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

Prins, M.C.

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CHAPTER 4

NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

4.0 Introduction

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

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

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

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

4.1 *Building a noun phrase*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* paktsa kəsanərga? kəsam kəne?k ndo?

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

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

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

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

* paktsa kəneʔk kəsam makəndʒa 'ndo

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

* paktsa kənək kəsam ŋkʰukŋkʰuk ndoʔ

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

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

ŋa kə-mpʰel-ŋ ŋos
 I NOM-sell-1s be

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

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

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

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

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

* paktsa kəneʔk kəsam wuvjot ndoʔ

Classifiers modify nouns, often occurring after numerals:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* paktsa kəneʔk makəndʒa kəsam ki ndo?

* paktsa kəneʔk ki tə ndo?

* paktsa kəneʔk tə ki ndo?

* paktsa kənək ndə ki ndo?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

kə-mpʰel-ɲ ɲos
 NOM-sell-1s be

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

kə-mpʰel-ɲ ɲos
 NOM-sell-1s be

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

4.2 Features of nouns

- a. The concept of noun in Jiăomùzú

Consider the following example:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰² Lín (1993: 626-730).

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

¹⁰⁴ Sun (1998: 112).

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

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

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

(24)	tək ^h oŋbe	viscera	k ^h oŋbe	viscera
	k ^h əŋamoŋ,	camel	ŋamoŋ	camel
	kəŋamoŋ			

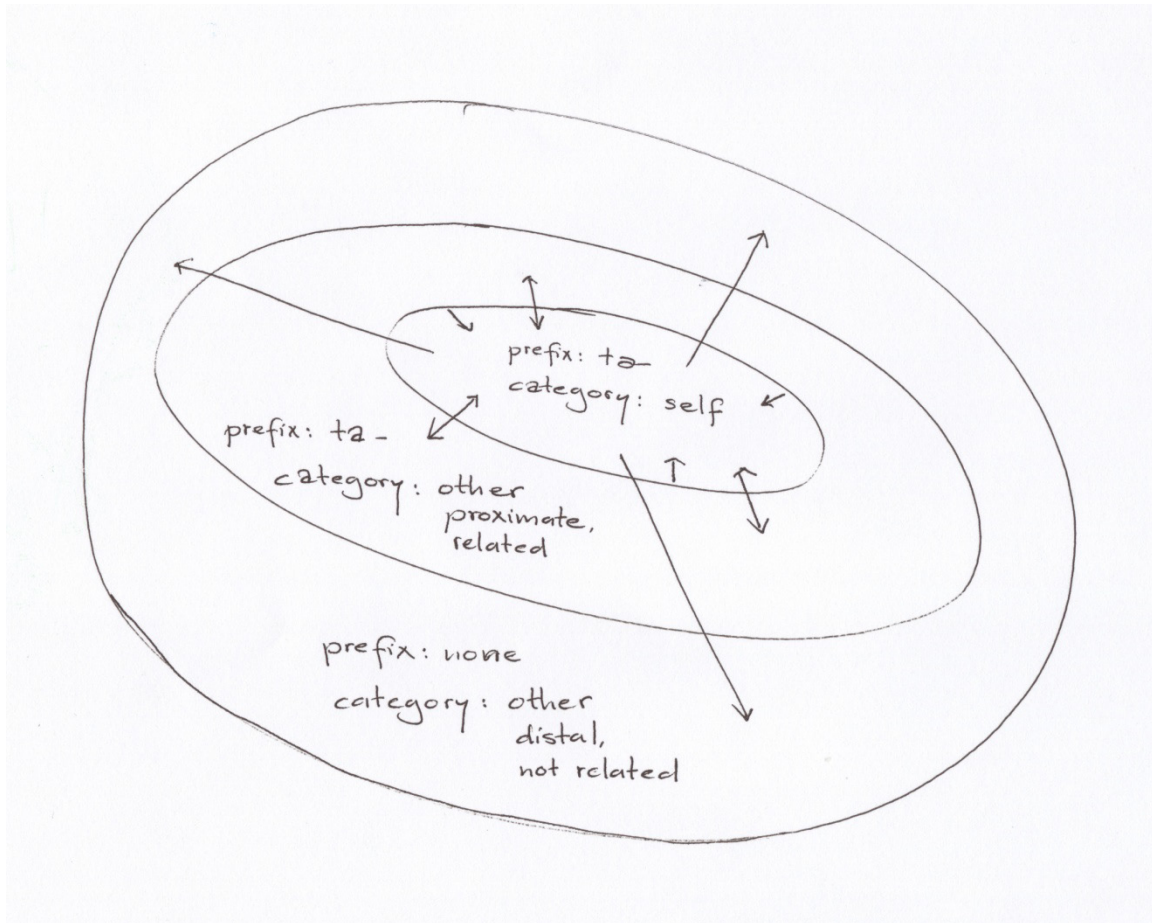
Working with a wordlist of 998 nouns I found no phonological constraints for the occurrence of *ta-* and *tə-*, but the noun prefixes have an intriguing distribution. Occurrences of the prefixes *ta-* and *tə-* represent only 34% of the total wordlist. The percentages for the individual prefixes are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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b. Distinctions in nouns

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

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

Proper nouns and common nouns

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

- (28)
- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------|
| <i>k^həna</i> | dog |
| <i>k^həna-ndʒ</i> | two dogs (d) |
| <i>k^həna-ŋo</i> | 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)
- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>pkraʃis</i> | bKra-shis |
| <i>pkraʃis-ndʒ</i> | bKra-shis and one other person |
| <i>pkraʃis-ŋo</i> | bKra-shis and several other people |

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

- (30) * *ʃakarndʒ ndoʔndʒ*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Both proper nouns and common nouns form genitive constructions:

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

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

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

Animate and inanimate nouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

(41a) ? mǝntoʔk-po na-mǝca (41b) mǝntoʔk kǝʒu tǝ na-sna
flower-p PFT-many flower all C PFT-good
All the flowers were good.

