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

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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 Jiǎomùzú 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. Jiǎomùzú distinguishes three persons, though the contrast between the marking for first person and second and third person indicates that Jiǎomùzú 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. Jiǎomùzú 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

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

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person	singular	dual	plural
1 inclusive		tʃəɟo	jiɟo, jiɟi
exclusive	ŋa	tʃəno	jino, jini
emphatic	ŋəɟo		
2	nənɟo	nənɟondʒ	nənɟoɲo, nənɟiɲo
		ndʒənɟo	ɲinɟo
		əɲindʒ	
3 person	wuɟo	wuɟondʒ	wuɟoɲo,wuɟiɲo
	mə	məndʒ	məɲo
	wuna	wunandʒ	wunaɲo
	kərek	kərekndʒ	kərekɲo
	jargo	jargondʒ	jargoɲo
non-person	tʃəʔ	tʃəndʒ	tʃəɲo
	ndə	ndəndʒ	ndəɲo

Free personal pronouns can occur in subject, object and second object positions in Jiǎomùzú 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   go$_1$-1s
        I go.

(2)   ŋa nənɟo ɲi-tʃʰiŋʂə¤   ta-və-sca-n
        1s 2s   2p-dorm   1/2-VPT-see.off-2s
        I'll walk you back to your dorm.

(3)   ŋa soʃnu   tʃəʔ tə wuɟo 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 Jiǎomùzú plural marker is *-ɲo* or its variant *-ɲi*, depending on the dialect of the speaker. When the plural marker is prefixed it appears only as *ɲi-*. Note that in (3) the demonstrative *tʃəʔ* is used for third person singular inanimate. More on person distinctions follows below. I discuss *tə*, a contrast marker, in section 4.3 of the chapter on nouns. The viewpoint marker *və-* signals geographical direction of the action.

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

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

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

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

The use of sentence final mood markers such as *o* and *ne* in the examples above is common in 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 *wuɟo* is left out. It is even possible to leave out *tʃəʔ tə*, 'this', on the grounds that obviously something is going to be given - and the obvious does not need to be stated. It is, however, not possible to omit *ŋa*, because it is not clear from the marking on the verb who the giver is. The first person singular marker *-ŋ* is not realised after final *–m*, so that the inflected verb in example (6) is pronounced [k̓am], losing the person distinction:

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

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

(7)   nənɟo nə-ɟeʔmbak-ɲo   ɲi-ndʐa   mə-ndoʔ
        2s   2s:GEN-family-p   2p:GEN-picture Q-have
        Do you have pictures of your family?

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

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

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

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

(10a) pəʃnu   ma-tʃʰi-ŋ
today   NEG-go_1-1s
I'm not going today.

(10b) ŋa ma-tʃʰi-ŋ   korə krəŋ   pkraʃis   tʃʰi
1s NEG-go_1-1s but   maybe bKra.shis go_1
I am not going, but maybe bKra-shis will.

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

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

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

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

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

b. Person distinctions in free personal pronouns

Jiǎomùzú distinguishes three persons, first versus second versus third. There is an indication that Jiǎomùzú 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 *pʰo* for male and *mo* for female, which are loaned from Tibetan ཕོ *pho* and མོ *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 *ŋəɟo*, the first form is by far the most frequently used. The second form *ŋəɟo* is an emphatic personal pronoun which mostly occurs when a speaker wants to emphasise the first person, as in the following example:

(15)   ŋəɟo   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, *jiɟo* and *jiɟi* for inclusive and *jino* and *jini* for exclusive.[89] The two forms in each set are freely interchangeable, and I use them interchangeably in this study. I have found no difference in meaning or function. Note that the *-o* and *-i* alternation occurs also in the plural markers *-ɲo* and *-ɲi* as discussed above. Jiǎomùzú 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 Jiǎomùzú the relevant distinction is on the consonants, rather than on the vowels: *ɟ* for the default inclusive, based on the non-specific pronoun *təɟo* and *n* for exclusive.

