzaʔ * kʰəzaʔ kʰəzaʔ

It is, however, possible to use reduplication or repetition of classifiers when they are marked with kə- for 'one':

(251) wujo kʰroʔw kə-kʰəzaʔ ka-kʰəzaʔ 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):
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) kaŋpat kandrek kaŋes tanones stoki na-ndrek-ŋ
livestock chase two stretch like.that PFT-pursue-1s
I chased the cow for some two kilometres.

(254) kəjoʔ kərtok na-pʰo kʰonə na-p
sheep one PFT-flee CON I bend many PFT-pursue-1s
One sheep ran away and I chased it all over the place.

(255) jiga kəsam na-ndrek-ŋ kʰonə ka-vaja jì-eʰa-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) tanones, '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 tanones, the stretch of road one can walk before one needs a break. The word jiga, '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 Jiǎomùzú is tombrifam, 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 tajam, 'one lap', for a distance back and forth, cʰa, 'time, turn', tajam, 'pot'.

Classifiers can modify the head of a genitive construction:

(256) tsala kə-tsala w-opʰok
moon, month 1-CL 3s:GEN-salary
a month's salary

tapa kə-pa w-orkok
year 1-CL 3s:GEN-grain.harvest
a year's worth of grain
But classifiers themselves cannot be marked for genitive. Expression of possession must employ free possessives, as in (257) where the speaker gave the pound of apples he possessed to his mother:

(257) tərpa pound *ŋə-tərpa
*ŋ-ərpa
*ŋ-ka-tərpa

ŋa ŋo-je kə-tərpa tə ŋ amo nə-mbuʔ-ŋ
I 1s:POSS one-CL C 1s:GEN-mother PFT-give-1s
I gave my pound to my mother.

Time words can function as classifiers, with the numeral before the classifier:

(258) tʃəʔnu day
kə-ʃəʔnu one day
kəsəm ŋu three days
kəsəm ŋu w-ŋəŋkʰuʔ after three days
* tʃəʔnu kəsəm

For some time words there is a noun as well as a separate classifier, which cannot be used interchangeably. For example, Jiāomùzú borrowed the noun for 'year', təlo, from Tibetan བོད་lo. But the classifier used with təlo is pa.

(259) tʃəʔ tə w-əlo :pkraʃis tətʰa kə-šo-joʔk ŋos
this C 3s:GEN-year bKra.shis book NOM-CAUS-finish be
bKra-shis graduates this year.

(260) nə ło kəmŋi pa ŋos
that year five CL be
He is five years old.

The same principle holds for the noun and classifier 'moon' or month'. Jiāomùzú uses tsəla for 'moon' as well as 'month':

(261) pəʃu tsəla 'na-kəktu
today moon OBS-big
Today the moon is big

(262) w-əŋʰok kə-tsəla kərscat-pəɾʃa 'na-nəʔ
3:GEN-salary one-CL eight-hundred OBS-have
His salary is 800 [yuan] a month.
In some instances classifiers borrowed from Chinese become nouns in Jiăomùzú, as in (263). The Chinese classifier ㄉㄐㄠ ㄑ, 'one tenth of one unit of money', is in Sichuăn dialect pronounced as [ɻo]. Prefixed with the Chinese numeral ㄧ for 'one' the construction occurs as a noun followed by a numeral:

(263) ndoʔndoʔ to jǐoʔ kāmji kāk 'nəŋos
   each c one jǐo five each EV-be
   Each one is five jǐo.

Some of these reinterpreted classifiers then require a classifier of their own, although such constructions have a syntactic twist:

(264) nū arliŋliŋju nījan ndō w-əpā na-kə-sci 'nəŋos
   that 2009 year that 3s:GEN-CL PFT-NOM-be.born EV-be
   He was born in 2009.

In example (264) arliŋliŋju nījan is borrowed from Chinese 二零零九年 èrlínglíngjiǔ nián, 'the year 2009', were nījan is a classifier. In the Jiăomùzú sentence the Chinese numeral with the Chinese classifier occur followed by the Jiăomùzú 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 ndō as the possessor. The whole construct is perhaps best translated as 'He was born in 2009, [in] that year'.

e. Prominence marker kə

The Jiăomùzú marker kə usually occurs in previous studies on rGyalrong labelled as ‘case marker’ or ‘ergativity marker’. In Jiăomùzú 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. Jiăomùzú constituents each have their own level of prominence, based on their position in the sentence and on the Jiăomùzú 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
(265a) \quad & \text{ɲənə ɳə ko-top-ŋ} \\
& \text{you I 2/1-hit-1s} \\
& \text{You will hit me.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(265b) \quad & \text{ɲənə kə ɳə ko-top-ŋ} \\
& \text{you PR I 2/1-hit-1s} \\
& \text{You will hit me.}
\end{align*}
\]

Say, for instance, that the object ɳə, ‘I’ in (265a) anticipates being hit if a certain task is not done to the satisfaction of the subject ɲənə, ‘you’. Sentence (265a) without \( kə \) is a simple statement. The

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\(^{117}\) These definitions follow Foley and Van Valin (1996: 282-283).

sentence provides information about what ‘you’ will do. It answers the question ‘What will you do next?’ The subject is also the topic, ŋaŋo, ‘you’. The comment is kə kotopŋ, ‘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 ŋaŋo, ‘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 ŋaŋo. 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) ŋa ŋaŋo ta-top-n
      I        1/2-hit-2s
I will hit you.

(266b) ŋa kə ŋaŋo ta-top-n
      I  PR      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 ŋaŋo, ‘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 ŋaŋo, ‘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 ŋaŋo, ‘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) ŋaŋo ŋa kə ta-top-n
      you       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 wuŋo, ‘he’ and the reason for the writing, poyeŋj, ‘money’, occur with kə. In (268) the speaker gives prominence to the subject and agent amŋi, ‘ancestor’ as well as the instrument famtok, ‘hammer’.
(267) ụọ ọ bụ poʃeʃị w-ọʃat ọ bụ sonam ọ bụascok ọ 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) ɐmị ọ bụ ʃamtok ọ bụ ụọ ọ w-awo-j ọ kerek
ancestor PR CON hammer PR he 3s:GEN-head-LOC one
The ancestor dealt him a blow with the iron hammer.

to-ku-l-at-jn 'nà-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 ʃị kọ təspap kọ w-əmŋak na-ju
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 ʃị, '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 ʃị təspap kọ w-əmŋak na-ju
work much exhaustion PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-sleep
Exhausted by the hard work he fell asleep.

(269c) * karama ʃị kọ təspap wəmŋak na-ju

Example (269c) is ungrammatical because without kọ 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 ɲaɲo ɲa-pʰa-j kọ təlʰa ɲa-kʰam-ɲ
I you 2s:GEN-vicinity-LOC PR book PFT-pass-1s
I handed you a book.

In example (270) ɲaɲo looks like an indirect object but actually the constituent here is ɲaɲo pəpʰaj, '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
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 translatively, 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 ko marking different constituents and different roles. The first sentence shows ko giving prominence to the subject and agent amɲi, 'ancestor':

(271) amɲi ko no wujo w-awo-j jamtok kərek to-ko-laʔt-jn
ancestor PR CON he 3s:GEN-head-LOC hammer one PFT-NOM-hit3s:3s:HON
The ancestor dealt him a blow with the iron hammer.

ˈno-ŋos
EV-be

Example (272) has a topicalised object which is also marked for focus:

(272) pakʃu ko lhamo pkraʃis na-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 kʰajcak, 'hammer':

(273) kʰajcak ko tərmu na-סופר-top-ŋ
hammer PR person PFT-CAUS-hit1s
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 ko.

(274) jino ko wujo j-ascok ko-leʔt to- próxima
we:e PR he 1p:GEN-letter NOM-write1 PFT-CAUS-do-1p
We appointed him as secretary.

Note that often in sentences with ko marking agent or instrument the verb will be marked for indirect causativity by -sə or -sə, 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) tamkʰu kə-neʔk tə kʰalu kə to-kə-va-w kʰonə
    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 to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
this like flap-flap-flap PFT-NOM-say EV-be

(276) w-apa nə w-əʔdər 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 ji təspap kə w-əm bucks kə-ju
    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-əjiʔk w-əŋkʰuʔ-j təʔu? cʰot cʰot 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-ka-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) kartsʰe kɔŋu w-ɔŋem tɔ w-apʰispo-j ka-rkɔ
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.

ndɔ sok w-ərca tɔ kɔ to-kə-cʰa na-kə-ŋos ʰnə-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 kɔ can occur with noun phrases modified by contrast marker tɔ. Unlike contrast marker tɔ, prominence marker kɔ 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 tɔ. The function of kɔ and tɔ 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 tɔ pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
bKra.shis C apple PFT-give-3s
[Only] bKra-shis gave apples.

(281c) pkraʃis kɔ pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
bKra.shis PR apple PFT-give-3s
bKra-shis gave apples.

(281d) pkraʃis tɔ kɔ pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w (manʃi tərmuʔ-ŋo ʰtʰi ʒi k
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-ʃn miʔ)
PFT-give-3p not.have)

(281e) * pkraʃis kɔ tɔ 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 *pakšu nambuṅw*, ‘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 *pakšu*, ‘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 devise, 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 Jiāomùzú dialects in such situations the subject must be marked with prominence marker \( k_{\sigma} \), 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 \( k_{\sigma} \).

(282a) sonam pkraʃis na-sat-w
    bSod.nams bKra.shis PFT-kill-3s
    bSod-nams killed bKra-shis.

(282b) sonam pkraʃis k_{\sigma} na-sat-w
    bSod.nams bKra.shis PR PFT-kill-3w
    It was bSod-nams that bKra-shis killed.

If \( k_{\sigma} \) 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 \( k_{\sigma} \) 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 \( k_{\sigma} \).

A second situation in which marking with \( k_{\sigma} \) 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 Jiāomùzú dialects employ. In the verb chapter I show that Jiāomùzú 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 \( k_{\sigma} \). In sentences with a third person human subject and a first person human object, subject marking with \( k_{\sigma} \) 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 \( go_{\eta} \), as in (283):

(283) pkraʃis [k_{\sigma}] 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 $k\sigma$ if they occur with first person objects:

(284) $t\omega a\,m$ ka $n\eta$ no-najo-$n$  
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 $k\sigma$ 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 $k\sigma$ appears even though the subject is in the first slot. Clearly the demon, though animate, is considered less than human:

(285) $t\sigma? t\sigma$ bd $t\sigma$ ka ji$ji$-$n$ po$\phi$k wu-veravla-$j$ kona  
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 $k\sigma$ 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 $k\sigma$, as in (286), which has an example of a third person subject with a second person object:

(286) pkra$\phi$is nan$jo$ 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 $k\sigma$ 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 $k\sigma$. 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 $k\sigma$ occurs with subject $jin\eta$, 'we', drawing the hearer's empathy there. Though there is no unclarity here about syntactic roles, $k\sigma$ cannot be omitted:
We appointed him as secretary.

* jino wujo jascok kə-leʔt to-sə-va-j

The issue in this sentence is one of double action. In this simple sentence with just one clause the hearer's empathy is with *wujo, '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 *wujo 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 tosovaj, 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 *wujo, firmly establishing *wujo and his actions as the topical constituent for the hearer. It is for example possible to have (287b):

(287b) jino wujo j-ascok kə-ləʔt to-sə-va-j koronə

We appointed him as our secretary, but he doesn't do a very good job.

In a sentence with two clauses the hearer finds out more about *wujo and how the action of becoming secretary panned out. The hearer, who put his empathy with *wujo in the first clause, is vindicated, in knowing that indeed the main locus of the action is *wujo 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 *wujo, '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 *wujo for prominence also leads to ungrammaticality:

(287c) * jino wujo kə jascok kəva tosovaj
The sentence is ungrammatical because marking with $kə$ links $wu$o 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 $wu$o. Verb agreement in this case might be considered inconclusive, since Jiāomùzú verbs agree with object if there is a third person subject, as shown in (287d). Note that $wu$o 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 $f$-

(287d) $wu$o $kə$ $jino$ tascok kə-$va$ to-$sə$-$va$-$j$
    he PR we:e letter NOM-do PFT-CAUS-do-1p
    He made us secretaries.

(287e) * $wu$o $kə$ $jino$ jascok $kə$-$va$ $tosəvaj$

And finally, the sentence is ungrammatical if $jino$ is in the proper subject slot, $wu$o is marked for prominence with $kə$ and the genitive marking on tascok is $w$- for third person singular rather than $f$- for first person plural:

(287f) * $jino$ $wu$o $kə$ wascok $kə$-$va$ $tosəvaj$

Third person $wu$o 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 $kə$. Jiāomùzú 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) $nə$ŋə $kə$ $ŋə$ ma-$t$ʰ$i$-$ŋ$ na-$t$ə-$cəs$-$n$
    you PR I NEG-go₁-1s PFT-say₂s: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 $tə$ɡm, 'house', $pə$ʃu, 'chicken' and, maybe most horrific of all, $bKra$-$s$his. The hearer gives little or no empathy to the actual cause of the burning, the syntactic subject and semantic agent $təm$fu$k, 'fire'. The speaker
must restore this imbalance by giving prominence to tomtʃuk 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) tomtʃuk kə ṭeʔɛm kɔməŋu tə kə-ˈa-cop
   fire       PR  house entire  C  PFT-NEV-burn
   The fire burned up the entire house.

(289b) tomtʃuk kə ʔaʃu  kəʒu tə kə-ˈa-cop
   fire       PR  chicken all   C  PFT-NEV-burn
   The fire burned all the chickens.

(289c) pkraʃis tomtʃuk kə-ktu kə kə-ˈa-cop
   bKra.shis  fire       NOM-big  PR  PFT-NEV-burn
   The fire burned 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 kʰalu, 'wind' with kə. Once again, neither the animacy hierarchy nor object prominence explains the occurrence of kə in the first sentence:

(290a) kʰalu kə kʰorlo kə-ˈa-tʰwek
   wind       PR  vehicle       PFT-NEV-overturn
   The wind blew the car over.

(290b) kʰalu kə pkraʃis na-ˈa-trap
   wind       PR  bKra.shis       PFT-NEV-push
   The wind blew bKra-shis down.

(290c) kʰalu kə pʰjem a ji-ˈa-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 ηos
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 wuɟo, 'he'. But when the implicit subject becomes explicit marking appears, even though the object is implicit as in (292b):

(292a) wuɟo lhabzo kə-va kə-skopaque-r-w
he:O thangka.painter NOM-do PFT-hire-3s
[She] hired him as a thangka painter.

(292b) wuɟo kə lhabzo kə-va kə-skopaque-r-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 wuɟo, 'he' is the subject, whereas in example (291a), which has an implicit subject, wuɟo is the object. Marker kə does not occur independently to represent an implicit argument:

(292c) * kə wuɟo lhabzo kəva kəskopaque\textsuperscript{rw}

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 sofŋu 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 \( k \) 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 \( pat\text{šu} \), '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 \( k \), assigning it due prominence. It is not the chicken who chases the cat but rather the cat chases the chicken. Without \( k \) 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 \( k \). For more on attention flow, see section 7.6 in the chapter on verbs.

\begin{verbatim}
(294) ntom\text{ändə} rə pat\text{šu} kam\text{tsa} sku ka-vi rə
originally CON chicken window down NOM-come, CON
Originally a chicken had come in through the window and

lolo kə no-na-nd\text{ẽk}-nd\text{ẽk}-w
cat PR AF-PFT-RED-chase-3s
[now] the cat was chasing it back and forth.
\end{verbatim}

In this section I have shown that prominence marker \( k \) serves several functions. It gives prominence to one or several constituents in a sentence. Marker \( k \) also ensures due prominence for the syntactic subject of a clause, sometimes by disambiguating the syntactic roles of constituents. And lastly \( k \) 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 \( k \) all involve the marking of prominence, I call it a prominence marker.

**Prominence marker \( k \) and case**

In previous studies of rGyalrong scholars have interpreted \( k \) and its variant forms as a case marker, marking ergativity in a split-ergative system. Given the use of \( k \) in the Jiāomùzú dialects as described in the previous section, case is not the most appropriate category for \( k \) in these dialects. In this section I first test if Jiāomùzú marks for case in the traditional sense of the word at all. Then I give an overview of earlier analyses of markers like \( k \) to see if they can apply to the Jiāomùzú 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 \( k_\circ \) I do not look at marking on the verb phrase, only at markers that occur with constituents that are subjects and objects. In Jiäomûzû 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
(295) & \quad \text{ŋa nə nə} \text{ ta-top-n} \quad \text{nə nə ko-top-ŋ} \\
& \quad \text{I you 1/2-hit-2s} \quad \text{you I 2/1-hit-1s} \\
& \quad \text{I will hit you.} \quad \text{You will hit me.}
\end{align*}
\]

Topicalisation, as in (296) where the object is in the first slot of the sentence, does also not trigger marking:

\[
(296) \quad \text{tapuʔ_p nə ji-sə-rwe-ŋ} \\
\quad \text{child-p I vpt-CAUS-rise-1s} \\
\quad \text{The kids I’ll wake.}
\]

Clearly Jiäomûzû 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 Jiäomûzû dialects do not evidence such a system of marking on noun phrases or pronouns. In the examples of (297) below, the intransitive subject \( \text{ŋa} \), 'I' in (297a) and the object \( \text{ŋa} \), 'me' in (297c) both remain unmarked and unchanged in their pronominal form, as does the transitive subject \( \text{ŋa} \), 'I' in (297b):

\[
\begin{align*}
(297a) & \quad \text{ŋa ñi̱ntiəhu tʃi̱i-ŋ} \\
& \quad \text{I Chéngdù go_1s} \\
& \quad \text{I’ll go to Chéngdù.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(297b) & \quad \text{ŋa nə nə nə ta-top-n} \\
& \quad \text{you 1/2-hit-2s} \\
& \quad \text{I will hit you.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(297c) & \quad \text{nə nə ko-top-ŋ} \\
& \quad \text{you I 2/1-hit-1s} \\
& \quad \text{You will hit me.}
\end{align*}
\]

Scott DeLancey, working with a limited set of data from Jin's monograph on Suõmò,\(^{119}\) 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 \( k_\circ \) 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 Jiāomùzú, 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 Jiāomùzú data do have such examples, shown in the third scenario above. DeLancey then introduces a psychological notion of viewpoint, which is the perspective from which an event is viewed. 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. 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. 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 Jiāomùzú, 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. 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...

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scenario two. The system cannot account for Jiǎomùzú data in which a first person subject, in Sun’s hierarchy the speaker, still occurs with ə, 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 ə in Jiǎomùzú. Compare the sentences in examples (289) and (290) above. In the first series, (289), ə, ‘fire’ is the inanimate subject. Prominence marker ə 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, ə 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:

(289a) pak ə kam na-sanət-w
pig PR door PFT-open-3s
The pig opened the door.

In sentence (289a) animate subject pak, ‘pig’ is marked with ə, 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:

(289b) pak kam na-sanət-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 ə is not obligatory, contrary to the expectation:

(299a) təwaʔm tərmu na-sat-w
bear person PFT-kill-3s
The bear killed a man.
(299b) təwaʔm ə tərmu na-sat-w
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 ə the sentence without ə would be ungrammatical. Also, ə can occur with subjects of all persons when the third person argument is inanimate, as in direct speech quotations:

(300) ə na ə nənə ə-nəndze kətʃˈi 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 -ə, 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 -koa can mark emphasis beside ergativity goes a long way towards explaining the non-obligatory marking with koa that occurs so frequently in the Jiăomûzû dialects. However, a split-ergative system cannot account for the occurrence of several markers in one sentence. Sun remarks that in Căodêng it is not possible to have two ergativity markers in one sentence.

Lîn Xiângróng, writing about Zhuôkêjì, reports on a marker koa which can mark a number of different semantic roles. He lists agent, instrumental, cause, and reason. Lîn calls this marker ‘agentivity marker’ but avoids the term ‘case’. Lîn 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 koa while the object is inanimate.125 Animacy-empathy hierarchy as described by Sun for Căodêng is clearly not the only determining factor in Zhuôkêjì. This affirms the conclusions for Jiăomûzû, 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, Lîn’s agentivity marker cannot deal with scenario three and four in the Jiăomûzû 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 Chábâo. Jacques recognises that case is not a very appropriate term to cover the meaning or function of markers like koa, but since other scholars work with the category he retains it in his description. The Chábâo dialect has an ergative marker kuw 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 Chábâo marker kuw seems quite close to Jiăomûzû’s prominence marker koa, 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 koa in Jiăomûzû, case, even in the sense used by other scholars, is not the right syntactic category. Marker koa is best categorised as a discourse marker.

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 Jiāomùzū. 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 Jiāomùzū 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 Jiāomùzū 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. Jiāomùzū 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 Jiāomùzū sentence. Since the verb phrase is the final constituent in a Jiāomùzū 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 krey, '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 *kre ng* and are all grammatical:

(1a) pəʃ ur jǐntōhu tje tōmu kə-ktu makândra na-leʔt-w
yesterday Chéngdū LOC rain NOM-big very PFT-hit₂-3s
Yesterday it rained very hard in Chéngdū.

(1b) kre ng pəʃ ur jǐntōhu tje tōmu kə-ktu makândra na-leʔt-w
perhaps yesterday Chéngdū LOC rain NOM-big very PFT-hit₂-3s
Perhaps yesterday it rained very hard in Chéngdū.

(1c) pəʃ ur kre ng jǐntōhu tje tōmu kə-ktu makândra na-leʔt-w
yesterday perhaps Chéngdū LOC rain NOM-big very PFT-hit₂-3s
Perhaps in Chéngdū it rained very hard yesterday.

(1d) pəʃ ur jǐntōhu tje kre ng tōmu kə-ktu makândra na-leʔt-w
yesterday Chéngdū LOC perhaps rain NOM-big very PFT-hit-3s
Perhaps it rained very hard in Chéngdū yesterday.

(1e) pəʃ ur jǐntōhu tje tōmu kre ng kə-ktu makândra na-leʔt-w
yesterday Chéngdū LOC rain perhaps NOM-big very PFT-hit₂-3s
It rained, perhaps very hard, in Chéngdū yesterday.

(1f) pəʃ ur jǐntōhu tje tōmu kə-ktu kre ng makândra na-leʔt-w
yesterday Chéngdū LOC rain NOM-big perhaps very PFT-hit₂-3s
It rained, perhaps very hard, in Chéngdū yesterday.

(1g) pəʃ ur jǐntōhu tje tōmu kə-ktu makândra kre ng 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 *kre ng* 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 Māěrkāng. Sentence (1d) points to the kind of weather in Chéngdū: rain rather than snow. Note that *tōmu kəleʔt*, 'rain' is a verbal compound. The adverb *kre ng* must be understood to modify the verbal compound rather than the noun *tōmu*, '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 cʰe ka-moʔt zet 'na-va-ʒdor
that liquor NOM-drink little OBS-CAUS-surpass-3s
He drinks way too much alcohol.

*zet ndə cʰe kamoʔt 'navaʒdor
*ndə zet cʰe kamoʔt 'navaʒdor

The following examples show the same issue for interrogative adverb kəʃtə, 'when':

(3) nəŋə kəʃtə tə-vi-n
you when 2-come-2s
When will you come?

*kəʃtə nəŋə 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) təɟʔm wastop 'na-kaʃo
house very OBS-clean
The house is very clean.

(4b) təɟʔm kə-ʃo tseŋtʃə
house NOM-clean sparkling
A sparkingly clean house.

In (4a) the adverb of degree wastop, 'very' modifies the stative verb kaʃo, 'clean'. The adverb occurs before the verb. In example (4b) kaʃo is used in an adjectival position, modifying the noun təɟʔm, 'house'. The adjectival occurs after the noun. The expressive tseŋtʃə, 'in a shining or sparkling manner' which functions as a manner adverb, modifies kaʃo. Since kaʃo is in adjectival position tseŋtʃə occurs after it, not before. Reversing the order of the constituents in these sentences leads to ungrammatical constructions:
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 tʃəʔ/k, ‘colour’ as its head. Note that nərgaʔnə, 'like' in (6) is a verb expressing fondness for a certain colour, not an adverb meaning 'similar, in like manner':

(5) makmoŋo [sok na-vəʈri-jn]
soldier-p manner PFT-walk-3p
The soldiers marched like this.

(6) ŋa [tʃəʔ tə sok] w-əmdoʔk] nərgaʔnə
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 makəndra, 'very' in (7b) modifies natopw, 'hit'. In (7c) makəndra, 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
dog many PFT-hit
He hit many dogs.  
* He hit the dog much, a lot.

(7b) kʰəna [makəndra na-top-w]
dog very PFT-hit-3s
He hit the dog a lot.  
* He hit many dogs.

(7c) [kʰəna wuvjot makəndra] na-top-w
dog many very PFT-hit-3s
He hit an amazingly large number of dogs.

(7d) kʰəna [makəndra 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 kampfer, 'beautiful', forms the verb phrase while the verbal compound
tarngaʔ kava, 'dance', is nominalised. The adverb of degree makəndəra modifies the verb phrase 'nampʃer.

(8)  ndə təmu tə tarngaʔ kə-va  [makəndəra 'na-mpʃer]  
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 tarngaʔ [kə-mpʃer makəndəra] 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) makəndəra modifies the nominalised stative verb, in (10) the construction tarngaʔ kava kəmpʃer, 'beautiful dancing'. The verb phrase, at the end of the sentence, is not modified by an adverb:

(10)  ndə təmu tə tarngaʔ kə-va kə-mpʃer makəndəraŋos  
that woman C dance NOM-do NOM-beautiful very be  
That woman's dancing is very beautiful.

In example (11) kəmpʃer cannot be inflected for verbal categories such as evidentiality or tense, showing that kəmpʃer is a nominalised form here, modified by makəndəra in an adjectival role:

(11) * ndə təmu tə tarngaʔ kəva 'nampʃer makəndəraŋos

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) sofũ, ‘tomorrow’, is emphasised because it is in the first slot of the sentence. In (12b) the emphasis is on ṃa, ‘I’ and in (12c) on nətʰa, ‘your book’:

(12a)  sofũ  ṃa  n-ətʰa  kʰam-ŋ  
tomorrow I 2S:GEN-book hand-1s  
Tomorrow I'll give you your book.

(12b)  ṃa  sofũ  n-ətʰa  kʰam-ŋ  
I tomorrow 2S:GEN-book 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 workaj, ‘on the desk’ by putting it in first position, in (13c) emphasis is on ŋa, ‘I’ and in (13d) on the topicalised object nətʰa, ‘your book’:

(13a) ŋa nətʰa coktse wərkaj na-taʔ-ŋ
I 2s:GEN-book desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC PFT-put2-1s
I put your book on the desk.

(13b) coktse wərkaj ŋa nətʰa na-taʔ-ŋ
desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC I 2s:GEN-book PFT-put2-1s
I put your book on the desk.

(13c) ŋa coktse wərkaj nətʰa na-taʔ-ŋ
I desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC 2s:GEN-book PFT-put2-1s
I put your book on the desk.

(13d) nətʰa ŋa coktse wərkaj na-taʔ-ŋ
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 soʃnu, ‘tomorrow’ and workaj, ‘on top of’ as well as an epistemic adverb, kreq, ‘perhaps’ and an adverb of degree, makəndra, ‘very’. Though adverbs of time and place are very flexible in their placement, adverbs of time generally occur before adverbs of place:

(14) * ŋa nətʰa coktse wərkaj soʃnu teʔ-ŋ
I 2s:GEN-book desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC tomorrow put1-1s

* coktse wərkaj soʃnu ŋa nətʰa teʔ-ŋ
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 katʃʰi, ‘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:
The order of occurrence is important, as shown in (16). The epistemic adverb nd📍nd📍, '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) nd📍nd📍 [lali  katʃʰi]  * lali nd📍nd📍 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) nd📍nd📍 [[wastop lali] katʃʰi]
    truly very slowly go
    Truly go very slowly.

* nd📍nd📍 lali wastop katʃʰi
* wastop lali nd📍nd📍 katʃʰi
* wastop nd📍nd📍 lali katʃʰi
* lali wastop nd📍nd📍 katʃʰi
* lali nd📍nd📍 wastop katʃʰi

Modification of adverbs with ki, tọ or kọ

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 tọ and the prominence marker kọ. 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 Châbǎo that adverbs can be modified by the local equivalents of ki and kọ, ci and kɯ respectively (Jacques, personal communication).
(18) wastop na-vərti  wastop ki na-vərti
very PFT-walk  very IDEF PFT-walk
walked and walked walked on and on without end

(19) təŋə w-əngi raŋpa na-kə-məzaʔk-w ʔna-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 to can occur after adverbials, especially conjunctive adverbs such as mafki, ‘until’:

(20) kʰorlo ma-vi mafki to tʃəʔ to-ˈva-w
bus NEG-come₁ until C this IMP-do₂s
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) ŋa kərek to-ndza-ŋ  ŋa wastop to-ndza-ŋ
I one PFT-eat₁s I very PFT-eat₁s
I ate with gusto. I ate with gusto.

*ŋa wastop ki to-ndza-ŋ  ŋa wastop kərek tondzaŋ
I very IDEF PFT-eat₁s
I ate with great gusto.

Adverbs and adverbial phrases, like noun phrases, can also be modified by the prominence marker kə.

(22) ŋa bawbaw [pəʃurʃnu mo] kə to-kə-ku-ŋ ŋos
I bag yesterday not.longer.ago.than PR PFT-NOM-buy₁s 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 \ka\ra. For more on the use of prominence marker \ka\ra, 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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tawo</th>
<th>kʰəna w-awo 'na-kəktu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>dog  3s:GEN-head OBS-big</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dog has a big head.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tawo</th>
<th>tawo tsʰat ji-ˈvi-n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>immediately; soon; early; first early little IMP-come,\text{-}2s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Come a little early!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tawo</th>
<th>ŋa-məmto-dʒ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>soon REC-see-1d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *tsʰat* occurs after it, functioning as an adjectival. Many nouns, expressives and verbs in Jiāomùzú 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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ʒik</th>
<th>also (adverb) * ʒikʒik</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>manju? besides, more so (adverb) * manju?manju? * manju?ju?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo</td>
<td>always (adverb) *fofo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(25)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tawo</th>
<th>head (noun) tawowo very early</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>early (adverb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)  
\[ t^i \text{ hi} \]
\[ \text{what (interrogative pronoun)} \]
\[ \text{sok} \]  
\[ \text{way, manner (adverb)} \]
\[ t^i \text{isok} \]  
\[ \text{how, in what way (interrogative manner adverb)} \]

(27)  
\[ \text{təʃnu} \]  
\[ \text{day (noun)} \]
\[ \text{pu} \]  
\[ \text{now (adverb)} \]
\[ \text{poʃnu} \]  
\[ \text{today (adverb)} \]

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)  
\[ \text{stoŋ kətsə sok 'na-kəktu} \]
\[ \text{SUP small manner OBS-big} \]
The smallest one is about this big (has a similar size as this one).

(29)  
\[ \text{taməʔ tʃəʔ tə sok tə-va-w ra} \]
work this C manner 2-do-2s need
You need to do this job in this manner.

(30)  
\[ \text{nəŋo nə sək kəməca na-kə-tə-na-vla-w tə} \]
\[ \text{you that manner much PFT-NOM-2-EREFL-spend-2s C} \]
Spending that much, you're lying!

\[ \text{təŋgli na-tə-va-w} \]
lie PFT-2-do-2s

The only other single word manner adverb I have found so far is *raŋpa*, 'intentionally, on purpose':

(31)  
\[ \text{təŋli w-əŋgi raŋpa na-ka-mazaʔk-w 'nə-ŋos} \]
\[ \text{water 3s:GEN-in intentionally PFT-NOM-jump-3s EV-be} \]
He jumped into the water on purpose.
Some verbs and nouns can modify verbs to express manner:

(32) kaŋana (verb) kaŋana kavə tʃi
speed, hurry hurry walk
walk hurriedly

təzə (noun) təzəɔ kam kacu
secret quietly door open
open the door quietly, without making a sound

tʰaptʃʰak (noun) tamaʔ tʰaptʃʰak 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) ŋa tə tʰa kə-va ŋos-ŋ ŋa ʒik ŋos-ŋ
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 tʰi, 'what', plus a negative verb:

(34) tʰi ʒik 'kəva-ŋ 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 \( ts^\hat{h}t, \) zet, \( k\ddot{o}ndzok, \) jaspe and \( d\ddot{r}am\ddot{o}n. \) All can also be used to politely indicate 'to a large degree'. Their usage is comparable to Sichuan Chinese \( \text{yi di\dot{a}n}, \) 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 \( \text{jaspespe}, \) 'really quite…'. The adverbs occur in front of the verbs they modify:

(36) \( ts^\hat{h}t \ 'n\ddot{a}m\ddot{a}\ddot{j}t\ddot{a}k \quad * \ ts^\hat{h}t \ n\ddot{a}-v\ddot{a}-w \)

little \quad OBS-cold \quad little \quad PFT-do-3s

a wee bit cold: freezing

(37) \( t\ddot{f}\ddot{a}\ddot{t} \ wu-je?m \ s\ddot{w}e\ddot{n}\ddot{e} \ ts\ddot{a}m \ k\ddot{a}-m\ddot{i}? \ 'n\ddot{a}-\ddot{\eta}\ddot{o}\ddot{s} \)

this \quad 3S:GEN-house \quad concrete \quad little \quad NOM-not.have \quad EV-be

This house was built without any concrete.

(38) \( \text{zet} \ 'n\ddot{a}-\k\ddot{k}\ddot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{t}\ddot{u} \quad \text{zet} \ ma-\k\ddot{o}nd\ddot{\ddot{a}} \)

quite \quad OBS-big \quad quite \quad NEG-same

quite big: huge \quad quite different: not at all the same

(39) \( \text{kamtsa} \ k\ddot{o}ndzok \ k\ddot{o}kt\ddot{u} \ \eta\ddot{o}s \quad \text{tak}^{\ddot{h}u} \ k\ddot{o}ndzok \ \text{va-w} \)

window \quad quite \quad big \quad be \quad smoke \quad quite \quad do-3s

The window is quite big. \quad It smokes quite a bit.

(40) \( \text{jaspe} \ 'n\ddot{a}-ts^\ddot{h}o \quad \text{quite} \quad OBS-fat \quad [\text{He is}] \quad \text{rather fat.} \)

(41) \( \text{d\ddot{r}am\ddot{o}n} \ k\ddot{o}ha?w \quad k\ddot{a}ru\ddot{\ddot{u}}\ddot{ska}\ddot{\ddot{a}}t \ d\ddot{r}am\ddot{o}n \ kaf\ddot{p}a? \)

little \quad good \quad Tibetan \quad little \quad able

quite good: excellent \quad know a little Tibetan: be proficient in Tibetan

The stative verb \( k\ddot{a}ts\ddot{o}, \) 'small' also can be used as an adverb of degree. Used in this manner, \( k\ddot{a}ts\ddot{o} \) can have a double root to intensify its meaning. It can modify process as well as non-process verbs:

(42) \( k\ddot{a}ts\ddot{o} \quad k\ddot{a}ts\ddot{o}-ts\ddot{o} \ ma-\k\ddot{o}nd\ddot{\ddot{a}} \quad k\ddot{a}ts\ddot{o} \ na-rjo-jn \)

small \quad a.little-RED \quad NEG-similar \quad a.little \quad PFT-talk-3p

a bit different: not at all alike \quad [They] \quad talked some.
One very commonly used adverb, *wastop*, means 'very, to a large degree':

(43) w-əkʃet wastop 'na-kaktu
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 *makəndə* and *kəmtsər*. All three are commonly used, though *wastop* and *kəmtsər* are more particularly the vocabulary of Kônglóng. Though used often in an adverbial role, *kəmtsər* and *makəndə* are actually verbs of duration, *kəmtsər* meaning 'strange' while *makəndə* is a negative form of *kəndə*, 'similar, alike, same':

(44) jini tsalajsweə ndo? kəmtsər kənipa
we:e running.water have very convenient
We have running water, very convenient.

(45) ndo to paʃurtə kəna makəndə 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 *kəndə*, '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 *kəndə* as well:

(46) tfəʔo tf-ambro 'na-mdə-d5
1d 1d:GEN-tall OBS-EQ-1d
We two are the same height.

(47) tfəʔ wu-fasto manʃu? ndo w-əŋgi-nd5 ndʒ-əvu kəndə 'na-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:
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:

My older brother is four years older than me.

bKra-shis has more children than I do.

Those children are faster than these ones.

bKra-shis is not as tall as bKra-shis.

These apples are not as big as those ones.

The adverb for superlative degree or superabundance is stoŋ, 'most, highest'. This adverb is used in comparisons as well as in other expressions of superabundance such as compounds with time references expressing 'every':

128 The adverb stoŋ has a dialect variant stīŋ. I use both forms interchangeably in this study.
(55)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{taŋnu (day)} & \text{tapa (year)} \\
\text{stŋŋnu} & \text{stŋ-pa} \\
\text{every-day} & \text{every-year} \\
\text{daily} & \text{yearly} \\
\end{array}
\]

(56)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ŋa ŋ-o-мо} & \text{t w-ɒmpok va stŋ ŋ-kœmem ŋ-os} \\
\text{I 1s:GEN-mother C 3s:GEN-bread make SUP tasty be} \\
\text{My mother makes the best bread.} \\
\end{array}
\]

(57)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{wuŋo ŋi-pramze kantʃəak-j kə-ndoʔ ŋ-ongi stŋ kə-haʔw ŋ-os} \\
\text{3s 3p:GEN-carpet market-LOC NOM-have 3p:GEN-in SUP NOM-good be} \\
\text{Their carpets are the nicest ones in the market.} \\
\end{array}
\]

Note that in (57) the third person singular wuŋo 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)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
kərek 'na-mbro & kərek ma-'nə-nəʃit \\
too OBS-tall & extremely NEG-OBS-comfortable \\
too tall & extremely uncomfortable. \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ndə-ŋo kʰəna kərek 'na-kəktu ki ŋa-varo-jn} \\
\text{that-p dog one OBS-big IDEF PFT-possess-3p} \\
\text{They had one big dog there.} \\
\end{array}
\]

The adverbs *me* , 'only, merely, just' and *kəro* , 'to a great extent, very' occur in negative sentences only:

(59)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ndə poŋeʔj kəmjį mpʰjar tə me ma-'nə-varo-w} \\
\text{that money five CL C only NEG-OBS-possess-3s} \\
\text{He has no more than five yuan.} \\
\end{array}
\]

(60)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
pkraʃis lhamo w-aka-j kətsə-tsə me ma-kəktu \\
bKra.shis lHa.mo 3s:GEN-COMP-LOC little-RED only NEG-big \\
bKra-shis is only a little bigger than lHa-mo. \\
\end{array}
\]

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As with other adverbs of degree, \( kəro \) can be used to politely express the opposite of what the speaker says:

\[
(61) \quad kəņ\quad kəro\quad ji-\text{-a-}nîn\quad \ast\quad kəro\quad 'nàpîn
\]

maybe very NEG/PFT-NEV-serious
Maybe it was not too bad: it was not at all serious

\[
kəro\quad ma-\text{-nà-ts}^b\o\quad \ast\quad kəro\quad 'nats^b\o
\]

very NEG-OBS-fat
not very fat: pretty fat

\[
kəro\quad ma-\rè-va-w\quad \ast\quad kəro\quad 'nà-va-w
\]

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 \( kəʃ\tə, \) 'when' and \( kəʃe, \) 'where'.

\[
(62) \quad nəŋo\quad kəʃə\quad tə-vi-n\quad tʃə?\quad kəʃə\quad kəsajok\quad ra
\]

you when 2-come-,2s this when finish need
When will you come? When does this have to be finished?

\[
kəʃe\quad tο-ka-tə-ku-w\quad ŋos\quad skarma\quad kəʃe\quad 'nə-ŋos
\]

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 \( t^h_i \) and another word, usually a noun: \( t^h_i\wuzak, \) 'what time'; \( t^h_i\text{stok}, \) 'how many, how much'; \( t^h_i\wutl^e, \) 'why'; \( t^h_i\text{so}, \) 'how'. In these compounds \( t^h_i, \) 'what' is combined with \( ʒak, \) 'time', \( sok, \) 'like, manner', \( t^h_e, \) 'reason' or \( stok, \) 'many'. Compounds based on nouns need to be marked for genitive.

\[
(63a)\quad t^h_i\text{so}\quad kava\quad ra\quad ma-\text{-nà-}fi-ŋ\quad t^h_i\text{so}\quad tə-və-w
\]

how do need NEG-OBS-know-1s how 2-do-2s
I don't know how to do it. How do you make that?

\[
(63b)\quad wu-ŋoŋ\quad t^h_i\text{sta}\quad ŋos\quad t^h_i\text{stok}\quad ki\quad kara\quad nə-ŋos
\]

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 ŋos o tʰiwiuʃʰe
bKra.shis NEG-come₁ be oh why
bKra-shis won't come. Oh, why not?