(42) nənʃo tʰistok ʃeʔm tə-ndoʔ-jn kəʃes-zʃi-kəmŋi ʃeʔm 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.

The distinction between animate and inanimate nouns, signalled through number marking is, to my knowledge, common throughout Jiǎomùzú. Only the nomadic pastoralists on the high altitude grasslands of the Jiǎomùzú Mùchǎng 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 Mùchǎng pastoralists, who are bilingual in rGyalrong and a variety of nomad Amdo Tibetan, are influenced by the Tibetan verb system, which does not mark number on the verb.

Count and non-count nouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Definite and indefinite nouns

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

Collective and distributive nouns

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

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

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

c. Derivation of nouns.

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

Compounds

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

* Two complete words combine to make a new word:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In compounding, changes of vowel can occur:

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

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

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

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

'nə-ŋos
EV-be

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

Nominalisers

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

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

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

This kind of nominalisation is especially productive with verbs that can form noun-verb compounds, such as *kataʔ*, 'put', *kaleʔt*, 'hit' and *kava*, 'do':

(65)	tatpe ka-taʔ	have faith	tatpe kə-taʔ	believer
	k ^h orlo ka-leʔt	drive a car	k ^h orlo kə-leʔt	driver
	tarngaʔ ka-va	dance	tarngaʔ kə-va	dancer

Also frequently used is the oblique nominaliser *sa-*, which forms nouns that signal places or instruments:

(66)	tascok ka-leʔt	write (letter + hit)	
	tascok sa-leʔt	writing material, an object that facilitates writing	
	ka-mp ^h el	sell	
	sa-mp ^h el	place for selling goods, a place that facilitates selling	

Note that the meaning of the nominalised construction with *sa-* is very broad and does not necessarily refer to a specific object. The nominalised form of *kanəʃup*, 'sleep' does not actually mean 'bed', though beds are included in the meaning. Any place or object where a person may sleep is called a *saʃup*, from hammocks to beds to patches of sidewalk. In the same way, *tascok saleʔt*, 'writing materials', includes pens, paper, brushes, ink, and any other object that may be used for writing. And *samp^hel*, 'place for selling', may refer to a shop, a stand on a market, or a piece of cloth on which a hawker displays his wares. Earlier studies of rGyalrong have not always made this distinction, leading to glosses such as 'paper' for *saleʔt*, which is generally correct of course, but rather too narrow.¹⁰⁷

Unlike other rGyalrong varieties, Jiăomùzú does not have a nominaliser *tə-*. I discuss the case of *tə-* in section 7.1 on nominalisation of the verbs chapter.

According to Jin and Lín¹⁰⁸ the aspectual prefix *to-* can be used as a nominaliser in constructions such as *tokanapu*, 'adopted child, foster child', from *kanapu*, 'adopt' (I use Jin's transcriptions here for his examples). Jin and Lín interpret the prefix as a perfective marker. The Jiăomùzú dialects differ in this respect from Zhuōkèjī and Suōmò. In Jiăomùzú it is not the appearance of past

¹⁰⁷ Nagano (2003: 471) correctly describes the meaning of nominalised constructions with *sa-* as 'a place/utensil to do something' but then gives examples in which the glosses are too narrow. For example, *sa-top* (from *ka-top*, 'hit') does not mean 'hammer' as Nagano glosses it, but 'object for hitting'. The word for 'hammer' is *k^hatʃak*.

¹⁰⁸ Jin (1958: 74), Lín (1993: 163).

imperfective aspect marker *to-* but the presence of *kə-* that nominalises this type of construction. The appearance of *to-* in past tense sentences simply signals past imperfective, while *na-* marks perfective, as shown in the following pair:

- (67) *k^halat ka-ndza na-səjoʔk-w*
rtsam.pa NOM-eat PFT-finish-3s
 He finished eating *rtsam-pa*.
- k^halat ka-ndza to-səjoʔk-w*
rtsam.pa NOM-eat PSTIMP-finish-3s
 He finished off the *rtsam-pa*.

This distinction remains in nominalised constructions such as the pair in (68). The first sentence signals an action, the taking along of the donkey, about which more remains to be said, while the second sentence conveys the meaning that the taking along of the donkey happened and is now finished.

- (68) *tarke tə w-apsi na-kə-ndʃu-w 'nə-ŋos*
donkey C 3s:GEN-with PFT-NOM-take-3s EV-be
 He took the donkey with him.
- tarke tə w-apsi to-kə-ndʃu-w 'nə-ŋos*
donkey C 3s:GEN-with PSTIMP-NOM-take-3s EV-be
 He took the donkey with him.

The examples above show that *to-* cannot be the nominaliser of the construction, since the same construction with *na-* is still nominalised. Nominalisation here is caused by *kə-*, not by the aspect markers.