(16)   tʃəɟo   kətʃe   tʃʰi-dʒ

1d:i   where   go$_1$-1d

Where are the two of us going?

tʃəɟo   mborkʰe   ŋgo-dʒ

1d:i   'Bar.khams   go.upstream-1d

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

(17)   nənɟondʒ   kətʃe   tə-tʃʰi-ndʒ

2d   where   2-go$_1$-2d

Where are you two going?

tʃə-no   mborkʰe   ŋgo-dʒ

1d:e   'Bar.khams   go.upstream-1d

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

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

In (16) it would be inappropriate to use the second dual in the question. The first dual pronoun *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:

(18)   jino   tsəlajʂwe¤   ndoʔ

1p:e   running.water   have

We have running water (in our village).

(19)   jini   tsəlajʂwe¤   ndoʔ

1p:e   running.water   have

Our house(hold) has running water.

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

 no-səkʃot-j
 AF-teach-1p

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

(21) jiɟi tsəlajʂwe¤ ndoʔ
 1p:i running.water have
 We have running water.

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

second person

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

In the flow of speech frequently the first syllable of the second singular and dual pronouns *nənɟo* and *nənɟondʒ* are frequently omitted, leaving only *nɟo* and *nɟondʒ*. This is perfectly acceptable. I suspect that this is a matter not so much of leaving out the first syllable but rather of the first syllable collapsing into the second: the initial *n-* melts into the second person marker *n-* of the second syllable and the vowel disappears due to the Jiǎomùzú tendency to emphasise consonants and skip vowels, see section 2.3 of the chapter on phonology. Confusion with third dual *wuɟondʒ* 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 *wuɟo* and *mə*, indicating a generic 'he' or 'she'. The choice for one or the other formerly depended on dialect preferences exclusively. For example, Suōmò[90] used *mə*, whereas Jiǎomùzú used *wuɟo*. The onset of modern society has brought more contact between the different dialects and both *mə* and *wuɟo* are now widely understood. Some places use both, whereas others use only one or the other. The meaning of the pronouns may also be shifting. Recently a native speaker from Kǒnglóng defined the difference between *mə* and *wuɟo* in terms of reflexivity, with *mə* being a non-reflexive third person pronoun and *wuɟo* 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 Xiàngróng[92] thinks rGyalrong borrowed the Tibetan word for 'person', མི *mi*, for which he gives the pronunciation [mə]. This word

is used in literary Tibetan as well as in the Kham[93] dialect, which borders on the rGyalrong area in the south. In the Amdo dialect area, bordering on rGyalrong in the north and west, the contemporary spoken form is [mɲi]. The form *mə* as used in rGyalrong is thus most likely borrowed either from literary Tibetan, maybe via the monasteries or the secretaries of the local chieftains, or from Kham through trade and other contact. Of the two, *wuɟo* is the older form, as is attested by other aspects of rGyalrong grammar, such as the head marking of nouns. For third singular the pronominal prefix is always *w-*, never *m-*, as shown in example (22). In (22) *tə-* and *ta-* are noun markers, which I describe in section 4.2 of the chapter on nouns below. In genitives third person singular *w-* replaces the consonant *t-* of the noun marker:

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

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

(23) kʰəzaʔ   si   na-kə-tʃʰop-w   wuna tə
      bowl   who PFT-NOM-break-3s   he   C
      Who broke that bowl?   It was him!

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[90] Jīn (1958: 77).

[91] Tǎěrmǔ, personal communication.

[92] Lín (1993: 178).

[93] Kāng 康, ཁམས Khams.

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

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

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

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

(25a)   wuɟo tətʰa ki   ndoʔ
           he   book IDEF have
           He has a book.

(b)   mə tətʰa ki   ndoʔ
           he book IDEF have
           He has a book.

(c)   * kərek tətʰa 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)   tərmu ki   ji-vu
           person IDEF PFT-come$_2$
           Someone is at the gate.

(27)　kərek　ki　　ji-vu
　　　　one　　IDEF　PFT-come$_2$
　　　　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　　ji-vu
　　　　person　IDEF　PFT-come$_2$
　　　　Someone is at the gate.

(29)　kə-vi　　　　ki　　'na-ndoʔ
　　　　NOM-come$_1$　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)　wuɟo-ɲo ɲi-laktʃe to-ˈa-nə-ndʐu-jn　　　　kərek-ɲo　ɲi-laktʃe
　　　　3-p　　　　p-thing　PFT-NEV-EREFL-take-3p　3-p　　　　p-thing
　　　　They took their own things, but they didn't take the other people's stuff.