(63d) ŋa na-tʃiŋəŋvi-ŋ tʰiwiuʃak 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 Jiāomùzú, 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 Jiāomùzú dialects are ndɾondɾo, 'truly, really', loski, 'of course', kreŋ,
'perhaps, maybe'.

(64) na-bawbaw⁰ ndɾondɾo 'na-mpʃar
2s:GEN-bag truly OBS-beautiful
Your bag is truly beautiful.

kəʃmo kava loski ma-'na-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 naŋəŋ expresses the speaker's commitment to his promise to go:

(65) tʰi 'na-ŋəŋ ŋa tʃʰi-ŋ
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, Jiāomùzú 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 kʰəntiŋ derives from Chinese noun 肯定 kěndìng, 'certainty':

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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', $ʃi$, 'continuously, all the time', $ʃo$, 'always', $ pij$, 'immediately', $ tʰaʔm$, 'in a while' and $pəʃkʰa$, 'just now, just a while ago':

(67) jontan $tʰaʔm$ vi
    Yon.tan in.a.while come₁,
    Yon-tan will come in a while.

(68) $ŋa$ $pəʃkʰa$ to-nandza-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
    $cʰo$ about, somewhere, sometime
    $kʰo$ just then, as soon as, beyond

A sixth marker, -$s$, also signals 'from' but is in use only in certain places in Jiǎomùzú. 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 -ʃi. The locative markers occur at the end of the constituent they modify. Locative -ʃi is suffixed to the last syllable of the constituent. Marker -ʃi 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) korek 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 kango ra
    head LOC mDzod.dge go.up need
First you must go up to Mdzod-dge.

    tawo-ʃi mdzorge kango ra
    head-LOC mDzod.dge go.up need
First you must go up to Mdzod-dge.

(72) tambat w-ərka tʃe tambat w-ərka-ʃi
    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 -ʃi can also be used in the sense of 'when, while, during':

(73) ɲa tamaʔ kava-ʃi ka-ptʃo w-əspe ɲos
    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) təŋkʰuʔ back (noun)

w-əŋkʰuʔ təjeʔm w-əŋkʰuʔ
3s:GEN-back house 3s:GEN-back
the back of… the back(side) of the house

w-əŋkʰuʔ?-j təjeʔm w-əŋkʰuʔ?-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 wəŋkʰuʔ 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 njilək-jeʔm ʰna-ŋos
high.place stone-house EV-be
[The house on] the height is made of stone.

(75b) ato tʃe njilək-jeʔm ki ʰna-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) təjə, 'snow' is the subject while tambat wərkəj is an adverbial:

(76) təŋkʰuʔ
back (noun)

w-əŋkʰuʔ təjeʔm w-əŋkʰuʔ
3s:GEN-back house 3s:GEN-back
the back of… the back(side) of the house

w-əŋkʰuʔ?-j təjeʔm w-əŋkʰuʔ?-j
3s:GEN-back-LOC house 3s:GEN-back-LOC
at the back of… at the back of the house; behind the house

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).

(75a) ato njilək-jeʔm ʰna-ŋos
high.place stone-house EV-be
[The house on] the height is made of stone.

(75b) ato tʃe njilək-jeʔm ki ʰna-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) təjə, 'snow' is the subject while tambat wərkəj is an adverbial:
The top of the mountain is difficult to walk on.

There was snow on top of the mountain.

The Eastgate is a bit far (from here).

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:

I'll come tomorrow.

I'll come here tomorrow.

I'll come at three o'clock.

The meaning of such constructions as soʃnu 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':

A strange sound came from somewhere around the living room.
Sometime a few days ago bKra-shis called.

Note that adverbialisers such as cʰo can mark a constituent that is already marked for time or space, as in (80).

The marker kʰo, like ṭɕe, 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:

\[(82) \text{ndə kʰo kэ-mi тə na-вэрти-ŋ korə ji-мэто-ŋ} \]
\[\text{that beyond NOM-not.have C PFT-walk-1s CON NEG/PFT-see-1s}\]
\[\text{I walked until I could not go any further, but I did not find [it]. (I searched high and low through the land, but I did not find it.)}\]

\[(83) \text{кəнан ndə kʰo ma-kэ-kʰut} \]
\[\text{bad that beyond NEG-NOM-can}\]
\[\text{It is impossible to be more evil [than this]. (This is evil to an extent impossible to surpass)}\]

Locative kʰo 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:

\[(84) \text{kʰраʔw na-ʃну kʰo drolma to-mаndо} \]
\[\text{rice PFT-cook LOC sGrol.ma PFT-arrive}\]
\[\text{sGrol-mа arrived just as the rice was done.}\]

\[(85) \text{женхваʔ kaleʔt kʰo катʰи} \]
\[\text{telephone hit LOC go}\]
\[\text{Go as soon as one has made a call.}\]

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:

\[(86) \text{пəɜуrtə cʰo пкраʃ иженхваʔ na-leʔt-w} \]
\[\text{a.few.days.ago LOC bKra.shis phone PFT-hit-3s}\]
\[\text{Sometimes a few days ago bKra-shis called.}\]
bKra-shis, after he had heard the barking of the dog, spun around preparing to flee but trousers pull up run but, having had no time to pull up his trousers he fell to the ground in a heap.

In this great example there are two coordinated sentences linked by korona, '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 te, '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':

I January three number from C five number until stay-1s I'll stay from January third until January the fifith.

I walked from Mǎěrkāng to Kǒnglóng.
b. Location in time

Absolute time

Absolute time is normally expressed by unmodified nouns and numerals:

(89) \text{tats}^b\text{ot} \text{kasam} \hspace{1em} \text{zawa} \text{ da} \text{nbo} \\
\text{hour} \hspace{1em} \text{three} \hspace{1em} \text{month} \hspace{1em} \text{one} \\
\text{three o'clock} \hspace{1em} \text{the first month (in the Tibetan calendar)}

\text{tats}^b\text{ot kapdu tovek} \\
\text{hour} \hspace{1em} \text{four} \hspace{1em} \text{half} \\
\text{(it is) half past four.}

But when the time reference is tied to a specific action or event, usually \text{tfe} or -\text{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, \text{tats}^b\text{ot kasam}, ‘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 \text{tats}^b\text{ot kasam} 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 \text{tfe}.

(90a) \text{tats}^b\text{ot} \text{kasam na-nanjo-ŋ} \\
\text{hour} \hspace{1em} \text{three} \hspace{1em} \text{PFT-wait}-1s \\
\text{I waited for three hours.}

(90b) \text{tats}^b\text{ot} \text{kasam tfe nda-ŋ ji-vu} \\
\text{hour} \hspace{1em} \text{three} \hspace{1em} \text{LOC} \hspace{1em} \text{that-LOC} \hspace{1em} \text{PFT-come}_2 \\
\text{He came there at three o'clock.}

Time of day, period of day, day of the week and month all use \text{tfe}. With references to ‘year’ as a unit of time \text{tfe} or -\text{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.

\text{time of day} \hspace{1em} (91) \hspace{1em} \text{tats}^b\text{ot} \text{kasam tfe} \hspace{1em} \text{tats}^b\text{ot kajnos tfe} \\
\text{hour} \hspace{1em} \text{three} \hspace{1em} \text{LOC} \hspace{1em} \text{hour} \hspace{1em} \text{seven} \hspace{1em} \text{LOC} \\
\text{at three o'clock} \hspace{1em} \text{at seven o'clock}

\text{period of day} \hspace{1em} (92) \hspace{1em} \text{saksomkʰuʔ tfe} \hspace{1em} \text{tamor tfe} \\
\text{noon-after} \hspace{1em} \text{LOC} \hspace{1em} \text{evening} \hspace{1em} \text{LOC} \\
\text{in the afternoon} \hspace{1em} \text{in the evening}
day of the week  (93)  ŋiŋtʃiŋi tʃe smarty kaŋbi
Monday LOC doctor go
Go to the doctor on Monday.

(94)  ŋiŋtʃiŋtʃan tʃe  maŋa kaleʔt
Sunday LOC májiàng hit,
Play májiàng on Sunday.

day of the month  (95)  nda tə kəsəm-zji-kərək w-əʃnu  na-ka-scip  ˈna-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)  zlaə daŋbo tʃe tə  karəʃa ma-ra
month one this LOC study NEG-need
This January we don't need to go to school.

year  (97)  2001 nijan tiŋtəhu  na-ŋos-ŋ
2001 year I ŋi ŋi
In 2001 I was in Chéngdū.

(98)  1976 nijan tʃe  na-ka-ŋa tə  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 təʔm, 'period, time, while':

(99)  loser  w-əʒak-j  na  to-naʃa-ŋ
New Year 3s:GEN-time-LOC I PFT-go home-1s
I went home at New Year's.

(100)  rəmtʃot  w-əʒak  tʃe  tamu  kəsu
mountain.offering 3s:GEN-time LOC sky clear
At the time of the festival for the mountain deity the weather was good.
In winter it is very cold.

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 kəscə, 'before, ago, first'. Some single word adverbs can be used to form compounds, such as pəʃni, 'today', from pu, 'now' and təʃni, 'day' or təʃpu, 'still now, at the moment', from təʃ, '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 stoŋ kəməŋkʰuʔ, 'finally', from the verb kəməŋkʰuʔ, 'late' and the adverb stoŋ, 'most'.

Have you eaten? Not yet.

I used to do a lot of watching TV, but now I stopped watching.

In example (103) mətə- 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) soŋnu ɲaməmto-j
   tomorrow meet-1p
   See you tomorrow!

(105) ŋa tʃәʔ w-ọŋkʰuʔ ʃiŋtʃiwiwu 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) paʃur tamor katsʃe ji-tә-tʃi-n
   yesterday evening where PFT-2-go-2s
   Where did you go last night?

(107) tətsʰot kәnes w-aka tʃe ŋa 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) paʃnu-ŋkʰuʔ no kava sajoʔk 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) ndә mo-mo mo kә wujo-no kә tʃәʔ tascok tә na-laʔt-jn
   that LOC-LOC LOC:recent PR 3-p PR this letter C PFT-hit-3p
   Only just now, this very minute, did they write this letter.

(110) mbarkham joar nien tʃe mo kә ji’a-tʃʰi…. Mә̄rkәng 1992 year LOC LOC:recent PR PFT-NEV-go
   He went to Mә̄rkәng 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:
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 come₁-₁s
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 fɔ, 'always', fi, 'constantly, all the time' and wamu, 'usually, originally':

(113) tʃəʔ tə tapuʔ kʰəna fo ka-nəmbri ʃos
this C child dog always NOM-play be
This child always plays with dogs.

(114) tʃəʔ tə tapuʔ kʰəna fə ka-nəmbri ʃos
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 wuŋo stiŋ kəməntɾə kəmpʰrəm tʃə kə-pu ʃos
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-ŋəna tə kava 'na-cʰə
NEG-NOM-rest C do OBS-able
[He] is able to go on doing [this] without stopping, incessantly
(117) pkraʃįs ʒakraŋ tə kwatsəɔ kɔ-ndza-w ʃi ˈna-ŋos
bKra.shis long.time ʒ C sunflower.seeds NOM-eat-3s constantly EV-be
bKra-shis constantly eats sunflower seeds.

(118) ʒak kəskriʔn ki kʰarjak 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) ɳa jïntʃu-j kəmŋi pa na-ŋu-ŋ
I Chéngdū-LOC five year PFT-live-1s
I lived in Chéngdū for five years.

(120) ɳa kɔsam jï nu to-ʦoʔs-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) tʃaʔ w-aka jïntʃiʔ kəmŋi ʃ-əŋkʰuʔ-j tʰi kapso
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) jïntʃiʔuʔ 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) jïntʃiʔiʔ ʃ-ɔmpʰu-j ɳa tʃaʔ-j ŋu-ŋ ʃi
Monday DUR-outside-LOC I this-LOC stay-1s MD:C
I’ll be here from Monday (after Monday) for sure.

(124) tətsʰot kəŋes 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) ñiŋtʃiŋtʃiŋ kərʊʔ-tʰa ka-slep ndoʔ
day Tibetan-book NOM-study have
On Mondays we have Tibetan class.

(126) saŋkʰuʔ sejnok kava
afternoon weed do
In the afternoons we weed [the garden].

To express that a situation occurred only once, the Jiǎomùzú dialects use kəcʰa, 'once, one time', formed of classifier cʰa, 'time, turn' and kə- 'one'.

(127) kə-cʰa tʃe tawʔ-m na-ʔa-sat-w
one-CL LOC bear PFT-NEV-kill-3s
He killed a bear once.

(128) wuɟo-jo lhase kə-cʰa ji-ʔa-tʃʰi-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 kəcʰa with the indefiniteness marker kɨ:

(129) wuɟ lhase kəcʰa kətʰo rəməŋo
he Lhasa one.time go.up experience
He has been to Lhasa one time.

(130) kəcʰa kɨ wuɟ lhase to-ʔa-tʃʰi
one time IDEF he Lhasa PFT-NEV-go
Once (upon a time) he went to Lhasa.

The classifier cʰa can be used to count the number of times a single event or action occurs:

(131) stonməŋ kəŋes cʰa na-ʔa-va-w pəʒar na-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 *pəʒə*, 'again' as in example (131) above and *manju?*, 'again, still, also, once more, moreover', as in the following example:

(132) varjǐ mo kə kawsəxə na-va-w
    last year recent PR exam PFT-do-3w
    He took the test just last year,

       piva manju? na-ˈa-va-w
    this year once more PFT-NEV-do-3w
    and again this year.

c. Location in space

The Jiāomùzú dialects employ a set of adverbs that references place only. This set is linked to the specific orientational grid used in Jiāomùzú. 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 Jiāomùzú uses the locative markers *ʃe* and -j as described above to modify a variety of constituents. Location in space in Jiāomùzú follows the same pattern of marking as location in time. General references to a geographic location are unmarked:

(134) ŋa ʃinɔhu sloppɔŋ to-va-ŋ
    I Chéngdū teacher PFT-do-1s
    I was in Chéngdū as a teacher.

(135) sonam kunmiŋ kə-rama ˈnə-ŋos kə-ɱer ˈnə-maīk
     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 kantʃak tʃe laktʃe ’na-ku-w  
bKra.shis street LOC thing OBS-buy-3s  
bKra-shis is in the market buying some stuff.

* pkraʃis kantʃak tʃe laktʃe ’nakuw

Exceptions to the rule are loanwords, especially from Chinese, that usually remain unmarked:

(137a) tʃədzanɔ̃  
bus station, from Chinese 车站, chēzhàn

ŋa ʃimɔntʃədzanɔ̃ tʃi-ŋ  
I West.gate.bus.station go1-1s
I'll go to the Westgate bus station.

ŋa pʰjawɔ̃ tʃədzanɔ̃ to-ku-ŋ  
I ticket bus.station PFT-buy-1s  
I bought the ticket at the bus station.

(137b) ʃimɔnɔ̃  
Westgate, of Chinese 西門, xīmén

wu-bɑngɔŋɔ̃ minjwɛnɔ̃ ʃimɔnɔ̃ ’na-ndoʔ  
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) kɔtɔ tɔ-tʃi-ŋ n  
kantʃak-j ʃintɔhu-j  
which 2-go1-2s market-LOC Chéngdū-LOC  
Where are you going? I'm going to town. To Chéngdū.

In some of the Jiāomùzú dialects, such as Púzhì, 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:
Screaming he fell down from the rock.

Pull butter out of a bag.

The other Jiăomüzú dialects use –j in combination with verbs and orientational adverbs as listed in (133) to signal ablative ‘movement from’. It may be that Jiăomüzú 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 Zhuôkêjì, as evidenced by examples in the work of Lín Xiàngróng and Lin You-Jing. It may be that in the past all the Jiăomüzú 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 Jiăomüzú 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.

Jiăomüzú 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) tørka
top, surface

coktse w-ørka
table 3s:GEN-surface
the top of the table

(142) tæŋʰuʔ
back (n)

tæjɛʔm w-æŋʰuʔ
house 3s:GEN-back
the back of the house

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, \( təŋkʰuʔ \) 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
(143) \quad & \text{pkrařis} \quad bKra.shis \quad w-əŋgi \quad jirjir \quad w-əŋgi:w-əŋgi-w-əŋgi-w-əŋgi-j \quad \text{ji-ŋij} \\
& \text{Where is bKra-shis?} \quad \text{Inside.} \quad \text{He went inside.}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
(144) \quad & \text{interior} \quad \text{noun} \quad t-əŋgi \quad \text{the inside} \\
& \text{in(side)} \quad \text{location} \quad w-əŋgi \quad \text{inside} \quad 3s:GEN-inside \\
& \text{inside} \quad \text{motion to} \quad w-əŋgi-j \quad \text{karko} \quad \text{put inside} \quad 3s:GEN-inside-LOC \quad \text{put} \\
& \text{out of} \quad \text{motion from} \quad w-əŋgi-j \quad \text{kakʰit} \quad \text{take out of} \quad 3s:GEN-inside-LOC \quad \text{take} \\
& \text{through} \quad \text{motion past} \quad w-əŋgi-j \quad \text{karwu} \quad \text{pull through} \quad 3s:GEN-inside-LOC \quad \text{pull}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^ {132} \) Huáng (1993: 28).
(145) superior noun t-orka top, surface

on, over, above location w-orka on, on top
3s:GEN-top on the surface
over, above

above motion to w-orka-j kata? put on
3s:GEN-top-LOC put

from above w-orka-j katʃi go above
3s:GEN-top-LOC go

on to w-orka-j kata? put on top of
3s:GEN-top-LOC put

from above motion from w-orka-s kavi come from
3s:GEN-top-LOC come above

off w-orka-s kavija take off (from)
3s:GEN-top-LOC fetch

over motion past w-orka-s kando? be over,
3s:GEN-top-LOC have above

over, across w-orka-s kanemgla move
3s:GEN-top-LOC cross across
Below is a list of the most frequently used locational postpositions, with their root nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>at rest</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>with motion verb (to, from, past)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>təʃkra</td>
<td>side</td>
<td>w-əʃkra</td>
<td>at, near</td>
<td>toward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təmba,</td>
<td>near</td>
<td>w-əmba</td>
<td>toward</td>
<td>beside, from beside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təmpʰa</td>
<td>w-əmpʰa</td>
<td>toward</td>
<td></td>
<td>along, through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapʰjos</td>
<td>w-əpʰjos</td>
<td>near</td>
<td>up to, to the side of</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təŋgi</td>
<td>inside</td>
<td>w-əŋgi</td>
<td>in(side)</td>
<td>in(to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təmpʰi</td>
<td>outside</td>
<td>w-əmpʰi</td>
<td>out(side)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapʰuvek</td>
<td>side</td>
<td>w-əpʰuvek</td>
<td>at the side of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tətʰu</td>
<td>front</td>
<td>w-ətʰu</td>
<td>in front (of)</td>
<td>in front of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təŋkʰuʔ</td>
<td>back</td>
<td>w-əŋkʰuʔ</td>
<td>behind</td>
<td>from behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>beyond (from)</td>
<td>beyond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from above, over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>on (to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təŋkʰuʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>over, across</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təspoʔk</td>
<td>underside</td>
<td>w-əspoʔk</td>
<td>below, under</td>
<td>below, under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsəɾə</td>
<td>this side</td>
<td>wu-tsəɾə</td>
<td>on this side</td>
<td>to this side of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from this side of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰarə</td>
<td>the other side</td>
<td>wu-pʰarə</td>
<td>across</td>
<td>from across</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>on the other side of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarnam</td>
<td>place beside</td>
<td>w-arnam</td>
<td>beside</td>
<td>to the side of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>on the side of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tacep</td>
<td>gap</td>
<td>w-acep</td>
<td>between</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takʰa</td>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>w-əkʰa</td>
<td>among</td>
<td>from among</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tətʰu pʰarə</td>
<td>opposite side</td>
<td>w-ətʰu pʰarə</td>
<td>opposite</td>
<td>from the other side of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>opposite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taka</td>
<td>bottom</td>
<td>w-aka</td>
<td>under(neath)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that the nouns 'tsərə, 'this side' and 'pʰərə, 'the opposite side' are loans from Tibetan. These nouns take head marking and can be modified by definiteness markers and locative marker -j just like other locational nouns:

(146) tsərə-j kə-vi-n
  this.side-LOC  IMP-come₁-2s
  Come over here!

(147) tsərə tə jino ji-satʰe ʰna-ŋos
  this.side  C we:e 1p:GEN-land  EV-be
  The land on this side is ours.

(148) ʰna ʰpʰaɾə tə naŋo ʰna-tsərə ʰna-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

Jiāomúzú 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 *manjuʔ*, 'moreover, as well as'. Locative marker kʰo, 'as soon as; to the utmost' can also occur as the exclusive conjunctive locative marker kʰo, 'besides, in addition to'. There is also *maʃki*, which signals 'until' in declarative sentences and 'unless' in negatives. Conjunctive adverb *mən* 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 te, 'at'. Conjunctive adverbs often occur together with the conjunction na, though not always:

(149) təŋi? w-əŋgi na-məzaʔ-k-ŋ te ɾe ʰpəkəɾ tə ʰna-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) kʰalu ro-va-w te ɾe ɾe ʰorlo ʰna-məzar
  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 na.
sGron-ma arrived just when the rice was done.

Here are some examples of the other conjunctive adverbs:

1:GEN-younger.sibling lHasa ascend experience CON 1 NEG-experience-1s
My younger sibling has been to Lhasa but I, regrettably, have not.

There were apples and walnuts, as well as butter.

Note that in (153) the verb phrase of the second clause is implicit.

Beating is not possible and killing is even more impossible!

Five girls in addition to sGrol-ma live [in the dorm].

Unless bKra-shis comes to get the letter himself, (you) can't take it.

He won't get full unless he eats (he will be hungry if he doesn't eat)
(159) ŋa tascok kale’t ma-sojo’k-ŋ maʃki dienjiŋ2i kɔ-namŋo ma-tʃʰi-ŋ
        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. Jiāomùzú 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. Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú. 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 kʰonə indicates condition. There is a difference in the level of evidentiality expressed by these conjunctions, with wuronə signalling the greater certainty of the two. Jiāomǔzú 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 Jiāomǔzú, mostly to modify a statement or question with the appropriate emotional inflection or mood.

6.1 Expressives

Sun\textsuperscript{134} 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."\textsuperscript{135} The Jiāomǔzú 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 Jiāomǔzú. I discuss expressives as a separate word class rather than as adverbs because of their phonological and morphological distinctions.

Phonologically the Jiāomǔzú expressives can incorporate sounds and combinations of sounds that are not part of the regular phonology or that occur in loanwords only. For example, /ʂ/ normally is found only in loanwords. But it also occurs in expressives, as in xweŋxweŋ, which indicates long and thin things, see example (1). The cluster /xw/ also does not normally occur, except in expressives:

\begin{align*}
\text{(1) } & \text{xweŋxweŋ} \quad \text{bright and shiny and of a pure nature (expressive)} \\
& \text{təŋge kə-vərni xweŋxweŋ} \quad \text{clothes NOM-red EXP} \\
& \text{tattʰo kə-psok xweŋxweŋ} \quad \text{lamp NOM-bright EXP} \\
& \text{a lamp that shines brightly and} \\
& \text{illuminates a space without leaving dark corners}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{134} Sun (2004: 11).

\textsuperscript{135} Doke 1935, quoted after Slachter (1996: 21).
The same goes for the cluster /ɡɾ̥/, which occurs in expressives only:

(2) ɡɾ̥kgɾ̥k unbroken, in great quantity

w-ʊŋak-ju ɡɾ̥kgɾ̥k 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
ʃkəʃkə 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-ŋaŋce jiek rə-kə-kʰit '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) jiek-jiek (sound of) something bursting all at once but then taking some time for the contents to finish dribbling out completely

wu-njçe 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 zək, 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 zək nə-ŋa-po
wind NOM-do CON door EXP PFT-IMPS-shut
Since there was a breeze the door slammed shut.

(8) ŋa kam zək-zək 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 zəkzək, 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) tajva kə kʰərdə zək-zək na-ʔa-ndə-ʔ-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) ŋa kə-tʃʰ-i-tʃʰ to-lo-ŋ tʃe tsok na-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-nəo tsoktsok na-ɲu-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 Jiāomǔzú expressives:
(12) \(ŋkʰukŋkʰuk\) to a degree of ugliness \(kə-neʔkʰuk\)
NOM-black EXP
an ugly black

\(ʃəkʃək\) deep, dark \(kə-neʔʃək\)
NOM-black EXP
a deep black

\(tᵣoktᵣok\) perfectly matched (for children’s clothing) \(kə-natsa tᵣoktᵣok\)
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) * \(ʃək\) * \(xpo\) * \(tᵣok\) * \(ŋkʰuk\)

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

tᵣarmu 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-kʰambu sto-j jawnəjaw ʃo to-kə-cəs 'na-əgos
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(16)} & \quad \text{ʃə} \text{kəjək} \quad \text{ʃə} \text{kəjək} \quad \text{ʃə} \text{kəjək} \quad \ast \text{ʃə} \text{kəjək} \ \ast \\
\quad \text{jawnəjaw} & \quad \text{jawnəjaw} \quad \text{jawnəjaw} \quad \ast \text{jawnəjaw} \\
\quad & \quad \ast \text{jawnəjawjawjaw}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \(c^h\text{ot}\), 'sound of dripping liquid'. The repetition of the expressive indicates a continual, repeated dripping:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(17)} & \quad \text{w-ə} \text{za} \quad \text{w-ajiʔk} \quad \text{w-əŋkʰuʔ} \quad \text{taʔuʔ} \quad \text{cʰot} \quad \text{cʰot} \quad \text{cʰot} \\
& \quad 3s:\text{GEN-son} \quad 3s:\text{GEN-hand} \quad 3s:\text{GEN-back} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{EXP} \quad \text{EXP} \quad \text{EXP} \\
& \quad \text{Water, saying 'plink, plink, plink', dripped onto the back of his son's hand.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\quad & \quad \text{kə-səs} \quad \text{kə} \quad \text{na-va-w} \\
& \quad \text{NOM-say} \quad \text{PR} \quad \text{PFT-do-3s}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(18)} & \quad \text{ɬapɬap kava} \quad \ast \text{ɬapɬap kava} \\
& \quad \text{EXP} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{EXP} \quad \text{EXP} \quad \text{do} \\
& \quad \text{do something in a messy way} \quad \text{mess up badly, make a terrible hash of something}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{tamaʔ} \quad \text{tə siksik kava ra} \\
& \quad \text{work} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{EXP} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{need} \\
& \quad \text{The work must be done quickly.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{tamaʔ} \quad \text{tə siksik siksik kava ra} \\
& \quad \text{work} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{EXP} \quad \text{EXP} \quad \text{EXP} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{need} \\
& \quad \text{The work must be done as fast as possible.}
\end{align*}
\]

In (19) the expressive \(\text{verver}\), '(sound of) a big item flapping in a stiff breeze' indicates increased speed when it is repeated, while the repetition of \(\text{vernəver}\), '(sound of) item slowly and intermittently flapping in the wind' signals a decrease of speed:
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 ŋprak, 'sound of something big falling down', only the one-syllable root is grammatical:

(21) ŋprak sound of something big falling down
* ŋprakŋprak
* ŋpraknəŋprak

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) ґrouchok  in an unbroken stream of great quantity or volume (EXP)

ґrouchok ґrouchok kalhok
EXP  EXP  appear
appear, come out in streams (of tears)

ґrouchok kavavo
EXP  cry
cry with a wailing sound and with lots of tears

* ґrouchok 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 ŋkʰuk, 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) koneìk 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) koneìk is a nominalised stative verb that functions as an adjective. Both verb and adjective mean 'black':

(24) ŋkʰuk  koneìk  *
EXP  black (V)  *
* ŋkʰuŋkʰuk koneìk
ugly black

tendxa kampfer o korono ŋkʰuk '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) ka-neʔk  ŋkʰukŋkʰuk  *
koneʔk  ŋkʰuk
NOM-black (ADJ)  EXP
an ugly black

na-ŋge  ka-naʔk  ŋkʰuŋkʰuk 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 segseg, 'pure, unpolluted' fokfok, 'deep, dark'
and *tpoktpok*, 'perfectly matched' which all become one syllable expressives when they modify a verb.

Expressives serve as pictures composed of a number of related qualities rather than as an expression of just one quality or attribute. For example *şonşon* indicates something that is not only long but also thin or stretched.

(26) *şonşon* long and thin  w-ajiʔk kə-skriʔn *şonşon* 3s:GEN-arm NOM-long EXP
His arms are very long and thin.

The same expressive can modify different words, indicating different shades of meaning:

(27) kə-varmi xweŋxwen kə-psok xweŋxwen
NOM-red EXP NOM-clear EXP
bright red bright, glowing light

The same word can be modified by different expressives:

(28) kə-mbro sijušiju kə-mbro ǯanjan
NOM-high EXP NOM-high EXP
handsomely tall so tall that it is ungainly or ugly

(29) tajʔ tʰekʰek tʰekʰek kaleʔt tajʔ ǯmakɾmak kaleʔt
water EXP EXP hit₁ water EXP hit₁
the water drips the water flows smoothly, calmly

(30) təmu ǯemʃem kaleʔt təmu ǯpruʃpru kaleʔt
rain EXP hit₁ rain EXP hit₁
drizzle (of rain) pelt down, rain cats and dogs

Unlike interjections, expressives cannot stand alone. The verbs *kacə*, '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 Jiāomùzú stative verbs, usually nominalised, do service as adjectives:
(31) kʰalu tantɔk tantɔk kava
wind EXP EXP do

tɔjʊ? tantɔk tantɔk kavi
water EXP EXP come₁

tɔjva mormor kaleʔt
snow EXP hit₁

 tômu lali kavɔtři
person EXP walk

(32) tæʔm kəʃo tṣentsɛŋ
house clean EXP

ʃokʃoʔk kapraʔm sænɛŋɛŋ
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 ʃnĩpᵉ ʃnirɡa, 'delighted, happy'. Sentence (33a) is the neutral form. Sentence (33b) has ki modifying the expressive, and in (33c) contrast marking occurs with ʃnĩpᵉ ʃnirɡa. Sentence (33d) shows that the constituent modified by tə truly is a nominal:

(33a) tɔŋge ki nə-mbuʔ-ŋ ʃnĩpᵉ ʃnirɡa 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 kawʃɔ² kava na-cʰa kə ʃnĩpᵉ ʃnirɡa ki na-mazaʔk
bKra.shis exam do PFT-able PR EXP IDEF PFT-jump₂
bKra.shis, having past the exam, jumped for joy.

(33c) nəŋjo [ʃnĩpᵉ ʃnirɡa tə] 'na-ɔdɔr kʰo kawʃɔ² ʃj-ə-cʰa
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) nəŋjo [cʰe kə-mot tə] 'na-ɔdɔr kʰo 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 ſniŋe ſnirga, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation Marker</th>
<th>Expressive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to (up)</td>
<td>toto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na (down)</td>
<td>nono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku (upstream)</td>
<td>kuku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nə (downstream)</td>
<td>nənə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) təjə? w-əŋgi nono kəj u
water 3s:GEN-inside EXP sink
Sink deeper and deeper into the water.

(36) tənə na kahaʔw ma-ʔnə-tə-va-w kənə təʔ-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:
He becomes stronger and stronger.

His body is becoming weaker and weaker, thinner and thinner; he is wasting away.

Your English is getting worse (and worse).

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':

He made the noodles better and better (more and more tasty).

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 kamem, 'tasty':

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 tafni, 'heart', and maybe rga? derives from karga?, 'like':
The second kind combines four dissimilar syllables:

(42) səkpe ɲame wholeheartedly and sincere

səkpe.ɲame  tə-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 ɲame 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 Jiàomùzú 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 Jiàomùzú interjections follows in (43a). The list is not exhaustive:

---

136 For good definitions of interjections see Crystal (1991: 180) and Slachter (1996: 58).
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 tʃo? ɲa-nipa ja
INTJ this NEG/PFT-turn.out.well MD:SUP
Oh dear, this really did not turn out very well.
(45) ovovo nənɔ n-ŋo pu ja-ptse me
INTJ you 2s:GEN-illness still NEG/PFT-heal INTR
Oh poor soul, you're still not better?

(46) wij njilak 'na-mbət
INTJ stone OBS-fall
Watch out! A rock is coming down!

(47) hamalele tɔŋe kə-mpʃər 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 it common both in negotiating life issues and in daily conversation. Jiäomûzû 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 Jiäomûzû are pînalhase, ‘the sun of Lhasa, Lhasa’s light’ and kanyestantap, 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
mbə baaah, bleating of sheep
ku'kuhaa call of a rooster
ihahaha 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 Jiäomûzû 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 ra, na, and ranə. 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 managos, 'if it is so', often followed by one of the conjunctions na, ra or ranə. Less frequent is the use of ana oranagos 'if it is like that', and tʰi nəagos, '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 əowe əto-kə-cəs ənə-ŋos
     FIL  alright PFT-NOM-say EV-be
     Eh, "Alright," he said.

(50) a tʃəʔ w-əmpʰro tʃe tʰi ənə-sapso əto-kə-cəs ənə…
     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 əto əkʰəvok əkənə əmpə ənə-ŋos
     that C FIL hole nine storey PFT-NOM-open EV-be
     He, ah, made a hole of nine stories deep.

(52) ha ənənəndɬʔ? ənə a təkʃet əkə-ŋə-sapso ki əkə-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…..

     kʰonə….
     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 ətə jokmo nərə rənə j-apa kərscət-ʃi
     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 ənə
     NOM-come1 CON

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…na-kə-ŋos təŋə ra təju? ki na-kə-ndo? təŋə ra
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 na rəno...
water 3s:GEN-inside PFT-NOM- FIL CON
he fell into the river, eh, then….

Below is an example of the use of rəno to connect smaller constituents. Again, the conjunction functions as a filler rather than a conjunction proper:

(55) tambat w-ərka kə-təŋə-təndʒ tʃe rəno
mountain 3s:GEN-top NOM-ascend-3d LOC FIL
When they went up to the top of the mountain, eh,

ndʒ-tralə? to mənaŋos rəno kə-cor kə-cor rəno
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-sanjo 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 mənaŋos and ana as filler words:

(56) w-əndʒi? to mənaŋos na bdət-mo haʃaŋ makə na-kə-rni 'na-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-arjaʔp na ana ndəo bdətmo makəndʒə rəno…
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 rəno. The neutral form uses nə but occurrence of rə or rəno indicates that the speaker wants to make sure his point is clear:
The apples are yours, the butter is bKra-shis'.

pkrafis wu-je ños
bKra.shis 3s-POSS be

Let's be clear about this: the apples are yours, the butter is bKra-shis'.

pkrafis wu-je ños
bKra.shis 3s-POSS be

6.4 Conjunctions

a. Introduction

Conjunctions are words or markers that are used to connect words, phrases or clauses. Jiǎomùzú 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 Jiǎomùzú dialects. More than one conjunction can appear in a sentence. Complex events in Jiǎomùzú tend to be expressed through long strings of clauses all linked by various types of conjunctions. Jiǎomùzú 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. Jiǎomùzú 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 naroŋa, korono 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. Jiǎomùzú 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 kʰonə 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 kʰonə groups smaller actions into clusters that are together subordinated to a larger event. Jiăomùzú also employs conjunctive adverbs, such as manjui, 'moreover' and maʃki, 'until, unless'. Conjunctive adverbs can occur together with another conjunction, very frequently no.

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) təɾstʃe kava təʃwa karʃfu
wash do tooth wash

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 təɫʰa stamce to-’a-səŋataktak coktse na-’a-kʰrat 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-tʃʰi
PFT-NEV-go₁
left.
Example (62) shows concatenative coordination of nominal conjuncts:

(62) pakʃu tompok cʰe wu-bawbawʷə w-ʊŋgi-j kəʃu 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 is 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 makəndə çaktu '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 ma-'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 makəndə çaktu '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 Jiǎomùzú 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 \( \circ \) occurs, the conjunction behaves differently in different environments. On the word and the phrase level \( \circ \) can occur with non-verbal as well as verbal constituents. In such situations \( \circ \) functions as a question marker. Questions with \( \circ \) 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 \( \circ \) with nominal constituents in (66) and (67) and with an adverbial phrase in (68):

\[
\text{(66) } \text{pkra} \text{jis } \circ \text{ w-emp}^2 \text{ji-ŋi ma-ji-ŋ} \\
\text{bKra.shis CON 3s:GEN-outside PFT-go}_2 \text{ NEG-know-1s} \\
\text{[And] bKra-shis? He went out. No idea.}
\]

\[
\text{(67) } \text{to-kə-nano } \circ \text{ to rə} \\
\text{PFT-NOM-hurt C CON smonk}^2 \text{ŋ-jŋos law} \\
\text{[What happened to] the guy that was hurt? He's in hospital, I would think.}
\]

\[
\text{(68) } \text{pkra} \text{jis ji-vu } \circ \text{ tʃəʔ tʃəʔ rə} \\
\text{bKra.shis PFT-come}_2 \text{ this LOC CON} \\
\text{[And] when bKra-shis came?}
\]

For more on interrogative sentences, see section 8.1 of the chapter on sentences below.

The following sentences show clearly the ungrammaticality of \( \circ \) when it is used between non-verbal conjuncts that form a unit. Instead in such cases the subordinating conjunction \( no \) can occur. I discuss \( no \) in section 6.4.d on subordinating conjunctions below:

\[
\text{(69) } \text{tʃəʔ tə na nəŋo na-je ənɔs tʃəʔ tə rə tʃəʔ tə na.....} \\
\text{this C CON you 2s-POSS be this C CON this C CON} \\
\text{This is yours. And this? This [is].....}
\]

* tʃə tə rə nəŋo naje ənɔs

Linking of clauses with \( \circ \) is exceedingly common in Jiāomùzú. 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 \( \circ \) occurs at the end of the first conjunct of each sentence. There is often a slight pause after \( \circ \), before the speaker launches into the next conjunct:
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 ŋə 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 ŋə 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.

On the discourse level the conjunction ŋə 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 ŋə. 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 ŋə. Note that at this level there is usually a slight pause at the end of one segment or section. The conjunction ŋə occurs at the beginning of the new segment rather than at the end of the previous one:
Introduction of demon Chap-pa Lang-ring and how he oppressed all the peoples of the area.