Both Lín and Nagano¹⁰⁹ mention the prefix *a-* as a converter of nouns into terms of endearment or vocatives as in *apa*, 'dad' from *tapa*, 'father' and as a nominaliser for direction markers. In Jiăomùzú vocatives indeed mostly have *a-* as initial, while their root nouns have noun prefix *ta-*, see section 4.2.d on vocatives below. But for the orientational nouns, though they do have *a-* as initial, see section 7.3 on orientation in the verb chapter, *a-* does not function as a nominaliser. Nagano gives *ta* for 'upward' and *ʔata* for '(the) above'. But in Jiăomùzú the directional words for the set meaning 'vertically up' are as follows:

¹⁰⁹ Lín (1993: 162), Nagano (2003: 471).

(69)	vertically up	ata	noun	the place on high, the high place
		sto	adverb	above, high
		kat ^h o	verb	go up
		to	direction marker	upwards

The direction marker *to* differs from and cannot be the root of *ata*, which is a noun. There is no separate root **ta* which functions as a direction marker. Prefix *a-* does not work as a nominaliser in Jiăomùzú.

Finally, Jiăomùzú employs the nominaliser *-vu* to derive nouns from nouns forming the meaning 'person that is from...':

(70)	wuʃo	j-ərpe-vu	ɲos
	he	1p:GEN-village-NOM	be
	He is from our village.		

	wuʃo	mk ^h ono-vu	'nə-ɲos
	he	Kǒnglóng-NOM	EV-be
	He is from Kǒnglóng.		

Sometimes Jiăomùzú speakers use the Tibetan nominaliser *-pa*. This nominaliser only occurs with Tibetan loan words. Sometimes a reduplication of this nominaliser occurs, as shown in the following example. There are two terms for 'trader' that regularly occur in Jiăomùzú. In (71a) the noun of the noun-verb compound *ts^hoŋ kava*, 'do business' is borrowed from Tibetan *tshong*, 'trade'. Nominalisation of this compound results in *ts^hoŋ kəva*, literally 'doer of trade'. The second term, as shown in (71b) is *ts^hoŋpe*, 'trader', a direct loan from Tibetan *tshongpa*, in which the suffix *-pa* is a nominaliser. In Jiăomùzú yet one more nominaliser *-pa* is suffixed to the entire form. In Amdo Tibetan, the nominaliser *-pa* is realised as [pa] or [wa], depending on the phonetic environment. In Jiăomùzú I have only found the form *-wa*:

(71a)	Jiăomùzú		literary Tibetan
	ts ^h oŋ ka-va	do business	ཚོང་རྒྱུ། <i>tshon rgyag</i>
	ts ^h oŋ kə-va	trader	
(71b)	ts ^h oŋ-pe	trader (loan from Tibetan)	ཚོང་པ། <i>tshong-pa</i>
	ts ^h oŋ-pe-wa	trader (loan from Tibetan re-nominalised with <i>-pa</i>)	

A final example is (71c). The loan *mbrokpe*, which already has the Tibetan nominaliser *-pa*, is re-nominalised with *-wə*:

- (71c) *mbrokpe* nomadic herder, from literary Tibetan འབྲོག་པ་ *'brog-pa*
 mbrokpewa nomadic herder

Gender

The default for Jiāomùzú 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 Jiāomùzú can employ one of three different kinds of marking. Some nouns express gender by using entirely different forms for the three categories of male, female and young or offspring:

- (72) *tərmu* person *təza* man, male
 təmu woman, female
 tapu? child, young
- kəjo?* sheep *sarna* ram
 jomo, moluk ewe
 ɲaɲa lamb

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

- (73) *tapu?* child
 tapu?-mu a female child
 tapu?-za a male child

However, in most cases *təza* and *təmu* are used in their full form adjectivally to express gender:

- (74) *sloppən* teacher
 * *sloppənza* *sloppən təza* a male teacher
 * *sloppənmu* *sloppən təmu* a female teacher

In some cases loanwords can mark gender with suffixes based on the native terms for male and female but normally the entire gender word is used. Speakers from different dialects may disagree on which words can or cannot be suffixed with the gender markers:

- (75) lawsə^ɤ teacher, from Chinese 老师 *lǎoshī*, 'teacher'
lawsə^ɤ təmu female teacher
- Jiăomùzú: * lawsəmu
Běnzhen: lawsəmu female teacher
- (76) lawsə^ɤ təmu zik ndo? lawsə^ɤ tɛza zik ndo?
teacher woman also have teacher man also have
There are male as well as female teachers.

A third way of marking gender is through suffixing with the Tibetan markers for male and female, *-p^{ho}* and *-mo* respectively:

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------------|---------|------------------------------------|------------|
| (77) | pkwaʔ | chicken | k ^h oŋ | tiger |
| | pkwaʔ-mo | hen | k ^h oŋ-mo | tigress |
| | pkwaʔ-p ^h o | rooster | k ^h oŋ-p ^h o | male tiger |

One of my language consultants said that these days younger native speakers tend to use *təza* and *təmu* also with nouns that traditionally take Tibetan gender markers, so that one can also hear things like *k^hoŋ təmu* for 'tigress'.¹¹⁰ For some words, borrowed gender markers do not occur as a pair. In example (78) the female gender marker is *-mo* but the male gender marker is *-jo* rather than *-p^ho*:

- (78) pak pig
 pak-mo sow
 pak-jo boar

The borrowed gender markers cannot be attached indiscriminately to any noun. Most native nouns by far only take the native gender markers *-mu* and *-za*, either in full or shortened form, while the Tibetan gender markers apparently occur mostly with loanwords from Tibetan:

¹¹⁰ Namkha, personal communication.