　　　　ɟi-ˈa-ndʐu-jn
　　　　NEG/PRF-NEV-take-3p

Marker ˈ*a-* in example (31) signals non-direct evidentiality, *nə-* marks emphatic reflexivity and *ɟi-* 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 *wuɟoɲo*, and the out-group, referred to as *kərekɲo*. 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 Jiǎomùzú. 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 wuɉo-ɲo pakʃu kərgi nə-mbuʔ-ŋ
     1s 3-p   apple one   PFT-give-1s
     I gave them an apple.

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

(34) ŋa jargo-ɲo pakʃu kərgi nə-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-jn
     friend Chinese-p dance   NOM-do NEG-NOM-can$_1$-3p
     Those Chinese can't dance.

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

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

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

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

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

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 *wuɟo* or *mə*. Example (40) has *kə*, a prominence marker. More on prominence marking can be found in section 4.3 of the chapter on nouns.

(39) wuɟo kəpaʔ ŋos   tʃəʔ kəpaʔ ŋos
     3s Chinese be   he, this Chinese be
     He is Chinese.   He, this is Chinese.

(40) si kə to-kə-va-w ŋos   tʃəʔ kə
     who PR PFT-NOM-do-3s be   this PR
     Who did [it]?   He did! (It was him!)

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

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[94] ཨ་ཁྱིས་སྒོ་ལྡོང་.

(41) pot-j   amɲi   sgəldən   kacəs   tə   rənə
     Tibetan-LOC   A.myis   Sgo.ldong   say   C   CON
     The one from Tibet who is called A-myis Sgo-ldong,

     saŋrɟi-ɲi   kə   ndə   tə-ɲi   tə   nə
     enlightened.one-p:HON   PR   DEM   C-p:HON   C   CON
     he was sent to us by the enlightened ones

     əɟije tʃe   na   bdewa   kə-pkot
     we   LOC downwards   peace   NOM-decree
     to come down and bring peace

     ndə   tə tə na-kə-sə-vu   na-kə-ŋos-jn   ˈnə-ŋos
     DEM   C   C   PFT-NOM-CAUS-come₂   PFT-NOM-be-3s:HON   EV-be
     they sent him to us.

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

(42) h-ardu   tə kə pkraʃis   doŋmən¤   w-əpʰa   tʃe
     D-towards.the.river   C   PR   bKra.shis   East.Gate   3s:GEN-vicinity   LOC
     He will meet bKra-shis at the East Gate.

     məto-w   ra
     meet-3s   need

c.   Number

The Jiǎomùzú 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):

(43) nənɟo tʰistok   ɟeʔm   tə-ndoʔ-jn
     you   how.many   house   2-have-2p
     How many houses are there in your [village]?

In this example the speaker is addressing the question to just one person, *nənɟo*, 'you (s)'. But because he asks about the conditions in *nənɟo*'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 Jiǎomùzú. 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)   nənɟo   semcan   kə-lok   tə-ŋos-jn   me   təmɲak   kə-ji   tə-ŋos-jn
       2s   livestock   NOM-herd   2-be-2p   or   field   NOM-sow   2-be-2p
       Are you herders or farmers?

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

(45)   mə   kəsam   tə   laktʃe   kə-ku   ji-rɟi-jn
       3s   three   C   thing   NOM-buy   PFT-go$_2$-3p
       The three of them went out to buy some things.

(46)   * mə   kəɲes   tə   laktʃe   kəku   jirɟindʒ

(47)   mə-ndʒ   laktʃe   kə-ku   ji-rɟi-ndʒ
       3d   thing   NOM-buy   PFT-go$_2$-2p
       The two of them went to buy something.

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

(48)   tʃəno   təza-ndʒ   kə-varwek   tʃʰi-dʒ,   ɲo   təmuʔ-ɲo   ɲ-aste   na-ˈɲu-jn
       1d,e   man-2d   NOM-hunt   go$_1$-1d,   2s   woman-p   2p:GEN-place   IMP-sit-2p
       We two guys are going to hunt, you girls stay here.

       * tʃəno   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:

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(49) kʰəzaʔ   kəɲes   rə-ˈvja-w
      bowl   two   IMP-get-2s
      Bring two bowls (out of many).

(50) kʰəzaʔ-ndʒ   rə-ˈvja-w
      bowl-3d   IMP-get-2s
      Bring the two bowls.