How all the kings fought valiantly but went under; the enlightened ones decide to send a savior.

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.

The old man deceives his son and abandons him in the forest, etc.

Some speakers use $\rightarrow$ 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:

Now rDongra Tsharalpo had three sons.

[Having said that], for those three boys, what was life like at that time….

**Sequencing completed events and actions:** $\rightarrow$

The conjunction $\rightarrow$ 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 $\rightarrow$ 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 $\rightarrow$.

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 makəndəɾə kəktu ma-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 *rənə*, the coordinating conjunction used in future tense contexts, leads to ungrammaticality:

(76) təmu makəndəɾə kəktu na-laʔt rənə ma-vi
    rain very big PFT-hit₂ CON NEG-come₁
    It rained cats and dogs, he will not come.
    *
    təmu makəndəɾə 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) wəjo na-nari rənə w-awo ləot 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 is 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 koronə, narənə and merə translate into English roughly as 'but', 'and' and 'or' respectively. The conjunction koronə also appears as koro and even as just ko. Similarly narənə occurs also as nara 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) ηə-təŋʰəqʔaŋ-

kʰətal narə kʰətʃor ənəs

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]-ndʒə wəmpʰi-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 Chéngdú and lHa-mo stayed home’, but in Jiāomǔzú it is not:

¹³⁷ Tshe-dbang sGron-ma, personal communication.
bKra-shis wiped the tables and swept the floor.

If two clauses that have the same subject express different events or actions that are linked in time, it is not possible to use *narən* to coordinate those actions. Example (83) shows *narən* 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:

bKra-shis went out into town [and] met his friend.

If the conjunct actions are perceived as parts of one event, the conjunction *narən* cannot be used. For example, in (84) there are two clauses not connected by any conjunction. In the Jiǎomùzú 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 *narən* cannot occur, though in English the sentence would be rather unnatural without 'and':

The conjunction does not occur between adjectivals. In example (85) *kətrọt*, 'clear' and *kəmpʃər*, 'beautiful' modify *tascok*, '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 *narən* is perceived as unnatural by native speakers:

He wrote clearly and beautifully.
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 kə-leʔ* is a unit meaning 'writer', one who writes’. The entire noun phrase *tascok kətrot narənə kəmpʃər kə-leʔ*t, ‘one whose writing is clear and beautiful’ modifies *wu jo, ‘he’:


He is someone whose writing is clear and beautiful.

* wu jo to tascok kətrot kəmpʃər kə-leʔt ki ŋos.

Instead of *narənə* a correlative construction can be used:

(87) pkraiʃis w-əɟem kə-mbik ʒik kə-mpʃər ʒik ŋos

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) ketsʰe¤ kətə tə-ŋos merə tsoŋbaŋ 'nə-ŋos

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 *ra*, *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) nəŋo sofŋu tə-tʃi-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:
I saw him but we didn't talk.

Do you have horses? No. But we have chickens and pigs.

bKra-shis was drunk but he did not do anything improper.

His place is cheap but very comfortable.

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:
They said there was lots of baimu but since it rained cats and dogs

They said there was lots of baimu but since it rained cats and dogs.

Paired conjunctions

There are a few paired coordinating conjunctions in Jiamo. 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 ndo? tamŋok ʒik ndo?
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-rga?-w harja ʒik lhamo na-rga?-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 harja-ndʒ lhamo na-rga?-ndʒ
bKra.shis lHa.rgyal-3d lHa.mo PFT-like-3d
bKra-shis and lHar-gyal, the two of them liked lHa-mo.

* pkraʃis harjandʒ ʒik lhamo narga?ndʒ
Another example of a paired coordinating conjunction employs the real conditional construction *mәnәmәʔk nә, 'if that is not there' to express 'either...or':

\[(102)\] mә-'na-mәʔk nә tәjeʔm jĩ-kә-ğu ʔnә-ŋos
COND-OBS- not.be CON house NEG/PERF-NOM be

Either he was not at home, or he did not hear [us knock].

mә-'na-mәʔk nә jĩ-kә-masam ʔnә-ŋos
COND-OBS-not.be CON NEG/PERF-NOM-hear₂ EV-be

Instead of *nә it is also possible to use the conjunction rә after the conditional. According to native speakers it does not make a difference in meaning which conjunction is used, though the use of rә gives more emphasis than the use of *nә.

d. Subordinating conjunctions

*Generic subordinating conjunction* nә

The conjunction *nә* is a generic subordinating conjunction that can occur with nominal, adverbial and verbal constituents. Like other conjunctions, *nә* occurs at the end of the constituent it modifies. The conjunct marked by *nә* 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:

\[(103a)\] tәmu 'na-leʔt ma-vi
rain OBS-hit₁ NEG-come₁
It's raining, he will not come.

\[(103b)\] tәmu 'na-leʔt nә 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 *nә* remains the same no matter where it occurs, there are differences in semantic load depending on the kind of conjunct with which *nә* occurs. A speaker's use of *nә* prepares the listener for a statement about the constituent modified by *nә*. The constituent marked by *nә* 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 wandɾiʔ, 'bKra-shis' friend'. Though the noun phrase *pkraʃis wandɾiʔ 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-andɾiʔ

bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend

bKra-shis' friend

pkraʃis w-andɾiʔ paʃnu ma-vi

bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend today NEG-come₁

bKra-shis' friend will not come today.

(104b) * pkraʃis wandɾiʔ nə

pkraʃis w-andɾiʔ nə paʃnu 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-andɾiʔ *tə paʃnu ma-vi

bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend C today NEG-come₁

bKra-shis' friend will not come today.

(104d) pkraʃis w-andɾiʔ *tə *nə paʃnu ma-vi

bKra.shis 3s:GEN-friend C CON today NEG-come₁

bKra-shis' friend will not come today.
Contrast marker ə 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 ə and ə 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 ə 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 ə subordinates the entire constituent it modifies. The contrast marker ə cannot occur after conjunction ə:

(104d) * pkraʃis wandri? ə to pəʃnu mavi

For more on contrast marker ə, 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 ə, 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 kə təspap kə w-əmpak na-ju
      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-ju
      labour continuously PR exhausted PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-heavy
The non-stop work exhausted him and he fell asleep.

Conjunction ə can occur in either sentence to modify karama ʃi, but there is a difference in meaning. Conjunction ə 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), ə 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 ənu, ‘exhausted he fell asleep’ is backed up or validated by the added information conveyed by the constituent marked by ə, here karama ʃi.
Exhausted by the long hard work he fell asleep.

When *karama fi* is marked both by *nɔ* 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 *nɔ* refers the hearer to the subject's action of falling asleep and validates that action:

(105d) karama fi kə nɔ tɔspap kə w-ɔmpak 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 nɔ kə tɔspap kə w-ɔmpak na-ju

The same logic pertains in sentences where the use of *kə* is obligatory:

(106a) kʰajcak 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 *nɔ* is added, the meaning changes in a subtle way:

(106b) kʰajcak kə nɔ 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 *nɔ* 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 *nɔ*. For more on obligatory marking with *kə*, see section 4.3.e of the chapter on nouns.

The conjunction *nɔ* can modify constituents that are marked by both *nɔ* 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 *nɔ*.
As discussed in section 4.3.e of the chapter on nouns, sentence (107) with only to indicates that, among other people who gave other gifts, only bKra-shis gave apples. If the sentence contains both to 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 na, 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 na 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, na when used with nominals retains its subordinating character, just like ro in such positions retains the characteristics of a coordinating conjunction. Whereas the use of coordinating conjunction ro with a nominal constituent forms a constituent question if not followed by a second conjunct, the use of na 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 na, giving the speaker the flexibility to express subtle shades of meaning:

(108a) pkraʃis tə kə nə pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
bKra.shis C PR CON apple PFT-give-3s
bKra-shis gave apples.

bKra-shis went out into town and met his friend.

(108b) pkraʃis kantʃʰak-j ji-rji w-anərjʔ nə-məto-w
bKra.shis street- LOC PFT-go 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-rji nə w-anərjʔ nə-məto-w
bKra.shis CON street- LOC PFT-go 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S
As for bKra-shis, he went out into town and he met his friend [as planned].

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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, \( kantf \, \text{\textipa{ʃʰakj jirj}} \), 'went into town' modified by \( nə \), and thus subordinated to the following constituent \( \text{\textipa{wandrj} namətow} \), '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 \( pkrəfis \) as well as \( kantf \, \text{\textipa{akj jirj}} \), 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:

\[
(109a) \text{patʃu kamtsa sku kavi } nə \\
\text{chicken window down come, CON} \\
\text{It's a good thing that a cat, when a chicken comes down through the window,} \\
\text{lolo kə no-nandɾeq-dɾeq-w } \text{\textipa{na-haʔw}} \\
\text{cat PR AF/PFT-chase.around-RED-3s OBS-good.} \\
\text{chases it around.}
\]

The first clause in the sentence, \( \text{patʃu kamtsa sku kavi} \), '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: \( \text{patʃu kamtsa sku kavi tʃe } nə \), '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:
A chicken had come in through the window, it was being chased around by the cat;

\[\text{wastop 'na-mpʃer} \]

\[\text{very OBS-beautiful} \]

\[\text{it was a great show.} \]

The complement of \textit{wastop nampʃer}, 'it was a great show', is the entire statement of chicken and cat up till the occurrence of \textit{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 \textit{nə} makes all the difference. But the occurrence of \textit{nə} is not obligatory. Sentence (109c) is perfectly grammatical without \textit{nə}:

(109c) \text{patʃu kamtsa sku kavi lolo kə na-nandɾek-dɾek-w} \text{nə}

\text{chicken window down come cat PR PFT-chase-RED-3s CON}

A chicken had come in through the window; the cat chased it around;

\[\text{wastop ma-'nə-naʃit} \]

\[\text{very NEG-OBS-pleasant} \]

\[\text{[a] very unpleasant [event]} \].

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 \textit{nə} between two clauses. Without the conjunction, as in (110a), the clauses are coordinated. The coordinating conjunction \textit{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 Hasa, the speaker has not. The speaker perceives this as manifestly unfair, and expresses this opinion with the use of \textit{nə}. The speaker uses the first clause to make a specific statement in the second clause, also if the last part of the sentence, \textit{naŋyo matʃiʃjn}, 'you have no idea', is not there. The semantic difference between (110a) or (110b) and (110c) is borne entirely by \textit{nə}.
My younger brother has been to lHasa; I, regretfully, have not.

My younger brother has been to lHasa but I, regretfully, have not.

My younger brother has been to lHasa; I, regretfully, have not - [you have no idea (how bad I have it at home)].

The Jiǎomùzú dialects have adverbial clauses which are marked by adverbialisers. There are also relative clauses and complements, but Jiǎomùzú 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 ʂo can occur with all types of subordinated clauses. When ʂo 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.

When bKra-shis went out into town he met his friend.

When bKra-shis went out into town he met his friend [as planned].
The adverbial constituent *kantʃʰakj jirj tʃe*, 'when [he] went out into town' is a subordinate clause. The main clause is *wandʒə namotow*, '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 *na*, 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-mys 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) \( w-əmp^bəro \ tʃe \ nə \ w-əpsə \ nə \ kəpes \ ro \ w-əpsə \)
\( 3s:GEN-after \ LOC \ CON \ 3s:GEN-following \ CON \ \text{two} \ \ro \ 3s:GEN-following \)
After that, the following [day], [he ate] two [of grain]; the next [day],
\( nə \ kəsam \ ro \ w-əŋkʰuʔ \ nə \ ndə \ \text{to sok} \ \jf \ w-əjpo \)
\( CON \ \text{three} \ \ro \ 3s:GEN-after \ CON \ \text{that} \ \text{like} \ \text{often} \ 3s:GEN-əjpo \)
\( \text{three} \ \ro; \ \text{afterwards}, \ \text{he always} \ \text{[ate]} \ \text{huge amounts, like a} \ \text{kəjpo} \ \text{[every day]}. \)

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 *na* 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) \( ŋə \ kʰorlo \ nə-kə-rtsə \ w-ərmə \ to \ na-mo-to-ŋ \)
\( I \ \text{car} \ \text{PFT-NOM-hit} \ \text{3s:GEN-person} \ \text{C} \ \text{PFT-see-1s} \)
I saw the man who had an accident (was hit by a car).

The use of *na* in example (110b) links the object, 'the man who had an accident', to *namotog*, 'I saw him'. The occurrence of *na* 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) \( ŋə \ kʰorlo \ nə-kə-rtsə \ w-ərmə \ to \ nə \ na-mo-to-ŋ.\)
\( I \ \text{car} \ \text{PFT-NOM-hit} \ \text{3s:GEN-person} \ \text{C} \ \text{CON} \ \text{PFT-see-1s} \)
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:

\[(110c) \text{ŋa } kʰ\text{orlo } nə-\text{kə-rtəw } w-\text{ormə } tə \text{ na-məto-ŋ } \text{koronə} \]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{I saw the man who had an accident but I did not manage to grab a hold of him.} \\
\text{I car NOM-hit 3s:GEN-person C CON PFT-see-1s but} \\
\text{kandʒi } ji-cʰa-ŋ \\
\text{grab NEG/PRF-manage-1s}
\end{array}
\]

The conjunction \(nə\) can occur with complements, syntactically subordinating the complement and resulting in a semantic shift. In example (111a) the complement is \(\text{wujə manju? vi}\), '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:

\[(111a) \text{ŋa } wuɟ \text{wə manjo? vi } kə-\text{səso-ŋ } ko \\
\text{I he again come₁ PRIPT-think-1s MD:ANX} \\
\text{I'm afraid he will come back.} \\
\]

\[(111b) \text{ŋa } wuɟ \text{wə manjo? vi } nə \text{ to-səso-ŋ } (\text{korona ji'}a-tʃʰi) \\
\text{I he again come₁ CON PFT-think-1s (but PFT-NEV-go₁)} \\
\text{I thought that he will come back - (but he has already left).} \\
\]

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 \(rə\):

\[(112a) \text{pkraʃiʃ } kantʃak-j \text{ ji-rji } nə \text{ w-andʒi } nə-\text{matə-w} \\
\text{bKra.shis street-LOC PFT-go₂ CON 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S} \\
\text{bKra-shis went out into town and met his friend [as planned].} \\
\]

\[(113b) \text{pkraʃiʃ } kantʃak-j \text{ ji-rji } rə \text{ w-andʒi } nə-\text{matə-w} \\
\text{bKra.shis street-LOC PFT-go₂ CON 3s:GEN-friend PFT-meet-3S} \\
\text{bKra-shis went out into town and ran into his friend.} \\
\]
The verb *kamoto*, used in both (112a) and (112b) means 'see, meet, run into'. Sentence (112a) employs *no*, so the listener will assume that bKra-shis and his friend maybe had an appointment. The best translation of *kamoto* therefore is 'meet' or 'see'. But in (112b), the connector *ro* 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 *kamoto* 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 *ro* carries the burden of signalling that an unexpected event is about to happen, while *no* 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: kʰonə and wurəno*

The subordinating conjunction *kʰonə* or *kʰo* indicates a condition which needs to pertain for the event in the following clause to be able to occur while *wurəno* 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 *kʰonə* in (113a) signals that the speaker has heard lHa-mo missed her ride, but not from lHa-mo herself. The use of *wurəno* in (113b) shows that lHa-mo herself has told the speaker what happened with her and the car:

(113a) kʰorlo ji-’a-tʰi kʰonə lhamo ji-’a-tʰi
vehicle PFT-NEV-go, CON lHa.mo NEG/PFT-NEV-go,
The car had [already] left, so lHa-mo did not go.

(113b) kʰorlo ji-’a-tʰi wurəno lhamo ji-’a-tʰi
vehicle PFT-NEV-go CON lHa.mo NEG/PFT-NEV-go,
The car had [already] left, so lHa-mo did not go.

When a speaker uses *kʰonə* in this sort of situation, the hearer can always ask 'who told you?'. When a speaker uses *wurəno* it is clear that the information came, so to speak, from the horse's mouth. The Jiǎomùzú 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 wurə 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 makəndə kəktu na-laʔt wurə ji-vu
rain very big PFT-hit₂ CON NEG/PFT-come₂
It rained cats and dogs, so he didn't come.

(114b) təmu makəndə kəktu na-laʔt kʰonə ji-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 wurə, 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-myis Sgo-ldong story (Text 1 at the end of this study). Example (115) has kʰo. A-myis 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-ŋo ˈto-sa-va-ja-n kʰo ŋa ndə wu-ʒakma tʃe ńgo-ŋ
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) nəŋə ən-ʃi-na'lo-so-w ən-kə-čəs-w wurə w-əza ən ə
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 ən-kə-ʃi-nəs-w ən-ŋə
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 wurə 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 kamtsə skə və do-kə-ʃi-nəs-w wurə lə lə
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,

wa-ʃi-nəs-w ən-te-
very NEG-OBS-pleasant [a] very unpleasant [event].

Had the speaker used kʰonə 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 wurə 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 tə-tə stama ə-ʃi-nə-tətə əkə tə nə-kʰət
bKra.shis book all PFT-NEV-CAUS-IMPS-stack desk PFT-NEV-wipe
bKra-shis stacked all the books and wiped all the tables,

wurə jə-ə-tə
so then PFT-NEV-go1,
so then [since he had finished the work] he left.

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The same sentence with kʰonə 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 wurəo conveys that, after such a blatant invitation, it is inevitable that the crow and the rabbit go ahead and kill the pig:

(119) a nəŋo-ndʒ w-aka-j nə na no-tʃə-a-ŋə 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

tʃə no wurəo pak nə no-ka-ntʃə-a 'nəŋos jo
LOC CON CON pig CON AF-NOM-slaughter EV-be MD:R
so then they did slaughter the pig!

The conjunction kʰonə 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 kʰonə. For example, in (120) the speaker explains why bKra-shis was penniless and had to sleep out on the street once he arrived in Mǎěrkāng. 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 kʰonə. 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 kʰonə to connect the two:

(120) pkraʃis mborkʰe to-'a-ʃi korəno kʰorlo w-ŋəgi kəʃmo kə
bKra.shis Mǎeřkāng PFT-NEV-go but bus 3s:GEN-inside thief PR
bKra-shis went up to Mǎeřkāng but, a thief on the bus having stolen

wù-pənəʔj na-ŋəmo-w kʰonə wù-pənəʔj kəʒu tə ə-ə-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

nda rə wujo ʃaŋakʰak-j ʃaŋiup 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:

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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 kasərtsə 'kə-səso-ŋ rə tsho
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 Jiāomùzú 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 ʒik, 'also’ once in each conjunct:

(122) pakʃu ʒik ndo? ʒugolor ʒik ndo?
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 manjuʔ and kʰo. The second pair has me or maktok and kavə.

The adverb manjuʔ, '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 ʒik ndo? ʒugolor ʒik ndo? manjuʔ tamar
apple also have walnut also have beside butter
There were apples and walnuts, as well as butter.

(124) katop ma-'nə-kʰut kasat manjuʔ ma-'nə-kʰut
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) ᶞa manju? kʰəza? 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) kʰarɟit kava manju? jaŋma kaleʔt nanəmdap
song sing also bike ride, at.the.same.time
He passed by singing while riding his bike upstream.

aku      sku
upstream upstream PFT-go₂

(127) prak w-orka-s na kombat manju? kəŋakʰu 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 *kʰo* 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 *kʰo*, when used as a spatial locative, is 'to the furthest extent'. Used with nominals, *kʰo* means 'besides, as well as, in addition to', an extension of the spatial meaning 'to the furthest extent'.

(128) sgrolma kʰo w-andrjʔ tamuʔ kəŋmi 'na-ju-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 *kava*, exclusion is expressed by the indigenous form *me*, 'only, except'. Literally, sentence (129) means 'apart from five yuan, he has no money':

(129) pkraʃis pọŋeʔj kəŋmi pʰjar 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 མགོ་ོེ ma-gtogs, rather than *me*.

(130) pkraʃi maktok kəʒu tə kə-ra-ma 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 pkraʃi kəʒu tə kə-rarmgaʔ ji-rji-jn
CON bKra.shis all C NOM-perform.dance PFT-go2-3p
Everyone including bKra-shis went to the performance.

(132) kavə harjal-rjal kəʒu tə bebe to-jí-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 *maʃkʰi*. In positive sentences it means 'until, up to'. In negative sentences *maʃkʰi* signals 'unless'. The following examples show *maʃkʰi* as a clause connector:

(133) mborkʰe sta tə mkʰono maʃkʰi na-vatʃi-nj
Mǎěrkāng origin C Kǒnglóng until PFT-walk-1s
I walked from Mǎěrkāng to Kǒnglóng.

(134) ma-ndza maʃkʰi 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) pkraʃi wəʃo ma-va-nəro-w maʃkʰi 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) ɲa tascok kaleʔt ma-sajoʔ-k-ŋ maʃkʰi dienjiŋ² kə-namŋo ma-tʃʰi-nj
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 no, 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 kəsu tə təlʰa kanatso
sGrol′ma C ADV:CON person all C book see
Except sGrol-ma everyone likes reading.

kə-rgaʔ ʃi ɲos-jn
NOM-like always be-3p

(137b) sGrolma tə me no tərmu kəsu tə təlʰa 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-rgaʔ 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 tarŋgaʔ kava ɲ-osi '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 no, 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 no ɲa tarŋgaʔ kava ɲ-osi '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 nəŋos, 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 *na* 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 *na* chances are that the speaker is actually quite happy that he, for lack of strength, is unable to help:

\[(139) \] \[ \eta \text{ kakor ma-ta-cʰa-n 'nə-ŋos me nə η-əkʃət} \]

\[ I \text{ help NEG-1/2-able-2s EV-be ADV:CON CON I 1s:GEN-strength} \]

Regrettably I can't help you, because I'm not strong enough.

\[ \text{ma-'}nə-rtək} \]

\[ \text{NEG-OBS-enough} \]

Constructions with *me na* can be used to convey implicit commands. In example (140) sentence (140a) with only *na* 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:

\[(140a) \] \[ \text{rɟarpo kə me təsəcok kəvərni kələt mə-kə-kʰut ənəs} \]

\[ \text{king PR CON letter red write₁ NEG-NOM-can be} \]

Only the king can write in red ink.

\[(140b) \] \[ \text{rɟarpo kə me nə təsəcok kəvərni kələt mə-kə-kʰut ənəs} \]

\[ \text{king PR ADV:CON CON letter red write₁ NEG-NOM-can be} \]

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 *na* 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 sGrolma. Sentence (141), with the conjunction *na*, subordinates sGrol-ma to the second conjunct, *wandəʔi*? *tənuʔ kəmŋi*, '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:
Five girls in addition to sGrol-ma live in the dorm.

There are five girls in addition to me, I can't just say whatever I want.

Except sGrol-ma everyone likes reading.

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.

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 Jiàomùzú 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 kərtswu 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 Jiǎomùzú mood markers.
Two mood markers, la and juʔ, 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:
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 juʔ. 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:

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 ɟuməsem, 'I had not heard that'.

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:

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 hit<sub>1</sub> 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) rjarpo-no vi ʰnə-ŋos kə tamaʔ kə-məca kava ra lawne
king-3s:HON come<sub>1</sub> 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 come<sub>1</sub> tomorrow come<sub>1</sub> 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) ʰjarə ka-ndza ʒik miʔ poʃeʔj ʒik miʔ ʰti 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) ʰnano ʰti tə-ŋi-n ko
you what 2-be.called-2s MD:ANX
Please, do tell me what is your name?
Mood marker *kane* 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) nəŋə to-ˈa-tə-nd̪ɬemben təŋe mə-tə-ˈkʰit ʃi to-ˈcas-ŋ kane
    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-ŋə to təɛɛm w-əŋgi ə-kə-ˈtʃi ma-kʰut kane
    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) təndɔ kəmpʃər o ə koronə katsə ˈna-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) pokɾəʃis kəmŋi 5ak tʃe vi to-ˈcas ŋos kʰo 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) wujo kəpa? nɔs ne
    he Han.Chinese be MD:SIN
    He really is Han Chinese!
CHAPTER 7

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 Jiāomùzú dialects. Verbs consist of an infinitive marker ka- or ka- 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú. 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 Jiāomùzú 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. Jiāomùzú 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 ko- for first and second person, with pa- for third. Terminative aspect is marked by məto- and mata-. A special case is marking for impending action or prospective aspect with viewpoint marker əνə. 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 Jiāomùzú. 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 no- 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 Jiāomùzú 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. Jiāomùzú has a set of two viewpoint markers, fi- and əνə-, 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 ga- or wa-, usually in combination with a reduplicated root. Canonical reflexivity is marked by əŋa- while no- 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 fa-/fo- 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 ga-signals the defocusing of the causal participant of an event, while go- 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, ji 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 kəsub, ‘say’. Submode expresses a
person's ideas, thoughts or beliefs about an event or fact. There are no markers in the Jiăomùzú verb morphology to signal submode. Speakers simply add a verb like kaseso, ‘think’ to a sentence. The table below shows the categories of the Jiăomùzú verb and where they occur in the verb phrase:

### VERB PHRASE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>AF</th>
<th>T, A</th>
<th>EV</th>
<th>person</th>
<th>VPT</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>R</th>
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<tr>
<td>Q</td>
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<td>PFT/OR</td>
<td>NEV</td>
<td>2 to</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>AP</td>
<td>INTR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>1/2 ta</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>OBS</td>
<td>2/1 ko</td>
<td>PROSP</td>
<td>VOL</td>
<td>1p j</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>na, (no)</td>
<td>2/3 to</td>
<td>mo</td>
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<td>kə</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>wu</td>
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<td>2d/3 w</td>
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<td>3p/3 jn</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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 məɟi. 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 ga-. 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 tə-. With non-past time frames terminative marking consists of negation marker mə- 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 *gos*, ‘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 *bya-* while emphatic reflexivity and autobenefactive (ERFL) 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-/ra-*)

*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.
Loans from Chinese or Tibetan can fit into the established verb morphology such as in (1):

(1) kəfəŋbjen convenient from 方便 fāngbiàn, 'convenient' (Chinese)
    ma-nəfəŋbjen not convenient (NEG-convenient)

Loans that do not fit into the verb morphology are usually made into a noun compound:

(2) rjankə green from literary Tibetan ljang-khu, 'green'
    * kərjankə
    rjankə w-əmdʊʔk green (green 3s:G-colour)

Verbs can be derived from nouns by replacing the nominal prefixes with ka- or kə- and inserting a marker between the verb root and the infinitive marker. The inserted markers can express a range of meanings such as reciprocity, causality, volition etc. I discuss these markers extensively in section 7.9 on mood below. Here are a few examples of verbs derived from nouns:

(3) təskruʔ body kəməskruʔ pregnant
    tamar butter kənəmərar greasy, oily
    tənuʔ breast kəfənənuʔ breastfeed, suckle
    təjuʔ key kəsəfəjuʔ lock
    takʰuʔ smoke; cigarette kəsakʰuʔ smoke (of a fire)
    losar New Year kənəlosar celebrate New Year

Verbs can be derived from other verbs by switching or adding prefixes and other markers. There are three main ways of creating verbs out of verbs. The first involves switching between the prefixes ka- and kə-. The second way employs markers, such as causativity markers, which are inserted before the verb root but after the person prefixes. Use of these markers may change the valency and transitivity of a verb. More than one marker can be employed to layer the transitions, arriving at a meaning twice or even three times removed from the original root. In quite a few verbs these markers have become lexicalised. Disconnecting them from the verb root leads to ungrammatical roots. Often it is no longer clear how the original meaning or function of the marker connects to the root. But all the markers are still productive as well, giving the Jiaomuzu verb system an enviable subtlety and flexibility. The third way of deriving verbs from verbs is by changes in the root of a verb. Example (4) shows switching from stative to dynamic and from intransitive to transitive by means of adding a causativity marker sa- and changing kə- to ka- in kasəmniʔ, 'decrease'. The second form, kavamniʔ, 'decrease', shows the same change to dynamic and has the direct causative marker va-, which renders a verb meaning ‘to decrease or diminish by itself’.

(4) kə-mniʔ ka-sa-mniʔ ka-va-mniʔ
    INF-little INF-CAUS-little INF-AP-little
    few, little decrease (vt) decrease (vi)
Other examples of verbs derived from verbs are:

(5) karga? like
    kanargə? cherish
    kasanərga? loveable

(6) kazdə accumulate; gather (vi)
    kasavəzdə accumulate (vt)
    kanavəzdə gather, assemble (vt)

(7) kəzder scared
    každer fear
    kanəscar frighten somebody
    kasənəscar cause somebody to be scared

(8) kaʃə know
    kanəpʃə know (someone),
    kasanəpʃə introduce (a third party causes two people to be introduced)
    ksənəmpʃə 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 təʃəkəʃək 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 təʃəkəʃək 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 Jiàomùzú 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
tsoŋ kava 'business (n) do' do business

(12) tamtsu kaleʔt 'button (n) hit' button
jawat kaleʔt 'gesture (n) hit' gesture
jenxwa kaleʔt 'telephone (n) hit' make a phone call; call
tsʰalo kaleʔt 'welding (n) hit' weld, solder

(13) tatʰem kataʔ 'patrol (n) put' patrol
taskeʔr 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) tʰokpe kalhoʔk 'product (n) appear' produce
tafʃu kalhoʔk 'sweat (n) appear' sweat

Occasionally a noun can take more than one verb to form a compound:

(15) taji kava plough
taji 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) mborln kaleʔt (plane + hit) känmbörln plane
fäkra kaleʔt (sieve + hit) känfkra sieve, sift
tazbrok kaleʔt (kick + hit) känazbrok kick (of a horse)
tascok kaleʔt (letter + hit) känarask write
tajuʔ kaleʔt (key + hit) känasuʔ lock
losar kava (New Year + do) känlosar celebrate New Year
tarngaʔ kava (dance + do) känorngaʔ 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) təʔa kava ‘book (n) do’ read, study
karəʔa read, study
kaslep read, study (Tibetan རོ་བོ་ལོང་slob sbyong)

Marking of grammatical functions by changes in the verb root

The Jiăomûzû 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

<table>
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<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
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<tr>
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<td>nəŋəo tə-sriʔw</td>
<td>wuŋo sriʔw</td>
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<td></td>
<td>I will bind</td>
<td>you will bind</td>
<td>he will bind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>ŋa kə-sri-ŋ</td>
<td>nəŋəo kə-sri-w</td>
<td>wuŋo kə-sri-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I bound</td>
<td>you bound</td>
<td>he bound</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The alternation of glottal stops to mark tense is also reported for the Northern rGyalrong dialect of Sidābā and for the Central rGyalrong variety of Zhuōkèjī.\textsuperscript{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:

<table>
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<th>NON-PAST</th>
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<th>IMP</th>
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<tr>
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<td>ka-tə-ltap-jn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>ltep-w</td>
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<td>'na-ltep-nd3</td>
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<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ltep-jn</td>
<td>'na-llep-jn</td>
<td>kə-ltap-jn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of other verbs that have a vowel change in root 2 forms are:

(19) citation form root 1 root 2
katʃʰi -ʃʰi go₁ -ʃi go₂
kavi -vi come₁ -vu come₂
kaʃleʔk -ʃleʔk fall₁, drop₁ -ʃlaʔk fall₂, drop₂
kanʃṭʰe -natʃhe get drunk₁ -natʃʰa get drunk₂
karwe -rwe rise₁ -rwa rise₂
kaməζeʔk -məζeʔk jump₁ -məζaʔk jump₂
kamoəlɛʔk -məlɛʔk swallow₁ -məlaʔk swallow₂

Remarkably, katʃʰi uses a completely different root for root 2, rgi, rather than just a change of vowel. It is the only verb in my data that employs suppletion.\textsuperscript{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 katʃʰoʔ, 'ask', shows the changes clearly:

\textsuperscript{138} Sun 2000a; Lin 2003.

\textsuperscript{139} The change of the entire root of katʃʰi 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.
Other examples of verbs in the root 3 category are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citation form</th>
<th>Root 1</th>
<th>Root 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>karndaʔ</td>
<td>-rndaʔ</td>
<td>cram1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaskliʔ</td>
<td>-skliʔ</td>
<td>endure1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *kanatʃʰe*, ‘drink alcohol, get drunk’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(21) Citation form</th>
<th>Inf-get.drunk1</th>
<th>Nom-get.drunk1-p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka-natʃʰe</td>
<td>get drunk</td>
<td>alcoholics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kə-natʃʰe-no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *taʔ*. 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*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(22) Citation form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Root 1 (non-past)</th>
<th>Root 2 (past perfective)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaleʔt</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>leʔt</td>
<td>laʔt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kataʔ</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>teʔ</td>
<td>taʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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) dianxwaʔ tə-kaleʔt tə-pkraʃis 'nə-ŋos
telephone NOM-hit1 C bKra.shis EV-be
The caller is bKra-shis.

(24) soʃnu 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-ɔmba-j a-nə-taʔ-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-taʔ-ˈtsep-w
IRR-PROH-2-take-2s

But in sentence (25b) there appears root 2 with the irrealis form:

(25b) poŋeʔj pkraʃis w-ɔmba-j a-nə-taʔ-ˈtaʔ-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-taʔ-ˈtsep-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:

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Several authors have remarked on the irregularity of verbs across the rGyalrong dialects. 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, mentions that stem 3 alternation only occurs in transitive verbs, while stem 2 occurs with some intransitives. In Jiǎomùzū alternative 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-mazeʔ k to-mazaʔ k
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 Jiǎomùzū 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 Lin some twenty percent of verbs in the Zhuōkēji 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 Zhuōkēji. 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”. Zhuōkēji's stem 2 combines some of the categories marked by Jiǎomùzū root 2 and root 3. The Zhuōkēji categories marked in irregular verbs overlap with those marked in the Jiǎomùzū irregular verbs, but do not cover all that is marked by Jiǎomùzū root 2 and root 3.

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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 Jiāomùzú *kaku*, 'buy', does not alternate vowels. In contrast, the Jiāomùzú verb *katʰoʔ*, 'ask' does have vowel change, whereas in Zhuōkèjī it does not, according to Lin's data. Jacques mentions *kandza*, 'eat' as a verb with a distinct root 3 in Chábāo, but it is has no vowel change in Jiāomùzú.

Special classes of verbs: linking, existential and auxiliary verbs

The Jiāomùzú 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 *ŋos*, 'be', and negative *maʔk*, 'not be'. There is also a set of two existential verbs, positive *ndoʔ*, 'have, exist', and negative *miʔ*, 'not have, not exist'. Linking and existential verbs do not take the normal verbal prefixes *ka-* or *ko*- 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) katʃe tə-ŋos-n
    where 2-be-2s
    Where are you?

(29) maʔ maʔk
    1s:GEN-money not.be
    It is not my money.

(30) varji təɾmu kaməca na-ndoʔ-jn
    last year person many PFT-have-3p
    Last year there were many people.

(31) jaŋma to-ˈa-miʔ?
    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) wujo karo ŋos
    he Tibetan be
    He is Tibetan.

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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 *ŋos* 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 *ŋos*, often occur at the end of sentences in stories:

(35) bdɔt tɔ kə tərmu fì kə-ndza na-kə-ŋos 'na-ŋos
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 *ŋos*, 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) pkraʃis 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 kətsɔ ʼna-stʃi
Běijing very small OBS-be:CD
Běijing¹⁴⁵ 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) namkʰa 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 kəñes 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 *pos* 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 təndru 'to-ra?m 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-əngi-j laktʃe təŋəs 'to-kʰit 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 kəʒə 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 *kəpaʔ*, 'can, able, know':

(41) kəpaʔ-skaʔt kava ʃpaʔ-w
Chinese.language do know-3s
She speaks Chinese.
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':

I am not able to help you, because I'm not strong enough.

There are also auxiliaries, such as kajoj, '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 kajoj, 'be allowed'. Some examples of jussives with jok:

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.
This man can't go because he can't walk.

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:

I want a sheet of paper.

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 kanaro, 'to have use for, need', which inflects for person and number, and cannot be used as an auxiliary. Example (51) shows the use of kanaro as a main verb in (51a) while (51b) demonstrates the use of ra as a main verb:

I don't need it. I don't want it.

I have no use for 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 Zhuōkējī and Chábāo dialects respectively.146 The
nominaliser *- 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-ɾŋəʔk run tə-ɾŋəʔk the act of running

Wei notes that the prefix * in these examples is equivalent to the noun marker *-, since it allows for the formation of genitives by the replacement of the prefix consonant:

(53) tə-ʃmo NOM-steal η-əʃmo 1s:GEN-stealing
    the act of stealing the stealing of my property

For Jiāomùzú this sort of construction does not qualify as a nominalised form. The formation of nouns from verbs by prefixing * to the root is not productive in Jiāomùzú. It is not possible to form nouns such as ‘the act of walking’ or ‘the act of running’ in this way:

(54) karŋəʔk to run * tə-ɾŋəʔk (the act of running)
    kavətɾi to walk * tə-ɾətɾi (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 * and denotes a meaning such as ‘the act of…’, as in *əʃmo, ‘the act of stealing’, it is not possible to form genitives that leave the prefix unaffected:

(55) tə-ʃmo the act of stealing * nə-əʃmo (your stealing)
    * ηə-əʃmo (my stealing)

In those cases in Jiāomùzú where there is a nominal form with * it must be considered a non-derived noun in which * is a noun marker rather than a nominaliser. It is indeed possible to turn such non-derived nouns into genitive constructions:

(56) təʃmo ηəʃmo
    (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 * 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:
The third person genitive marker *- is prefixed to the noun and does not replace the consonant of -ə. In the Jiāomùzú dialects this sort of nominalisation does not occur. It is not possible to form constructions like ‘his face is very black’ with -ə, let alone to turn them into genitive constructions:

(58) * w-awo tə-neʔk ndoʔ
3s:GEN-head NOM-black have

Some forms look as if they are nominalised by -ə, as in example (59). At first glance -ə seems to be prefixed to the citation form of the verb. On closer inspection -ə turns out to be the genitive marker derived from the generic pronoun *ya, ‘oneself’, prefixed to the patient noun kamʃu, ‘acquaintance’:

(59) ka-namʃu tə-ka-namʃu
NOM-be.acquainted.with one.self:GEN-NOM-be.acquainted.with
countenance one’s acquaintance

The proof that this is a genitive construction rather than a nominalisation with -ə comes from replacing the generic pronoun marker -ə with the marker for another person, for example third person singular. The third person marker replaces -ə:

(60) wu-ka-namʃu
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-mpʰel sell sa-mpʰel place where selling takes place
tascok ka-leʔ t write tascok sa-leʔ instrument or material for writing

Nominals formed with sa- can be turned into genitives by prefixing them with a person marker:

(62) ka-ɲu sa-ɲu wu-sa-ɲu
live NOM-live 3s:G-NOM-live
dwelling place the place where he lives

wu-sa-ɲu sok ma-kaktu
3s:G-NOM-live manner NEG-big
The place where he lives is not that big.
But it is not possible to nominalise inflected verb phrases with sa-. For example, *napu, ‘he lived’ cannot be nominalised with sa- to form the meaning ‘the place where he lived’:

(63) * nasapu * sanapu

Both Sun and Jacques\textsuperscript{147} note that sa- can also be used to form nouns with a temporal meaning. I have not found this to be valid for Jiāomùzú. It is, for example, not possible to generate sentences like ‘When was the moment you came?’ by nominalising the verb *kavi, ‘come’, with nominaliser sa-:

(64) * na-sa-vu ndɔ kəʃtʃ kəos 2s:GEN-NOM-come, that when be

So far I have found only one verb that, nominalised with sa-, can indicate time. The verb is *kasci, ‘be born’. The nominalised form, sasci, means both ‘birthday’, indicating time, and ‘birth place’, expressing location.