(79)	rta	horse, from literary Tibetan རྟ <i>rta</i>
	rta-mo, rgonme	mare, literary Tibetan: རྟ་གོང་མེ <i>rta rgod-ma</i>
	rta-p ^h o	stallion, literary Tibetan: རྟ་གཤེད <i>rta-gseb</i> , or རྟ་ཕྱི <i>rta-p^ho</i> , 'male horse'
	mbro?	horse
	* mbro?-p ^h o	
	* mbro?-mo	
	mbro? təmu	mare
	mbro? təza	stallion

Interestingly, the word normally used for 'horse' is the indigenous *mbro?* rather than Tibetan *rta*. But when it comes to gender distinctions, *rtamo* and *rtapo* often occur.

In some cases, the borrowed gender markers occur as prefixes rather than suffixes. In example (80) *holək*, 'ram' follows the Amdo nomad pronunciation of gender prefix *p^ho-*, while *p^holək* follows the more formal literary Tibetan form:

(80)	k ^h əna	dog	kəʃo?	sheep
	p ^h o-tʃ ^h ə	male dog	p ^h o-lək, holək	ram
	mo-tʃ ^h ə	bitch	mo-lək	ewe

Note that not only does the gender marker become prefixed, but also the root used is a Tibetan loan rather than the root of the native word, as in literary Tibetan ཁྱི *khyi*, 'dog' and literary Tibetan ལྷག *lug*, 'sheep'. In some cases the root changes to something not recognizably Tibetan or native:

(81)	lolo	cat	literary Tibetan: ཞི་མི <i>zhi-mi</i>
	p ^h o-rə, horə	tom cat	
	mo-rə	female cat	

It may be that there was an indigenous term for 'cat' with the root *-rə*, which is now replaced with *lolo*. The word *lolo* may be more of an areal term, since it occurs in one form or another throughout south-west China.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Katia Chirkova, personal communication.

Diminutives

Many diminutives are formed by adding a third person possessive form of *tapu?*, 'child, young', to the noun. The resulting diminutives are syntactic constructions rather than morphologically derived:

(82)	k ^h oŋ	tiger	k ^h oŋ w-apu?
			tiger 3s:GEN-child
			tiger cub
	kəzu	monkey	kəzu w-apu?
			monkey 3s:GEN-child
			young of a monkey
	k ^h apri	snake	k ^h apri w-apu?
			snake 3s:GEN-child
			young of a snake

Some nouns can be simply suffixed with *-pu?*, from *tapu?*:

(83)	təmu	woman	təmu-pu?	girl, daughter
	təza	man	təza-pu?	boy, son
	pwa?	chicken	pwa?-pu?	chick
	sarna	ram	sarna-pu?	young ram, male lamb
	k ^h əna	dog	k ^h əna-pu?	pup

Some nouns can be modified by either form:

(84)	lolo	cat
	lolo-pu?	kitten
	lolo w-apu?	kitten

Note that *-pu?* always indicates a relationship between a mature member of people or animals and their offspring. It conveys the meaning of 'born of...'. It cannot be used to form diminutives for inanimate nouns:

(85)	tət ^h a	book	* tət ^h a-pu?
	taji?k	hand	* taji?k-pu?
	mənto?k	flower	* mənto?k-pu?

The meaning 'small' is marked by the suffix *-tsa*, which forms diminutives mostly for inanimate nouns, though some animate nouns also require this suffix. Sometimes this leads to derived meanings, as in *kamtsa*, 'window', which literally means 'small door':

(86)	pak	pig	pak-tsa	piglet, small pig
	rgambe	box	rgambe-tsa	small box
	kam	door	kam-tsa	window

Some nouns can take either suffix. Usually the distinction between the meanings 'small' and 'offspring of' remains, as in (86), but not always. Some nouns take only one or the other suffix, as in the examples for 'pig' and 'chicken':

(87)	k ^h əna	dog
	k ^h əna-pu?	pup, young of a dog
	k ^h əna-tsa	pup, small dog
	pwa?	chicken
	pwa?-pu?	chick, small chicken
	* pwa?tsa	
	pak	pig
	pak-tsa	piglet, small pig
	* pakpu?	

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

(88)	təza	man, male
	təza-pu?	boy
	* təzaputsa	

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

(89)	təmu	woman, female
	təmu-pu?	girl
	təmu-pu? kətsə	a small girl
(90)	pak	pig
	pak-tsa	piglet
	pak-tsa kətsə	a small piglet

The diminutive suffix *-tsa* cannot occur with any and all nouns. In fact by far the most nouns do not take *-tsa* but have to be modified by *kətsə*, 'small', to express diminutives:

(91)	tət ^h a	book	* tət ^h a-tsa	tət ^h a kətsə	a small book
	təʃna	nose	* təʃna-tsa	təʃna kətsə	a small nose
	k ^h əzaʔ	bowl	* k ^h əzaʔ-tsa	k ^h əzaʔ kətsə	a small bowl
	məntoʔk	flower	* məntoʔk-tsa	məntoʔk kətsə	a small flower

d. Inflectional morphology

Apart from the class and subclass markers *tə-*, *ta-*, *kə-*, *k^h-* and *k-*, which have been discussed in section 4.2.1 above, the Jiăomùzú dialects use bound affixes to mark person and number, genitive constructions and locatives. Person and number are expressed by suffixes on the noun. Jiăomùzú uses both special vocabulary and person and number marking to form honorifics. Terms of endearment are formed by adding *lelej* after a kinship term or noun. I treat this term as a separate word rather than as a suffix. Genitive constructions employ prefixes based on pronouns to mark person. Locatives are discussed extensively in section 5.6 of the chapter on adverbs.