In (49) there are any number of bowls, and the speaker requests that two of them be brought to him. In (50) there are only two bowls, and the speaker wants both of them. There is no limit on how big the numeral that is used can be. But the higher the number, the bigger the chance that the sentence will sound unnatural, simply because there is a lower probability of having higher numbers in natural discourse. Note that the use of a numeral also precludes the use of the plural marker -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:

(51) ŋa   ŋ-ajze-ɲo   pok tə ɟehun¤   na-va-jn
      1s   1s:GEN-older.brother-p all C   marry   PFT-do-3p
      My older brothers are all married.

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

(53) pkraʃis   skalbzaŋ   harɟa-ɲo   tarngaʔ kə-va   tʃʰi-jn   ˈnə-ŋos
      bKra.shis sKal.bzang lHa.rgyal-p   dance   NOM-do   go-3p   EV-be
      bKra-shis, sKal-bzang and lHa-rgyal are going to dance.

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

Plural marker -ɲo can mean 'et cetera, the like, all':

(55) tʃəʔ tə bdət tə kə jiɟi-ɲo pəʒək wu-veravla-j   kəne
      this C   demon C   PR we:i-p   again 3/1-destroy-1p MD:C
      This demon will once again destroy us all!

The plural marker *-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   tərmu tʃəʔ 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 Jiǎomùzú 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   nənɟo-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)   nənɟo-ɲo smonbe   tə-ŋos-jn me
          2s-HON   doctor   2-be-2p   INTR
          Are you (HON) a doctor?

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

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

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

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

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

(60)   j-aku   si   ˈnə-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-andʐiʔ   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

Jiǎomùzú 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 རང་ *rang*, 'self, oneself, own' and རང་རང་ *rang rang*, 'one's own'. However, in some Jiǎomùzú dialects *raŋraŋ* can mean 'other':

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

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   təɟo   ka-nəndza
         self   INF-eat   self   INF-eat
         Eat [something] oneself.   Eat [something] oneself.

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

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

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Huáng[95] notes that a marker *tə-* prefixed to a noun gives the meaning of 'my own'. Though Huáng does not mention *təɟo* it is clearly the origin of his marker *tə-*. In his data *tə-* is prefixed to full nouns that retain their nominal prefixes, as in *tətərbo*, 'my own drum'. If a noun does not have a nominal prefix, *tə-* is prefixed directly to the root, as it is with many Chinese loanwords. Prefixing with *tə-* from free pronoun *təɟo* also occurs in the Jiǎomùzú dialects, signalling meanings such as 'one's…', 'one's own….'. In (67) the first example shows a noun with a nominal prefix, the second a root without a nominal prefix, and the third a loan from Chinese. All forms can take the generic pronoun marker *tə-*:

(67) tətʰa   N-book   tə-tətʰa   one's (own) book

      ʃokʃoʔk   paper   tə-ʃokʃoʔk   onə's (own) paper

      dijansə¤   TV   tə-dijansə¤   one's (own) tv

(68) ndə tərmu tə kə-ŋan   ki   ˈnə-ŋos təɟeʔm w-əŋgi   ji-vu
      that person C   NOM-bad   IDEF EV-be   house   3s:GEN-in   PFT-come₂

That is a really bad person; when he came into the house he broke one's tv,

      tʃe tə-dijansə¤   tə-jawkoŋ¤   manɟuʔ tə-tʂʰaʔdem   kəʒu tə
      LOC GENR-TV   GENR-remote.control also   GENR-thermos all   C

one's remote control and one's thermos.

      nə-cʰop-w
      PFT-break-3s

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

(69) …dijansə¤ jawkoŋ¤   manɟuʔ tə-tʂʰaʔdem   kəʒu tə nə-cʰop-w
      ….tv   remote.control   also   GENR-thermos all   C   PFT-break-3s

      ….the tv, the clicker and even the (one's) thermos, he broke them all.

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

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[95] 黄 (Huáng) (1993: 28).

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

(70) təɟo təprak təɟo ka-nəndʐu
  self portion self INF-take
  Each should take his own portion.

'Each, every' or 'each one, every one' is also expressed by another pronoun, *re* or *rere*. It cannot be used interchangeably with *təɟo* and *raŋraŋ*. In example (71) *kəmpʰjar* 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 poŋeʔj kəmpʰjar ka
  person each money CL   one
  Every one gets one [unit of] money.