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-.

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-loc herd kə-loc herder
ka-fmo steal kə-fmo 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

This type of nominalisation also frequently occurs with compound nouns:

(66) tasćok ka-leʔt letter hit: to write tasćok kə-leʔt secretary
t$s^{9}$oŋ ka-va trade do: to trade ts$^9$oŋ 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-nətʃ$^9$e drink (alcohol) kə-nətʃ$^9$e the alcoholic, drunk

Jacques\textsuperscript{148} notes that in the Northern rGyalrong dialect of Japhug (Chábǎo) agent nominalisation of transitive verbs requires nominaliser \textit{kə-} as well as the possessive prefix \textit{wu-}, which is coreferent with the object. Agent nominalisation of intransitive verbs does not require prefixing with \textit{wu-}. In Jiāomùzú 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 \textit{wu-}, but it is not obligatory, as shown in the following example for the transitive verb \textit{kaku}, ‘buy’:

\begin{quote}
\textbf{(69) } \textit{kə-ku} \textit{tə} \textit{kə-ku} \textit{tə pkraʃis ŋos} \\
nom-se  \ c   nom-se  \ c  bKra.shis be \\
the one who buys; buyer \hspace{1cm} The buyer is bKra-shis.
\end{quote}

It is possible to prefix such agent nouns with \textit{wu-}, which to some extent makes an otherwise unmentioned object implicit:

\begin{quote}
\textbf{(70) } \textit{wu-kə-ku} \textit{tə} \\
3s:gen-nom-buy  \ c \\
The buyer (of an item)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textbf{(71) } \textit{wu-kə-ku} \textit{tə pkraʃis ŋos} \\
3s:gen-nom-buy  \ c  bKra.shis be \\
The buyer (of that item) is bKra-shis.
\end{quote}

 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:

\begin{quote}
\textbf{(72) } \textit{wu-kə-məsem} \textit{tə jontan ŋos} \\
3s:gen-nom-hear₁   \ c  Yon.tan be \\
The one who hears it [the noise] is Yon-tan.
\end{quote}

The agent noun unmarked for third person singular is \textit{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 \textit{wu-} in such situations puts extra emphasis not on the object, but on the nominalised agent:

\begin{quote}
\textit{wu-kə-məsem} \textit{tə jontan ŋos} \\
3s:gen-nom-hear₁   \ c  Yon.tan be \\
The one who hears it [the noise] is Yon-tan.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{148} Jacques (forthcoming: 3).
(73) \( pkraʃis \ kə-məto \ tə \ lhamo \ ŋəm \)
\( bKra.shis \ \text{NOM-see} \ C \ \text{lHa.mo be} \)
The person who sees bKra-shis is lHa-mo.

\( pkraʃis \ \text{wu-kə-məto} \ tə \ lhamo \ ŋəm \)
\( bKra.shis \ \text{3s:GEN-NOM-see} \ C \ \text{lHa.mo be} \)
The person who sees bKra-shis is \text{IHa-mo}.

Nominalisation with \( ka- \) forms patient nouns with the meaning ‘that which is…’, which function as objects:

(74) \( \text{ka-ndza} \quad \text{ka-ndza} \quad \text{təndze} \)
inf-eat\(_1\) nom-eat\(_1\) food

Note that \text{ka-ndza}, ‘that which is eaten’ is a specific participant nominalisation. The noun \text{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
\( \text{kavəja} \quad \text{fetch} \quad \text{kavəja} \quad \text{that which is fetched} \)
\( \text{kacop} \quad \text{burn} \quad \text{kacop} \quad \text{that which is burned} \)
\( \text{tascok kaleʔt} \quad \text{write} \quad \text{kalaʔt} \quad \text{that which was written} \)
\( \text{kalok} \quad \text{herd} \quad \text{kalok} \quad \text{that which is herded} \)
\( \text{kano} \quad \text{drive} \quad \text{kano} \quad \text{that which is driven} \)

(76) \( \text{paʃurtɽəka-леʔt} \ tə \ \text{ʃaʃə-kə-leʔt} \ \text{ŋə-ŋəs} \)
a.few.days.ago nom-hit\(_1\) C fish ev-be
What we set free a few days ago is fish.\(^{149}\)

(77) \( \text{kəna} \ \text{na-vi} \ \text{ŋə-ka-леʔt} \ tə \ \text{kəʃə ɲəs} \)
dog obs-come\(_1\) 1s:gen-nom-hit\(_1\) C where be
A dog is coming! – where is my thing for hitting with!?

Note that in (77) \( ɲəkaʔeʔt \), though in the English translation it looks like an instrument, the Jiəomuzú form is a patient nominalisation. The literal translation for \( ɲəkaʔeʔt \) 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 Jiəomuzú dialects action nominalisation occurs with both \( ka- \) and \( kə- \). Sun\(^{150}\) 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 Jiāomùzú 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 ʒarə ma-kə-ndza nə ma-ngrel 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 ʒarə ma-kə-ndza nə ma-ngrel 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 ʒarə ma-ka-ndza nə ma-ngrel 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 ʒarə makandza nə maŋrel 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 cʰe 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) pkrañis cʰe 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 ṭəlo ma-ka-moʔt nə 'na-haʔw
cat milk NEG-NOM-drink CON OBS-good
It is good that the cat doesn’t drink milk.

(80d) lolo tolo 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-myis 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 kʰonə kə-cʰa miʔ-jn to-ka-cəs…
……that 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-ɲo
INF-herd NOM-herd-p
herd herders
A nominalised verb can be turned into genitives like other nominals:

(84) ka-nango   kə-nango   nə-ka-nango
INF-be.ill   NOM-be.ill   1s:GEN-NOM-be.ill
be ill   patient   my patient

sondi   nə-ka-nango   to kanəja    kʰut
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   nə-ka-ptʃo
INF-use   NOM-use   1s:GEN-NOM-use
usage   my usage

nə tamaʔ   ka-va-j   nə-ka-ptʃo   nəs
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) nə nə-ka-nango   kərtok   paʃnu   ma-vi   nəŋo   nə-ka-nango   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   ma-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:
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:

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:

I car NOM-hit 3s:GEN-person C PFT-see-1s
I saw the man who was being hit by a car.

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:

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):
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-ʔa-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 kəcəs, ‘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-myis Sgo-ldong story, see Text 1 at the end of this study:

(94) ŋə nə tʃəʔ tə sok kə-ta-ndoʔ-ʔ-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-ʃiʔ 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 ji- 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 sa- and the marker for reciprocity, pa-.
(95)  ka-vi    ka-sə-vi    kə-sə-vi    * səkəvi
    come₁    INF-CAUS-come₁    NOM-CAUS-come₁
cause to come, send the sent one

(96)  ka-leʔt    ka-ŋa-le-leʔt    kə-ŋa-le-leʔt    * ŋakəleleʔt
    hit₁    INF-REC-RED-hit₁    NOM-REC-RED-hit₁
fight    fighter

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 mə-to-, see section 7.4.c on aspect below. Nominaliser kə-takes the second slot, between mə- and to-:

(97)  wujo-ndʒik kəmtʃoʔik ʰna-ŋos-ndʒik kʰono kaʃpat ʰna-ko-to-tʃʰa-ndʒik
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.

(98)  noŋo no-ko-mbuʔ-ŋə w-ŋəfa ta
    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

Jiǎomùzú 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 *kəndżą*, 'same, similar':

(99)  tʃəɟ o tʃ-
 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)  ŋa  ŋə-fartse  ŋa-ʃartse  w-aka-j  ʃartse  w-aka-j  ʃartse  w-aka-j  ʃartse  w-aka-j
 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)  wuʃo  ʃi-fweʃaw  w-ǎngi  stiŋ  kəhaʔw  ʃə-ŋos
  he 3p:GEN-school 3s:GEN-inside EV-be
He is the best student in the school.

7.2 Person and number

a. Transitivity

The Jiǎomùzú 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 *kambuʔ* 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 ɲaɲo tətʰa ki ta-mbuʔ-ŋ

I you book IDEF 1/2-give-1s
I give you a book.

But the verb *kaʔam* 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 *kaʔam*:

(102b) ŋa ɲaɲo tətʰa ki kʰam-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 Jiānmín151 and Zànlinha Āwáng, 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú, 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 Jìn

151 Wáng Jiānmín.
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 Āitáng\textsuperscript{154} looked at the \textit{-u} suffixes (\textit{-w} in my transcriptions) for second and third person singular in the verb paradigm and analysed them as transitivity markers, as opposed to \textit{-n} for second person singular and no marking for third person singular in the intransitive paradigm. Later work, especially DeLancey's,\textsuperscript{155} has advanced other interpretations, which I discuss extensively in section 7.2 on person and number below. Jacques\textsuperscript{156} mentions two morphological features of all transitive verbs in Chábǎo, namely a prefix \textit{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 Jiāomǔzú 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 \textit{katʃʰi}, 'go', demonstrates the intransitive paradigm:

\begin{verbatim}
(103)   katʃʰi, 'go'
        1 s tʃʰi-ŋ     2 s tə-tʃʰi-n     3 s tʃʰi
        d tʃʰi-dʒ     d tə-tʃʰi-ndʒ     d tʃʰi-ndʒ
        p tʃʰi-j     p tə-tʃʰi-jn     p tʃʰi-jn
\end{verbatim}

The person and number markers for intransitive verbs are as follows:

\begin{verbatim}
(104)  1 s -ŋ     2 s tə - n     3 s
        d -dʒ     d tə - ndʒ     d -ndʒ
        p -j     p tə - jn     p -jn
\end{verbatim}

---


\textsuperscript{155} DeLancey 1980.

\textsuperscript{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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1s & 2s & 3s \\
\eta & \eta & \eta \\
de & d & d \\
\text{de} & \text{d} & \text{d} \\
di & \text{di} & \text{di} \\
pe & p & p \\
\text{pe} & \text{p} & \text{p} \\
pi & jijo & jijo \\
\end{array}
\]

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 \( \text{tə} \), which is prefixed, and not linked to the second person singular pronoun \( \eta \). In his comparison of head marking or pronominalising languages Bauman\(^{157}\) assumes that \( \text{tə} \) 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 \( \text{tə} \) 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 \( \text{tə} \) 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 \( \text{tə} \) 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:

\[(106)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
1s & -ŋ \\
2 & τo- \\
2s & -n \\
non-first & -n- \\
dual & -dʒ \\
plural & -j \\
\end{array}
\]

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.\(^\text{158}\) However, the Jiǎomùzú dialects of rGyalrong mark for 'non-first', which is person information, though it is skimpy. 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:

\[(107)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
1s/2s & ta-najo-n & I will wait for you \\
1s/2d & ta-najo-ndʒ & I will wait for you two \\
1s/2p & ta-najo-jn & I will wait for you \\
\end{array}
\]

\(^{158}\) Bauman (1975: 191-194).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1d/2s</td>
<td>ta-najo-n</td>
<td>the two of us will wait for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d/2d</td>
<td>ta-najo-nd5</td>
<td>the two of us will wait for you two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d/2p</td>
<td>ta-najo-jn</td>
<td>the two of us will wait for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p/2s</td>
<td>ta-najo-n</td>
<td>we will wait for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p/2d</td>
<td>ta-najo-nd5</td>
<td>we will wait for the two of you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p/2p</td>
<td>ta-najo-jn</td>
<td>we will wait for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s/3s</td>
<td>najo-ŋ</td>
<td>I will wait for him/her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s/3d</td>
<td>najo-ŋ</td>
<td>I will wait for the two of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s/3p</td>
<td>najo-ŋ</td>
<td>I will wait for them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d/3s</td>
<td>najo-dʒ</td>
<td>the two of us will wait for him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d/3d</td>
<td>najo-dʒ</td>
<td>we two will wait for them two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d/3p</td>
<td>najo-dʒ</td>
<td>the two of us will wait for them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p/3s</td>
<td>najo-j</td>
<td>we will wait for him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p/3d</td>
<td>najo-j</td>
<td>we will wait for the two of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p/3p</td>
<td>najo-j</td>
<td>we will wait for them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s/1s</td>
<td>ko-najo-ŋ</td>
<td>you will wait for me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s/1d</td>
<td>ko-najo-dʒ</td>
<td>you will wait for us two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s/1p</td>
<td>ko-najo-j</td>
<td>you will wait for us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d/1s</td>
<td>ko-najo-ŋ</td>
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<td>you will wait for the two of us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p/1p</td>
<td>ko-najo-j</td>
<td>you will wait for us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s/3s</td>
<td>tə-najo-w</td>
<td>you will wait for him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s/3d</td>
<td>tə-najo-w</td>
<td>you will wait for the two of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s/3p</td>
<td>tə-najo-w</td>
<td>you will wait for them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d/3s</td>
<td>tə-najo-ndʒ</td>
<td>you two will wait for him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d/3d</td>
<td>tə-najo-ndʒ</td>
<td>you two will wait for them two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d/3p</td>
<td>tə-najo-ndʒ</td>
<td>you two will wait for them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Pattern</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p/3s</td>
<td>tə-najo-jn</td>
<td>you will wait for him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p/3d</td>
<td>tə-najo-jn</td>
<td>you will wait for the two of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p/3p</td>
<td>tə-najo-jn</td>
<td>you will wait for them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s/1s</td>
<td>wu-najo-ŋ</td>
<td>he will wait for me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s/1d</td>
<td>wu-najo-dʒ</td>
<td>he will wait for the two of us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s/1p</td>
<td>wu-najo-j</td>
<td>he will wait for us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d/1s</td>
<td>wu-najo-ŋ</td>
<td>the two of them will wait for me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d/1d</td>
<td>wu-najo-dʒ</td>
<td>they two will wait for us two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d/1p</td>
<td>wu-najo-j</td>
<td>the two of them will wait for us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p/1s</td>
<td>wu-najo-ŋ</td>
<td>they will wait for me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p/1d</td>
<td>wu-najo-dʒ</td>
<td>they will wait for the two of us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p/1p</td>
<td>wu-najo-j</td>
<td>they will wait for us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s/2s</td>
<td>to-najo-n</td>
<td>he will wait for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s/2d</td>
<td>to-najo-ndʒ</td>
<td>he will wait for the two of you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s/2p</td>
<td>to-najo-jn</td>
<td>he will wait for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d/2s</td>
<td>to-najo-n</td>
<td>the two of them will wait for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d/2d</td>
<td>to-najo-ndʒ</td>
<td>they two will wait for you two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d/2p</td>
<td>to-najo-jn</td>
<td>the two of them will wait for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p/2s</td>
<td>to-najo-n</td>
<td>they will wait for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p/2d</td>
<td>to-najo-ndʒ</td>
<td>they will wait for the two of you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p/2p</td>
<td>to-najo-jn</td>
<td>they will wait for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s/3s</td>
<td>najo-w</td>
<td>he will wait for him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s/3d</td>
<td>najo-w</td>
<td>he will wait for the two of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s/3p</td>
<td>najo-w</td>
<td>he will wait for them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d/3s</td>
<td>najo-ndʒ</td>
<td>the two of them will wait for him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d/3d</td>
<td>najo-ndʒ</td>
<td>they two will wait for them two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d/3p</td>
<td>najo-ndʒ</td>
<td>the two of them will wait for them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p/3s</td>
<td>najo-jn</td>
<td>they will wait for him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p/3d</td>
<td>najo-jn</td>
<td>they will wait for the two of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p/3p</td>
<td>najo-jn</td>
<td>they will wait for them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 \(\text{He waits for you} \)
     \(\text{The two of them wait for you} \)
     \(\text{They wait for you} \)

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.

\(\text{pkraʃis narənə lhamo-ndə kə to-najo-n} \)
\(\text{bKra.shis and lHa.mo-3d PR 3/2-wait-2s} \)
\(\text{bKra-shis and lHa-mo wait for you.} \)

\(\text{wujo-ŋo kə to-najo-n} \)
\(3-p PR 3/2-wait-2s \)
\(\text{They wait for you.} \)

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 ŋa pkraʃis mbuʔ-ŋ
     bowl I bKra.shis give-1s
     I will give bKra-shis the bowl.

(111) kʰəzaʔ wujo-ŋo 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 Jiāomùzú person and number markers follows below:

(112) 1/2s  ta- -n
d  ta- -n-d5
p  ta- -j-n

1s/3 -ŋ
d -d5
p -j

2/1s ko- -ŋ
d ko- -d5
p ko- -j

2s/3 tə- -w
d tə- -n-d3
p tə- -j-n

3/1s wu- -ŋ
d wu- -d5
p wu- -j

3/2s to- -n
d to- -n-d3
p to- -j-n

3s /3 -w
d -n-d5
p -j-n

Suffixes

The overview of person and number markers above shows that when, in Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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

Jiǎomùzú verb derive from the personal pronouns. An analysis of the suffixes shows that they contain the following components of meaning:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
-\eta & 1s & -j & p \\
-n & 2s & -n & non-first \\
-d\bar{\eta} & d \\
\end{array}
\]

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 -\eta. 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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
-\eta & 1s & -j & p \\
-n & 2s & -n & non-first \\
-w & non-first, singular, transitive & -d\bar{\eta} & d \\
\end{array}
\]

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 -nd\bar{\eta} 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-, ta-, 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 ta-, 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 to-, though not in its full form, occurs:

(115) 1/2  t - a
      2/3  to -
      3/2  t  -  o

Remarkably, in the prefix ko-, which marks 2/1 forms, to- or a form of to- does not occur. Now from the analysis of other verbal prefixes it is clear that in Jiāomùzú 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 ji- 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  to - a
      2/1  ko - to - o
      2/3  to -
      3/2  to -  o

Assuming that in 1/2 second person marker to- 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 to- 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 to- and a first person marker ka-. The prefix ka-, of course, does not derive from the first person pronoun. But then, neither is to- 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 Bun an 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  to - ka
      2/1  ka - to - o
      2/3  to  
      3/2  to -  o

---

Note that first and second person markers occur in reverse order: \textit{ta-ka} for first person subject with a second person object, and \textit{ka-ta} for a second person subject with a first person object. Also, \textit{ka}-only occurs in forms with a second person, not in forms with a third person. This may be an indication that Jiǎomùzú considers first and second persons to be different from third persons. Evidence for this assumption is plentiful in the Jiǎomùzú 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 \textit{ta-}, which marks second person, see the analysis of the intransitive paradigm above. The 3/1 forms have \textit{wu-}, which looks like a third person subject marker. However, \textit{wu-} does not occur in 3/3 forms, where it should occur if \textit{wu-} signals third person subject. So \textit{wu-} signals neither third person objects nor subjects. Furthermore, as noted before, in the Jiǎomùzú 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 Jiǎomùzú treats third person as different from first and second person. Yet another pointer is aspectual marking for present imperfective aspect: \textit{ka-} for first and second person, but \textit{ga-} for third person. All this leads to the conclusion that Jiǎomùzú employs a system in which first and second persons are opposed to third persons. The hypothetical first person marker \textit{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 -\textit{n-} for non-first and -\textit{w} for non-first singular transitive in the suffixes, as described above. The conclusion must be that the Jiǎomùzú 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 \textit{wu-} in 3/1 to be accounted for, as well as the unexplained -\textit{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.\footnote{DeLancey 1980.} 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 Jiǎomùzú 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 person, and third person ranks higher than second person.
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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú.

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 Jiāomùzú 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:

\[(119a) \quad ŋa \ pкраʃis \ najo-ŋ \quad (119b) \quad nəŋ o \ pкраʃis \ tə-najo-n \ me\]

I bKra.shis wait-1s you bKra.shis 2-wait-2s INTR

I will wait for bKra-shis. 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:

\[(120) \quad pкраʃis \quad ŋa \ wu-najo-ŋ\]

bKra.shis I 3/1:INV-wait-1s

bKra-shis will wait for me.

The conclusion must be that Jiāomùzú 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 \(tə\)- occurs:

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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1/2 & tə - ka & tə- (2) & ka- (1) \\
2/1 & ka - tə - o & ka- (1) & tə- (2) \; \text{wu-} \\
1/3 & - & - & - \\
3/1 & wu- & - & - \\
2/3 & tə & tə- (2) & - \\
3/2 & to- & tə- (2) & - \; \text{wu-} \\
3/3 & - & - & - \\
\end{array}
\]

It is clear that relations in which the patient ranks higher than the agent all have either **wu**- or –o. This indicates that Jiàómùzú 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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{relation} & \text{prefix} & \text{person} & \text{person} & \text{rank reversal} \\
\text{(AG/PT)} & & & & \\
1/2 & tə- & tə- (2) & ka- (1) & - \\
2/1 & ko- & ka- (1) & tə- (2) & \text{wu-} \\
1/3 & - & - & - & - \\
3/1 & wu- & - & - & \text{wu-} \\
2/3 & tə- & tə- (2) & - & - \\
3/2 & to- & tə- (2) & - & \text{wu-} \\
3/3 & - & - & - & - \\
\end{array}
\]

**Summing up**

The Jiàómùzú 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, Jiàómùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka-} & \quad 1 \\
\text{to-} & \quad 2 \\
\text{wu-} & \quad \text{rank (inverse)} \\
\text{-ŋ} & \quad \text{1s} \\
\text{-n} & \quad \text{2s} \\
\text{-dʒ} & \quad \text{d} \\
\text{-j} & \quad \text{p} \\
\text{-n-} & \quad \text{non-first} \\
\text{-w} & \quad \text{non-first, singular, transitive}
\end{align*}
\]

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 Jiāomùzú system of inverse marking

The Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 kannujo, '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 ka, 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) tɔwaʔm kartso najo-w
   bear deer wait
   The bear will wait for the deer.

(125c) tɔmtʃik tæʔm 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 tɔwaʔm najo-w
   bKra.shis bear wait-3s
   bKra-shis will wait for the bear.

(126b) tɔwaʔm kɔ 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) tɔmtʃuk kʰɔ 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 jərə najo-w
       bKra.shis meat wait-3s
       bKra-shis is waiting for the meat.

* pkraʃis jərə wunajow

Inverse marking in Jiǎomùzú 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)  kʰorlo 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:

---

When there might be confusion as to which argument is the subject and which the object in a topicalised sentence, the prominence marker \( k \sigma \) occurs with the subject to solve the ambiguity, but no inverse marking:

(133a) \( \text{tʃa} \text{i} \text{ sonam} \text{ sat-w} \)
\( \text{bKra.shis} \text{ bSod.nams} \text{ kill-3s} \)
\( \text{bKra-shis will kill bSod-nams.} \)

(133b) \( \text{sonam} \text{ tʃa} \text{i} \text{ k} \sigma \text{ sat-w} \)
\( \text{bSod.nams} \text{ bKra.shis PR:AG kill-3s} \)
\( \text{It is bSod-nams that bKra-shis will kill.} \)

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 \( n\text{awusat} \), but \( wu \) does not appear:

(134a) \( \text{təmtʃuk} \text{ k} \sigma \text{ pkraʃis na-sat-w} \)
\( \text{fire PR:AG bKra.shis PFT-kill-3s} \)
\( \text{The fire killed bKra-shis.} \)

Note that in this sentence the subject is marked by prominence marker \( k \sigma \) for agentivity, even though there is no confusion about which argument has the role of subject and Jiàomùzú 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 \( k \sigma \) puts the appropriate amount of emphasis back on the subject. The animacy hierarchy also links to prominence marking with \( k \sigma \) for, among other things, agentivity. But a subject that ranks lower on the animacy hierarchy than an object does not automatically require marking with \( k \sigma \), 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 \( \text{no} \), directing the hearer’s attention to the object bKra-shis and away from the subject fire:
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:

\[(135) \text{təmtʃuk kə nəŋo no-to-cop-n} \]
\[\text{fire PR you AF/PFT-3/2-burn-2s} \]
\[\text{The fired burned you.} \]
\[
\]

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 nawunajow:

\[(136a) \text{pkrafis tɔwaʔm 'na-najo-w} \]
\[\text{bKra.shis bear OBS-wait-3s} \]
\[\text{bKra-shis is waiting for the bear.} \]
\[
\]

\[(136b) tɔwaʔm kə pkrafis 'na-najo-w \]
\[\text{bear PR bKra.shis OBS-wait-3s} \]
\[\text{The bear is waiting for bKra-shis.} \]
\[
\]

In fact, a structure with third person observation marker na- as well as inverse marker wu- is not grammatical:

\[(136c) * tɔwaʔm kə pkrafis 'nawunajow \]

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) pkraʃiʃ ŋa tətʰa wu-ʃi-rje-ŋ
       bKra.shis I book 3/1:INV-VPT-lend-1s
       bKra-shis will lend me a book.

(138b) pkraʃiʃ ŋa tətʰa no-ʃi-rje-ŋ
       bKra.shis I book AF/PFT-VPT-lend-1s
       bKra-shis lent me a book.

165 Jacques (forthcoming: 7-10).
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 nowuŋeŋe. 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':

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':

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':

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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 kameto, 'see, meet, run into'.

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:

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:
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 \textit{wu-} is already present in person marker \textit{to-} but gets added once more to signal the special case of a non-present person.

\begin{verbatim}
(143a) ῥε \textit{waʔm pkraʃis no-najo-w}
     bear bKra.shis AF/PFT-wait-3s
     The bear waited for bKra-shis.

(143b) ῥε \textit{waʔm pkraʃis no-wu-najo-w}
     bear bKra.shis AF/PFT-3/3:INV-wait-3s
     The bear waited for bKra-shis.
\end{verbatim}

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 \textit{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 \textit{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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>orientation</th>
<th>noun</th>
<th>adverb</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>orientation marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vertically up</td>
<td>ata</td>
<td>sto</td>
<td>k₄₅ᵪo</td>
<td>to-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vertically down</td>
<td>ana</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>k₅½o</td>
<td>na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towards the mountain</td>
<td>atu</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td>karo</td>
<td>ro-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towards the river</td>
<td>ardu</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>kare</td>
<td>rⱽ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upstream</td>
<td>aku</td>
<td>sku</td>
<td>kango</td>
<td>kⱽ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>downstream</td>
<td>ani</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>kando</td>
<td>nⱽ-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Kōnglóng, 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 Kōnglóng. 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. Together they make up the village of Kōnglóng. 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 Kōnglóng 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 Kōnglóng situation will make this clear. Across the river, on the slopes opposite Kōnglóng, is a village called Púzhì. People from Púzhì, when going towards the river, will walk eastwards. People from Kōnglóng, 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 Kōnglóng 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 Kōnglóng, even though the actual direction is the reverse of the trajectory of the person from Kōnglóng.

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166 In Chinese 队, 'team' or 'group'.
167 In Chinese 村, 'village'.
The solar axis hypothesis
I have given a description of the topographical situation in Kōnglóng, 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. That means that in another valley, where the river, for example, flows in an east-west direction rather than north-south as in Kōnglóng, I would still expect the same orientational distinctions to hold true.

I put this idea to the test in Māěrkāng, the seat of government of Māěrkāng County. Graph number two below shows the situation. The river flows east to west. The centre of Māěrkāng town is situated on the slopes on the north side of the river. A little further west is a village called Sānjiāzhài, 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 Māěrkāng town, but I have left it out as it is not relevant to this illustration. The

168 There is no native vocabulary in the Jiǎomúzú 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 Jiāomùzú, 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, Qū Āitáng and Nagano for Zhuōkèjī. More recent work by J. T. Sun and Lin You-Jing on Cāodēng, Müěrzōng 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, Cāodēng belongs to the group of Northern rGyalrong dialects and Müěrzōng is a dialect of Lavrung, a language closely related to rGyalrong. Only Zhuōkèjī belongs, like the Jiāomùzú dialects, to Central rGyalrong and is grammatically close to Jiāomùzú. 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 re- respectively. She bases this idea on the fact that her consultant, a native of Zhuōkèjī, uses ro- “if one were to travel upriver from Jiāomùzú along the Jiāomùzú River towards Cāodēng...conversely, if

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172 木尔宗, 'Brag-rdzong.
one were to go from Cǎodēng to Jiǎomùzú [downriver], rə- would be the only apt orientation choice.\textsuperscript{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 na- for 'downstream', towards Jiǎomùzú. Note that the kə-/na- 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\textsuperscript{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..."\textsuperscript{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 use\textsuperscript{176} of ro-/rə- originally indicated up and down river but that these markers now signal the mountain-river contrast does not solve the issue of use of the 'solar axis pair' kə- and na- 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-/na- 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..."\textsuperscript{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

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\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{174} Lin (2002: 33).

\textsuperscript{175} Lin (2002: 34).

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{177} Lin (2002: 36).
the ro-/rə- distinction does get used to indicate up and down river in Cǎodēng and Műěrzōng, 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 Jiǎomüzú 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 Jiǎomüzú 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 Jiǎomüzú 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**

Jiǎomüzú 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H-akə sku mbjam</th>
<th>will fly upriver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H-anə nu mbjam</td>
<td>downriver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-ato ro mbjam</td>
<td>towards the mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-ardu ri mbjam</td>
<td>towards the river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-ata stu mbjam</td>
<td>upwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-ana na mbjam</td>
<td>downwards</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁷⁸ More testing of orientational grids may lead to surprising results. I know of two Southern rGyalrong villages, Dàwā Cun (大哇, སྨ་ད, Da-bad) and Zūmù Cun (足木, སྨ་མ་ Kyom-mo) located on the same mountain slope in Xiaojin County, Hānniú (汗牛, ནགོ་ Ha-nyi) Township which use the same set of markers, kə- and nə-, but with opposite meanings (Tshe-dbang sGron-ma, personal communication).
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': *katʰo*, '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 *ro* 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) ṅa soʃnu tambat-j tʰo-ŋ
I tomorrow mountain-LOC ascend-1s
I will go up the mountain tomorrow.

(145b) ṅa soʃnu ata tambat-j tʰo-ŋ
I tomorrow up.there mountain-LOC ascend-1s
I will go up that mountain there tomorrow.

(145c) ṅa soʃnu ata sto tambat-j tʰo-ŋ
I tomorrow up.there up.and.over mountain-LOC ascend-1s
I will go up and over that mountain there tomorrow.

(145d) ṅa soʃnu ata tambat-j sto tʰo-ŋ
I tomorrow up.there mountain-LOC up.and.over ascend-1s
I will go up and over that mountain there tomorrow.

(145e) ṅa paʃur tambat-j to-ŋi-ŋ
I yesterday mountain-LOC PFT:up-go2-1s
I went up the mountain yesterday.

(145f) ṅa soʃnu ʃomu-j tʃʰi-ŋ
I tomorrow bottom.of.the.mountain-LOC go1-1s
I will go to the bottom of the mountain tomorrow.

(145g) ṅa paʃur ʃomu-j na-ŋi-ŋ
I yesterday bottom.of.the.mountain-LOC PFT:down-go2-1s
I went down to the bottom of the mountain yesterday.

(145h) ṅa soʃnu arduj¤-j ro-ŋ
I tomorrow second.settlement-LOC go.towards.mountain-1s
I'll go (up) to the second settlement tomorrow.

(145i) ṅa soʃnu arduj¤-j ro
I tomorrow second.settlement-LOC toward. mountain
I'll go (up) to the second settlement tomorrow.

ro-ŋ
go.towards.mountain-1s

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Where is the second settlement? It's over there (up) in the direction of the mountain.

bKra-shis went over to the second settlement yesterday.

I'll go (down) there towards the river.

I went over there, in the direction of the river, yesterday.

I will go (up) to a place upriver yesterday.

I went (up) to a place upriver yesterday.
I will go downstream to Sānjiāzhài tomorrow.

I will go to a place downstream tomorrow.

I will go downstream to Sānjiāzhài and past it tomorrow.

bKra-shis went downriver to Sānjiāzhài 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 kʰafko. The women sit on the side called kʰalaj. These terms are in themselves directional. For example, kʰalaj is derived from kʰa, '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 ŋ-o-tɕu  tʃe ɲos
table  I 1s:GEN-front  LOC  be

The table is in front of me.
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 Jiāomùzú 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.

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':

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 *katʃʰi*, '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.
I went to the North railway Station yesterday.

I'm going to the West Bus Station tomorrow.

Rin-chen-'tsho's house is over that way.

Rin-chen-'tsho's office is to the right of Mínyuàn's Westgate.

bKra-shis went to eat spicy soup just outside the Eastgate.

Where have you come from?

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 kampʰə, 'embrace', kamfuk, 'bite', and kasəmcur, 'surround'. The marker nə- occurs with verbs that express horizontal motion, either in one direction, such as in kambul', 'give', and kakʰrat, 'sweep', or in alternating directions, as in kakli, 'rub', kapʰjit, 'wipe', and karsfi, 'wash'. The sentences below give some examples of the secondary meaning of these markers.

(158) kamtsa  nə-kʰrat-w
window  PFT-rub-3s
He washed the windows.

(159) coktse  nə-pʰjit-w
table  PFT-wipe-3s
He wiped the table.

(160) pakʃu  nə-ta-mbuʔ-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  ṭaŋeʔm  kə-nagər-jn
soldier  house  PFT-surround-3p
The soldiers surrounded the house.

(162) kʰapri  kə  tərmu  kə-ˈa-mtʃuk-w
snake  PR  person  PFT-NEV-bite-3s
The snake bit someone.

(163) tapuʔ  kə-nərkok-w
child  PFT-hold-3s
She held the child.

Sometimes a speaker has the choice of several possible markers. The verb kanərkok, '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':

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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.

The Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 ŋkʰuʔ kavɔtʃi kəhaʔw
food after walk good
It is beneficial [for one's health] to take a walk after one's meal.

(166) tosanə tʃʰambe tʃe dzoŋjoŋ 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 tajam w-əŋgi karko
    early LOC pot 3s:GEN-inside put
    First, put [the dried sour vegetables] in a pot;

    w-əmpʰro tʃe w-orka na xu-stso kaleʔt
    3s:GEN-after LOC 3s:GEN-above downwards water-hot pour₁
    then pour hot water on them;

    w-əmpʰro tʃe kafwet kanajo
    3s:GEN-after LOC a.while wait
    after that, wait for a bit;

    w-əmpʰro mo ko bebe w-əŋgi sku kapʰat
    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-nədʒ w-əmpbi-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) ŋa pʃur mkbono sku kə kə-vu-ŋ ənos
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) ŋa pʃur xwotebetsanə ji-ŋi-ŋ
I yesterday North.Railway.Station PFT:general-go-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 *kakə* '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)  nəŋə bawbaw to-tə-ʃi-na-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)  nəŋə bawbaw na-tə-ʃi-na-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)  kasci to-sci na-sci
        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:
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) ŋa pəʃnu laktʃe kə-vaja 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) ŋa pəʃnu laktʃe kə-vaja 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) ŋa pəʃnu laktʃe kə-vaja na-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 ro- and rə- would only signal geographical orientation in past perfective.
Simple past tense suffix -s

Some of the Jiăomùzú 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 Păerbá. 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 paʃurtɔ na-naja-s
bKra.shis a.few.days.ago PFT-go home-3s:PST
bKra-shis went home a few days ago.

(177) lhamo minjwan kə bdu pa ji na-ɲu-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 paʃurtɔ na-ˈa-naja
bKra.shis a.few.days.ago PFT-NEV-go.home
bKra-shis went home a few days ago.

Lin 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 Jiăomùzú 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:

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179 Lin Xiāngróng (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 Jiăomùzú 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.

Today bKra-shis gives lHa-mo apples.

Tomorrow bKra-shis will give lHa-mo apples.

Perhaps bKra-shis gives/will give lHa-mo apples.

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 ed stem forms
Unprefix ed 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:
My friends and I go to look for mushrooms in the hills above our house.

At dusk we go home.

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 unprefixed 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, unprefixed 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:

The bus is about to arrive. (The bus will come shortly.)

He will come tomorrow.

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
Unprefixed stem forms can be used to signal shades of meaning that have to do with a speaker's intention 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) ŋa bawbawki ku-ŋ
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) ŋa nənəo n-apsi vi-ŋ
I you 2s:GEN-together come₁-1s
I'm coming with you.

(187) ŋa pi-tʃiŋsa ta-və-scoʔ-n
I 2p:GEN-dorm 1/2-VPT-see.off-2s
I'm going to take you back to your dorm.

(188) ŋa soʃnu tʃi-ŋ ma-ˈna-ŋos
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) ŋa n-ʃmi ki natso-ŋ
I 2s:GEN-tongue IDEF see₁-1s
I'm going to look at your tongue.

(190) ŋa pu n-acən ki leʔt-ŋ
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 krọŋ ma-vi
    bKra-shis come, INTR maybe NEG-come,
    Will bKra-shis come? Maybe he will not come.

(192) ŋa soʃnu nɔ-tʃinɔści vi-ŋ n-ɔmba-j kʰam mɔ-kʰut
    I tomorrow 2s:GEN-dorm come,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 Jiăomùzú. 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 Jiăomùzú 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) pafur tʃʰaʔ to-moʔt-jn tʃe to-nandza-jn
    yesterday tea PFT-drink-1p LOC PFT-have.a.meal-1p
    Yesterday we had a meal after we drank tea.
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) lhāmo peciŋ kaŋu naŋos tʃe
lhāmo Bēijing NOM-stay PFT-be LOC
When lhāmo lived in Bēijing,

pkraʃis kapa tʃe kaneː cʰa jì wu-ka-naʦo na-ʃa-tʃi
bKra.shis year LOC two time always 3s:GEN-see-3s PFT-NEV-go₁
bKra-shis went to see her twice a year.

Present-in-the-past

Future-in-the-past
Future-in-the-past occurs only infrequently in the Jiāomůzú 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-ɔmba-j djenhwaŋ kə-leʔ tʃe
yesterday he I 1s:GEN-vicinity-LOC telephone NOM-hit₁ LOC
Yesterday, when he called me, it was about to rain.

təmu kə-ʃa-leʔt naŋos
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 ʃa- on root 1 leʔt rather than root 2, signalling futurity. A past tense equivalent of (197) would have root 2, -laʔt, as in (198):
Yesterday, when he called me, it was raining.

Note that in (199) the root 1 form of *kaleʔt* ‘hit’ occurs rather than root 2, *laʔt*, for past tense, while *ŋos*, ‘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-əŋkʰuʔ* tanðru ˈto-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 tʃʰa ˈto-moʔt-w tʃe naŋeo 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 coktse ˈna-kʰrət tʃe mentoʔk kataʔ kʰut
tomorrow bKra.shis table FPFT-wipe LOC flowers put can

tomorrow, when bkra-shis will have wiped the tables, we can put the flowers.
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 soği peciŋ ’jí-ʧʰi 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-rji stʃɨ
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 soği, '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) soňu pkraʃis coktse kʰrət-w w-aka-j nəŋjo
tomorrow bKra.shis table wipe-3s 3s:GEN-front-LOC you
Tomorrow, before bKra-shis wipes the tables, you need to sweep the floor.

təɾut nə-va-w ra
dirt PFT-do-2s need
need to sweep the floor.

(205b) * soňu pkraʃis coktse nəkʰrətw wakaj nəŋjo təɾut nəwaw ra
Constructions such as the English ‘…before bKra-shis has wiped the tables, you need to sweep…’ are not grammatical in Jiāomùzú, 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 pкраʃis cokte kə-tʃʰat-w tʃe нəŋjo	
  tomorrow bKra.shis table NOM-wipe-3s LOC you

Tomorrow, during bKra-shis’ wiping of the tables, you need to sweep the floor.

təɾut 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 pкраʃis 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, Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 *kakʰrə*, ‘wipe’. The normal past perfective marker for this verb is *na-*:

(208a) pkraʃis  paʃurtə  coktse  na-kʰrət-w

bKra.shis  a.few.days.ago  table  PFT-wipe-3s

bKra-shis wiped the tables a few days ago.