Number

The Jiăomùzú dialects mark nouns for dual and plural. The default is the unmarked form, which denotes either the entire category of entities referred to by the noun or one entity of that class, as discussed in section 4.2.a on the nature of the Jiăomùzú noun above. Dual is marked by *-ndʒ* and plural with *-ɲo*, as familiar from the non-first person pronominal marking described in section 3.1 of the chapter on pronouns:

(92)	tət ^h a	book	tərmu	person
	tət ^h a-ndʒ	two books	tərmu-ndʒ	two people
	tət ^h a-ɲo	books	tərmu-ɲo	people

The dual marker means 'exactly two'. The plural marker specifies 'three or more'. The plural cannot be used to simply indicate 'more than one', nor can the dual mean 'two or more' or 'two out of many'. The numeral *kəʃnes*, 'two', cannot occur with a noun marked for dual, since dual marking already specifies that there are two and only two of a certain thing. Consider the following examples, which are all imperatives:

(93a)	tət ^h a-ndʒ	to- ^l ku-w
	book-d	IMP-buy-2s
	Buy the two books!	

- (93b) tət^ha kəɲes to-'ku-w
 book two IMP-buy-2s
 Buy two books!

* tət^handʒ kəɲes tokuw

- (93c) tət^ha-ɲo to-'ku-w
 book-p IMP-buy-2s
 Buy books!

In example (93a) there are two and only two books. The speaker demands that the hearer buys those two books. In (93b) there are many books, and the speaker asks that the hearer buys two out of the many that are available. Example (93c) exhorts someone to buy three or more books. Note that the plural marker does not occur if the noun is modified by a numeral:

- (94a) k^həna-ɲo to-'ku-w
 dog-p IMP-buy-w
 buy the dogs!

- (94b) k^həna kəmɲi to-'ku-w
 dog-p five IMP-buy-w
 buy five dogs!

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

- (95) kantʃ^hak-j ka-ndza kə-mp^her wuvjot 'na-ndo? swej-ɲo pakʃu-ɲo
 market-LOC NOM-food NOM-sell many OBS-have barley-p apple-p
 In the market there are many foodstuffs for sale, [grains] like barley and such,
 [fruit] like apples and so on.

Whether a noun can take number marking or not depends on distinctions such as animacy and countability, and modification of the noun by quantifiers, classifiers etc., as discussed above. The presence or absence of number marking also influences the degree of definiteness conveyed by a form, see section 4.3.b on indefiniteness marking below.

The number markers are clitic postpositions. When a noun phrase consists of more than one word the number marker is attached to the last constituent in the noun phrase, even if that constituent is not a noun. For example, in (96) the third person dualis marker *-ndʒ* is suffixed to the contrast marker *tə*, the final constituent of the noun phrase:

- (96) [h-ato təmu-pu? tə-ndʒ] ndʒa-vlu 'na-ndʒa
 D-up.there girl C-3d 3d:GEN-age OBS-like
 Those two girls are the same age.

Number marking occurs after the last constituent also when several noun phrases are coordinated:

- (97) jino swej jima? taji-no 'kə-ji-j manʒu? ʒugolor pakʃu ndo?
 we:e barley corn wheat-p PRIMP-grow-1p besides walnut apple have
 We grow barley, corn and wheat as well as walnuts and apples.

The placement of the number marker in a noun phrase can signal subtle shades of meaning or emphasis:

- (98a) pak-no tə təjeʔm w-əŋgi ka-sə-tsʰi ma-kʰut kəne
 pig-p C house 3s:GEN-in NOM-CAUS-go NEG-can MD:C
 Pigs are not allowed inside the house.

- (98b) pak tə-no təjeʔm w-əŋgi ka-sə-tsʰi ma-kʰut kəne
 pig C-p house 3s:GEN-in NOM-CAUS-go NEG-can MD:C
 Pigs are not allowed inside the house.

In (98a) the speaker simply states that pigs are not allowed inside the house. In the second example the speaker is more emphatic about the pigs: *they* can't come into the house, but other animals, such as the cat, can. In the examples above *kəne* is a mood marker which conveys that the speaker thinks that the fact stated, here that pigs are not allowed in the house, should be obvious to the listener. Number is marked on the last constituent of the second noun phrase if two noun phrases are linked:

- (99) [[tʃəʔ w-aʃasto] manʒu? [ndə w-əŋgi]-ndʒ] ndʒə-vu 'na-kəktu
 this 3s:GEN-shirt also that 3s:GEN-inside-3d 3d:GEN-price OBS-big
 Both this shirt and the one inside are expensive.

Because number marking does not occur for singular nor in general statements like the ones in example (100), it is not always clear if a speaker refers to one or many of a particular entity, as discussed above in section 4.2.a on the nature of the Jiāomùzú nouns:

- (100) coktse w-ərka-j tətʰa ndo?
 table 3s:GEN-top-LOC book have
 There is a book on the table.
 There are books on the table.