(72) tərmu rere təɟeʔm kaka ʼna-ndoʔ
  person each house one OBS-have
  Every person gets one house.

(73) kaka nə-ʼmbu-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 མི་ རེ *mi re*, is used. In these constructions *rere* and *kaka* occur together, linking 'one' and 'each', though they can be separated by other constituents. Example (73) shows that *kaka* can appear without *rere* and still convey the same meaning of 'one [item] for each [person]'.

Often a sentence with such a general meaning is formed with the infinitive of a verb, without any pronouns.

(74) kəʃmo ka-nədzaŋkpe 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 *nə-* in the verb phrase, see (7.8.e) in the chapter on verbs. In such cases the emphatic reflexivity affix carries the meaning of 'oneself':

(76) ŋa nə-tʃʰi-ŋ   ra   nənɟo ʒik tə-nə-tʃʰi-n
      1s EREFL-go₁-1s   need 2s   also 2-EREFL-go₁-2s
      I have to go myself; you need to go yourself too.

There are no specific indefinite pronouns such as 'somewhere' and 'someone', though the derived pronoun *kərek* can do service, see section 3.1.b on third person free pronouns. More often, to express these concepts, Jiǎomùzú 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
      kətʃe 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) kəʃtʂə 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.

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

(80) jino   kəruʔ-ɲo kəʒu tə tarngaʔ ka-va   ʃpaʔ-j
      1p:e   Tibetan-p all C dance   NOM-do can-1p
      We Tibetans all know how to dance.

(81) nɟo   kəʃmo-ɲo
      2   thief-p
      you thieves!

(82) jargo   kəpaʔ-ɲo   tarngaʔ ka-va   ma-kə-ʃpaʔ-jn   ŋos
      friend Chinese-p   dance   NOM-do   NEG-NOM-can$_1$-3p   be
      Those Chinese can't dance.

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

(83) wuɟo-ɲo tascok   na-laʔt-jn
      3-p   letter   PFT-write$_2$-3p
      They wrote a letter.

      wuɟo-ɲo-ŋgu-j tascok   na-ɲa-la-laʔt-jn
      3-p-in-LOC   letter   PFT-REC-RED-write$_2$-3p
      They wrote each other letters.

(84) losar   wu-ʒak-j   j-əpʰambəm na-ɲa-mbə-mbəm-j
      New.Year 3s:GEN-time-LOC 1p:GEN-gift   PFT-REC-RED-give-1p
      At New Year we gave each other gifts.

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

f.   Analysis of the free definite personal pronouns

The pronominal markers as used in genitive constructions are:

1s	ŋ-	1d	tʃ-	1p	j-
2s	n-	2d	ndʒ-	2p	ɲ-
3s	w-	3d	wuɟondʒ-	3p	wuɟiɲ-

I give a full description of genitive constructions and possessive pronouns in section 3.2.
From a comparison with the free pronouns it is easy to see which parts of the pronoun carry the pronominal meaning. Some pronouns have more than one form currently in use in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. The following table includes these variants:

	pre	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1s		ŋ	a						
2s		n	ə	n	ɟ	o			
3s		w	u		ɟ	o			
1di		tʃ	ə		ɟ	o			
1de		tʃ	ə		n	o			
2d		n	ə	n	ɟ	o	n	dʒ	
3d		w	u		ɟ	o	n	dʒ	
1pi		j	i		ɟ	o			
		j	i		ɟ	i			
1pe		j	i		n	o			
		j	i		n	i			
2p	n	j	i	n	ɟ	o			
		n	ə	n	ɟ	o	n	j	o
3p		w	u		ɟ	o	n	j	o

A comparison of the pronouns leads to the following conclusions:

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

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

Interestingly, the first person dual forms do not take the regular dualis marker *-dʒ-*. Could the initial alveolar fricative be linked to the meaning of dualis, since *-dʒ-* and *-tʃ-* are close in articulation and the 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 *-ɲo* 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 *-ɲo*, affixed to nouns etc., can be interpreted as meaning 'non-first person, plural'.