(208b) paʃurtə  sønem  ji-vu  tʃe  pkraʃis  coktse  na-kʰrət-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) paʃur  sønem  ji-vu  tʃe  pkraʃis  coktse

yesterday  bSod.nams  PFT-come₂  LOC  bKra.shis  table

Yesterday  bKra-shis was wiping the tables when bSod-nams came.

na-kʰrət-w

PSTPROG-wipe-3s

Sentence (208a) is the neutral form marked for simple past tense with *na-* 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 *paʃurtə*, ‘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 *paʃur*, ‘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:
Yesterday lHa-mo sewed a piece of clothing.

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 Jiǎomùzú 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:

Yesterday lHa-mo sewed clothes.

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:

Yesterday lHa-mo sewed a piece of clothing.
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 ɟi-, 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-mə-to-ŋ tʃe ɟi-vavo
yesterday I lHa.mo PFT-see-1s LOC NEG/PSTPROG-cry
When I saw lHa-mo yesterday, she was not crying.

(211b) pəʃur tapuʔ ɟi-vavo
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-ňə-vavo
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 ɟi- 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 ji-‘a-vi tʃe pkraʃis coktse na-‘a-krhət-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-‘a-cəs
PFT-NEV-say
When lHa-mo came bKra-shis was not wiping the tables, it is 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 õ-

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:

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:
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 dessert, 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 kasajo?k allow for both options. In example (217) only na- can appear, while marking with to- is ungrammatical:

(217) karəhⁿa na-sajoʔk-w
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 na- 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 ŋa lhamo na-məto-ŋ tʃe nə-ʋavo
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 ŋa lhamo na-məto-ŋ tʃe nə-ʋavo
yesterday I lHa.mo PFT-see-1s LOC PSTPROG-cry
When I saw lHa-mo yesterday, she was crying.

* pu (now) * soʃnu (tomorrow)
The baby has started to cry, go and have a look.

pu (now), soʃnu (tomorrow) * pəʃur (yesterday)

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 kənd̪u, ‘obtain, get, take’. The lexicalised past perfective marker for kənd̪u is na-:

(219) poŋeʔj na-kə-nd̪u-ŋ ŋos
money PFT-NOM-take-1s be
I’ve taken care of the money.

(220) poŋeʔj to-kə-nd̪u-ŋ honjon to-rji-ŋ
money PSTIMP-NOM-take-1s Hónγyuán PFT:upwards-go2-1s
Having got the money, I went up to Hónγyuán.

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 Hónγyuán. These events are chronologically and logically linked, part of an ongoing situation. Along the same lines are the following sentences:

(221a) ŋa varji kʰəzaʔ ki na-nd̪e-ŋ
I last.year bowl IDEF PFT-take-1s
I took a bowl last year.

(221b) ŋa pəʃnu kʰəzaʔ ki to-nd̪e-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) wujo tarke to-'a-miʔ to-'a-səso-w korona 'na-ndoʔ
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) wujo tarke to-'a-miʔ na-səso-w koronə ndoʔ 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) saksəŋkwu tʃaʔ 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) saksəŋkwu tʃaʔ 'to-moʔt-j tʃe ka-nəndze
Afternoon tea PFT-drink-1p LOC INF-have.a.meal
In the afternoon, after we we will have drunk our tea, we will have a meal.

(223c) pu tʃaʔ ki moʔt-j wurə ka-nəndze
now tea IDEF drink-1p CON INF-have.a.meal
We drink tea now and then we’ll have a meal.
We will have dinner after we have finished drinking [the] tea [that we are (about) to drink now/shortly].

Yesterday tea PFT-drink-1p LOC PFT-have.a.meal-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:

Wherever he went, he always took the donkey along with him.

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 kaməjki, ‘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:
Long long ago there was a thief.

That thief went around stealing everywhere.

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).

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:

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 ka- for first and second persons, and with the prefix ga- 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:

Are you writing a letter?
Irregular verbs employ root 3 as well as the normal present imperfective marker \( \text{ŋa-} \) for third person. The following example for \( \text{kər}'o? \), 'ask' show how the vowel change works.

(228) \( \text{ŋa pkraʃis ki 'kə-tʰoʔ-ŋ} \)
I bKra.shis IDEF PRIMP-ask1-1s
I'm asking bKra-shis.

\( \text{ŋa pkraʃis ŋa ki ŋa-tʰaʔ-w} \)
bKra.shis I IDEF PRIMP-ask3-3s
bKra-shis is asking me.

Jiāomùzú present imperfectives can occur with all action verbs, such as \( \text{kavotʃi} \), 'walk', \( \text{kanozoʔk} \), 'lick', and \( \text{kanyup} \), 'sleep'. This category includes a number of verbs that indicate actions of longer duration, rather of a state-like quality, such as \( \text{kanɔrɡaʔ} \), 'like', and \( \text{kavar} \), 'own, possess'. However, I found that native speakers disagree about some of these verbs, especially \( \text{kavar} \). 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) \( \text{ŋa tarke ki 'kə-varo-ŋ} \)
I donkey IDEF PRIMP-possess-1s
I have a donkey.

(230) \( \text{nəŋo pkraʃis 'kə-tə-nɔrɡaʔ-w me} \)
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 \( \text{na-} \) in present tense situations, whereas situations in the future remain unmarked. Here is the abbreviated paradigm for \( \text{kənandʃok} \), 'feel cold'. The non-
past forms consist simply of the verb root marked for person and number. The past tense constructions have ː-na, the regular lexicalized past perfective marker for kənandrək. 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:

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>non-past, OBS</th>
<th>past</th>
<th>non-past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>'na-nandrək-ŋ</td>
<td>nə-nandrək-ŋ</td>
<td>nandrək-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>'na-tə-nandrək-ŋ</td>
<td>nə-tə-nandrək-ŋ</td>
<td>tə-nandrək-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>'na-nandrək</td>
<td>nə-nandrək</td>
<td>nandrək</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>non-past, PRIMP</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>* 'kə-nandrək-ŋ [I'm feeling cold]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>* 'kə-nandrək-ŋ [you're feeling cold]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>* ŋa-nandrək [he is feeling cold]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present imperfectives in the Jiāomùzú 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-ŋa-sa-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) \(ŋa\) tarts\(h\)ot karek \(na\)-najo-\(ŋ\) koronə ma-'nə-\(vi\)
I hour one PSTPROG-wait-1s but NEG-OBS-come\(_1\)
I've been waiting for an hour, but he hasn't come;

\(ŋa\) kə-\(vi\) najo-\(ŋ\) ra
I NOM-come\(_1\) wait-1s need
I'll have to wait until he comes.

(236) \(ŋa\) kəsam ğnu nə-kʰra\(t\)-\(ŋ\) koronə ma-tsa 'kə-kʰra\(t\)-\(ŋ\)
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 Jiāomúzú’s present imperfective with progressive aspect, marking actions that are presently ongoing. But the Jiāomúzú dialects use present imperfective marking also in sentences that indicate an habitual situation or a state:

(237) \(ŋa\) stoŋʃnu 'kə-ʃi-rəʔk-\(ŋ\) ķos
I daily PRIMP-VPT-run-1s be
I run every day.

(238) \(nənʒ\) stoŋʃnu ma-'kə-tə-ʃi-rəʔk-n  ꤛ
you daily Q-PRIMP-2-VPT-run-2s
Do you run every day?

(239) pkraʃiš stoŋʃnu ŋa-ʃi-rəʔk ķos  ꤛ
bKra.shis daily PRIMP-VPT-run be  ꤛ
bKra-shis goes to run every day.

(240) pkraʃiš ŋak tə wucen ꤛ mi ꤛ ŋa-rəʔk  ꤛ
bKra.shis time ꤛ 5000 metre PRIMP-run  ꤛ
bKra-shis often runs the 5000 metres.
(241) pkraʃis ʒak tʃe lhamo kameŋhaj ʒa-najo-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
stoŋʃnu, '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 th³i ŋa-va-w th³on ŋa-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 ŋa-

(243a) pkraʃis kəsce ŋos w-ŋiŋgi-j təŋŋok ŋa-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 th³i ŋa-va-w təŋŋok ŋa-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) təŋŋok ŋa-va-w
bread PRIMP-do-3s
He is making bread.
He is a baker.

(244b) təŋŋok 'na-va-w
bread OBS-do-3s
* 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.
3. Terminative aspect

The cessation of an action is expressed by prefixing məto- to a verb phrase:

(245) karjo məto-rjo-w katop məto-top-w
    speak    TER-speak-3s   hit    TER-hit-3s
    He stopped speaking.  She stopped hitting.

(246) sloppan vi tʃe slopmə-no məto-ŋakʰo-jn
    teacher   come,   LOC student-p   TER-shout-3p
    When the teacher comes, the students stop shouting.

Terminative aspect marking is inherently negative. With verbs that carry the meaning of stopping or cessation, only to- occurs, since the marking of terminative aspect on such verbs is excluded on semantic grounds, as in example (247):

(247) ɲ-əmŋok to-rtek tʃe kava to-sənəna-jn
    3p:GEN-bread  PFT-enough   LOC    do   PFT-cease-3p
    When they had enough bread, they stopped baking.

* ɲəmŋok tortek tʃe kava mətosənənajn

The meaning of these constructions can be glossed as 'stop doing….' or 'no longer do…'. Termination is different from completion in that an action may be stopped, for whatever reason, even though it is not yet completed. For example, I may stop reading my book because it is late, though I have not finished that book. There may be several chapters left. Alternatively, I may finish reading a book, even though there are still some chapters left in it. However, I am not going to read more of it. I’m finished with it. Such meanings of 'finish' are all expressed with verbs like kasəjoʔk, 'finish, complete', see above. The use of terminative aspect expresses that the subject stops doing a certain action, but it does not indicate whether that action is completed or not. After a pause or certain time interval, the action may be resumed.

Terminative aspect marking can be used to indicate that an action has to come to an end of necessity, due to circumstances beyond the speaker’s control. The following fragment is from the A-myis Sgo-ldong story (see Text 1 at the end of this study). An old couple finds that there is not enough food around to feed their son, and they are forced to stop bringing him up:

(248) tapuʔ kajpət məto-ɛʰa-ndʒ tʃe…..
    child bring.up  TER-able-3d   LOC
    When they were no longer able to bring up the child,....
Compare also the following examples for the same verb *kacʰa*, ‘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) tapuʔ ka-sɔ-rətʰa cʰa-j
    child NOM-CAUS-go.to.school can-1p
We are able to send the child to school.

(249b) tapuʔ ka-sɔ-rətʰa ma-cʰa-j
    child NOM-CAUS-go.to.school NEG-can-1p
We [consider that we] are not able to send the child to school.

(249c) tapuʔ ka-sɔ-rətʰa ma-'nə-cʰa-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) tapuʔ ka-sɔ-rətʰa to-cʰa-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) tapuʔ ka-sɔ-rətʰa na-cʰa-j
    child NOM-CAUS-go.to.school PFT-can-1p
We are [after much difficulty] able to send the child to school.

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We are no longer able to send the child to school [because circumstances have changed for the words].

[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 kʰorlo kaleʔt mata-ʃpeʔ-ŋ
    I car hit1 TER-able3-1s
    I can’t drive.

(250b) ŋa kʰorlo kaleʔt ma-ʃna-ʃpeʔ-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 ndo ŋkʰuiʔ, ‘after that’ or ndo sta ʈa, ‘from then on’:

(251) tapuʔ poŋeʔj ra ŋi na-cas karek 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]

ndo sta ta poŋeʔj ra məto-cas
    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) wuŋo-ndʒ ʒik kəmtŋoʔk 'nə-ŋos-ndʒ kʰono kaʃpot ma-kə-to-tʃa-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.

'mə-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) paʃur təmor rə mə-to-tə-natso-w me yesterday evening CON TER-2-see-2s INTR
Did you stop reading last night?

A construction with mə-to- 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-nə'kʰoʔn 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 jɪ-. Imagine a man who is a driver talking to an acquaintance about driving his bus:

(255a) kʰorlo kə-leʔt ŋos bus NOM-hit1 be I still drive the bus.
(255b) nəno mə-to-laʔt-n me you TER-2-hit2s INTR
Have you stopped driving?

(255c) paʃnu ma-to-leʔt-n me today NEG-2-hit1-2s INTR
Don’t you drive?
(255d) varji jɪ-to-laʔt-n me last year NEG/PFT-2-hit2-2s INTR
Did you not drive last year?

(255e) * matətalaʔtn

(255e) * jətalaʔtn
Actually *monotalo?tn* and *poto?tn* are possible forms, but they have nothing to do with driving. Rather they are negative forms of *kaləʔ*, ‘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) trakʰi  və-tʃʰi  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'. The diagnostic example, which I give here in Lín Xiàngróng's transcription, is: *po to-po to-zdegp*, 'you (p) will soon be afraid'. For Jiāomǔzú 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) nəŋo  tə-və-tʃʰi  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) nəŋo  to-tə-və-loʔ  me  
     you  PFT-2-PROSP-set.out  INTR  
     Are you about to head out? (Were you about to head out?)

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Unlike verbs marked for past perfective, verbs that signal futurity with prospective aspect marking have root 1 in the verb phrase:

(262a) ŋa karɟəʔk to-məndak-ŋ
I run PFT-have.one’s.turn2-1s
It’s my turn to run.

(262b) ŋa karɟəʔk to-və-əndek-ŋ
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 kətsʰo, ‘fat’ and kəneʔk, ‘black’:

(263) pak tawo və-tsʰo
pig early PROSP-fat-1s
The pig will be fat soon.

(264) nəŋo kəjam w-əkʰa-j kəni n-əji 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 fé- 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-ju ŋos
cow OBS-PROSP-die be
The cow is about to die.
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 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 Jiăomûzû 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 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 prefixed to the verb root. Lin You-Jing uses the term 'observational' for this category.
of evidentiality. In order to avoid confusion of terminology I use this term as well, though in some ways the function of observational na- in the Jiǎomùzú dialects goes beyond the framework for this kind of evidentiality, as I will demonstrate in section 7.5.c on observation below. Beyond these basic strategies the speaker can invoke outside authority to boost the degree to which his statement is reliable. This sort of reliability is signalled by the use of linking verbs to expresses certainty or evidentiality marker na- to indicate some sort of outside source of authority. Forms of the verb kacəs, ‘say’ are employed to convey hearsay, either to back up a speaker’s statement, or to avoid responsibility or to simply state the source.

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:

\[(266) \quad \eta a \quad tə-və-scəʔ-n\]
\[I \quad 1/2-VPT-see.off-2s\]
I'll see you off.

\[\eta a \quad tə-ta-və-scəʔ-n\]
\[I \quad PFT-1/2-VPT-see.off-2s\]
I saw you off.

\[\eta a \quad tə-a-tə-və-scəʔ-n \quad me\]
\[I \quad PFT-NEV-1/2-VPT-see.off-2s \quad INTR\]
Did I see you off? (The speaker was not aware of his action.)

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.

b. Non-direct evidentiality

*Eye-witness and awareness: a-*

Jiǎomùzú distinguishes between information acquired as an eyewitness or firsthand knowledge of a situation and information that is obtained indirectly. When a speaker conveys a statement based on indirectly obtained information the statement is marked as such on the verb. The concepts of ‘eyewitness’ and ‘firsthand knowledge’ should not be taken entirely on face value. For example, if I talk to bKra-shis near the meadow and I see him take his horse and disappear up the path towards the high grass lands, when I return home I will tell people in the house that bKra-shis has taken his horse. The statement will not be marked for non-direct evidentiality, since I saw bKra-shis take the horse. But if I talk to bKra-shis at the meadow, and he tells me he is going to take the horse up, and

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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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú speaker will guess whether the hearer has firsthand knowledge of an action or event and mark the verb in his question accordingly. The Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 naˈatopw, ‘he hit’, but the unmarked form may be used when the hearer did see bKra-shis hit the dog:

(267a) pkraʃis kʰana na-top-w  
       bKra.shis dog PFT-hit-3s  
       bKra-shis hit the dog.

(267b) pkraʃis kʰana na-top-w me  
       bKra.shis dog PFT-hit-3s INTR  
       Did bKra-shis hit the dog?

na-top-w naˈa-top-w  
PFT-hit-3s PFT-NEV-hit-3s  
He did. He did.
(267c) pkrajšiš kʰɔna na-ʰa-top-w me
bKra.shis dog PFT-NEV-hit-3s INTR
Did bKra-shis hit the dog?

na-ʰa-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) pkrajšiš kʰɔna na-ʰa-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 [ˈjatʃʰi], 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) pkrajšiš malatǎŋ kʰɔ-ndza ji-ʰa-tʃʰi
bKra.shis spicy.soup NOM-eat PFT-NEV-go₁
bKra-shis went to have spicy soup

(268b) pkrajšiš w-ɔmpʰa-j ji-rji
bKra.shis 3s:GEN-outside-LOC PFT-go₂
bKra-shis went out.

(269a) pɔʃur tákʰu na-moʔt-w
yesterday cigarette PFT-drink-3s
She smoked yesterday.

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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-'a-ŋa-maca-jn kə-maŋkʰuʔ tʃe to-'a-ŋa-le-leʔt-jn
much PFT-REC-say-3p NOM-after LOC PFT-REC-RED-hit₁-3p
They talked back and forth and finally they started fighting.

(270b) wuvjot na-ŋa-maca-ndʒ kə-maŋkʰuʔ 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. Jiăomùzù 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.
When I was burning papers, I also [inadvertently] burned your letter.

I went down and bought myself a bag.

I stole her lipstick.

[Someone] stole my lipstick (My lipstick got 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 na nakoŋ, '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) bebe to-kʰut
noodles PFT-can
The noodles are done.

(274b) bebe to-a-kʰut
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 gos, '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 gos, 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 gos 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 gos.
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) τʃəʔ ʃəʔ kə
this apple be
This is an apple.

(276b) τʃəʔ ʃəʔ 'nə-ŋos
this apple EV-be
This is an apple.

If the speakers answers with (276a), his use of *ŋos* 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) poŋeʔ jɨ to-'a-naʃmo-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-maʃtak
   Holland manner NEG-cold
   Holland is not that cold.

(279b) xolan sok ma-maʃtak ŋos
   Holland manner NEG-cold be
   Holland is not that cold.

(279c) xolan sok ma-ka-maʃtak 'na-ŋos
   Holland manner NEG-NOM-cold EV-be
   Holland is not that cold.

(279d) xolan sok ma-maʃtak na-cas
   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 *katʃʰi* ‘go’ is unmarked, the default setting for eye-witness or firsthand knowledge of a situation. This expression of high reliability is qualified by *nakŋos*, indicating the speaker’s certainty of the fact that the subject indeed set out. The whole statement is once again qualified by *kaças*, ‘say’, showing that the speaker has heard about the event rather than witnessed it. And marking with *na*- 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) ka-ka-ryi-jn na-ka-ŋos kaças 'na-ŋos
      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.” In Jiăomûzû 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. 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 verbs gos, ‘be’, miʔ, ‘not have’ and maʔk, ‘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.
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Observation marker na- occurs before the person prefixes, as is clear from the example above, but after mood, tense and aspect markers:

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(282)  nəŋo  kəko  ta-ŋos-n  'na-ta-ŋos-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.
```

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) ŋa pkraʃis ʃi-ŋ
I bKra.shis know-1s
I know bKra-shis.
ŋa pkraʃis ma-ʃi-ŋ
I bKra.shis NEG-know-1s
I don’t know bKra-shis.

(284b) ŋa pkraʃis 'na-ʃi-ŋ
I bKra.shis OBS-know-1s
I know bKra-shis.
ŋa pkraʃis ma-'na-ʃi-ŋ
I bKra.shis NEG-OBS-know-1s
I don’t know bKra-shis.

(284c) ŋa pkraʃis ʃi-ʃi-ŋ
I bKra.shis NEG/PFT-know-1s
I didn’t know bKra-shis.
ŋa pkraʃis ʃi-'na-ʃi-ŋ
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) kɔnandrokt{
 cold

'na-nandrokt-ŋ nɔ-nandrokt-ŋ nandrokt-ŋ
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) * ŋa wudienxwaŋ ʃɔ kəleʔtŋ koronɔ mɛpu
[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) jaŋtʃin ma-nu (287b) jaŋtʃin ma-na-nu
    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) kom kacu ma-kʰut (288b) kom kacu ma-na-kʰut
    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-ˈa-vi
       Yon.tan  PFT-NEV-come₁
       Yon-tan came.

(289c) jontan ˈna-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-kʰut ˈna-kʰut
        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:
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) ŋa ŋ-a-jeʔm məntoʔ k ndo?
I 1s:GEN-house flowers have
There are flowers in my house.

(292b) ŋa ŋ-a-jeʔm məntoʔ '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-ŋu
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-məndo tʃe tʃʰəŋdu wastop səʃki 'na-ŋos
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. I have not found this distinction for Jiăomûzú. 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 Jiăomûzú 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-ˈna-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) ˈna-ndo?
OBS-have
Yes, he is.

(295d) ndoʔ
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,

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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 *ndoʔ*, 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 ndoʔ  
  pot have  
  Yes, there is a pot.

(296b) tajam 'na-ndoʔ  
  pot OBS-have  
  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) \[\eta-\text{omo } ts\text{ŋ-m} \eta va-w\]  
  1s:GEN-mother business PRIMP-do-3s  
  My mother runs a shop. (My mother is a trader.)

(296b) \[\eta-\text{omo } ts\text{ŋ-}\acute{n} va-w\]  
  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) indicates 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) \[ma-\acute{j}i-\eta\]  
  NEG-know-1s  
  I don’t know.

(297b) \[ma-\acute{h}a-\acute{j}i-\eta\]  
  NEG-OBS-know-1s  
  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) soʃnu pkraʃis wucen mi rjoʔk
tomorrow bKra.shis 5000 metre run
Tomorrow bKra-shis will run the 5000 m.

(298b) soʃnu pkraʃis wucen mi rjoʔk ra
tomorrow bKra.shis 5000 metre run need
Tomorrow bKra-shis has to run the 5000 m.

(298c) soʃnu pkraʃis wucen mi rjoʔk '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 soʃnu, '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 ŋu ta-skɔʔrjn ra
I labour three days 1/2-hire-2p need
I will hire you (p) to work for three days.

(299b) * ŋa kərama kəsam ŋu taskɔʔrjn '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) ɲa ni-tʃɪŋʂə²⁶⁶ ta-və-scoʔ?-n  
I 2p:GEN-dorm 1/2-VPT-see.off-2s  
I'll come and see you to your dorm.

(300b) ɲa ni-tʃɪŋʂə²⁶⁶ ta-və-scoʔ?-n ra  
I 2p:GEN-dorm 1/2-VPT-see.off-2s need  
I'll come and see you to your dorm.

(300c) ɲa ni-tʃɪŋʂə²⁶⁶ ta-və-scoʔ?-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) laktʃʰe kaku wu-tʃʰe kantʃʰak-j kanəŋup ra  
thing buy 3s:GEN-reason street-LOC sleep need  
He has to sleep on the street in order to buy something.

(301b) ….nda ra wujo kantʃʰak-j kanəŋup na-ra  
that CON he street-LOC sleep PFT-need  
….therefore he had to spend the night outside.
Summing up

The three sets of examples below give an overview of evidentiality marking in Jiāomùzú. 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-kʰut
PFT-can
Done!

(302b) to-ˈa-kʰut
PFT-NEV-can
Done!

(302c) ˈna-kʰut
OBS-can
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 miʔ, 'not have'. Depending on the context of the question, different answers are possible:

(303a) miʔ
not.have
No. [I don't have a bike, and I never had one.]

(303b) to-miʔ
PFT-not.have
No. [I had a bike in the past, but now I don't have one. Mabye I sold it.]

(303c) to-ˈa-miʔ
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 stʃi, ‘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) pkrajis makmə stʃi
bKra.shis soldier be:CD
bKra-shis is only a soldier.

(304b) pkrajis makmə 'nə-stʃi
bKra.shis soldier EV-be:CD
bKra-shis is only a soldier.

(304c) kəsce pkrajis makmə na-stʃi
before bKra.shis soldier PFT-be:CD
In the past bKra-shis was only a soldier.

(304d) kəsce pkrajis makmə 'nə-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 pkrajis 'na-cop-w
fire bKra.shis OBS-burn-3s
The fire is burning bKra-shis.
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 Jiǎomùzú. 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 ña na-ta-najo-n * pəʃur ña 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 nəŋo ña kə-ko-najo-ŋ me
     yesterday you I PFT-2/1-wait-1s INTR
     Did you wait for me yesterday?

(307b) pəʃur nəŋo ña no-ko-najo-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) nəŋo pəʃu ki no-ko-mbuʔ-ŋ me * nəkombuŋ
     you apple IDEF AF/PFT-2/1-give-1s INTR
     Did you give me an apple?
When the grammatical subject and object are of equal ranking, that is to say, when there are two third person arguments, the speaker’s use of attention flow marking is informed by the animacy hierarchy as well as the speaker’s desire to give an object extra prominence. In the examples below no- is prohibited in relations between a first or second person object and a third person subject, as is clear from (309a) and (309b). But for a third person subject with a third person object, as in (309c), both the neutral form and the marked form are fine. In fact, many speakers prefer the form marked for attention flow, since it is natural to have empathy with a living being that is being burnt rather than with the agent of the burning, the fire. One other factor that plays into the allocation of attention flow marking is the free order of subject and object in Jiāomùzú sentences. In neutral sentences the subject is in the first slot and the object in the second. The subject is more prominent than the object. So a third person subject in the first slot that ranks low on the animacy hierarchy – say, an animal – may be balanced by a human object in the second slot. It remains up to the speaker how he juggles subject prominence, animacy hierarchy and a desire to highlight the object. Attention flow is not obligatory even though animate ranks higher than inanimate, as in (309c) where the object ranks higher than the subject:

(309a) təmtʃuk ŋa ˈno-cop-ŋ  
fire  I AF/OBS-burn-1s
The fire is burning me.

(309b) təmtʃuk nəŋo no-cop-n  
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 ŋa-cop-w  
fire  bKra.shis PRIMP-burn-3s
The fire is burning bKra-shis.

However, attention flow marking cannot occur with inanimate objects. It makes no difference if the subject is inanimate so that both arguments are of equal ranking:

(310) pkraʃis kʰəzaʔ na-li-a-cʰop-w  
bKra.shis bowl PFT-NEV-break-3s
*bpkraʃis kʰəzaʔ no’acʰopw  
bKra-shis broke the bowl.
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 * nonajoŋ
2/1 ko-najo-n * nokonajon
2/3 tə-najo-n * notanajon
3/1 wu-najo-ŋ * nowunajon * nonajoŋ
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) npoŋo ŋa soʃnu doŋmanə w-əpʰa tfəʔ tʃəʔ tʃe no-kə-məŋo-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 soʃnu, ‘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) npoŋo ŋa pakʃu ki ko-mbuʔ-ŋ me
you I apple IDEF 2/1-give-1s Q
Will you give me an apple?

(314b) npoŋo ŋa pakʃu ki no-kə-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) ṇaŋə no-ka-ta-top-n
      you I  AF-PRIMP-2/1-hit-2s
      You are hitting me.

    pkraʃis ṇa 'no-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 ṇaŋə kə-tə-najo-n
      bear you  PFT-2-wait-2s
      The bear waited for you.

(316b) təwaʔm ṇaŋə no-tə-najo-n
      bear you  AF/PFT-2-wait-2s
      The bear waited for you.

(316c) tʰəŋpe pkraʃis na-'a-nəvla-w
      trader bKra.shis  PFT-NEV-cheat-3s
      The trader cheated bKra-shis.

(316d) pkraʃis tʰəŋpe kə no-'a-nəvla-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) ṇaŋə vaŋi no-to-ko-skoʔ-ŋ stji
      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 kambuʔ, ‘give’ is nə-. If the imperative is marked for attention flow nə-disappears:

\[(318)\] pak Ifu pkra'is nə-’mbuʔ-w
\[\text{apple bKra.shis IMP-give-3s} \]
\[\text{Give bKra-shis the apple!} \]

\[(319)\] pak Ifu ηa no-’mbuʔ-ŋ
\[\text{apple I AF/IMP-give-1s} \]
\[\text{Give me the apple!} \]

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’:

\[(320a)\] pkra'is kə-na’jo-w
\[\text{bKra.shis IMP-wait-2s} \]
\[\text{You wait [here] for bKra-shis.} \]

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’jo-ŋ
\[\text{IMP-wait-1s} \]
\[\text{Wait for me!} \]

\[(320c)\] no-na’jo-ŋ
\[\text{AF/IMP/1/2-wait-1s} \]
\[\text{Wait for me!} \]

Topicalisation can trigger marking for attention flow and in some cases makes it obligatory. A Jiaomuzu 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:

\[(321a)\] pkra'is kə-na’jo-w
\[\text{bKra.shis IMP-wait-2s} \]
\[\text{You wait [here] for bKra-shis.} \]

\[(321b)\] kə-na’jo-ŋ
\[\text{IMP-wait-1s} \]
\[\text{Wait for me!} \]

\[(321c)\] no-na’jo-ŋ
\[\text{AF/IMP/1/2-wait-1s} \]
\[\text{Wait for me!} \]
(321a) ɲa ɲɛŋo ɲə-ta-najo-ɲ
  I     you   PFT-1/2-wait-2s
  I waited for you.

(321b) ɲa ɲə-kraʃis ɲə-najo-ɲ
  I     bKra.shis   PFT-wait-1s
  I waited for bKra-shis.

(321c) ɲɛŋo ɲə-kraʃis ɲə-ta-najo-ɲ
  you     bKra.shis PFT-2-wait-2s
  You waited for bKra-shis.

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) ɲɛŋo ɲa ɲə-kə-to-najo-ɲ
  you     I       PFT-2/1-wait-2s
  You waited for me.

(322b) ɲɛŋo ɲa ɲə-no-kə-najo-ɲ
  you     I       AF/PFT-2/1-wait-2s
  You waited for me.

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 ɲa ɲə-no-najo-ɲ
  bKra.shis I     AF/PFT-wait-1s
  bKra-shis waited for me.

It was me 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**  
*bKra.shis lHa.mo PFT-wait-3s*  
bKra-shis waited for lHa-mo.

**lhamo pkraʃis kə kə-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) **towaʔm jarə ka-najo-w**  
*bear meat PFT-wait-3s*  
The bear waited for the meat.

**jarə towaʔm kə ka-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:
The fire burned bKra-shis.

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:

The fire burned the dog.

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:

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
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.\footnote{Keenan (1996: 243-246).} Could no- classify as a passive marker in Jiāomùzú? 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 po-. 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) kʰapri kə no-mtʃuk-w
snake PR AF/PFT-bite-3s
A snake bit him. (Him the snake bit.)

(331b) kʰapri kə no-ŋo-mtʃuk
snake PR AF/PFT-PAS-bite-3s
He was bitten by a snake.
Somewhat less pertinent maybe but still interesting is that Jiāomúzú 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: ji- and vo-

Jiāomúzú 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 kat[ŋi]. In the verb phrase they take the form of vo- and ji-. 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 naŋo ta-scoʔ?-n
    I you 1/2-see.off-2s
    I'll see you off.

(332b) poʃur lhamo kə pkraʃis-pi jiʔ-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 jiʔ-a-voʔ-scoʔ?-w
    bKra.shis lHa.mo PFT/OR:general-NEV-VPT-see.off-3s
    bKra-shis came and brought lHa-mo.

(332d) pkraʃis lhamo jiʔ-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 jiːː 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) nānjo bawbaw jì tə-ʃi-kə-w me
you bag 2-VPT-buy-2w INTR
Are you going to buy a bag? (Will you go and buy a bag?)

(334) nānjo bawbaw tə-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 ji- and, to a lesser extent, νə- present imperfective markers. Especially ji- 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) nānjo bawbaw 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 ji, 'always' from the viewpoint marker ji, '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 wəŋgi kəpu pa ji-pu ra nə-ŋos
lHa.mo Mínyuán 3s:GEN-inside four year VPT-live need EV-be
lHa-mo will go and live at Mínyuàn for four years.
(338) lhamo minjuwan³⁴ w-əŋgi kəpədu pa əji na-ŋu
lHa.mo Mínyuàn 3s:GEN-inside four year always PFT-stay
lHa-mo lived at Mínyuàn continuously for four years.

(339) ŋa bawbaw³⁴ ʃi-ku-ŋ
I bag VPT-buy-1s
I go to buy a bag.

(340) ŋa ʃnu-ʃnu bawbaw³⁴ ʃi ˈkə-ku-ŋ
I day-day bag always PRIMP-buy-1s
Every day I buy a bag.

The viewpoint marker ə-v can have an aspectual meaning. When ə-v 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 ə-v, morphologically, is the use of an aspect marker as well as the viewpoint marker, as in example (b):

(341a) nəŋo ə-v-ŋəʔk-n me
you 2-VPT-run-2s INTR
Are you coming to run?

(341b) nəŋo ˈna-tə-və-ŋəʔk-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 ə-v 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.” 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. The Jiāomùzú 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. In this study I use the broad definition of voice.

The category voice in the Jiāomùzú 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 ga- or wa-, often in combination with a reduplicated verb root. Jiāomùzú marks for two kinds of reflexive. The marker ha- 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-, ōa- and ōə- 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 ōa- and ōə- are very rare and should not be confused with the viewpoint marker ō- or with kafə- and kafə-, 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 ō-. 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 * kasəva
kasaʃki burn, scorch * kasaʃki

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(342)</th>
<th>vi</th>
<th>vt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kəʒdar</td>
<td>be scared</td>
<td>kanaʃdar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kərmbat</td>
<td>draw near (in time)</td>
<td>kənərmbat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəpʰo</td>
<td>flee, run away</td>
<td>kənapʰo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the markers na- and nə- 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 kəpʰət, ‘throw’ and kənapʰət, ‘lose [something]; throw away [something]’. Example (343) shows forms of the transitive verb for ‘steal’ with and without na-. Sentence (343a) is a straightforward generic statement of a value judgment: it is not good to steal. But in (343b), in which kəfimo, ‘steal’ is marked with na- 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-naʃmo ma-haʔw
INF-steal NEG-good
It is not good to steal things.

A fair number of verbs in Jiāomùzú have the component na- 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
kanəʃit comfortable * kaʃit
kanəntsʰok gnaw * kantsʰok
kanoja go home * kaja

Some of the verbs with a lexicalised marker na- or na- 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) kanŋa lose, be defeated [by someone]
kasŋa conquer (cause someone to lose)

The first verb in (346) looks like a contracted form of kanŋa, '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 na-. If there ever was such a combination of marker and root, now there is only the fully lexicalised form in -ŋa.

While na- and na- both add direct objects that are separate entities from the subject, na- 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 Jiāomùzú 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 na- 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-non-volitional meanings:

(347a) lhamo kʰəzaʔ na-tʃʰop-w
       lHa.mo PR bowl PFT-break-3s
       lHa-mo broke the bowl.

(347b) lhamo kʰəzaʔ na-ʃlaʔk-w
       lHa.mo PR bowl PFT-break2-3s
       lHa-mo broke the bowl.

The use of katʃʰop, '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 kafleʔk, '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 kandraʔp tumble; stumble
kapʰət pull down; throw kambot fall
kapʰək split in two (vt) kambek split in two (vi)
kapjoʔt fill up komojot 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 Jiǎomùzú 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, the marker mə- in Tibetan carries the meaning of 'neuter subject' as opposed to b- and ', 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(350)</th>
<th>volitional</th>
<th>non-volitional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kapʰət</td>
<td>throw (vt)</td>
<td>kaməmpʰət throw up, vomit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tmpʰət</td>
<td>vomit (noun)</td>
<td>kaməmpʰət throw up, vomit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tmpʰət kaleʔt</td>
<td>throw up, vomit</td>
<td>kaməmpʰət throw up, vomit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaməmpʰət</td>
<td>throw up, vomit</td>
<td>kaməmpʰət throw up, vomit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interestingly, the compound verb shows that the root of the noun already has the non-intentional marker in the form of mə-. 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. 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 tmpʰət, 'vomit', which is already marked for non-volitionality. Another set of verbs that has a reduplication of mə- is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(351)</th>
<th>see (non-volitional)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaməto</td>
<td>run into, meet (non-volitional)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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192 In the Wylie transcription of literary Tibetan an apostrophe (‘) represents the Tibetan letter  a chung, ‘small a’.
Sometimes nouns or other verbs point to the original meaning of the root without ma-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(352)</th>
<th>təskruʔ</th>
<th>body</th>
<th>kəməskruʔ</th>
<th>pregnant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kəzdək</td>
<td>sad</td>
<td>kəməzdəkpe</td>
<td>pitiful, poor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of kəməskruʔ, '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 ma- but where the indication of non-volitional action is ambiguous or entirely missing. For example, the verb kəməzdəkpe, 'jump, pulse, beat', is marked for non-volitional action by ma-. 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 kəməleʔk, 'swallow' and kəmandə, 'arrive', though for both these verbs probably their non-volitional meaning is more prevalent than the volitional meaning.

d. Passive: ŋo-

Jiāomůzú has a passive marker ŋo- 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 –ŋo 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 ŋo-. The agent kəŋənŋuŋ, ‘police’ is deleted, no person and number marking appears on these verbs, and the object from the first clause, bKra-shis, is foregrounded:

(353) koŋəŋuŋə-ŋo ji-ˈa-vi-jn pкра̃ʃis kə-ŋo-vəja

The police came, bKra-shis was caught and he was put in jail.

kʰraŋbə kə-ŋo-rko

prison PFT-PAS-put

Passive marking with ŋo- 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 ŋo- 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 Jiāomùzú differs from the Northern dialect of Cāodēng, which has an agentless passive: 194

(354) ʂoʃnu pkräʃis ŋa wu-najo-ŋ
    tomorrow  bKra.shis I 3/1:INV-wait-1s
    Tomorrow bKra-shis will wait for me.

(355) ʂu pkräʃis ŋa ŋo-najo
    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 Jiāomùzú sentence is active:

(358a) pkräʃis tsʰoŋpe kə ŋo-navla-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:

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 \( ji^- \) merges with attention flow marker \( no^- \). The attention flow marker loses its consonant while the vowel of the negation marker is replaced:

(359a) \[ \text{tʃəʔ pu j-apa na-mato-j spjaŋkə nə jo-ndza-jn} \]
\[ \text{now 1p:GEN-father PFT-see-1p wolf CON NEG/AF/PFT/-eat-3p} \]
Now we’ve seen our father, he did not get eaten by the wolves.

(359b) \[ \text{tʃəʔ pu j-apa na-mato-j spjaŋkə nə jo-ŋo-ndza} \]
\[ \text{now 1p:GEN-father PFT-see-1p wolf CON NEG/AF/PFT/-PAS-eat} \]
Now we’ve seen our father, he did not get eaten by the wolves.

Sentence (359a) is a simple statement with \textit{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. \textit{Reflexivity: bja- and no-}

Reflexivity encodes the referential identity of the main argument of the neutral sentence and some other argument.\(^{195}\) Jiāomùzú has two markers for reflexivity, the canonical reflexivity marker \( bja^- \) and the emphatic reflexivity marker \( no^- \). 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”.\textsuperscript{197} Emphatic reflexivity marking occurs in constructions where the subject is co-referent with the direct object. When $n\alpha$- 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 $b\gamma\alpha$-, followed by a discussion of emphatic reflexivity marking with $n\alpha$-. The section concludes with a description of constructions in which both markers occur.

The following shortened paradigm for $kat\bar{o}$, ‘hit’, shows the formation of reflexive verb phrases marked with $b\gamma\alpha$- for different grammatical persons. The paradigm is marked for past perfective with $na$-:

\begin{tabular}{llll}
(360) & 1s & $\eta$ na-top-\eta & $\eta$ na-$b\gamma\alpha$-top-\eta \\
      & I  & PFT-hit-1s     & I  & PFT-REFL-hit-1s \\
      & I  & hit.           & I  & hit myself.  \\

      & 2s & $n\sigma$o na-$t\sigma$-top-w & $n\sigma$o na-$t\sigma$-$b\gamma$-top-w \\
      & you & PFT-2-hit-2s     & you & PFT-2-REFL-hit-2s \\
      & you & hit.           & you & hit yourself.  \\

      & 3s & $w\sigma$o na-top-w & $w\sigma$o na-$b\gamma$-top-w \\
      & he & PFT-hit-3s     & he & PFT-REFL-hit-3s \\
      & he & hit.          & he & hit himself.  \\
\end{tabular}

The emphatic reflexivity marker $n\alpha$- 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 $n\alpha$- 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:

\begin{tabular}{llll}
      & (361) & \$n\alpha$ na-top-w & \$n\alpha$ na-$b\gamma$-top-w \\
      & I  & hit.           & I  & hit himself.  \\

      & (362) & $n\sigma$o na-$t\sigma$-top-w & $n\sigma$o na-$t\sigma$-$b\gamma$-top-w \\
      & you & hit.           & you & hit yourself.  \\
\end{tabular}

Did you make these clothes yourselves?

* tonətpən

You go yourself!

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:

I just finished my work.

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 kotʃʰi and kəntʃʰi. 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 kəntʃʰi, 'go' or kəntənə, '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 nəŋo, 'you'. The direct object is bawbaw, 'bag':

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Note that such sentences can be ambiguous, because Jiăomûzû does not distinguish between autobenefactive and emphatic reflexivity marking. In (366b) the verb marked with ə- 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 ə- signalling the co-referentiality of subject and direct object:

(366a) ŋa bawbaw ə- ku-ŋ
I bag IDEF buy-1s
I buy a bag.

(366b) ŋa bawbaw ə- nə-ku-ŋ
I bag 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-na-jput əs
livestock that C-p PFT-NOM-EREFL-breed be
They themselves bred the livestock.

(367b) kəʃput ndə tə-ŋo na-kə-jput əs
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) ə-ascok na-nə-səjoʔk-ŋ
1s:GEN-letter PFT-EREFL-finish-1s
I finished my own letter.
(368b) ḳa ʈasćok  na-na-laʔt-ŋ
I letter PFT-EREFL-write-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, pasćok, '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 no- here is the direct object ‘letter’: it is my own letter that I finished. In (368b) the grammatical subject ḳa, ‘I’ is explicit. There is no head marking for first person on 'letter'. The antecedent of no- is the subject rather than the direct object: I myself wrote the letter.

Another example is the pair kaskoʔr, 'hire labour', and kanęskoʔr, '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-ąjeʔm 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-ąjeʔm 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 no- 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 bya- 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 bya- signalling the co-reference of the subject ‘child’ and the direct object, also ‘child’, generating ‘smears himself’ and no- 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 no- precedes bya-, is ungrammatical:
(370a) tapuʔ scokpi ʒale 'na-leʔt-w
    child    mud    layer    OBS-hit₁-3s
The child is smearing a layer of mud (on sth.).

(370b) tapuʔ scokpi ʒale 'na-nə-leʔt-w
    child    mud    layer    OBS-EREFL-hit₁-3s
The child himself is smearing mud (on sth).

(370c) tapuʔ scokpi ʒale 'na-bja-leʔt-w
    child    mud    layer    OBS-REFL-hit₁-3s
The child is smearing himself with a layer of mud.

(370d) tapuʔ scokpi ʒale 'na-bja-nə-leʔt-w
    child    mud    layer    OBS-REFL-EREFL-hit₁-3s
The child is smearing himself with a layer of his own mud.

(370e) * tapuʔ scokpi ʒale 'nanəbjaʔleʔtw

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 bja- 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) ɲa ʒale to-laʔt-ŋ
    I    layer    PFT-hit₁-1s
    I smeared a layer (of something unto....).

(371b) ʒale ɲa to-ɲa-laʔt-ŋ
    layer    I    PFT-EREFL-hit₁-1s
    I myself smeared a layer (of something onto....)

(371c) ʒale ɲ-ompʰa-j to-ɲa-laʔt-ŋ
    layer    1s:GEN-vicinity-LOC    PFT-EREFL-hit₁-1s
    I smeared myself with a layer (of something).
(371d) ʒale to-bŋa-laʔt-ŋ
layer  PFT-REFL-hit1-1s
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 ŋəŋpʰaj, 'towards myself' to show the direction of the mud flow as it were. Together nə- and ŋəŋpʰaj 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 bɟa- 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-I, 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. 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-bŋa-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, bŋa-, 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 bŋa-, or agent before beneficiary. This is in keeping with the logic of Jiāmùzú 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 bŋa- 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 bɟa-. The emphatic reflexivity marker refers to the direct object scokpʰi, ‘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 bŋa- refers to the subject ‘child’ here, and nə- to the object ‘mud’, and

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198 Kulikov, personal communication.
because subject is marked before object, bya- occurs before no-. 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 kabjasonajmo, '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) hapri kə no-mtʃuk-w
snake PR AF/PFT-bite-3s
He was bitten by a snake.

(374) hapri kə a-byə-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 kabjasonajmo 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 bya- for action by the subject towards the subject:

(375) kabjamgu
be self satisfied
nanjo ndo sok tə-bjamgu ma-haʔw
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 ŋa ma-fi-ŋ
NOM-REFL-kill-3s 3s:GEN-male c I NEG-know-1s
I don't know the man who killed himself.
f. **Reciprocity: `ŋa- 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 Jiàomùzú is expressed either by `ga- 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 `ga- 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) \(\eta a\ kʰə\ na-sat-\eta-\sigma-\text{n}t\)  
I dog kill-1s OBS-REC-RED-kill-3p
I'll kill the dog. They are killing each other.

(380) \(\eta a\ kafe\ rga\)-\eta-\sigma  
I coffee like-1s
I like coffee.
\(\eta a\ kafe\ rga\)-\eta-\sigma-\text{n}t\)  
They love each other.

(381) kam\əmto  
meet, see
\(tsʰ\text{otsʰo\ ma}-\text{ka-tə-ŋa-məmto-ndʒ}\)  
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).
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) wuɲo 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) wuɲo ɲi-ŋgi-j na-ŋa-ʔboʔ-ʔboʔ-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 kaŋaleʔt, '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 that simply ‘they fought’:

(385a) wuɲo-ŋo na-ŋa-la-laʔt-jn
      he PFT-REC-RED-fight₂-3p
They fought.

(385a) wuɲo 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 Jiāomúzú 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, *kaŋambəməmbəm*, ‘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 *kawambəməmbəm*, ‘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-pəmbəm na-wa-mbo-mbom-j
New.Year 3s:GEN-time-LOC 1p:GEN-gift PFT-REC-RED-give-1p
At New Year’s we gave each other gifts.

\[(388)\] ɲəŋo ɲi-ŋgi-j ka-wa-le-leʔt ma-haʔw
you 2p:GEN-inside-LOC INF-REC-RED-hit NEG-good
It’s wrong of you to fight among yourselves.

\[(389)\] cəno kafitə wa-mambɔ-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. 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’. 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. The Jiāomùzú dialects employ an impersonalising marker ɲa-, which is homophonous to the reciprocity marker ɲa-. However, marking with impersonalising ɲa- prohibits person and number

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201 Siewierska (2008).
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 *kasətaktak*, ‘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, *tətʰa*, ‘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 *tətʰa*, ‘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 *tətʰa*. 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  tətʰa  to-sə-taktak-ŋ*  
I book PFT/OR:upwards-CAUS-pile-1s  
I stacked the books.

(390b)  
*ŋa  ŋ-ətʰa  kəʒ u  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  tətʰa  to-so-ŋa-taktak*  
I book PFT/OR:upwards-CAUS-IMPS-pile  
They had me pile up books.

(390d)  
*ŋa  ŋ-ətʰa  kəʒ u  tə to-so-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 (390c) 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 (390d) 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:

470
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 təgyo ‘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 təgyo, 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-ɲi kə bandzaŋə to-a-sə-va-ʒn
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-əndʒiʔ slopma-ɲi kə bandzaŋə to-a-sə-va-ʒn
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 slopmanj, ‘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 ɲa-, and there is no marking for non-direct evidentiality:

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204 Siewierska (2008: 125).
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 slopmaɲi, ‘the students’ as an impersonal argument. Though marker kə gives the subject prominence to balance the object wandʒiʔ, 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:

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 ɲa- defocusses the actor from a specific agent mbọrtʃu to a non-specific agent mbọrtʃu. Here is another example along the same lines:

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 ɲa- 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 ɲa- 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:
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 Jiǎomùzú sentence is active:

(395) taʃu ʃe-j əŋos ʃe-j ʃo ə-ŋa-ta? əŋos
   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 ʃeʃ o kaŋata? əŋos 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 əŋa- 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) əŋa kam ə-ŋa-po-ŋ
   I shut the door.

(396b) əŋa kam ə-’a-po-ŋ
   I shut the door.

(396c) kam ə-ŋa-po
   The door shut.

(396d) kʰalu ka-va əŋa kam zək ə-ŋa-po
   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 nga. 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) kʰalu kə kam na-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 nga. 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 nga- leads to ungrammatical structures. Marking with kə indicates a known agent while marker nga- indicates an unknown agent. The semantics clash:

(398) * kʰalu kə kam naŋapo

Sun has written about impersonalising marker nga- as a marker for generic human arguments in Cǎodêng. Sun does not give information about the use of nga- 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. 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 kanə⁹jup, ‘sleep’ in (399a) is tapuʔ, child. In (339b) the form kasəŋjup, ‘put to bed’ which is marked for causativity with so-, a new subject amo, ‘mother’ is added, while tapuʔ, the original subject, becomes an object:

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205 Sun (2005: 13, 14).
206 Kulikov (2010: 386).
(399a) kanəjup  sleep  tapuʔ  'na-ŋəjup  
child  OBS-sleep  
The child is sleeping.

(399b) kasənəjup  put to sleep, put to bed  
amo  kə  tapuʔ  sə-ŋəjup  
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 ūa-/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 təjul, ‘water’ of (400a) becomes the object of (400b) when the new subject bKra-shis is added:

(400a) təjul  'na-mpja  
water  OBS-luke.warm  
The water is luke-warm.

(400b) pkraʃis  təjul  kəsəsə  '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:
The original noun then takes the position of direct object of the causative verb. In example (401b) the original noun is \( \text{tat}^\text{b}\text{a} \), ‘book’. The causative verb is \( \text{kar}^\text{b}\text{a} \), marked with ra- 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 causitivisation 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 from. In (401c) the involuntary reciprocal verb \( \text{kanga}\text{pʃu} \) means ‘grinding against each other’, as stones in a river do. The verb has a subject but not an agent. The verb \( \text{kavazdor} \) 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) \( \text{tat}^\text{b}\text{a} \) \( \text{book} \)
* \( \text{kat}^\text{b}\text{a} \)
\( \text{kar}^\text{b}\text{a} \) go to school, have class, study

\[\text{nɔŋo sakɔ-ŋkʰu-j tɔ-rat^b\text{a}-n me you noon-behind-LOC 2-have.class-2s INTR}\]
Do you have class in the afternoon?

(402b) \( \text{kanga}\text{pʃu} \) grind, involuntary, vi
* \( \text{kazdor} \)
\( \text{kavazdor} \) grind [something], vt, voluntary

\[\eta tətʰo 'ka-vazdor-ŋ I grain PRIMP-grind-1s I'm grinding grain.\]

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 Jiǎomùzú the set sa-/sa- is very productive while ra-/ra- and va-/vo- 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

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found this for Jiǎomùzú. 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*:

\[(403a)\]  
\[\text{tatʰa kəʒu tə-kro-w me}\]  
\[\text{book all C 2-distribute-2s INTR}\]  
Will you distribute all the books?

\[\text{tatʰa kəʒu tə-sə-kro-w me}\]  
\[\text{book all C 2-CAUS-distribute-2s INTR}\]  
Will you have all the books distributed?

\[(403b)\]  
\[\text{nənə tascoh kəʃtə tə-vəja-w}\]  
\[\text{You letter when 2-fetch-2s}\]  
When will you pick up the letter?

\[\text{nənə tascoh kəʃtə tə-sə-vəja-w}\]  
\[\text{you letter when 2-CAUS-fetch-2s}\]  
When will you have the letter picked up

\[(403c)\]  
\[\text{nənə təŋnok ma-tə-va-w}\]  
\[\text{you bread Q-2-do-2s}\]  
Will you make bread?

\[\text{nənə təŋnok ma-tə-sə-va-w}\]  
\[\text{you bread Q-2-CAUS-do-2s}\]  
Will you have bread made?

\[(403d)\]  
\[\text{tatʰa tʃe-j ma-tə-teʔ-w}\]  
\[\text{book here-LOC Q-2-do,2s}\]  
Will you put the books here?

\[\text{tatʰa tʃe-j ma-tə-sə-teʔ-w}\]  
\[\text{book here-LOC Q-2-CAUS-do,2s}\]  
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 tətʰot ʰkə-va-ndzor-η
I grain PRIMP-CAUS-grind-1s
I’m grinding grain.

(404b) ŋa tətʰot ʰkə-sə-va-ndzor-η
I grain PRIMP-CAUS-CAUS-grind-1s
I’m having my grain ground.

(404c) ŋa pkraʃis tətʰot ʰkə-sə-va-ndzor-η
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, kanaŋpa, ‘lose (in a fight or game)’ marked for direct causative with rə- results in karanaŋpa, ‘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 kafaʃaʃpiʔi, ‘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 kəmniiʔ is intransitive and has no agent. Adding the direct causativity marker va- leads to the dynamic verb kəvəmniiʔ, 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:

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208 Jacques (to appear); Sun 2006.
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:

(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)

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:

(406) kavameʔk extinguish; turn off
karameʔk extinguish; turn off

(407) kəmpja luke-warm
karampja make luke-warm
kavampja make luke-warm

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 Pāerbā dialect this verb takes the marker \( ra- \): karakʃok, 'cause to be unplugged'. In Kǒnglóng this marker is not allowed. Instead, \( ə- \) 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

(408) kanŋa lose (a fight) karanŋa be conquered
kazdak have difficulty karazdak maltreat
kəraʔm dry karəкраʔm dry in the sun
komaʔk messy; wrong karəkamaʔk make a mess

(409) kaji plant, sow kavaji augment, increase
kasəkriʔn long kavəskriʔn make long(er), stretch
kasca early, before kavəscə arrive early; be early
kasuk dense kavasuk tighten
kəmniʔ few, little kavamniʔ become less, decrease
the case it is remarkable that only one form exists in each dialect, rather than both. Another example is \textit{katszoʔ}, 'fat'. The meaning 'fatten' in Xiǎojīn dialect\textsuperscript{209} is arrived at by adding ra-: \textit{karaktsoʔ}. However, in Jiǎomùzú \textit{sə} is used: \textit{katszoʔ}. In both cases the patient is non-human.

Both \textit{sa}- and \textit{sə} occur frequently in Jiǎomùzú verbs to form causative structures. Adding one of these markers adds an implicit or explicit agent:

\begin{verbatim}
(410) kəvakəru clean (vi, ADJ) kasaksəru clean; delete (vt)
kəpsəʔt alike, similar kasəpsəʔt compare
katəɾəru connect (vi) kasatəɾəru connect (vt)
kanəna rest kasənəna stop, cease
kənu sit; live kasənu entertain, cease
kəwaʔt dress, put on clothes kasəwaʔt dress (someone)
kəjoʔk finish, run out kasəjoʔk finish something
kəscit comfortable kasəscit make sb. comfortable
kənkaʔr dirty kasənkaʔr make sth. dirty
(411) kanəŋup sleep kasəŋup put to bed
kasat kill kasəsat have someone killed
kəfəmo steal kasəfəmo have someone steal sth.
kəlok graze livestock kasəlok have someone graze livestock
katseʔp take kasətseʔp send (with someone)
\end{verbatim}

Rather rare, at least in my data, is the occurrence of the causative markers \textit{ʃə}- and \textit{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 \textit{s}-. Jīn Péng\textsuperscript{210} 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, \textit{kaʃərwəs}, 'help to get up' and \textit{kaʃɨɾwətʃi}, 'help to walk'. In checking these examples, I found the following:

\begin{verbatim}
(412) kəvətʃi walk
kəʃɨɾtʃi go to walk
kasəvətʃi make [someone] walk
(413) karwas get up
kəʃɚwəs make [someone] get up
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{209} Professor Āwàng, personal communication.

\textsuperscript{210} Jīn (1958: 83).
In my own data I have examples such as:

(414)  kaʃptaʔk  memorise
       kaʃavlu  make someone go slower; delay someone
       kaʃapki  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 fa-/fa- set.

Causative markers should not be confused with viewpoint marker fū-. The difference is clear in forms such as kaʃʃʃmo, 'go to steal' as opposed to kasəʃʃmo, 'get someone to steal'. Quite interesting is the form kasəʃʃʃmo, '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 kasəʃʃmo are acceptable to some speakers, but not to all. Another marker that might cause confusion is kaʃə or kaʃə-, used to signal some forms of reciprocity, usually in nouns but in some verbs as well, such as kaʃawandʁiʔ, 'be [each other's] friends'. That aside, both of the verbs quoted by Jīn 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) hajtʃəna-raʔm  pepper OBS-dry

The peppers are drying.

(415b) koʃəhajtʃəna-so-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) slopmaitəna-ndon-w  student book OBS-read-3s

The student is reading a book.

\(^{211}\) Kulikov (2001: 892).
The teacher makes the student read a book.

And finally examples of ditransitive verbs marked for causativity:

(417a) pkraʃis lhamo poŋeʔj 'na-sə-mbu?-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-mbu?-w
    boss PR bKra.shis lHa.mo money OBS-CAUS-give-3s
    The boss makes bKra-shis give lHa-mo some money.

(418a) jarpo kə pkraʃis təmpa 'na-sə-rjaʔ-w
    king PR bKra.shis field OBS-VPT-lend-3s
    The king leases a field to bKra-shis.

(418b) taʒi kə jarpo pkraʃis təmpa 'na-sə-rjaʔ-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 jarpo pkraʃis təmpa 'na-sə-rjaʔ-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
    ka-va-jí increase, add
    ka-sə-va-jí cause [someone] to add [something]

(420) ka-nja
    ka-ra-nja conquer
    ka-sə-ra-nja make [someone] conquer [somebody]
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-so-raʔm dry something
ka-ro-kraʔm dry something in the sun
* kakraʔm
* karəskraʔm
ka-so-ro-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-sə-so-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 ga-:

(424) təskruʔ body
kəməskruʔ pregnant
kasəməskruʔ make pregnant; knock up
* kamasəskruʔ
(425) kapʰət throw
    kanopʰət lose something; throw away
    kaŋampʰət disperse, spread

(426) kənagnat ill at ease
    kasonagnat make someone uncomfortable
    * kanasagnat

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
    kanasco ride (implied object)
    kasonasco make someone ride
    kapjasonasco carry someone piggyback

(428) kasat kill
    kanasat kill someone oneself
    kasoasat have someone kill
    kasonasat have someone kill somebody
    kanjasatsat kill each other
    kasonjasasat get [people] to kill each other
    kabjasat commit suicide
    kasobjasat get someone to kill himself

(429) kaŋapkiʔ hide oneself
    kanapkiʔ hide [something] from someone
    kaŋapkiʔ hide something
    kaŋəapkiʔ get somebody to hide something
    kasonapkiʔ 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
    kasavamniʔ lessen; cause to decrease (vt)
The verb *kavamni*', 'become less', is non-intentional and intransitive. Adding *n*- to add a patient generates an ungramatical structure, since the act of decreasing is intransitive here and cannot have an object or patient. However, it is possible to add *s*- 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 *kaʃmo*, ‘steal’ can be marked for viewpoint with *ʃi-, leading to *kaʃismo*, ‘go and steal’. When the root verb *kaʃmo* is marked for causativity by *s*- the derived verb is *kasəʃmo*, ‘cause to steal, get someone to steal something’. Combining viewpoint and causativity marking gives two options:

(431) kaʃismo  go and get someone to steal something
    kasəʃismo  get someone to go and steal something

In the first verb, *kaʃismo*, the subject goes to perform the action of inciting someone to steal. The causativity marker *s*- covers the scope of *ʃmo, steal, while viewpoint marker *ʃi- covers the scope *səʃmo, ‘cause to steal’. In the second verb the viewpoint marker only covers *ʃmo, ‘steal’, while *s*- covers the scope of *ʃiʃmo."

7.9 Mood

a. Introduction

The Jiăomûzú 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

Jiăomûzú employs three negative markers, *ma-, mə- and ʃ-. Generally speaking, *ma- is used in non-past tense and imperfective aspect situations, *mə- occurs with imperatives, resulting in prohibitives, and *ʃ- 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) soʃnu jontan krəŋ ma-vi
    tomorrow Yon-tan maybe NEG-come₁
    Yon-tan might not come tomorrow. (Maybe Yon-tan will not come tomorrow.)

(433) nəŋo mə-tə-lʃi-n
    you PROH-2-go₁-2s
don't go!

(434) pəʃir sloppən ki jì-vu
    yesterday teacher one NEG/PFT-come₂
    Yesterday one of the teachers did not come.

Jìāomùzú also has two negative verbs, miʔ and maʔk. The negative existential verb miʔ is the opposite of ndoʔ, 'have', and can be paraphrased as 'S does not have x'. The negative linking verb maʔk is the opposite of the existential verb ŋos, 'be', and means 'S is not x':

(435a) wuʃo kapaʔ maʔk
      he Chinese not.be
      He is not Chinese.

(435b) wuʃo poneʔj miʔ
      he money not.have
      He doesn't have money.

I give a more extensive description of negation in Jìāomùzú in section 8.1 of the chapter on sentences below.

c. Interrogatives

Jìāomùzú has three different means for forming interrogatives. Polar questions are constructed by prefixing ma- to the verb phrase or by employing question marker me in sentence final position. The two forms of interrogative marking differ in scope, with ma- 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 ma-, since they are part of the verb morphology, but here is just one example to demonstrate the use of me.

486
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) ŋa tascok mə-leʔt-ŋ
I letter Q-write₁-1s
Do I write the letter?

(438) nəŋo-ndʒ mə-tə-tʃʰi-ndʒ
you-2d Q-2-go₁-2d
Will the two of you go?

(439) jini wuŋo-ŋo mə-mbuʔ-ʃ
we:e he-p Q-give-1p
Shall we give it to them?

d. Imperative and exhortative constructions

Imperatives in Jiăomùzú 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 subjection.

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 katʰoʔ, 'ask', which has –tʰʔ 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:
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 ko ŋa bawbaw w-ɑŋgi-m bKrashis PR I bag house 3s:GEN-inside-LOC AF/PFT-CAUS-put2-1s
bKrashis had me put the bag in the house.

(446b) praʃis ko ŋa bawbaw w-ɑŋgi-m bKrashis PR I bag house 3s:GEN-inside-LOC AF/PFT-CAUS-put2-1s
bKrashis 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, bKrashis 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:
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 təɟəm to-sə-va-ŋ
    I    house    PFT-CAUS-do-1s
    I had a house built.

(448b) ŋa təɟəm 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 Jiāomǔzú. All imperatives for actions with ongoing duration, whether expressing posture or activity, are formed with the normal orientation markers and the addition of manju, 'still, again':

(449) manju? na-ˈŋu-n  manju? na-ˈrdzwa-w
    still    IMP-sit-2s    still    IMP-dig1-2s
    keep sitting!    keep digging!

Polite imperatives, often used in requests and invitations, are formed with a combination of interrogative marker ma- and negation marker ma-:

(450) tətʰa  伢-əpʰa-j  məma-tə-ˈkʰam-w
    book    1s:GEN-vicinity-LOC  IMP:polite-2-give-2s