Example (100) gives a general statement about what is on the table. The speaker makes clear that he is talking about the entity 'book' but he does not specify whether he talks about one or more books. The relevant information in the statement concerns the nature of the item or items on the table, not their number. The ambiguity of such statements can be resolved by adding numerals, quantifiers or classifiers, or one of the markers *tə* and *ki* which define the degree of definiteness of a noun. Plural marking can be used in accordance with the rules for animacy and countability of nouns that govern such marking, see above. If the speaker wants to specify the number of books on the table, if there is only one, he has to use a numeral like *kərek*, 'one', or *ki* which can mean 'one' or function rather like an indefinite article, similar to English 'a':

- (101a) coktse w-ərka-j tət^ha kerek ndo?
 table 3s:GEN-top-LOC book one have
 There is one book on the table.

- (101b) coktse w-ərka-j tət^ha ki ndo?
 table 3s:GEN-top-LOC book IDEF have
 There is a book on the table.

If a speaker wants to convey information about the number of books on the table, if there are more than one, he can use a numeral:

- (102) coktse w-ərka-j tət^ha kəsam ndo?
 table 3s:GEN-top-LOC book three have
 There are three books on the table.

Note that no plural marking occurs on *tət^ha*, 'book', when a numeral occurs. Plural marking also does not occur when there is another word specifying quantity in the sentence:

- (103) coktse w-ərka-j tət^ha kə-məca ndo?
 table 3s:GEN-top-LOC book NOM-many have
 There are many books on the table.

- (104) wuʃo k^həza? təɡnəs me mi?
 she bowl few only not.have
 She has only a few bowls.

Number marking on the noun phrase can also be omitted if marking on the verb makes clear how many people or objects are involved and the noun phrase lists them. There is no difference in marking for proper nouns and common nouns in this respect:

- (105a) pkraʃis-ndʒ ʃintəhu ɲu-ndʒ
 bKra.shis-3d Chéngdū live-3d
 bKra-shis and [his friend] live in Chéngdū.
- (105b) pkraʃis narə w-andʃiʔ ʃintəhu ɲu-ndʒ
 bKra.shis and 3s:GEN-friend Chéngdū live-3d
 bKra-shis and his friend live in Chéngdū.
- (105c) pkraʃis narə lhamo-ndʒ ʃintəhu ɲu-ndʒ
 bKra.shis and lHa.mo-3d Chéngdū live-3d
 bKra-shis and lHa-mo live in Chéngdū.
- (105d) rənbamila-ndʒ ʃintəhu ɲu-ndʒ
 Renbamila-3d Chéngdū live-3d
 The two people of the house Renbamila both live in Chéngdū.
- (105e) ŋ-andʃiʔ-ndʒ ʃintəhu ɲu-ndʒ
 1s:GEN-friend-3d Chéngdū live-3d
 My two friends live in Chéngdū.
- (105f) * ŋandʃiʔ ʃintəhu ɲu-ndʒ
- (105g) * ŋandʃiʔndʒ ʃintəhu ɲu

The examples above all involve two persons living in Chéngdū. In (105a) there is, along with bKra-shis, one unspecified person. Examples (105b) and (105c) show that number marking can be dispensed with if the number is clearly marked on the verb and the parties referred to are listed in the noun phrase. Example (105b) does not have marking on the noun phrase, which leaves the number of people unspecified since the hearer does not know how many friends are with bKra-shis. But the noun phrase lists bKra-shis as well as at least one friend, and the number marking on the verb for third person dual signals that there is only one. Example (105c) does mark number on the noun phrase. Both (105b) and (105c) are grammatical. Example (105d) shows that number marking for what in essence is an entity that cannot be counted, the house of Renbamila, is divided up in countable quantities by the use of a number marker. As discussed above, sentence (105d) also indicates that there are two and only two people of the house of Renbamila, and that they both live in Chéngdū. If there were more people in the house, two of which lived in Chéngdū, the numeral *kəpɛs*, 'two', would occur instead of the dual marker. Example (105e) and (105f) show that marking on the noun phrase cannot be omitted if the parties referred to in the noun phrase are not listed, even though number is marked on the verb. Number marking on the verb has to agree with the number marking on the noun phrase if that noun phrase is the referent of the verb.

Loanwords retain native number marking:

(106)	k ^h ajswep ^h iŋꣳ	thermos.flask	Chinese:
	k ^h ajswep ^h iŋꣳ-ndʒ	thermos.flask-d	开水瓶 <i>kāishuǐpíng</i>
	k ^h ajswep ^h iŋꣳ-ŋo	thermos.flask-p	
	dijanʂəꣳ	television	Chinese:
	dijanʂəꣳ-ndʒ	television-d	电视 <i>diànshì</i>
	dijanʂəꣳ-ŋo	television-p	
	rjarpo	king	literary Tibetan:
	rjarpo-ndʒ	king-d	རྒྱལ་པོ་ <i>rgyal-po</i>
	rjarpo-ŋo	king-p	
	ts ^h oŋpe	businessman	literary Tibetan:
	ts ^h oŋpe-ndʒ	businessman-d	ཚོང་པ་ <i>tshong-pa</i>
	ts ^h oŋpe-ŋo	businessman-p	

Honorifics

Honorifics are high register forms of common nouns which are used when speaking of or addressing a person of higher social rank than oneself. Both the dismantling of traditional rGyalrong society with its royal houses and the more egalitarian approach to relationships favored over the last few decades has caused a lapse in use of honorifics and polite forms of address. Still, honorifics do occur regularly in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. Predominantly they are used in connection with all persons to whom respect is due. This includes people from the religious establishment such as lamas, monks and incarnations, people that hold positions of authority in secular society, such as teachers and government officials, and any other people in roles that merit honour, such as elderly people and guests. Honorifics are formed by simply suffixing a noun with the plural marker *-ŋo*:

(107)	blame-ŋo	k ^h ezaʔ-ŋo	təjeʔm-ŋo
	lama-3s:HON	bowl-3s:HON	house-3s:HON
	honoured lama	bowl (HON)	house (HON)

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

(108)	smonbe-ŋo	ʃintəhu	tə-ŋu-jn	me
	Doctor-3s:HON	Chéngdū	2-live-2s:HON	INTR
	Honoured doctor, do you live in Chéngdū?			