Suffix *-ɟo* 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 *wuɟo* 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 *-ɟo* is suffixed to a string of locatives to indicate the people that are there:

(85) ata-j   ata-j   ata-j-ɟo   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 Jiǎomùzú verb paradigm for person and number. I give the paradigm for simple transitive and intransitive verbs here:

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

In the verb paradigm the second and third person dual and plural are all marked with the *n* for 'non-first person', as in the free pronouns. In the plural forms the order has been reversed, with the *j* for 'plural' before the *n* of 'non-first person'. However, in Lín Xiàngróng's description of Zhuōkèjī[96] the plural forms for second and third person all end in palatal nasals, as would be expected from the analysis of the pronouns. Jīn[97] gives a palatal nasal for the second person dual and plural for the Suōmò dialect. However, third person forms in his description are not suffixed at all. The Jiǎomùzú verbs behave mostly in the same way as the pronouns, though it is not clear why the order of the suffixed *n* and *j* has become inverted. Maybe ease of pronunciation is a reason.

3.2   *Possessive pronouns*

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

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[96] Lín (1993: 198).
[97] Jīn (1958: 102).

a. Bound possessive pronouns

	single	dual	plural
1	ŋ-	tʃ-	j-
2	n-	(nənɟo)ndʒ-	ɲ-
3	w-	wuɟondʒ-	wuɟiɲ-
honorific	ɲ-		ɲ-

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

(86)   tə-skruʔ   N-body   ta-miʔ   N-leg

s 1   ŋ-əskruʔ   my body   ŋ-amiʔ   my leg
  2   n-əskruʔ   your body   n-amiʔ   your leg
  3   w-əskruʔ   his body   w-amiʔ   his leg

d 1   tʃ-əskruʔ   our body   t-amiʔ   our leg
  2   (nɟo)ndʒ-əskruʔ   your body   (nɟo)ndʒ-amiʔ   your leg
  3   wuɟondʒ-əskruʔ   their body   wuɟondʒ-amiʔ   their leg

p 1   j-əskruʔ   our body   j-amiʔ   our leg
  2   ɲ-əskruʔ   your body   ɲ-amiʔ   your leg
  3   wuɟiɲ-əskruʔ   their body   wuɟiɲ-amiʔ   their leg

HON   ɲ-əskruʔ   his body   ɲ-amiʔ   his leg

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

(87)   sandzət   upbringing   wu-sandzət   his upbringing
        spen   glue   ji-spen   our glue
        kʰaʃpa   frog   nə-kʰaʃpa   your frog
        məntoʔk   flower   ɲi-məntoʔk   your (p) flower

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

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

(89)   wuɟondʒ-ənge ka-nəsacəmdo kə-rgaʔ-ndʒ   ˈnə-ŋos
        3d:GEN-clothes NOM-swap   NOM-like-3d   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 *ɲ-* while the vowel *a-* remains in place:

(90a)   tamiʔ   (90b)   jontan w-amiʔ
        leg   Yon.tan 3s:GEN-leg
        leg   Yon-tan's leg

(90c)   sloppən ɲ-amiʔ   (90d)   blame ɲi-ʒap
        teacher   1s:HON:GEN-leg   lama   3s:HON:GEN-leg:HON
        the teacher's leg   the lama's leg

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

(91)   ŋa wu-picipən   rna-ŋ   ˈkə-səso-ŋ
        1s 3s:GEN-notebook borrow-1s   PRIMP-want-1s
        I want to borrow his notebook.

(92)   kʰut kʰut wu-saɟup   w-ərka-j   ŋos
        can   can   3s:GEN-bed   3s:GEN-top-LOC be
        No problem. It's on his bed.

b.   Free possessive pronouns

Used less frequently than the bound set, 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:

	single	dual	plural
1 incl.		tʃəɟo tʃəje	jiɟo jije jino jije
excl.	ŋa ŋəje	tʃəno tʃəje	jiɟi jije jini jije
2	nənɟo nəje	nənɟondʒije	ɲinɟo ɲije ɲinɟi ɲije
3	wuɟo wuje	wuɟondʒije	wuɟo ɲije wuɟi ɲije

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

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

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

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

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

(96)   tʃəʔ   saɟup tə wuje   ŋos
       this   bed   C   3s-POSS be
       This bed is his.

c.   Genitive constructions

The process of affixing morphemes to words to express a certain relationship, as described above for genitive constructions, is an important feature of the 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-ajze   w-arɟaʔp
        1s:GEN-older.brother   3s:GEN-wife
        My older brother's wife.