    Please give me the book.

212 Lin (2000: 82, 83).
Please tell bKra-shis to come to lHa-mo's.

Note that the second person marker ta- 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-ɲu-n məma-tə-ɲu-n
  IMP-sit-2s IMP:emp-2-sit-2s
  (please,) sit down (will you) sit still, please!

- (452b) to-ndza-w məma-tə-ndza-w
  IMP-eat-2s IMP:emp-2-eat-2s
  (please) eat (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 to-ndza-w məma-tə-ndza-w
  eat IMP-eat-2s IMP-2-eat-2s
  Eat! Please eat!

- kaksor məma-tə-ksor-jn
  eat, HON. IMP-2-eat:HON-2:HON
  Please eat!

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 ta- remains in place:
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, Jiăomùzú employs irrealis constructions to form jussives:

(456) tamtʰem ŋ-aci a-ka-ʔksər-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-ta-ʔʃʰi-na mə-poneʔj ma-ta-ʔjma-ʔ je
    PROH-2-shy PROH-2-money PROH-2-go1-2s PROH-2-forget-2s MD:R
Don't be shy! 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 mə-:

(458) ma-ka-tʃʰi məmasano poneʔj ma-ka-jmə məmasano
    NEG-NOM-go1  HON money NEG-NOM-forget  HON
Please, don't go. Please don't forget the money.

The Jiăomùzú dialects have no special marking to express exhortative meanings. Usually exhortative type meanings are expressed by imperatives or prohibitives:

(459) mə-to-na'ʃrak
    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.
Let's go up the mountain.

Let's go!

Let's ask the teacher.

Within Jiāomùzú Township there is one village, Shíjiāng\textsuperscript{213} 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:

\begin{align*}
(463a) & \text{nə-mbro to-nəʃco-n} & (463b) & \text{nə-mbro ta-nəʃco-n} \\
2s-horse & \text{IMP-ride-2s} & 2s-horse & \text{EXH-ride-2s} \\
\text{Ride your horse!} & & \text{How about riding your horse.}
\end{align*}

\textit{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 na, 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':

\begin{align*}
(464) & \text{təmu mə-na-laʔt} & \text{ro} & \text{jino w-əmpbi} & \text{ma-təʃbi-j} \\
\text{rain} & \text{COND-PFT-hit2} & \text{CON} & \text{we:e} & \text{3:GEN-outside NEG-go,1p} \\
\text{If it rains, we won't go out.}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{213} 石江, ցང་དེར. Icags-'ndzer.
(465) ɲəɲə tʃike kamoʔt ɲə-si mə-na-vi rə ɲəɲə
you something drink 2:GEN-heart COND-PFT-come1 CON you
If you want something to drink, please help yourself.

na-ʃi-ˈrko-w
IMP-VPT-EREFL-pour-2s

(466) ɲəɲə ndə w-apid mə-na-top-w rə ɲə w-ʌmo
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-ʌmpʰ-a-j ㅊas-ɲ
3:-vicinity-LOC say-1s

(467) ndə mə-na-ɲos ɾəna ɲa-ˈtʃʰa-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 š-, the negation marker used in past perfective situations:

(468) so mə-ji-vu nə kʰorlo ma-ʃep ɬna-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) kawɔŋ mə-ji-tə-cʰa-n nə koŋtswɔŋ kanaro mə-ʃɛ-tə-cʰa-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-ji-ləʔt nə w-ʌmpʰi katʃʰi kʰut
rain COND-NEG/PFT-hit2 CON 3s:GEN-outside go can
If it does not rain, we can go out.

(471) mə-ʃi-tʃi rə ka-nəmbri kʰut
COND-NEG/PFT-go2 CON NOM-play possible
If he has not left yet, we can go out.

Interestingly, Bênzhên, a village in the Mậerkâŋ valley, uses ʔi- 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 ma- 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) cʰe ma-kə-ta-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 Căodêng, 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. Sentence (473a) is a
debitive. In the second clause of (473a) the verb phrase is marked with ma- 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) poŋe’j pkraʃis w-ɔmba-j a-’na-tə-teʔ-w raŋraŋ
money bKra.shis 3S:GEN-vicinity-LOC IRR-PFT-2-put-2s other
You should put the money at bKra-shis’, don’t take it elsewhere.

a-ma-tə-’tsep-w
IRR-PROH-2-take-2s

(473b) ŋa ŋə-poneʔj a⁻na-nəʔ tʃe hɔŋjwen 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-poneʔj a-tə-nəʔ tʃe hɔŋjwen 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) nəŋə jontə w-əmpʰa-j kə-tə-sə-s-n a⁻na-ŋəs ʃi
you Yon-tan 3:GEN-vicinity-LOC NOM-2-say-2s IRR-EV-be MD:HON
You should talk to Yon-tan.

(475) nəŋə jontə a-tə-ta⁻1-sə-s-n mənə
you Yon-tan IRR-IMP-2-say-2s CON
How about you talk to Yon-tan....

(476) a⁻na-ŋəs tʃe poneʔj kəməca tʃᵃm kə-ra w-əspə ŋəs
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 tʃa a⁻na-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 kə-ra wəspe ŋəs expresses ‘need to give’, with anəŋəs 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-ja�퀄 a-nə-naʃit wu-smonlam
2s:GEN-holiday  IRR-PFT-comfortable 3s:GEN-wish
Have a good holiday!

(479) jiswanŋi kəwa a-nə-tʃʰaŋ wu-smonlam
computer  exam  do  IRR-PFT-can-1s 3s:GEN-wish
Let me pass the computer exam!

(480) pkraʃis tanbe w-amaʔ kəmtsonŋ kə-miʔ kaməndə bKra.shis Dānbā
3s:GEN-work  trouble  NOM-not  have  arrive
May bKra-shis get to Dānbā safely (without any problems).

(481) nə-mpətsi  n-əŋgo ˈna-məŋtam a-nə-miʔ 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) nəŋo rgambe-pə h-ardo tʃe kə-ʃə-rit-w a-ˈna-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) nəŋo rgambe-pə h-ardu tʃe rə-ˈtseʔp-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-na-ʃi-’pʰot-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) ɲəɲo tʃʰəŋdu ndɔ nəstame b tawo ma-kə-to-ɾi-n a-’na-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,

ndɔ nəstame b j-ama? ma-məca
that like.that 1p-trouble NEG-much
we would not have so much trouble (now)!

g. Quotative

Quotes in Jiǎomùzú 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 sɔŋ nu tʃe və na-cəs
bKra.shis PR bSod-nams tomorrow here come, PFT-say
bKra-shis said that bSod-nams will come tomorrow.

(489) pkraʃis kə lhamo təngli ’na-va-w na-cəs
bKra.shis PR lHa.mo lie OBS-do-3s PFT-say
"lHa-mo is lying," said bKra-shis.
bSod-nams told me to come see you.

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 Jiāomùzú dialects, to my knowledge, have no special marking for submodes in the verb morphology, but use a main clause with a verb such as kassəo, 'believe' or 'think', in combination with an embedded clause which expresses the contents of the subject's thoughts:

(491) ŋa to-saso-ŋ tʃe pkraʃis wastop katsʰoʔ
I PFT-believe-1s NOM bKra.shis very fat
I thought that bKra-shis is very fat.

(492) pkraʃis pecin ji-kə-rji kə-ŋəs 'na-saso-jn
bKra-shis Běijīng PFT-NOM-go NOM-believe-3p
They believe that bKra-shis went to Běijīng.

(493) ŋa ŋə-kpjeŋ tʃe pumo kafʃʰi ma-tso-ŋ 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 natsʰoŋ, ‘fat’ marked for first person singular with -ŋ. 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) wuŋə, ‘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 ŋa, ‘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) pkrajis 'na-tsʰo-ŋa 'na-so-so-w
bKra.shis OBS-fat-1s OBS-think-3s
bKra-shis thinks that he [himself] is fat.

(494b) pkrajis wuo 'na-tsʰo-ŋa 'na-so-so-w
bKra.shis he OBS-fat-1s OBS-think-3s
bKra-shis thinks that he [himself] is fat.

(494c) pkrajis ŋa 'na-tsʰo-ŋa 'na-so-so-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 Jiăomùzú 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.

Jiăomùzú 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 ŋos, ‘be’ and its negative counterpart maʔk, ‘not be’. Copular verbs inflect for all normal verbal categories.

Jiăomùzú has three types of interrogative sentences. Yes-no questions are formed with ma- 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-, ji- and mə- prefixed to the verb phrase. The use of the negative morphemes is syntactically motivated, with ma- occurring in imperfective situations, ji- negates perfectives and mə- signals prohibitives. There are also negative verbs, miiʔ ‘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.

Jiăomùzú 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. Jiăomùzú 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 Jiăomûzú: relative clauses, complement clauses and adverbial clauses.

Relative clauses mostly occur before their heads, though there are also head-internal relative clauses in the Jiăomûzú 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-, ka-* 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 Jiăomûzú’s animacy hierarchy, or when the object is for other reasons more prominent than the subject.

Jiăomûzú 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 Jiăomûzú 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 Jiăomûzú 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 Jiǎomǔzú 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. Jiǎomǔzú 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 nənjo, ‘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 nənjo 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 ˈna-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 nəŋjo, 'you' and tətʰa ki, 'a book' are the objects:

(4) ŋa nəŋjo tətʰa 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) nəŋjo, ‘you’ is the indirect object, in the recipient role, while tətʰa 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 tətʰa tə, ‘the book’, which remains unmarked on the verb:

(5) nəŋjo tətʰa tə kəʃpə 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 kakʰam, ‘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 wəmbaj, ‘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:
I handed bKra-shis a little money.

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:

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:

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 Jiǎomùzú.

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 tajze kəsam, ‘my three older brothers’:

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 tajze 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. Nagano 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

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intransitive. Nagano gives the following example (the transcription is his):

(10) nga nga-mnyak na-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) ndoʔ 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-artzʰot ʰna-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 tarngaʔ, ‘dance’ must be interpreted as the object. The gloss is literally ‘I will do a dance’:

(12) ŋa tarngaʔ va-ŋ
     I dance do-1s
     I will dance.

Turning tarngaʔ into a genitive construction does not change the marking on the verb:

(13) ŋa ŋ-arngaʔ 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', ċartzʰot, 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 Jiāomùzú 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.

But if there is only one semantically plausible choice for the subject, the relative order of noun
phrases becomes free:

(15a) lhamo kʰəzəʔ na-tʃʰop-w
    lHa.mo bowl PFT-broke-3s
    lHa-mo broke the bowl.

(16a) pkraʃis cʰe na-moʔt-w
    bKra.shis beer 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 Jiāomùzú. The process of shifting a noun phrase to a
different position in order to achieve extra emphasis is called topicalisation. Topicalisation in
Jiāomùzú 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." Passives in Jiàomùzú are morphologically distinct from topicalisation. They are marked on the verb by \( g_o \), as discussed in section 7.8.d in the chapter on verbs.

Topicalisation in Jiàomùzú 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 \( \eta a \), ‘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 \( -g \) for first person singular on the verb makes clear that bKra-shis is not the subject but the object:

\[
(17) \quad \eta a \quad \text{kraʃis} \quad k_o-najo-ŋ
\]

\[
I \quad \text{bKra.shis} \quad \text{PFT-wait-1s}
\]

I waited for bKra-shis.

\[
(18) \quad \text{kraʃis} \quad \eta a \quad k_o-najo-ŋ
\]

\[
\text{bKra.shis} \quad I \quad \text{PFT-wait-1s}
\]

It is bKra-shis I waited for.

Marking on the verb is not ambiguous in all transitive relations:

\[
(19) \quad \text{lhamo} \quad \text{kraʃis} \quad k_o-najo-w
\]

\[
\text{lHa.mo} \quad \text{bKra.shis} \quad \text{PFT-wait-3s}
\]

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:

\[
(20) \quad \text{kraʃis} \quad \text{lhamo} \quad k_o-najo-w
\]

\[
\text{bKra.shis} \quad \text{lHa.mo} \quad \text{PFT-wait-3s}
\]

bKra-shis waited for lHa-mo.

If topicalisation causes ambiguity, prominence marker \( k_o \) appears to mark the subject for agentivity. The object remains unmarked:

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Disambiguating subject and object roles by marking for agentivity is one of several functions carried out by prominence marking with ʰə. 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) pkraʃi poŋeʔj lhamo nə-mbuʔ-w
    bKra.shis money lHa.mo PFT-give-3s
    bKra-shis gave the money to lHa-mo.

(24) pkraʃi 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) *? 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 *kʰəʔa, ‘bowl’ is not marked for genitive:

(27) pkraʃis kʰəʔa? na mbu?-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-mbu?-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 Jiǎomùzú, 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 na-mbu?-w
lHa.mo bKra.shis apple PFT-give-3s
lHa-mo gave bKra-shis an apple.

* lhamo pkraʃis pakʃu kə nəmbu?w

(29b) lhamo pakʃu pkraʃis na-mbu?-w
lHa.mo apple bKra.shis PFT-give-3s
lHa-mo gave bKra-shis an apple.

* lhamo pakʃu kə pkraʃis nəmbu?w

(29c) pakʃu kə lhamo pkraʃis na-mbu?-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) * pakṣu kə lhamo pkraʃis kə nəmbuʔw

The Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 soʃ nu 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 Jiāomùzú 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 paʃu kəʃu tə kə-la-cop-w
fire PR chicken all C PFT-NEV-burn-3s
The fire burnt all the chickens.

In Jiāomùzú 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 kʰalu, ‘wind’ and an object kʰorlo, ‘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) kʰalu kə kʰorlo kə-a-tʃwɛk-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) pkrəʃis tɔmtʃuk 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 kʰɔzaʔ kʰ, ‘a bowl’, while in (34b) the same adverb covers the entire statement:

(34a) ŋa lhamo kʰɔzaʔ kʰ kə-a-tʃmbuʔ-ŋ
I lHa.mo bowl IDEF perhaps give-1s
I will give lHa-mo a bowl, perhaps.

(34a) krəŋ ŋa lhamo kʰɔzaʔ kʰ kə-a-tʃmbuʔ-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 makəŋtə 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-əlhə ɡəʃtrə 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 ŋa n-əjeʔm w-əŋgi-j lhamo kɾəŋ
    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

Jiäomûzû 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 Jiäomûzû are ĕos, ‘be’, its negative counterpart maʔk, ‘not be’, and stî, which conveys a condescending sense of ‘be’. In the following overview the examples mostly use ĕos, 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:

\[(40)\] ndô kôpa? ĕos * ndô kôpa?
that Chinese be
He is a Han Chinese.

A copula cannot normally be added to a verbal sentence:

\[(41)\] pøjnu saksô-ŋkʰu? tʰi tə-va-w
today noon-back what 2-do-2s
What are you going to do this afternoon?

* pøjnu saksôŋkʰu? tʰi təvaw ĕos

But the use of ĕos is possible to express a speaker’s certainty or conviction of a statement, giving the statement greater force. In examples (42) and (43) below, ĕos gives emphasis, rather like the addition of ‘does’ in the English gloss of (42) or intonation stress on ‘is’ in (43). When ĕos is used in such an auxiliary or modal way it cannot be marked for person and number:

\[(42)\] pkraʃis ka-nəup ŋa-rɡaʔ-w ĕos
bKra.shis NOM-sleep PRIMP-like-3s be
bKra-shis does like sleeping.

\[(43)\] tsʰoŋ ŋa-va-w ĕos
business PRIMP-do-3s be
He is doing business!

A copular sentence can be embedded in a larger sentence:

\[(44)\] manuʔ rguimb [kəktu ki ĕos] ndôʔ taktʃaŋ ני
besides monastery [big IDEF be] have sTag-tshang call
Besides [that] there is a big monastery called sTag-tshang.

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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) təlʰa  tə kə-vərni  ṣos
   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) ṣa [tə ɲi-ʧiŋəɾə zə ar-ar-سا w-ʧiŋəɾ-i]  ṣos-ʧ
   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 ṣos is a positive linking verb it cannot be negated by using negation markers from the mood category. Prefixing ṣos with non-perfective negation marker ma- does not generate the meaning ‘not be’:

(47) * ndə kəpaʔ maŋos
    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 maʔ while (59) shows an irrealis construction. In (51) prefix na- marks ṣos for past perfective and example (52) has evidentiality marker na:\n
(48) lolo-ɲo kə-neʔk  ṣos-jn
    cat-p NOM-black be-3p
    The cats are black.

(49) ndə kəpaʔ ma-ŋos
    that Chinese Q-be
    Is he a Han Chinese?
You should talk to Yon-tan.

A boy was sitting on the head of the elephant.

This is an apple.

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 *kəŋər*, ‘be changed’ can function as copulas meaning ‘become’.

This will be very tasty indeed once I’ve finished preparing it!

b. **Interrogatives**

The Jiǎomùzú dialects have polar or yes-no questions as well as constituent questions. Polar questions are formed with the interrogative prefix *ma*- 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 *ra*. 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 *ma*- to the verb phrase, as in (55a), or by inserting interrogative particle *me* at the end of a sentence, see (55b):
(55a) nəŋə mə-tə-tʃʰi-n
you Q-2-go₁-2s
Are you going?

(55b) nəŋə mə-tə-tʃʰi-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) nəŋə semcan kə-lok tə-ŋos-jn me təŋak kə-ji tə-ŋos-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:
There are some circumstances under which $m_o$- cannot be prefixed to a verb phrase. In such cases interrogatives are formed with interrogative particle me. The use of $m_o$- is prohibited if the verb phrase is already marked for negation. This holds both for imperfective aspect frames, which are marked for negation by $m_a$-, and for perfective frames which have $ji$-

(58) pkraʃis paʃur 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 paʃur 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 paʃur lhamo wəmbaj pakʃu mənəmbuʔ-w me

(59) pkraʃis paʃnu ma-tʃʰi * pkraʃis paʃnu məmaʃʰi bKra.shis today NEG-go₁ bKra-shis will not go today.

pkraʃis paʃnu ma-tʃʰi me bKra.shis today NEG-go₁ INTR Will bKra-shis not go today?

(60) pkraʃis paʃurtʃə ji-ɾi * pkraʃis paʃurtʃə maɾirɨ bKra.shis the.other.day NEG/PFT-go₂ bKra-shis did not go the other day.

pkraʃis paʃurtʃə ji-ɾi 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 $m_o$- and perfective negation marker $ji$- 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:
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 ŋos 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) nəŋo ʒik tə-tʃʰi-n ma-ŋos
    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) nəŋo ka-tʃʰi na-si ma-ŋa-vi ma-ŋos
      you NOM-go₁ 2s:GEN-heart NEG-OBS-come₁ Q-be
      You don’t want to go, right?

(64b) nəŋo ka-tʃʰi na-si ma-ŋa-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) * nəŋo katʃʰi naši manəvi maŋos 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 kəta, ‘which, who’. These pronouns question subjects, objects and patients. In (67a) tʰi questions the object pəkfu, ‘apples’. In example (67b) si questions the subject ŋa, ‘I’. Sentence (67c) shows kəta 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):

Who wants apples? I.

Which book is it? The blue one.


Where are you? [I’m] downtown.

When wil Yon-tan come? Tomorrow.

He has something to do.
Verbs and verb phrases usually are not questioned. It is possible to question them by employing \( t^\text{hi} \), ‘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 narəno lhamo-ndʒ haiťo '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 narəno lhamo-ndʒ \( t^\text{hi} \) 'na-va-ndʒ
    bKra.shis and lHa.mo-3d what OBS-do-3d
    What are bKra-shis and lHa-mo doing?

*? pkraʃis narəno lhamo-ndʒ \( t^\text{hi} \) 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 narəno lhamo-ndʒ \( t^\text{hi} \) tovəndʒ

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 pəʃur pəʃur 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 pəʃur pəʃur si kə no-top-w
    yesterday bKra.shis who PR:AG AF-hit-3s
    Yesterday bKra-shis was hit by whom?
(73c) si ʃəur pkraʃis no-top-w
top-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 ʃənu vi
Yon-tan tomorrow come_{1}
Yon-tan will come tomorrow.

(74b) si ʃənu vi (74c) si vi (74d) si
who tomorrow come_{1} who come_{1} who
Who will come tomorrow? Who will come? Who?

(74e) yondan kəʃtə vi (74f) kəʃtə vi (74g) kəʃtə
Yon-tan when come_{1} when come_{1} when
When will Yon-tan come? When [will he] come? When?

The Jiāomùzú 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:

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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) ŋa [kʰorlo na-ka-rtsə w-əmə tə] na-mətəŋ
I vehicle PFT-NOM-hit 3s:GEN-person C PFT-see-1s
I saw the man who had been hit by a car.

It is possible to question more than one thing in a sentence:

(77a) pkraʃis pafır kʰəna ki na-mətə-w
bKra.shis yesterday dog IDEF PFT-see-3s
bKra-shis saw a dog yesterday.

(77b) si kəʃtə tʰi na-mətə-w
who when what PFT-see-3s
Who saw what 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 ɾə

On the word, the phrase and the sentence level the conjunction ɾə can occur with non-verbal as well as verbal constituents. In such situations ɾə functions as a question marker. Questions with ɾə 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 ɾə 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 ɾə.

(65) pkraʃis ma-vi me
bKra.shis NEG-come1 INTR
bKra-shis is not coming?

(66) pkraʃis ma-vi ɾə
bKra.shis NEG-come1 INTR/CON
What if bKra-shis doesn’t come?

4. Echo questions

The Jiāomùzú 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) ɳa kʰantʃak-j tʃʰi-ŋ 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.

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In the echoes normally the subject, such as *nənjo*, ‘you’ in (78a) above, is omitted. Also the verb does not have to occur. It is fine to just have the adverbial *kantʃak* 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 *juʔ* indicates the affirmation of a previously known fact:

(79)  
\[ \text{k}^{b}\text{antʃak-j} \quad \text{juʔ} \]  
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)  
\[ \text{nənjo} \quad \text{kantʃak-j} \quad \text{t}^{b}\text{i-ŋ} \quad \text{me} \]  
you street-LOC 2-go1-2s INTR  
Are you going into town?

\[ \text{k}^{b}\text{antʃak-j} \quad \text{me} \]  
street-LOC INTR  
[Am I going] into town?

\[ \text{k}^{b}\text{antʃak-j} \quad \text{juʔ} \]  
street-LOC MD:RA  
[Am I going] into town?

\[ \text{krəŋ} \quad \text{t}^{b}\text{i-ŋ} \]  
perhaps go1-1s  
Perhaps.

(80b)  
\[ \text{pkra}^{}\text{ʃis} \quad \text{t}^{i} \quad \text{w-ət}^{b}\text{e} \quad \text{k}^{b}^{}\text{w} \quad \text{w-əmba-j} \quad \text{ŋjila}^{}\text{k}^{} \quad \text{′na-leʔt-w} \]  
bKra.shis what 3s:GEN-reason dog 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC stone OBS-hit1-3s  
Why is bKra-shis throwing stones at the dog?

\[ \text{si} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{t}^{i} \quad \text{w-ət}^{b}\text{e} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{w-əmba-j} \quad \text{t}^{i} \quad \text{′na-leʔt-w} \]  
who PR:AG what 3s:GEN-reason who 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC what OBS-hit1-3s  
Why is who throwing what at whom?
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 njilak, ‘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) nga nənjo tatʰa mbuʔ-ŋ
     I you book give-1s
     I’ll give you a book.

(81b) nənjo ju?
     you MD:RA
     You’ll give me a book?

(81c) nga ju?
     I MD:RA
     You’ll give me a book?

(81d) tatʰa ju?
     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) nga soʃnu tʃʰi-ŋ
     I tomorrow go₁-1s
     I’m leaving tomorrow.

(82a) soʃnu me
     tomorrow INTR
     You’re leaving tomorrow?

(82b) tʃʰi-n me
tomorrow 2-go₂-2s INTR
     You’re leaving tomorrow?

(82c) nga soʃnu tʃʰi-ŋ
     I tomorrow go₁-1s
     I’m leaving tomorrow.

For compound verbs either the verb or the noun part can be questioned:

(83a) nga ʒala 'kə-leʔt-ŋ
     I layer PRIMP-hit₁-1s
     I’m painting the wall.

(83b) ʒala me
     layer INTR
     You’re painting the wall?

(83c) ʒala '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) ŋa soʃ nu mborke-j tʃʰi-ŋ
I tomorrow Mǎěrkāng-LOC go₁-1s
I’m going to Mǎěrkāng tomorrow.

kəʃɽə kəʃ e ʃʰi-n
when where 2-go₁-2s
You’re going where when?

mborke-j soʃ nu
Mǎěrkāng-LOC tomorrow
To Mǎěrkāng, 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) ŋo ma-tʃʰi-n
you Q-2-go₁-2s [ŋo] tʃʰi-ŋ [ŋo] ma-tʃʰi-ŋ
Are you going? I am (going). I’m not (going).

(85b) ŋo ma-tʃʰi-n
you Q-2-go₁-2s ə əho
Are you going? yes no
Yes. No.

(85c) ŋo ma-tʃʰi-n
you Q-2-go₁-2s * ŋos * maʔk
Are you going?

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 maʔk, ‘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:
The answers ‘yes’, ‘no’ and ‘maybe’ are also used with leading positive and negative questions:

(86) ənə mo-ə-tʃʰi-n ənə tʃʰi-ŋ * ənə
you Q-2-go₁-2s maybe go₁-1s
Are you going? Perhaps.

(87) ənə zik tə-tʃʰi-n la ə əhə ənə 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) ənə ka-tʃʰi no-si ma-na-vi
you INF-go₁ 2s:GEN-heart NEG-OBS-come₁ MD:SA
You don’t want to go, right?

ə əhə ə-no-si ənə tʃʰi ‘na-vi
yes no 1s:GEN-heart perhaps OBS-come₁
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 pkraʃi narənə lhama vi-ndʒ tomorrow bKra.shis and lHa.mo come₁-3d
Tomorrow bKra-shis and lHa-mo will come.

(89b) pkraʃi narənə lhama kaʃtə vi-ndʒ
bKra.shis and lHa.mo when come₁-3d
When will bKra-shis and lHa-mo come?

(89c) kaʃtə pkraʃi narənə lhama 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
\[\text{tonight who come}\]
\[\text{Who is coming tonight?}\]

\[(90b)\] akʰ namkʰa
\[\text{uncle Nam.kha}\]

\[(91a)\] nənəŋ kətə təlʰa ra
\[\text{you which book need}\]
\[\text{Which book do you want?}\]

\[(91b)\] rəŋko w-əmədoʔ kə
\[\text{green 3s:GEN-colour C}\]
\[\text{The green one.}\]

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-ʰ vi-n owe
\[\text{tomorrow early little IMP-come,1-2s okay}\]
\[\text{Come a bit early tomorrow. Okay.}\]

\[(92b)\] ŋa tʃʰi-ŋ ra owe
\[\text{I go,1s need okay}\]
\[\text{I have to go. Okay.}\]

\[(92c)\] ɟuʔ-stso ma-ŋa-ndoʔ ə * owe
\[\text{water-hot Q-OBS-have yes}\]
\[\text{Is there any hot water? Yes.}\]

c. Negative sentences

1. Introduction

The Jiǎomùzú 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 Jiǎomùzú 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 Jiǎomùzú dialects is through the negative morphemes ma-, mə- and ʃi-, 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) nəŋə ma-tə-tʃʰi-n  nə ma-tʃʰi-ŋ
you  Q-2-go₁-2s  I  NEG-go₁-1s
Are you going?  No, I'm not.

(94) nə pəʃur təmor  ja-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-ŋa-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) wuŋə no-to-məto-n  wuŋə ji-no-to-məto-n  [jotoməmtəŋ]
he  AF-3/2-see-2s  he  NEG-AF-3/2-see-2s
He saw you.  He didn't see you.

(97) nə-pəŋgeʔj  na-rtak  nə-pəŋgeʔj  ji-na-rtak  [jartak]
2s:GEN-money  PFT-enough  2s:GEN-money  NEG-PFT-enough
You had enough money.  You did not have enough money.

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In prohibitives GetInt is used in second person forms:

(98) GetInt-tʃʰti-n
      PROH-2-go₁-2s
      Don't go!

(99) GetIntʃʰtʃəʔ tʃə? tə GetInt-ʈə-ˈʈʃʰəʔt-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) wuʃə ma-ːtiʃʰtʃəʔ to-ɕas-ŋ
      he NEG-go₁ PFT-say₁-1s
      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 GetInt prefixed to a negation marker. In most cases the negation marker is ma-:

(101) naːju-n maː-tʃə-ˈʃu-n maː-ma-ːʃu-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 GetInt as used to negate imperatives is identical with the question marker GetInt. Historically, the interrogative may derive from the negation marker. 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. The Jiăomùzú dialects employ different stress patterns to distinguish between the two. 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 GetInt without any stress marking indicate interrogatives:

217 Watters (2004:1, 2).
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.
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 Xiàngróng for Zhuókèjī, and Kin P'eng 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*-.

In the following examples I indicate stress only for the relevant segments.

(102) ənəŋə ma-tə-ʧʰi-n ənəŋə ma-tə-ʧʰi-n
you Q-2-go₁-2s you PROH-2-go₁-2s
Are you going? You don't go!

(103) ənəŋə ma-tə-leʔt-w ənəŋə ma-tə-leʔt-w
you Q-2-hit₁-2s you PROH-2-hit₁-2s
Do you [want to] hit? 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.

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In the following examples I indicate stress only for the relevant segments.

(104a) no ma-tə-ʧʰi-n ndəŋə tʃʰi-ŋ
you NEG-2-go₁-2s if I go₁-1s
If you don't go, I will.

(104b) no ma-tə-ʧʰi-n
you PROH-2-go₁-2s
Don't go!

(104c) no ma-tə-ʧʰi-n mən (əŋə)
you NEG-2-go₂-2s INTR
You didn't go?

(104d) no tʃʰa wutə ma-tə-ɪmut-w
you tea that PROH-2-drink-2s
Don't drink that tea!

(104e) no tʃʰa wutə ma-tə-mut-w mən (ə-ŋə)
you tea that NEG-2-drink-2s Q
You didn't drink that tea?

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221 Kin (1949: 283). Lǐxiàn was called Tsa-kou-nao at the time of Kin's study.
(104f) no tʃʰa wutə ə-tə-mut-w
    you tea this Q-2-drink-2s
  Will you drink this tea?

(104g) no tʃʰa wutə ma-tə-mut-w mən (ə-ŋə)
    you tea this NEG-2-drink-2s Q
  Won't you drink this tea?

(104h) no tʃʰa wutə na-tə-mut-2 ə-ŋə
    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 Xiǎojin dialect the confusion would be between normal negative markers and negative imperative markers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Xiǎojin</th>
<th>Jiǎomùzú</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>ə-</td>
<td>mə-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG/IMP</td>
<td>mə-</td>
<td>mə-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG/PST</td>
<td>mə-</td>
<td>j-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG/PR</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) wuō smonbe maʔk
    he doctor not.be
  He is not a doctor.

(105b) wuō w-apuʔ mɨʔ
    he 3s:GEN-child not.have
  He has no children.

223 Kin (1949: 283).
The letter is not in the mailbox.

I seldom eat meat.

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 Jiǎomùzú 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, miʔ and maʔk. The verb miʔ, 'not have, not exist, there is no...' is a negative existential verb, the opposite of the existential verb ndoʔ, 'have, exist'. The verb maʔk, 'not be, x is not z' is a negative linking verb, the opposite of the linking verb ṣos, '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.

Have you eaten?   Not yet.

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.
(108) ʔuʔ-stso mə-ndoʔ
ddoʔ
niʔ?
water-hot Q-have have not.have
Is there any hot water? There is. There isn't.

(109) tʃəʔ pkraʃis wu-saʔup mə-ŋos ŋos maʔk
this bKra.shis 3s:GEN-bed Q-be be not.be
Is this bKra-shis' bed? It is. No, it isn't.

The negative verbs inflect, like normal verbs, for tense, aspect, number and person, and can occur with question marker mə-:

(110) bawbaw w-əngi-j ʒik ŋə-miʔ
bag 3s:GEN- inside-LOC also OBS-have.not
They also were not in the bag.

(111) nəŋo sloppən tə-maʔk-n me
you teacher 2-not.be-2s INTR
Are you not a teacher?

(112) ʃəʔ kəʔ w-əkə-j mə-ŋə-miʔ
paper 3s:GEN-bottom-LOC Q-OBS-not.have
Are they not under the papers?

The negative verbs are used in their infinitive form to negate sentences with a complement clause:

(113) ŋa ˈtʰi ʒik to-kə-va-ŋ miʔ
I what also PFT-NOM-do-1s not.have
I didn't do anything at all.

(114) wujo paʃurtə laktʃe to-kə-kə-w maʔk
he the.other.day thing PFT-NOM-buy-3s not.be
[These are] not the things he bought a few days ago.

The verb miʔ is used to form negative existentials, there is no other way of doing that:

(115a) ʔuʔ-stso
water-hot
hot water
The water isn't hot. (hasn't boiled yet)
That is not hot water. (…it is tea)

There is no hot water.

4. Constituent and sentential negation

Constituent negation is possible in the Jiāomùzú dialects but the extent is limited due to the restrictions on the use of the negative morphemes ma-, mə- and ɟi-. 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 Jiāomùzú. To negate any constituents other than verbs a negative verb must be used. This makes the scope of the negation sentential.

I don't like spicy food.

I like non-spicy food.

I don't like non-spicy food.

Dutch food is not at all 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) ṇa ma-ka-mertsap ma-ka-rgaʔ-ŋ 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.

(119b) pakʃu ka-mem 'nα-mi?
apple NOM-tasty OBS-not.have
There are no tasty apples.

(119c) pakʃy kargi ʒik ma'-nα-mem
apple one also NEG-OBS-tasty
Not even one apple tastes good.

(119d) pakʃu kargi ʒik ma-ka-mem 'nα-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) šwepʰin车展 w-əngi-j juʔ-stso ndoʔ
thermos 3S:GEN-inside-LOC water-hot have
There is hot water in the thermos.

(120b) šwepʰin车展 w-əngi-j juʔ-stso 'nα-miʔ
ermos 3S:GEN-inside-LOC water-hot OBS-not.have
There is no hot water in the thermos.
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 emphasizes the nominalised verb kandoʔ, ‘be home’ rather than the subject ‘he’:

(121a) wujo pəʃur ji-a-vi
      he yesterday NEG/PFT-NEV-come1
      He didn't come yesterday.

(121b) wujo pəʃur ji-kə-vi maʔk
      he yesterday PFT-NOM-come1 not.be
      It wasn't yesterday that he came.

(122a) jontan məndoʔ? ma-ndoʔ?
      Yon-tan Q-have NEG-have
      Is Yon-tan home? No, he isn't.

(122b) jontan məndoʔ? 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) wujo ma-vi 'kə-səso-ŋ
      he NEG-come1 PRIMP-think-1s
      I think he will not come.
I don't think he will come.

I don't like for him to eat fish.

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:

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 Jiăomûzú dialects.

7. Adverbs, expressives and quantifiers

Adverbs, expressives and quantifiers in Jiăomûzú are negated in the usual way for non-verb phrase constituents, by negative verbs.
There are no inherently negative quantifiers like 'nobody', 'nothing', or inherently negative adverbs such as 'nowhere', 'never', in the Jiăomùzú dialects. To express that kind of meaning Jiăomùzú also uses the negative verbs as discussed above:

(129) \text{w-amaʔ miʔ}  \\
3s:GEN-business not.have  \\
He has nothing to do.

(130) \text{wu-kə-nargaʔ miʔ}  \\
3s:GEN-NOM-like not.have  \\
No-one likes her.

(131) \text{wu-sa-tʃʰi miʔ}  \\
3s:GEN-NOM-go₁ not.have  \\
He has nowhere to go.

(132) \text{sa-nəna to-a-miʔ}  \\
NOM-rest PFT-NEV-not.have  \\
There was nowhere to sit down (and rest). (There was no place to sit down.)

The Jiăomùzú dialects do not make use of explicit indefinites:

(133) \text{tətʰaʔ mə-na-ndoʔ}  \\
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 ŋik, '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 Jiăomùzú 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) \text{kərgi ŋik ma-na-rama-jn}  \\
one also NEG-EREFL-labour-3p  \\
There aren't any working in the fields.

(135) \text{kərgi ŋik ji-a-vi}  \\
one also NEG/PFT-NEV-come₁  \\
nobody came.
All the farmers work in the fields today.

None of the farmers worked in the fields.

Not all the farmers worked in the fields.

Not even one farmer worked in the fields.

The building is not at all tall.

I didn't see anything at all.

There is no difference between specific and non-specific subjects or negative partitives:

A man didn't come. / One man didn't come.

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 ʒak, '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) ʒak ɻanjinjuwan² ʧʰi ʃi
time cinema go₁ MD:HON
He often goes to the cinema.

(146) ɻanjinjuwan² ʒak ʃ-kə-tʃʰi maʔk
cinema time NOM-go₁ not.be
He doesn't often go to the cinema

(147) ʒak 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 ʒak tʃe, 'always' with a negative verb. A specific adverb, wukʰwoj, is used in combination with the regular verb phrase negator ma-. The adverb wukʰwoj 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) wukʰwoj tawu ma-moʔt-ŋ
always smoke NEG-drink-1s
I never smoke.

(149) wukʰwoj ɻanjinjuwan² ma-rəmpo
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 ʒik, 'also', and a negative morpheme, or ʒik and a negative verb:

(150) ma-nə-stsi ʒik ma-nə-məʃtak ʒik
NEG-OBS-hot also NEG-OBS-cold also
Neither cold nor hot.
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:

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:

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 kasəndor means ‘to get someone to take something on one's behalf’.

Who, apart from (unless it is) lHa-rgyal, can teach Tibetan?

The verb kasəndor 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?

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 *miʔ* cannot be used to answer a question with a linking verb like *ŋos*. The negative *əhə* can be used in all contexts.

(156) jontan ma-ndoʔ?  miʔ?    *maʔk    əhə  
Yon-tan  Q-have  not.have  not.be  no  
Is Yon-tan home?  No.  No.

(157) juʔ-stso ma-ŋos  *miʔ?    maʔk    əhə  
water-hot  Q-be  not.have  not.be  no  
Is this hot water?  No.  No.

(158) nəŋə n-ajo  ma-ˈna-tə-mato-w  
you  1s:GEN-key  Q-OBS-2s-see-2s  
Have you seen my keys?

  ?  miʔ?    * maʔk    əhə  
not.have  not.be  no  
No.

In example (158) the question might be answered with *miʔ*, 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 Jiāomùzú 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) nəŋə sofnu to-ˈʃi-n  
you  tomorrow  IMP-go₁-2s  
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) nəŋə oʃnu mə-tə-ˈtʃʰi-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) məma-tə-ndza-w
   IMP:POLITE-2-eat-2s
   Please eat!
(161b) məma-tə-ksor-jn
   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 ˈna-tə-sojoʔk-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-ˈkʰam-w
   IRR-IMP-2-hand-2s
(162b) təɟuʔ 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 Shǐjiāng 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) tʃʰi-dʒ
   go₁-1d
   Let’s go!

Imperatives can be part of embedded sentences as well as main clauses. Example (164) is from the A-myis Sgo-ldong story, see Text 1 at the end of this study. A-myis 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-ˈvi-n
2s:GEN-father 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC down upstream-LOC one IMP-come-2s
‘Tell your father to come down!’; he said,….

na to-ˈcəs na-cəs kʰonə
CON IMP-say PFT-say CON

**e. Exclamations and quotes**

Jiăomüzú 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 ˈna-mpʃər n-ənge kərek ˈna-mpʃər
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) wujo kə [waŋmo ma-ˈna-mpʃər] na-ˈa-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 *kanakʰo*, ‘shout’, and *tacwer kaleʰt*, ‘scream’. Quotes can be very long and encompass strings of clauses or even sentences:

(167) ndə w-əza w-əmba-j njə nj-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 kʰonə ndə si ka-cəs to 'na-ŋos
always NOM-VPT-say CON that NOM-say CON EV-be
who that is.”

kɔrek na-ʃi-na'iso-w to-kə-cəs na-ŋos
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 ma-vi pkraʃis kə na-tʰo?
Yon.tan Q-come1 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 njə nj-əmba-j so ma-vi na-cəs
bKra.shis I 1s:GEN-vicinity-LOC tomorrow NEG-come1 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 Jiǎomùzú 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.
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 to bdat to kʰəvok kəŋgu təʃcək 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-əngi-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

cəŋba kəŋgu m̥pʰjar w-ərka nə kə-m̥pʰjar kəŋgu 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-təʔ // w-ərka-j m̥e^hortən kəŋgu təʃcək 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. Jiāomùzú has five coordinating conjunctions. The English ‘and, or, but’ roughly equal Jiāomùzú’s non-temporal conjunctions narənə, merə and korənə respectively. Jiāomùzú 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 or 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 coktse na-kʰrət-w] narənə [tarət 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 coktse na-kʰrət-w] narənə [tarət 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-ʰna-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 coktse 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-ʰna-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, Jiāomùzú employs correlative conjunctions such as 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:
The correlative conjunction in (173) is based on the adverb ŋik, ‘also’. The Jiāomùzú dialects have a number of adverbs that can function as conjunctions, such as manjiʔ, ‘moreover, besides’, mafki, ‘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 ʒanʃə ə-kə-namŋo-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 kaku makəndə kə-leʔt ən-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 ma-na-maʔk nə peciŋ tjʰi-ŋ ma-na-maʔk nə tʃə-j
    I COND-PFT-not.be CON Běijīng go-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 wuṭʰe, ‘for that reason’:

(177) kawʂə⁵⁷ ka-va kə-ra w-ətʃʰe pkraʃis kə-cʰe makəndra 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-vətʃʰi '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 kəmphasis, ‘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 nda tə 'na-mpʃer // ŋna ku-ŋ
dbag that C OBS-beautiful // I buy-1s
That bag is beautiful, I’ll buy it.

Jiǎomùzú 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) koŋanju₃⁴-ɲo ji-¹-a-vi-jn // pkraʃis kə-ŋo-vəjja //
police-p PFT-NEV-come₁-3p // bKra.shis PFT-PAS-fetch //
The police came, bKra-shis was caught and he was put in jail.

kʰraŋkʰe kə-ŋo-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:
bKra-shis bought a book, put it in his bag, and when he had come home

he put it on the table.

The Jiāomǔzú 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, Jiāomǔzú 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 A-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:

(180) pkraʃis tatʰa ki to-ku-w // bawbaww w-ɔŋgi-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-naja tʃe tajεʔm w-ɔŋgi-j coktsɔ w-aka-j
PFT-go.home LOC house 3s:GEN-inside-LOC table 3s:GEN-top-LOC
he put it on the table.

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:

(181) kə-kə-rji-jn na-ka-ŋos ka-cəs 'na-ŋos
PFT-NOM-go_{2}-3s:HON PFT-NOM-be NOM-say EV-be
[And so] he set out, it is said.

kə-rji-jn tʃəʔ tʃe na…..
PFT-go_{2}-3s:HON this LOC CON
When he [had] set out,…..
"Go and have a look!" he said [to her].

So she went and had a look.

When she looked.....

b. Subordination

1. Subordinating conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions are used to subordinate the conjunct modified by the conjunction. Jiaomuzu has three subordinating conjunctions. The conjunction na 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 kʰonə 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 kʰonə groups smaller actions into clusters that are together subordinated to a larger event. Jiaomuzu does not have special subordinating conjunctions to form complements, relative clauses or adverbial clauses. All types of subordinate clauses can also occur with na, 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 na, wurənə and kʰonə on the sentence level. The example sentence is from the A-myis Sgo-Idong story, see Text 1 at the end of the study. Sentence (183a) has no conjunctions. In sentence (183b) na 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 kʰonə. 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.
A.myis  Sgo ldong-3s:HON  PR:AG  he  3s:GEN-head-LOC iron.hammer
A-myis Sgo-ldong hit his head with the iron hammer, [which caused a small
kərek  to-kə-laʔ-t-jn  w-ərnoʔk  tsijok  to-kə-kʰit  na-ŋos
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.

A.myis  Sgo ldong-3s:HON  PR:AG  he  3s:GEN-head-LOC iron.hammer
A-myis Sgo-ldong hit his head with the iron hammer, [which caused a small
kərek  to-kə-laʔ-t-jn  na w-ərnoʔk  tsijok  to-kə-kʰit  na-ŋos
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.

A.myis  Sgo ldong-3s:HON  PR:AG  he  3s:GEN-head-LOC iron.hammer
A-myis Sgo-ldong hit his head with the iron hammer, [which caused a small
kərek  to-kə-laʔ-t-jn  kʰonə  w-ərnoʔk  tsijok  to-kə-kʰit  na-ŋos
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.

A.myis  Sgo ldong-3s:HON  PR:AG  he  3s:GEN-head-LOC iron.hammer
A-myis Sgo-ldong hit his head with the iron hammer, [which caused a small
kərek  to-kə-laʔ-t-jn  wurənə  w-ərnoʔk  tsijok  to-kə-kʰit  na-ŋos
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 Jiāomùzú
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-o-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’.

ˈnə-ŋos
EV-be

(184d) jontan  kʰə  kə-œ-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.

makəndəpə  ˈnə-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 Căodêng, 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;

Yon-tan gave lHa-mo walnuts.

Yon-tan, to whom Yon-tan gave walnuts, is beautiful.

The bag in which my friend Yon-tan put the book is green.

In (184g) it is not possible to nominalise the locative with kə- or ka-:

* tətʰa karko bawbawʃ wəŋgi-j na-rko-w

However, it is possible to have different nominalisers for certain locatives. In (185) sandoʔ can be replaced with kəndoʔ without any problem. It is also possible to add wusatʃe, ‘place’ to the sentence, no matter which nominaliser is used:

We’re going to dance (in a place) where there are flowers.

I took money from the old man.

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) * ɳa poŋeʔ ɲəkəvəjəŋ kəmjəʔk tə ɳəjwak ɲəs

Relative clauses in Jiăomûzú are predominantly pre-nominal, though head-internal structures also occur. Relative constructions in the Jiăomûzú 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 zakran əspok ɲəs əkə kargaʔ, ‘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 ɳa, ‘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) ɳa [lolo zakran w-əspok ka-pi kargaʔ]? 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) [lakʃe na-kə-ʃi-na-ku-w ] tapuʔ tə si ɬna-ɲəs
     [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) [ɬna tarke na-kə-varo-ɲ tə] wastop ma-kəŋdəɾa na-ɲəs
     [ I donkey PFT-NOM-own-1s C] very NEG-same PFT-be
     [The donkey that I owned] was exceedingly naughty.

(191) ɳa [coktsə lolo zakran w-əspok-ʃi ka-pi] 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 ɬna so kʰəzaʔ kə-mbuʔ-ɲ ɬə ɳəjwak ɲəs
     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.