Proper nouns as well as common nouns can be marked for honorific:

- (109) amɲi zɡordəŋ-ɲi kə w-awo-j ʃamtok kərek
 A.myis Sgo.ldung-3s:HON PR 3s:GEN-head-LOC iron.hammer one
 A-myis Sgo-ldung dealt him a blow with the iron hammer.
- to-leʔt-jn
 PFT-hit₂-3s:HON

Honorific marking is not obligatory on nouns, but it is on verbs:

- (110) bdət tə kə tərmu ʃi kə-ndza na-kə-ŋos-jn 'nə-ŋos
 demon C PR person often NOM-eat PFT-NOM-be- HON EV-be
 The demon often ate people.

In this example the demon is an entity that in and of itself requires the speaker's utmost respect. The noun *bdət*, 'demon' is singular and does not need to be marked for honorific, but the verb shows honorific marking in the plural suffix *-jn*. Example (111) is along the same lines, with *jarpo*, 'king', not inflected for number while the plural *-jn* on the verb marks honorific:

- (111) jarpo kə nə kə-mak kə-ndoʔ miʔ na-cəs-jn
 king PR CON NOM-other NOM-have not.have PFT-say-3s:HON
 The king said: "There is no other!"

Genitive constructions also mark honorifics through prefixing the plural marker to a noun or other constituent. The honorific marker used in genitives is *ɲi-*, see section 3.1 of the chapter on pronouns. When an honorific marker replaces a nominal prefix the consonant of the nominal prefix is replaced but not the vowel:

- (112) jarpo kə ʃamto ɲi-apk^he nə-kə-nərko-jn 'nə-ŋos.
 king PR iron.hammer 3s:HON:GEN-fold PFT-NOM-put-3s:HON EV-be
 The king put the iron hammer in the fold of his robe.

Nouns marked for honorific in a genitive construction, such as *ɲap^hk^he*, 'his fold' in (112), show respect for the possessor, in this case the king, rather than to the marked noun, here the fold of the robe, itself.

Some nouns have a special honorific equivalent of their common form. This kind of honorific does not take the plural marker *-no*. Mostly these honorific forms are loanwords from Tibetan. This is understandable since traditionally Tibetan was both the language of religion, in its literary form, and the language of high prestige used for occasions where high register was required, such as events at the royal courts. The higher the register, the more Tibetan loanwords are inserted in speeches, rituals

etc. Though rGyalrong society no longer has royalty or nobility, Tibetan loanwords are still frequently used when a situation requires high register or very polite forms of speech. At present, Tibetan loans employed as honorifics most often occur in connection with persons from the religious establishment such as monks, lamas and incarnations, and in speeches held on important occasions such as new year's celebrations, weddings etc. Here are some examples of common nouns with their honorific equivalents:

(113)	low register	high register, HON	Tibetan	gloss
	tajiʔk	tap ^h jak	ཕྱག <i>phyag</i>	hand
	təndze	gsolve	གསོལ་བ <i>gsol ba</i>	food
	taworɲi	skra, gtr̥a	སྒ <i>skra</i>	hair
	tamiʔ	taʒap	ཞམ <i>zhab</i>	leg
	tawo	wə	དབུ <i>dbu</i>	head
	təmpnak	spjen	སྟེན <i>spyen</i>	eye

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

(114a)	tap ^h jak	hand	ɲi-p ^h jak	your hand (HON)
	təmpnak	eye	ɲi-spjen	your eye (HON)
	tʂ ^h aʔ	tea	ɲi-gsolʂa	your tea (HON)

(114b)	ɲi-p ^h jak-ɲo	your hands (HON, p)
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In (114b) there is no distinction between second person plural and second person singular, so that the listener cannot know if it concerns the hands of only one respected person or of more than one. See also part on status, forms of address and honorifics in the chapter pronouns.

Vocatives

Vocatives are used in direct address and convey social position or speaker attitude. Jiăomùzú vocatives are derived from kinship terms, most of which have noun prefix *-ta*. The nominal prefix is replaced with vocative prefix *a-*:

(115)	noun		vocative	
	ta-pa	father	a-pa	dad
	ta-mo	mother	a-ma, a-mo	mum
	ta-jze	older brother	a-jze	older brother
	ta-ja	older sister	a-ja	older sister

Most often vocatives occur marked for genitive, even when used as a term of address when speaking directly to the person indicated by the term of address. In example (116) a son addresses his father as ‘my father’:

- (116) aha ŋ-apa n-aka-j ʒik kənəmdok ki wu-gzək
 oho 1s:GEN-father 2s:GEN-bottom-LOC also strong IDEF 3s:GEN-build
 “Oh boy, dad, there is someone out there who is stronger than you,
 kəmdok ki 'nə-ŋos to-kə-cəs na-'a-ŋos
 strong IDEF EV-be PFT-NOM-say PFT-NEV-be
 handsome and well-built, his strength is greater!”