(98)   təza   ɲi-tʃiŋʂə¤   wu-hawʂu¤   tʰistok   ŋos
        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-pʰjaw¤   ku-ŋ
        1s   Ruòěrgài[98]   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 *wuɟiɲi*. However, the bound possessive, in shortened or full form, must appear, it cannot be omitted. Logically, the relationship between third person interrogatives and demonstratives and their referents is expressed by third person bound possessives:

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

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[98] 若尔盖, མཛོད་དགེ། mDzod-dge.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(110) jontan ˈnə-miʔ   o   w-əmpʰi   ji-rɟi

       Yon.tan EV-not.have MD:CF 3s:GEN-outside PFT-go₂

       Yon-tan isn't here, he went out.

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

(111) naŋ-j-əŋgu   tanhwa

       in-1p:GEN-in   speak

       talk among ourselves (have a discussion with insiders or family members)

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

(112) bawbaw¤ w-əŋgu-j   tətʰa ndoʔ

       bag   3s:GEN-in-LOC book   have

       There is a book inside the bag.

       bawbaw¤ w-əŋgu   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 wəŋgu* is a unit: the referent is 'the inside of the bag', not 'inside' as the location of certain things.

3.3   *Demonstrative pronouns*

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

(113) tʃəʔ   tʰi   ˈnə-ŋos   tʃəʔ   tətʰa   ŋos
DEM   what   EV-be   DEM   book   be
What is this?   This is a book.

(114) ndə   ŋa   ŋ-ajze   ŋos
DEM   1s   1s:GEN-older.brother   be
That is my older brother.

(115) picipən¤   wu-saɟup   w-ərka-j   ŋos ndə   to-tə-ndʐu-w   jok
notebook   3s:GEN-bed   3s:GEN-top-LOC   be   DEM   PFT-2-take-2s   allow
The notebook is on his bed, you can just take it.

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

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

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

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

(118a) *ʃokʃoʔk kəpraʔm tʃəʔ ŋa ŋəje ŋos

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

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

The demonstrative pronouns can be marked for number:

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

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

(120a) tətʰa ndə-ndʒ   tətʰa ndə-ɲo   tərmu   tʃəʔ-ɲo
        book DEM-d   book DEM-p   person DEM-p
        those two books   those books   these people

(120b) * ndəndʒ tətʰa   * tətʰandʒ ndə

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

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

(121a) tʃəʔ   tʰaŋke-ɲo   tʃəʔ   skə-ɲo
        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) tʰaŋkə   tʃəʔ-ɲo   blame ndə-ɲo
        religious.painting DEM-3s:HON   lama DEM-3s:HON
        this religious painting   that lama

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

(121c) ndə-ɲo blame wastop ˈna-haw

DEM-p lama very OBS-good

The lama of those [people] is very good.

* that lama (HON)

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

(121d) ndə-ɲo blame-ɲo wastop ˈna-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 ˈnə-ŋos   tʃəʔ tə tʰi ˈnə-ŋos

person DEM C INT EV-be   DEM C INT EV-be

Who is that?   What is this?

(123a) kətə w-ətʰa   (123b) tətʰa kətə ˈnə-ŋos

who 3s:GEN-book   book which EV-be

whose book?   Which book is it?

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

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

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

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

(125) tʃəʔ si   w-ətʰa   ˈnə-ŋos
       DEM   INT 3s:GEN-book   EV-be
       Whose book is this?

(126) nənɟo nə-bawbaw¤   tʰi   w-əmdoʔk   ˈnə-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-ɲo
        who-2,3d   who-p

(127b) tʰi-ndʒ
        what-2,3d

        tʰi-ɲo   kə ka-pso   ka-maʔk   kə-ŋos ma-kə-ʃi-jn   ˈnə-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-ɲo
        which-2,3d   which-p

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

(128) ndə   tʰi   ˈnə-ŋos
       DEM   INT   EV-be
       What is that?

(129) pkraʃis   kə   ndə   tʰi   ˈnə-ŋos   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-rɟi
       child   thing   NOM-buy   PFT-go$_2$
       The child went to the store.

(131) laktʃe   kə-ʃi-ku   tapuʔ   tə   si   ˈnə-ŋos
       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-pɟa-sə-mtʃuk-w
       snake   PR   PFT-REFL-CAUS-bite-3s
       He was bitten by a snake.

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

       na-məto-ŋ
       PFT-see-1s

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