Jiăomûzú has no special conjunction or other marker that functions as a relativiser. The Jiăomûzú 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 ɲəkə-top, '[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) ɲə ɲə-ka-top  sloppən tə  pkraʃiʃ  'nə-ŋos
    I 1s:GEN-NOM-hit teacher  C  bKra.shis  OBS-be
The teacher who hit me is bKra-shis.

(193b) ɲə ɲə-ka-top  wu-sloppən tə  pkraʃiʃ  'nə-ŋos
    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) pkraʃiʃ  wu-ka-rgaʔ  sloppən tə  jontan  'nə-ŋos
    bKra.shis 3s:GEN-NOM-like teacher  C  Yon.tan  EV-be
The teacher whom bKra-shis likes is Yon-tan.

(194b) pkraʃiʃ  ka-rgaʔ  wu-sloppən tə  jontan  'nə-ŋos
    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) pkraʃiʃ  wu-ka-rgaʔ  wu-sloppən tə  jontan  'nə-ŋos
    bKra.shis 3s:GEN-NOM-like 3s:GEN-teacher  C  Yon.tan  EV-be
The teacher whom bKra-shis likes is Yon-tan.

* pkraʃiʃ wukargaʔ wusloppən tə  jontan  nəŋos

Jiǎomùzú 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 wuŋə, 'he' cannot be inserted:
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 ŋə-ka-rŋe-ɾə ngə-tə ŋə-je ŋos
Yon.tan PFT-NOM-borrow-3s book C I 1s-POSS be
The book that Yon-tan borrowed is mine.

jontan ŋə-ka-rŋe-ɾə tə ŋə-je ŋos
Yon.tan PFT-NOM-borrow-3s C I 1s-POSS be
The [one] that Yon-tan borrowed is mine.

(197) pkraʃis mkʰono ka-vətʃi kə-tʃʰi
bKra.shis Kǒnglóng NOM-walk PFT-NEV-go₁
bKra-shis walked to Kǒnglóng.

mkʰono ka-vətʃi kə-tʃʰi pkraʃis tə….
Kǒnglóng NOM-walk NOM-go₁ bKra.shis C….
bKra-shis, who walked to Kǒnglóng,…..

mkʰono ka-vətʃi kə-tʃʰi 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 tæŋge ˈna-rstʃu-w
lHa.mo clothes OBS-wash-3s
lHa-mo is washing clothes.

(198b) lhamo wu-ka-rstʃu tæŋge tə ŋa ŋə-je ŋos
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 tæŋge tə ŋa ŋə-je ŋos
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) tɔwaʔm kənɛs tə tapuʔ tə-ˈa-ndza-ndʒ
bear two C child PFT-NEV-eat-3d
The two bears ate the child.

(199b) tapuʔ kə-ndza tɔwaʔm kənɛs tə ŋa na-mətə-ŋ
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 Jiǎomùzú relative clauses is the animacy hierarchy. Jiǎomùzú 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 go- 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) ŋa sloppən na-top-ŋ
I teacher PFT-hit-1s
I hit the teacher.

(200b) nə-kə-top-ŋ sloppən tə
PFT-NOM-hit-1s teacher C
The teacher whom I hit.

(200c) sloppən nə ŋo-top-ŋ
teacher I 3/1:PAS-hit-1s
The teacher will hit me.

(200d) nə-kə-top sloppən tə
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 lHa-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 Jiǎomùzú marking for imperfective aspect cannot occur in a relative clause, nor can evidentiality marking:

(201a) * lhamo tʃəʔpu ŋakəstiʃuw təŋge tə ŋa ŋe ŋos
(201b) * lhamo tʃəʔpu ŋakəstiʃuw təŋge tə ŋa ŋe ŋos

(202) nəŋo to-kə-va-w tə kəʃə ŋos
you PFT-NOM-do-2s C where be
Where are the ones that you made?

* nəŋo to'akɔvaw tə kəʃə ŋos

The commonly found forms of relative clauses in Jiǎomùzú 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):
The teacher who likes bKra-shis is Yon-tan.

Yon-tan is the teacher who liked bKra-shis.

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. 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):

\[
\begin{align*}
(204a) & \quad \eta [\text{Yon.tan IMP-come,}] \quad (204b) \quad \eta [\text{Yon.tan IMP-come,}] \\
& \quad \text{I [Yon.tan IMP-come,]} \quad \text{I [Yon.tan IMP-come,] PFT-say-1s} \\
& \quad \text{I ordered Yon-tan to come.} \quad \text{I told Yon-tan to come.}
\end{align*}
\]

Jiǎomùzú has both subject complements and object complements. Examples (205a) and (205b) show subject complements. Sentences (205c) and (205d) have object complements:

---

(205a) [sonam cʰe moʔt] to-to na-va-ʒdor
[bSod.nams liquor drink] more-RED PFT-CAUS-excessive
[bSod-nams' drinking] got worse and worse.

(205b) [pkraʃis kʰarjas kə-va] tərmu p-awo na-ʃi-məŋam
[bKra.shis song NOM-do person 3p:GEN-head PFT-VPT-hurt
[bKra-shis' singing] gave people a headache.

(205c) ŋa [nənɟo mdzarti 'kə-tərgaʔ-w] ʃi-ŋ
I [you peach PRIMP-2-like-2s] know-1s
I know [that you like peaches].

(205d) ŋa [wuʃo manjuʔ vi] 'kə-so-ŋ ko
I [he again come1] PRIMP-think-1s MD:ANX
I'm afraid [he will come back].

Jiǎomùzú 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 Jiǎomùzú 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), nənjo, ‘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 [swɛʔi jii-w] 'na-so-so-w
Yon.tan [barley plant-3s] OBS-think-3s
Yon-tan wants to plant barley.

(206b) nənjo [tərtʰot kəbdu tʃe vi] ma-tə-cʰa-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 Jiǎomùzú 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:
I think that religion is not very useful.

Religion, I think, is not very useful.

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. 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) poʃurp [ jontan narɔno lhamo-ndʒ kʰorlo 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-sakʰa
more.and.more PFT-tired
and more tired.

* poʃurp[ jontan narɔno lhamondʒ kʰorlo najondʒ] toto nasakʰa

---

226 The adverb koro is a dialect variant of koro.
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) pəʃurτə [ jontan narənə lhamo-ndə 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-sakʰa
  more.and.more PFT-tired
  and more tired.

This is perhaps one reason why so many Jiāomǔzu 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 Jiāomǔzu 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 Jiāomǔzu 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 Jiāomǔzu, 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 Jiāomǔzu 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 kæcʰa, ‘able’ and kaʃpaʔ, ‘can’ are used to express achievement type meanings such as ‘manage’, ‘fail’, and ‘try’. Also, the Jiāomǔzu 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 Jiāomǔzu. 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.

\[
(209) \quad \text{[ahaha j-apa j-apso-j ka-nəndʒi ji-a-cʰa-jn]}
\]

\[
\quad \text{[oh.oh 1p-father 1p-together-LOC NOM-bring.along NEG/PFT-NEV-able-3p]}
\]

"oh oh, we did not manage to bring our father along!" they said.

\[
\quad \text{ko] to-cəs-jn}
\]

\[
\quad \text{MD:ANX] PFT-say-3p}
\]

Pretence verbs such as ‘trick’, ‘deceive’ and ‘imagine’ have straightforward indicatives as their complement:

\[
(210) \quad \text{jontan w-əse'̂m w-əŋgi-j [w-əge'̂m zdombo ndo?]}
\]

\[
\quad \text{yon.tan 3s:GEN-heart 3s:GEN-inside-LOC 3s:GEN-house huge have}
\]

Yon-tan imagines his house to be huge.

\[
\quad \text{'na-səso-w}
\]

\[
\quad \text{OBS-imagine-3s}
\]

Note that this sentence is also grammatical without the verb phrase nasəso, ‘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’:

\[
(211) \quad \text{ŋa [jontan a-ji-vi] na-səso-ŋ}
\]

\[
\quad \text{I [Yon.tan IRR-PFT-come] PFT-think-1s}
\]

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) ŋa [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 *karsta*, ‘count’ is nominalised. The verb in the main clause is once again the neutral *kasəso*, ‘think’:

(213) wujo [tapuʔ rmani 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) wujo [tɬʰa pok ka-rsta 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 *tʃʰi*, ‘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) ŋa peciŋ tʃʰi 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 Jiǎomùzú, 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) kʰalu kə tœmtʃuk tajəm kərgi kərgi to-a-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 pkaʔ kərgi to-ˈa-sə-naʃmo-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 nasəleʔtjn, ‘cause to write’:

(218) sloppən kə slopmə̣-ŋo tswoneŋkəmŋi 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) ɳa [jontan ji-ˈvi] to-cəs-ɳ
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 jaŋmaŋkə-ka-sə-naʃmo] to ndrondɾo ɳos
[Yon.tan bike PFT-NOM-steal] C really be
It is certain [that Yon-tan stole the bike].
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:

The leader regrets [that there is no money to buy a car].

The meanings expressed by achievement verbs such as ‘try’, ‘fail’, ‘manage’ are often expressed by modal verbs. The verb kac’a indicates physical ability, while kafpat signals learned ability:

Yon-tan failed [to jump over the river].

She speaks Chinese.

Aspectual verbs such as ‘begin’, ‘stop’ and ‘be used to’ are all nominalised:

Yontan started [to make bread].

From that time on they got into the habit of [eating pork].

The motion verbs ‘go’ and ‘come’ often occur with clausal complements:
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 kamase’dh, ‘hear’, in sentences (229) and (230):

(229) pkraʃis kə [lhamo laktʃe ka-ndo?] na-’a-maʃe’m
    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] ma-na-tɔ-maʃe’m-n
    [bKra.shis PFT-NEV-REC-RED-hit2-3s] Q-PFT-2-hear2-2s
    Did you hear about [bKra-shis having a fight]?

Knowledge verbs such as ‘know’, ‘discover’, and ‘realize’ can take both kinds of complements, as demonstrated for kaʃi, ‘know’ in example (234) and (235). Still, by far the most complements occurring with knowledge verbs in my data are nominalised:
I found out [that Yon-tan had stolen my bike].

I know that you like peaches.

I'm afraid [Yon-tan will come].

I'm afraid he will come back.

I'm worried that you will not pass the test.

Can you come at four o'clock?

You can just [take it].

The one who was sitting on the street could not get himself [to get up].
Adverbial clauses modify a verb phrase or an entire sentence. Jiāomùzú adverbial clauses express time, manner, place, reason and purpose, dative type meanings, and so forth. In Jiāomùzú 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. Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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) ŋa [soʃ nu] va-ŋ
I [tomorrow] do-1s
I’ll do it tomorrow.

(242b) [wuʃo 'ji-vi tʃe] ŋa va-ŋ
[he FPFT-come1 LOC] I do-1s
I’ll do it when he comes.

(242c) pkraʃis bawbaw² [tatʃe] na-a-teʔ-w
bKra.shis bag [here] PFT-NEV-put1-3s
bKra-shis put the bag here.

(242d) pkraʃis wu-bawbaw² [wuʃo kə-mato-w tʃe] na-a-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 (343b). 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, ḟak, ‘time’, not to the subject of the main clause. The verb in the adverbial clause is not marked for tense and aspect:

(243a) pkraʃis manda
bKra.shis arrive
bKra-shis will arrive.
We will go [when bKra-shis gets here].

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 absolutive clauses. Below follow examples of each category.

Manner in the Jiǎomùzú 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 kapso, ‘compare, be similar’ in a nominalised clause modified by tʃᵉ:

(244) wujo [kəsce tʰi sok kʰarɟit no-kə-sokʃot] 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.

Circumstantiality, which signals the circumstances under which the event in the main clause takes place, also employs nominalised clauses:

(245) [wujo kə-vətʃi ka-natso tʃe] w-amip kəmŋam 'na-psol
[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.)

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.
wutf³e, ‘for the reason of’, as in (248). Adverbials indicating reason or purpose can be marked for prominence by prominence marker kə.

(247) wujo [pijoʒ kə-moʔt] ji-ʔji
he [beer NOM-drink] PFT-go₂
He went out [to have a beer].

(249) wujo [mborkʰe ka-tʃʰi wu-tʃʰe] kə to-napso
he [Māerkāng NOM-go, 3s:GEN-reason] PR PFT-get.up.early
He got up early for the reason of going to Māerkāng.

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 [dianʂəɡ ka-namŋo] dzwonjeŋ kə-leʔt-ŋ
I [TV NOM-watch] homework PRIMP-hit₁-1s
While watching TV I am doing my homework.

(251) [jini kə-nandze tʃe] kʰorlo ji-vu w-əskaʔt ki na-mjen-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 Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú 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 ma-na-laʔt] rə jino w-əmpʰi ma-tʃʰi-j
[rain COND-PFT-hit₁] 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:

\[poŋeʔ \text{nə-na-ŋət-j me nə ka-nəmbri na-ŋənipe-j} \]
\[\text{money PFT-EREFL-lose-1p CON CON NOM-play PFT-pleasant-1p} \]

Apart from us losing our money, we had fun.

Indefinite concessive meanings employ clauses with an interrogative, as in (255):

\[tʰi to-tə-cəs-n ʒik\]
\[\text{what PFT-2-say-2s also} \]
\[\text{I NEG-go-1s} \]

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 *narən*, ‘and’, then has the marker for comparisons *ndʒakaj*, ‘from the bottom’, after which follows the chosen course of action:

\[laktʃe ka-ʃi-mbuʔ narən ji ji ka-tʃi njəaka-j\]
\[\text{thing NOM-VPT-give and we:i NOM-go-1 3d-bottom-LOC} \]

Rather than going ourselves we sent a present.

\[\text{we:i NEG-NOM-go-1 PFT-do-1p} \]

\[təɟeʔm ka-ʃu narən dianjinɛ kə-nəmə ndʒ-aaka-j\]
\[\text{house NOM-stay and movie NOM-watch 3d-bottom-LOC} \]

We stayed home instead of going to watch a movie.

\[\text{we:i NOM-stay PFT-do-1p} \]

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:

\[wujo laktʃe ka-mbuʔ maʔk kə] manjuʔ kəarjir va-w 'na-ra\]
\[\text{he thing NOM-give not.be PR} \]

In addition to giving a present, he had to sing.

Jiāomǔzú 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 $k^b_o$ in (259) means ‘right after, immediately’. Literally the sentence means ‘as soon as the letter arrived, lHa-mo phoned bKra-shis’:

(259)  [tascok ji-mända $k^b_o$]  lhamo  pkraʃis  dianxwaʁ  na-laʔt-w
[letter  PFT-arrive ADVLS]  lHa.mo  bKra.shis  telephone  PFT-hit₁-3s
The letter having come, lHa-mo immediately phoned bKra-shis.

(260)  [tapuʔ tarmu kaneʔk na-mató tʃe]  coktsə  w-ŋkʰu-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)  [nəŋo  krəŋ  tə-ʃi-w]  kʰonətʃəʔ-pu  təndze  w-ənu  ˈna-kaktu
[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)  [[nəŋo  ka-ʃə]  na-ʃem  mə-ˈna-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
The story of A-myis Sgo-ldong

Long, long ago, there was a demon in our world.

This demon was a very terrible demon.

The demon, eh, the demon's name - besides the demon called Chap-pa Rang-ling there was his lover, eh, his wife, yeah, who was a demonness called Hashang Make.

In the whole world there was one king -

the demon, he devoured people all the time.
When [the manner in which] he ate people he grabbed a king and put him under his rule; he did not allow that king to be independent,

so he became subservient.

The king was forced to [do so by the demon].

There was one king, who was protected to the utmost by fiercely fighting soldiers -

[but] the demon had an exceedingly good appetite, so that he often could not eat his fill

[and so] he often won, regretfully

---

228 The *taspok* 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 *taspok* 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 *taspok*. Later on in the story the good king is also said to have people in his *taspok*, meaning they belong to his kingdom and are under his benevolent authority.
the other kings couldn't gain victory over him,

that manner all.the.time PFT-NOM-be PFT-be
it was like that all the time.

Afterwards, the Tibetan, the Tibetan230 ancestor called Sgo-ldong,

One king had among his people, eh, there were a servant woman and her husband who

were already eighty years old, each one of the two was eighty years old.

The two of them were in their eighties.

This is a slip of the tongue. The narrator starts to say wot ca, from the Tibetan literary form བོད་སྐྱི, meaning 'from Tibet' or 'Tibetan'. He then corrects himself and goes on with the rGyalrong way of saying things.

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 karu? 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 karu came to mean ‘Tibetan’ in a general sense, with no distinction of geographic region.
And then, a child - when they were eighty years old they had a child!

ki na-kə-ndoʔ? 'na-ŋos
IDEF PFT-NOM-have EV-be

The child that the two [old people] had, eh, that one was the one called Tibetan

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 of grain…

w-əmpʰro tʃəʔ tʃəŋ kə-ro…… w-əmo w-ənuʔ? 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 to kʰonə targo kə-tро to-kə-ndza-w 'na-ŋos C NOM-drink C CON grain one-tро PFT-NOM-eat-3s EV-be

After that, the next day, he ate two ro of grain, and the day after that he ate three

w-əmpʰro tʃəʔ tʃəŋ w-apso no kənəs 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

On and on like that; at that time, food was scarce

231 A katро 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 katро contains one tarpə, ‘pound’ and eight srang, ‘unit of fifty grammes’, so a total of 900 grammes. Since the katро measures volume, the weight for other grains like wheat would be different, though the volume would be the same. The measure word is katро for one unit, and ro for quantities from two onwards. So the boy ate on his first day a katро of barley, and then two ro, on to three ro, etc.

232 A kajpo is ten ro.
and moreover, his mother and father were already old, right,

also old EV-be-3d CON MD:SA

[having exhausted all possibilities] there was simply no way [left] for them to bring up the child.

When they were no longer able to bring it up, the old man said: "Come now,

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.

We must abandon it some place in the forest, musn’t we."
16a ka-nəvlo ro-kə-tsep-w kʰonə 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 nəŋə monəŋəs na tərpʰu katsə ki na-kə-ndoʔ?
3s:GEN-toward-LOC you FIL CON pine.tree small IDEF PFT-NOM-have
"You," - eh, there was a small pine tree there -

kʰonə nəŋə monəŋəs sta tʃəʔ na-ʃəʔ-n
CON you FIL origin this IMP-stay-2s
"You stay right here.

16b ra monəŋəs na tʃəʔ w-əna tʃəʔ tʃə su pʰot-ŋ
CON FIL CON this 3s:GEN-below this LOC firewood cut-1s
I'll cut firewood just below here.

16c w-əŋkʰuʔ na su-ʃi kə-pʰot-ŋ na ndə tə na su 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-ˈa-miʔ tʃəʔ tʃə nəranə na jənve letʔ-ŋ kʰonə ndə tʃəʔ tʃə na
PFT-NEV-not.have this LOC FIL I signal hit₁-1s CON that this LOC CON
I will make handsignals,

ə-na-tə-ˈvi-n to-kə-cəs ˈna-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 ˈna-ŋos kʰonə
okay PFT-NOM-say EV-be CON
"Okay", the boy said -

17b karjo ʒik pok təskaʔt-ʃi 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-ʃi na-ˈa-stʃi kʰonə
talk PFT-NOM-can₁-3s PFT-NEV-be:CD CON
and he also could talk, mercy on him.
So the way in which the father deceived his son was like this:

So the way in which the father deceived his son was like this:

The boy thought: "This father of mine, he is now chopping wood; [but] the sound by which I know he is chopping wood is no longer there; so now what?"

He told me about this just now, I must go and have a look.
When he went down - the black cloth, since there was wind the signal

was waving about, making a sound like flap flap flap flap -

he arrived underneath the cloth.

When he found that [his father] was not there, after that he went back up to the place he had come from.

He returned to the place where he had come from and stayed near the pine tree.

Then he carved a spear that could kill a mouse or a bird.

He began to kill animals for food, starting with mice and birds, then moving on to

killing pheasants and rabbits for food too.

Afterwards, eventually, having mastered the skill of hunting, he began
kartsʰe kərek kəñes kəsam kəpdu ndə ta sok ɹi ka-sat
der 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-ka-sa-ɾa-w ʰna-ŋos
PFT-NOM-CAUS-begin-3s EV-be

23 kartsʰe kəməŋkʰuʔ nə..... kartsʰe kəŋgu təɾpʰu ʒənder......w-apʰispok-j.....
der 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...

təɾpʰu ʒənder kəŋgu ʃu ka-rko manjuʔ w-apʰispok-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 kartsʰe kəŋgu w-əŋgəm tə w-apʰispok-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-əɾșəca tə kə to-kə-ɾaʰa na-ka-ŋos ʰna-ŋos
that manner 3s:GEN-likeness C PR PFT-NOM-able PFT-NOM-be EV-be

24 a rjarpə kəɾgi nə nde w-əŋkʰu-j nə h-ana-j ra təjəzə²³⁵
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-ka-sə-va-w na-ŋos
PFT-NOM-CAUS-do-3s PFT-be

25 a tʃəʔ tə bdət tə kə sok ʃiʃi-poʃək sok wu-ɾəɾvəɭi-k jəłəsiʃik
ah this C demon C PR manner we:i-p again manner 3/1-extirminate-1p for.sure
"Ah, this here demon again is sure to destroy us

²³⁵ A təjəzə 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 təjəzə 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.
CON what NOM-do CON CON that people all-RED C what to do? All the people need to get

tajza ki ka-va ra to-ka-cəs 'na-ŋos muster IDEF NOM-do need PFT-NOM:HON-say EV-be together and be mustered," he said.

26 kʰormaŋ stamce tajza 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,
nare j-apa-ndʒə h-ardo tapl⁴ə 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 ə 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 ə OBS-good see-3p:HON this LOC CON was in progress, [the astrologer] said:

27b a j-əmo j-apa ki kərsca-tzi 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 təvlu kəktu ki kə-vi ndʒə-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.
If that child is not able to completely destroy that demon,

\[ \text{nd}\text{a} \text{ k}\text{h}\text{on}\text{a} \text{ k}\text{o-c}\text{h}\text{a} \text{ mi}\text{t-jn} \text{ to-ka-cas} \]

that CON NOM-able not.have-3p PFT-NOM/HON-say then no one else can. He is the only one."

That's what the diviner said after he had done a very careful divination.

\[ \text{kb}\text{on}\text{a} \text{ nd}\text{a} \text{ to-k}\text{o-cas} \text{ 'na-ŋos} \]

CON that PFT-NOM-say EV-be

At at that time, when the people had all been called together, they said over and over

\[ \text{r}\text{a}\text{n}\text{a} \text{ kb}\text{orman\text{j} stance} \text{ to-ka-sa-bz}\text{a} \]

CON people all PFT-NOM/HON-CAUS-call.together CON that LOC CON

Again: "Mother, father, what is your child like? What is your child like? What is your child like? [And they] continuously said: “What is really the case [about this child];

\[ \text{t}\text{i sok ndo? nŋo n-apu?} \]

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];

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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.
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]

that demanded an answer], all of the people spoke like that to the ones who were sitting

there in the back.

“IT’s been about three or four years, my getting rid of that child, about

that many years have passed.

[The diviner], when he came to where the old couple was,

said to them:

"Well, the outcome of the calculation [of the divination] is amazing.

your son, there is no doubt about it, your child is a king,
ra to-ka-cəs ʼna-ŋos
need PFT-NOM/HON-say EV-be

The old couple said: "Ah, yes, our child – some three or four years ago a child was born to us, but now we don't have a child.

We have no information, no idea about this child, no clue as to where one, ah,

So the father had no choice but to go and look for the child.
So the father went to look for him.

At the place from before, when he arrived at that place

the old man – now, beside [that place] there was a pile of bones like this,

bones of the purest white piled up in a great expanse

on the ground - there was someone there who had made that pile!
The old man very much believed [that his son had been eaten] and was terribly scared
[that the king would punish him for not delivering the boy].

Nevertheless he climbed to the top of the tree – “I’ll have a look at whatever is
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,

right at the approach of someone below, the earth began to shake.

Under his one arm, really, he had nine logs of firewood and
under his other arm he had nine dead deer;
under his arms, like that,

he came up carrying all that;

he made a fire of the nine logs and roasted the nine deer on it,

and then he ate.

When he had finished eating -

you see, the one up above was so terribly scared that he pissed in his pants,

because of his fear.

While his father was so scared that he wet his pants,

water came spashing pling pling pling onto the back of his son's hand.

PR
"What on earth is the matter here?" he thought.

When he looked up, just then, he saw the one who was just then sitting up there!

"Hey, my father, it’s you! Come on down.

We didn’t see each other before; oh dear, this really wasn’t done very well,"

And then, “Father, come on down, there is no need at all to have any fear.

I’m your son.

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.
na-ka-maʔk ʔos kʰonə
PFT-NOM-not.be be CON
that's not how it is now.

43f ra nəŋə ʔaʔ-əmə kə-ndoʔ miʔ?
CON you 2s:GEN-blame NOM-have not.have
There is no blame on you.

43g ʔa mənaŋəs nə tʃəʔ tə-rəŋə stəŋ lhau na na-ka-vu-ŋ ʔos
I FIL CON this C FIL SUP heaven down PFT:down-NOM-come2-1s be
In truth, this ah… I've come down from the highest heavens.

43h tʃəʔ rəŋə dewa kə-pkot na-ka-vu-ŋ ʔos kʰonə
this FIL peace NOM-bring PFT-NOM-come2-1s be CON
[I came in order to] to bring peace, so

 gather mənaŋəs nə n-əmdzə nə tʰi kə-ndoʔ miʔ kʰonə
you FIL CON 2s:GEN-blame CON what NOM-have not.have CON
there is no blame on you whatsoever.

43i tʃəʔ tə sok təʔdəŋə ma-ra je na-’vi-n to-kə-caʔ
this C manner fear-p NEG-need MD IMP:down-come-2s PFT-NOM-say
There is no need at all to have so much fear, come on down," he said.

kʰonə
CON

44 ra w-apa na-kə-ɾji kʰonə
CON 3s:GEN-father PFT:down-NOM-go2 CON
Then his father went down.

45a ra rəɾəɾə nə pok tə to-kə-ʃəktə ʰə-stʃi kʰonə
CON meat CON all C PFT-NOM-finish.meal EV-be:CD CON
He had finished his meal of meat, more’s the pity,

45b w-əʃwa w-acep kəɾek na-nakjok tʃəʔ tʃə
3s:GEN-tooth 3s:GEN-gap one PFT-pick.one's.teeth this LOC
but when he picked at the gap between his teeth,
meat CON 1p-POSS before como NOM-say PFT-NOM-be.used.to
meat – we used to say ‘como’

that 3s:GEN-inside this LOC much IDEF PFT:toward. river-NOM-pull CON
he pulled lots of meat from there [between his teeth];

[A-myis Sgo-Idong] you see ate lots of meat; [and he pulled enough from between his

The meat that he had picked out from between his teeth before, he pulled out

that manner EXP:a.big.pile PFT:towards.river-NOM-pull PFT-NEV-be:CD
before his father in such a huge pile – mercy -

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.
My dear boy, please, the king - I had no idea whatsoever that you were [still] alive like this -

the king said this, that you, the son of old people in their eighties, the child of you two old people in their eighties -

really, he is the one who is able to destroy the demon;

Except for him, there is no one else [who can do it].

Except for him, there is no one else [who can do it].

And then - I had no idea that you were still alive in this manner -

Professor Āwang spells this word བསྟན་ེགས་མ་ (skyabs su mehe) 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.
I had no option but to come and search for you;

The king is the law so I came to look for you.

Over there in the valley…eh, well, you absolutely must come

And you must also, eh, have a tərsə-ʈrop ra

[And] eh you must have a hat made of nine sheets of lard.

Besides you need to make a rake243, one that weighs fully

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242 A tərsək is a traditional Tibetan robe made of skins worn with the leather side out and the fleece on the inside.
[And] you have to make an iron hammer that weighs fully one hundred and eighty pounds.

[and] a shovel that weighs fully one hundred and eighty pounds.

After that, you have to fill up my deerskin meat bag with lots of rtsam-pa.

There is a pun here. The word for ‘rake’, *famkʰ*ret, 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.

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.
And also you need a pressure cooker, what we call a 'mbotafanì.

tajam kapaʔ-jam kaktu makondra w-ɔrscə to
pot Chinese-pot big exceedingly 3s:GEN-likeness C
which is similar to an exceedingly big Chinese pot,

ndə to w-ɔŋgi-j ɛbədo kangu tajam ka-və ra to-ka-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

"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

The king [thought or said]: "If he says he can do it like that, then sure, let's do it!"

[He] got all the people who were blacksmiths to meet together in order to do the

ŋkʰormaŋ ə tapʃe ka-va stamce to toʻa-sa-məmtə kʰonə
people CON blacksmith NOM-do all C PFT-NEV-CAUS-meet CON

[Jam-rstrəʔ? Jam-to ʒɔŋpjak ndə-ŋo tapʃə kə-va-pi ko
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-ʃəva na-ka-šaŋo-w ʻna-ŋos
NOM-prepare PFT-NOM-begin-3s EV-be
hammer, and the shovel.

245 A kʰamgok 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.
The people eh….the deerskin bag…..

ndə tə tə w-əŋu tʃə tʃə a ɾəpo kə tʃə? sok w-ərsca t 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 narəŋə na-ʃə kə-pjot jok to-kə-ʃə na-ŋos ra
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.”

When he had put all the grain that he had, a very large amount indeed, in the bag -

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-ka-mi? na-ʃə PFT-NOM-not.have PFT-NEV-be:CD puts in a tea bowl!

[But] when the people all pulled together, each giving a little bit,

na-va-jn tʃə? tʃə ndə tʃə nə rtsam-kət tə kə-pjot na-ʃə 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-ʃə na-ŋə 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.

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’.
It is said that after they had managed to fill up that bag they held a celebration.247

Well, then - he had said that he would come at that time [when the people had finished all the preparations], and right at that time he did come!

He came, and the nine pots that were sitting there, those exceedingly big pots full of porridge -

he polished off everything that was in those pots.

Then about his clothes, he put on the robe that was made out of nine sides of 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.
the hat that was made of nine sheets of lard he put on.

The iron hammer that weighed fully one hundred and eighty pounds,

he put them in the fold (breastflap, bosom) of his robe.

Well, he set out, and in the meantime he [the demon] had killed off one king;

he himself moved into that king’s palace and lived there.

And so he set out, it is said.
From below at street level someone was calling up again and again: "Hey, hello there! Hey!"

So he said to his oldest son: "Someone is calling me over and over, Hey! often NOM-VPT-say CON that who NOM-say C EV-be one go and see who it is that is calling.”

After [the son] had gone to look [he returned] and said, "Oh boy, dad, there is someone 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!"

When he [the oldest son] went [back] to answer [A-myis Sgo-ldong’s call], [A-myis Sgo-ldong] said: ‘Go tell your father to come down and meet me here.’”

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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 kʰambu. 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’.
When the son told his father that there really was one out there stronger than him,

who had told him [the son] to tell his father to come down and meet with him,

to-ka-cəs tʃe na-ŋos
PFT-NOM-say LOC PFT-be

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??"

and he dealt his son a blow on the cheek, [so that]

ler na-ka-na-sat na-á-ŋos
EXP:instantly PFT-NOM-EREFL-kill PFT-NEV-be
with one fell blow he instantly killed his son.

There was still a second son.

That second son, since there was this incessant calling of "hey, hey hello there!",

that [second one] had no option but to go and see, so

the second son went out.
When the second son had gone out [and looked], at that time he also said to his father:

"Well, father, even killing my older brother isn't going to change anything:

there is one stronger than you [out there]. That one said:

"Listen, tell your father to come on down."

[and] he dealt him a blow to his face.

He himself killed his second son.

Still there was this ongoing calling: "Hey, hey!"

Well, [then] he said to his youngest son: "You go and have a look."

to-ka-cas

PFT-NOM-say
So when his youngest son had gone to have a look, [he came back] and said:

"Really, father, there is one who is stronger than you [down there],

He is stronger than you.

Even though you killed both my older brothers, there is one who is stronger than you."

Who is there that is stronger than me??" [the father] said.

And with one swift blow he killed him instantly.

Well there was that ongoing calling of "Hey, hey there!


605
so that, oh dear, it then was his [the demon’s] wife’s turn.

His wife was a terrific demoness, like a horrifyingly fierce srənmo, more’s

His wife was a terrific demoness, like a horrifyingly fierce srənmo, more’s

The demon said [to her]: "you also go and have a look."

The demon said [to her]: "you also go and have a look."

So she went and looked.

And when she had gone and looked [and had returned] she said [to her husband]: "Well,

and even though you have killed my three sons, there is one that is stronger than you."

Then he said: "Who is there that is stronger than I am?"

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.
he dealt her another blow, and so he himself killed his wife.

After all that, still down below the calling of "Hey, hey hello there!" went on and on.

There was no way for him not to show himself.

Just as he was coming out, he thought -

when he realised [that the one looking for him] truly [was stronger than himself] – he

thought to himself: "I am the one to blame for killing my wife and my sons, and that’s

And he was so terribly scared that his hair stood on end.
"That one is really very strong," he thought.

At that time, just while he was a little scared,

his courage also imploded.

There was no way for him to avoid going down.

"Friend, I've come to have a match to see who's stronger," said A-myis Sgo-ldong.

"Shall we have a wrestling match?"

"Okay," said the demon.

They had a bout of wrestling.
While they wrestled, the demon dealt A-myis Sgo-ldong a terrific blow;

na-ka-la?it-w to ndo tse bdat to 3ik makandra
PFT-NOM-hit-3s C that LOC demon C also exceedingly
and at that time, the demon, more’s the pity, really

ka-ŋacʰacʰa ki na-ka-stʃci na-a-ŋos
NOM-quite.strong IDEF PFT-NOM-be:CD PFT-NEV-be
had quite some strength!

He caused A-myis Sgo-ldong quite some trouble.

na-ka-sə-kʰa na-a-ŋos no
PFT-NOM-Caus-difficult PFT-NEV-be CON

After that, A-myis Sgo-ldong’s turn came [at wrestling], so

to-ka-məndak kʰo
PFT-NOM-be.one’s.turn2 CON

When he dealt a blow, just then, he managed to throw down the demon.

na-ka-cʰa-jn na-a-ŋos
PFT-NOM-able-3s:HON PFT-NEV-be

Well, after this he said: "What kind of match shall we have next?"

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.
"After this, let's have a boxing match," he said;

Then, for the boxing, A-myis said to the demon: "You," - to demon Chap-pa Rang-ling -

"you start."

Then the demon Chap-pa Rang-ling hit A-myis Sgo-ldong a blow, smack right on

his head, with his fist.

The blow caused the nine sides of pork fat – no, the hat made of nine sheets of lard,

so that his brain forcefully spilled out.
After all that he said: "What other kind of contest shall we have?

Let's have a contest of fighting with open hands."

So they had this contest of openhanded fighting,

Amni zgordan ni-3ba-j jo karek na-kə-laʔt-w A.myis Sgo.ldong 3s:HON:GEN-cheek-LOC EXP:right.on one PFT-NOM-hit2-3s in which the demon smacked A-myis Sgo-ldong precisely right on the cheek,

and since he was still very powerful, more's the pity,

he gave A-myis Sgo-ldong a blow such that it almost sent him spinning,

more's the pity.

Then it was A-myis Sgoldon’s turn,

and he hit him like so
When he hit him, at that time, [the blow was to terrific that] it made [the demon feel] as

if he was spinning with dizziness.

"Well, what kind of match shall we have next?" he said;

"Let's have a contest in clawing," he said.

eh, "You start," said A-myis Sgo-ldong to the demon Chap-pa Rang-ling;

when he clawed with the nails of his hand, when he struck deep into [A-myis

made of the nine sides of pork fat with the skin still on, except for the fat [on the inside
of the robe], the outside of the robe was utterly ripped apart, that's what they say.

Ah, with one tearing rip [of his claw] downwards,

Ah, with one tearing rip [of his claw] downwards,

When he gave one blow with his iron rake to the demon's brain [and ripped down-
All the people fought tremendously hard; downriver,

people all C very NOM-fight2 CON D-downriver-LOC

All the people fought tremendously hard; downriver,

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.

He [the king or leader of a people] himself fought first of all,

rənə ndə w-əmpəro mo tʃə ni-nkʰormanə 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-so-lalaʔt kasce ndə na-kə-ngrel na-əŋos 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.

demon C CON 3-d general-3d C one NOM-fight2 CON the demons - when those two generals fought,

that LOC CON precisely C manner 3p:GEN-middle-LOC this LOC CON at that time precisely from among their midst

bdət to mənəŋos ndə kʰona ka-sat rə ka-pker narə demon C FIL CON that CON NOM-kill CON NOM-divide CON the demons\(^{253}\) 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.
that C PFT-finish-3HON this LOC CON D-upriver 3s:GEN-likeness-LOC when that was finished, the ones who lived upriver

when that was finished, the ones who lived upriver

made their country a very happy one.

the ones upriver saw that the ones from downriver had won

and they all became the people of the one king.

As for the demon, A-myis Sgo-ldong made a hole nine storeys deep

and put the demon in there; on top he put nine flat stones which he layered crosswise back and forth beautifully;

on top of that they built a stupa nine storeys high.

Peace and happiness came to those people,
so the Tibetan ancestor Sgo-ldong, he came on [the] thirteenth day;

on the day that he came he brought peace, about that saying

there are dances

Afterwards, there were also stories [about him], that is how it is, they say.
How the thrush deceived the rabbit.  

1. mbɔrtʃu ki kala? ki na-ka-nɗo?-ndʒ 'nɑŋos
   thrush IDEF rabbit IDEF PRF-NOM-have-3d EV-be
   There were a rabbit and a bird.

2. ndʒ ndʒ rana mbɔrtʃu kɔ na kala? kanɔvlo wu-tʃe kɔ 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-kata? w-ɑŋgi sku wuŋo ku na-ka-mbjam nɔ
   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-ka-mbjam 'nɑŋos
   PFT-NOM-fly EV-be

3. e ŋa-je kala? tʃɔ? tɔ kapsoʔt stʃi tʃɔʔ tɔ kapsoʔt tʃɔʔ tɔ
   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-ka-cɔs 'nɑŋos
   not.be be:CD PSTIMP-NOM-say EV-be
   It's a piece of cake!" he said.

4. ku kɔrek nɔ kɔrek na-mbjam ndʒ tʃe nɔ a kala? kɔ
   downstream one upstream one PSTPROG-fly that LOC CON oh.well rabbit PR
   When he was flying back and forth like that

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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 nəŋo pəʃnu kala? tɔtɔvəw, '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.
"Oh well," thought the rabbit, "I can have a go too, can't I?"

When he had gone into the trap - then his neck got stuck, causing his lips to be pulled back in a wide grin [the ghastly grin of death] - at that time

"Hey, rabbit, the expression 'laughing with a wide grin in a manner that shows a full set of bright white teeth', I'm telling you, that's what this is!" the thrush said; now that's why they say that there once was a thrush who managed to cheat a rabbit.
The eighteen rGyalrong kingdoms

1. ɾaɾoŋ rɔarkap wu-je tʰi sok kʰ-kʰ-cʰak
   rGyalrong kingdom 3s-POSS what manner PFT-NOM-establish
   How the rGyalrong kingdoms came into being.

2. rdɔŋrja tsʰaɾaɾlo kacəs kə na-kʰ-ndoʔ ʰna-ŋos
   Rdongrja Tshaɾa Tsharalpo say IDEF PFT-NOM-have EV-be
   There was a man called Rdongrja Tshaɾa Tsharalpo.

3. ɾjarpo kacəs kə na-kʰ-ndoʔ ɾdɔŋrja tsʰaralpo wuɾoŋa w-əza
   king say IDEF PFT-NOM-have Rdongrja Tsharalpo CON 3s:GEN-son
   A man who was called a king, Rdongrja Tsharalpo, well he had three sons.
   kəsam na-kʰ-ndoʔ ʰna-ŋos
   three PFT-NOM-have EV-be

4. ndə rə w-əza kəsam tə ndə tʰi sok na-ndoʔ-ʔən tʃəʔ tʃə 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 -
   kʰ-jnə kə nə ndə ʒəŋkem tə tərmu məkəndə kərkən na-kʰ-ŋos ʰna-ŋos
   one.day PR CON that land C person very sparse PFT-NOM-be EV-be
   one day - that land was very sparsely populated,

   wuɾoŋa rəŋə spjəŋkə kəməcə kə spjəŋ-nak kacəs kəməcə məkəndə
   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-kʰ-vu-ʔən wuɾo təza-ŋo kəʒu tə na-kʰ-pʰ-o-ʔən ʰna-ŋos
   PFT-NOM-come,-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 rdɔŋrja tsʰaɾaɾlo, as in the previous sentence.
When they ran, they did not manage to bring their father with them.

They did not manage it.

When they emerged at the top of a mountain and had crossed over and

When they met each other they found that they had not succeeded in bringing their father along.

"oh oh, we did not manage to bring our father along!" they said.

Upon their return home, [it turned out that] their father - at their place they used to
tʃəʔ tʃə təkʊʔ jɪ kacop na-ŋa-ŋrel 'na-ŋos rəna ndə to 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];

ʃukʰar na-ka-təʔ tə kəʒu tə na-ka-cop wurənə jʊ pʰaŋmo enclosure PFT-NOM-put₁ 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-1-a-ka-teʔ-w 'na-ŋos PFT/P-NOM-put₁-3s EV-be conflagration.

11. təkʊʔ pʰaŋmo to-1-a-ka-teʔ-w ndə tə lenəŋ lenəŋ 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-ɔla-ju n-apə na-ka-ndoʔ 'na-ŋos wurənə spjəŋkə-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 kəndza jɪ-ka-cʰa-ʒɪn 'na-ŋos PR eat NEG/PFT-NOM-able-3p EV-be and so the wolves had not been able to devour him.

12. ndə jɪ-cʰa-ʒɪn tʃə nə təza-ɲo kə nə a tʃəʔ-pu nərə 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-nəmato-ɬ spjəŋkə kə nə jɪ-no-ŋo-ndza tʃəʔ-pu nə l¹p: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-ŋasten..... 256 kəhaw makəndʒə na-kə-ŋasten 'na-ŋos l¹p: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-ka-mtəʔk ndə to ɲ-apa to na-ka-ʃu 'na-ŋəs
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 tʃə na wuə-ʒə kə a tʃə?-pu ə ʒə jiʃə kaʃiʃə
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 tʃə? sok ʃə ka-ʃu na-ʃəʔk
three this manner unsatisfactory NOM-live OBS-not be
should not live alone like we used to.

tʃə? tə tambat tə w-əŋkʰuʔ ə ʒə ʒə tə kəsam 'na-ŋədə? 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-əŋpʰə-s kərek tʰə-j to-ka-ʃəs 'na-ŋəs
3sGEN-vicinity-LOC one ascend-1p PFT-NOM-say EV-be
Let's go up to that area."

15. mtsʰo kərek təmo ə ko-mtsʰo257 kəsəs 'na-ŋəs
lake one that's.right CON milk-lake say EV-be
One lake, yes that was called Milk Lake.

16. kərek təmo ə manjəʔ kərek təmo ə ser-mtsʰo258 kəsəs 'na-ŋəs
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 spjən-mtsʰo kəsəs
one C wolf-lake say
One was called Wolf Lake.

18. mtsʰo kəsam to wuənə ndə to kaʃiʃə-ŋə wurənə wu-takpo kaka to
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 komsʰə comes from literary Tibetan གམ, oma, 'milk' and མཚ, 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 བསེར་, gser, 'gold' and མཚ, mtsho, 'lake'. The indigenous Jiāomùzú term for gold is tarni.
After they had started living up there, kəŋə w-apu? katsa-tson kampʃər makəndʂə kəpərəm 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 'na-ŋos PFT-NOM-appear EV-be

Well, then, they lived there, they themselves breeding the lambs; but when they lived there, then up out of the lakes emerged three very beautiful women.

pəʒuk təmu? kampʃər makəndʂə kəsam to-kə-lhok 'na-ŋos again woman beautiful very three PFT-NOM-appear EV-be

When those three very beautiful women came up out of the lakes, they lived there and then the one called Goldlake, yeah, she became the wife of the oldest brother.

təŋmo nə w-ajze stəŋ kəktu w-əŋgiʔ≠259 to-kə-va-w that's.right CON 3s:GEN-older.brother most big 3s:GEN-friend PFT-NOM-do-3s 'na-ŋos EV-be

259 The word təŋgiʔ means 'friend', but is often used to refer to a spouse or lover.
22. ʁomtsʰo kacə tajmo nə w-ajze kəməla w-andʒi?
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 ʰna-ŋos
PFT-NOM-do-3s EV-be

23. spjan-mtsʰo kacə nə ston katsə wu-je w-andʒi?
3a-a-kə-va-w
wolf-lake say CON most small 3s:POS 3s:GEN-friend PFT-NEV-NOM-do-3s
And the one called Wolflake became the wife of the youngest brother.

ʰna-ŋos
EV-be

24. ndə tə na-va-w tʃə nə ndə rənə ndə tə wu-pʰa-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

p-apu? na-kə-ndo? wərənə ndə tə p-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? jɪ jɪ jɪ tʃə nə ndə rənə ser-mtsʰo kacə
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? tajmo nə ndə rə kəməvŋʰuʔ kəʃok kərscat
3s:POS 3s:GEN-child that's.right CON that CON in.the.end clan eight
in the end, eight clans.

ʰna-ŋos
PFT-NOM-do-3s EV-be

25. ʁo-mtsho kacəs tajmo nə təʃok kətʃʔ kə-kə-va-w ʰna-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. ʁombo foʃ trək²⁶⁰ kəcəs tə na-ka-ve-w 'na-ŋos
ʁombo clan six say C PFT-NOM-do-3s EV-be
They became what is called the six clans of the Milk people.

27. spjəŋmtsʰo kəcəs təŋmo ʊə ndə tə wə-je təŋmo təʃək kapdu
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-tʃʰak 'na-ŋos
PFT-NOM- EV-be

28. mə.spjəŋ sde wə³⁶¹ kəcəs tə ndə tə wurənə rərəŋ rərəkap
person.wolf village four say C that LOC CON rGyalrong kingdom
They are called the four villages of the Wolf people;
corjet²⁶² wə-je w-əʃək tə ndə tə kəʃiŋtət kəsom pʰi-pʰa
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-mbojə-jn ʊəlos kəcəs ʊəos
PFT-NOM-come/HON-3p be say be
brothers, it is said.

29. wurənə təza kəktu wə-je təŋmo tə xserwa mtsəɾət²⁶³
CON son big 3s-POSS that's.right C xserwa mtsəɾət
So the oldest brother's descendants, that's right, they became the eight clans of the Gold

kəməla wə-je təŋmo ʁombo sɔɾək
middle 3s-POSS that's.right ʁombo sɔɾək
people, the descendants of the middle one, right, became the six clans of the Milk

katsə wə-je təŋmo mə spjəŋ sde wə³ kəcəs wurə
small 3s-POSS that's.right person wolf village four say CON

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²⁶⁰ A Tibetan appelation, from literary Tibetan ཚོག་ོ, shog drug, 'six clans'.
²⁶¹ A Tibetan appelation, literary Tibetan: མི་spyang sde bzhi, 'the four villages of the wolf people'.
²⁶² A Tibetan appelation, from literary Tibetan: རྒྱལ་rong rgyal kḥab bco bṣryad, ‘the eighteen kingdoms of rGyalrong’.
²⁶³ A Tibetan appelation, from literary Tibetan བྲོག་ tshopa, 'tribe' and བྲོག་, bṣryad, 'eight'.

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people; and the descendants of the youngest brother, right, became the four villages of
tʃok corscat tə ndə tʃe kə ʃak nʃəs kacəs
clan eighteen C that LOC PR develop be say
the Wolf people; the eighteen clans, that is how they developed, it is said,

r صالون rساک corscat wu-je tɔ
rGyalrong kingdom eighteen 3s-POSS C
the eighteen kingdoms of the rGyalrong.
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