For more on status and terms of address, see section 3.1 of the chapter on pronouns.

Genitive constructions

Genitive constructions in the Jiāomùzú dialects link a head noun, the possessed, to a modifying noun, the possessor. The genitive marker is prefixed to the head noun or possessed. Genitives can signal a broad variety of grammatical relationships. Close relationships such as possessives and many varieties of time and place references are all expressed through genitive structures. To form genitives, pronominal markers are prefixed to the noun that is the head of the construction. All genitive markers derive from the free personal pronouns, including, for some special cases, the generic personal pronoun *təʃo*, ‘self, one’. I discuss bound and free possessive forms more extensively in section 3.2 of the chapter on pronouns. Here I just give a short overview of the pronominal markers and the manner of their prefixation to the noun.

For nouns that are prefixed with *ta-* or *tə-* the pronominal prefix replaces the consonant of these prefixes, while the vowel remains. Genitive marking does not distinguish between inclusive and exclusive forms, though the distinction does occur in the pronouns.

The plural marker *-po* for nominals, which derives from the verbal non-first plural marker *-jn*, is used to form honorifics, see section 4.2.d on honorifics above. The genitive marker is the common variant of *po-*, *pi-*. As for the other genitive markers, the consonant of the noun prefix is replaced while the vowel remains. Here is the overview of markers:

(117)	person marker	tə-t ^h a	book	ta-ʃu	key
1s	ŋ-	ŋ-ət ^h a	my book	ŋ-aʃu	my key
1d	tʃ-	tʃ-ət ^h a	our book	tʃ-aʃu	our key
1p	j-	j-ət ^h a	our book	j-aʃu	our key
2s	n-	n-ət ^h a	your book	n-aʃu	your key
2d	(nʃo)ndʒ-	(nʃo)ndʒ-ət ^h a	your book	(nʃo)ndʒa-ʃu	your key
2p	ɲ-	ɲ-ət ^h a	your book	ɲ-aʃu	your key
3s	w-	w-ət ^h a	his book	w-aʃu	his key
3d	wuʃondʒ-	wuʃondʒ-ət ^h a	their book	wuʃondʒ-aʃu	their key
3p	wuʃɪɲ-, wuʃɔɲ-	wuʃɪɲ-ət ^h a wuʃɔɲ-ət ^h a	their book	wuʃɪɲ-aʃu wuʃɔɲ-aʃu	their key
HON	ɲ-	ɲ-ət ^h a	his book	ɲ-aʃu	his key

The second person dual form is usually shortened to *ndʒ-*, while the third person dual *wuʃondʒ* mostly occurs in full. Third person plural forms *wuʃɔɲo* and *wuʃɪɲo* both occur, apparently without difference in meaning. A special case is the indefinite personal pronoun *təʃo*, 'self, one, one self'. It can be used in genitive constructions and some native speakers do accept such forms as *tətət^ha*, 'one's own book'. Note that in such cases the noun marker *tə-* is not replaced, so that it is actually not a standard form of genitive construction. Mostly genitives derived from *təʃo* occur with limited semantic scope or carry different meanings. I discuss some cases below, but, because of the special features of this kind of form, I do not list them in the tables with the genitive forms of free pronouns. Nouns that do not have noun marker *tə-* or *ta-* are prefixed with the entire first syllable of the appropriate pronoun, as shown in the following example for *məntoʔk*, 'flower':

(118)	1s	ŋa-	ŋa-məntoʔk	my flower
	1d	tfə-	tfə-məntoʔk	our flower
	1p	ji-	ji-məntoʔk	our flower
	2s	nə-	nə-məntoʔk	your flower
	2d	(nənʃo)ndʒ-	(nənʃo)ndʒ(ə)-məntoʔk	your flower
	2p	ɲi-	ɲi-məntoʔk	your flower
	3s	wu-	wu-məntoʔk	his flower
	3d	wuʃondʒ-	wuʃondʒ(ə)-məntoʔk	their flower
	3p	wuʃɲi-	wuʃɲi-məntoʔk	their flower
	HON	ɲi-	ɲi-məntoʔk	his flower

The animal prefixes k^h - and k - also are not replaced when a pronominal marker is prefixed to the noun, maybe because replacing the markers would cause the loss of the distinction between 'mammal' and 'non-mammal', expressed in k - and k^h - respectively. Or maybe the prefixes have become fully lexicalised and are no longer productive:

(119)	k^h alʃu	ŋə- k^h alʃu	kalaʔ	wu-kalaʔ
	hawk	1s:GEN-hawk	rabbit	3s:GEN-rabbit
		my hawk		his rabbit

Nouns marked with *wu*- for third person singular are commonly used to form adverbial or adjectival meanings, mostly pertaining to place or time. Genitive constructions of nouns that indicate location in space or time can be modified by locative markers. Such nouns can have a wide range of meanings, as exemplified by *wəŋk^huʔ*, which can mean 'after', 'behind' or 'later', depending on the context in which it is used:

(120)	tə-ŋk ^h uʔ	back (n)	back, as in 'the back of a chair or building'
	w-əŋk ^h uʔ	3s:GEN-back	the back of an entity, the time after an event
	kəsam ʃnu	w-əŋk ^h uʔ	təʃeʔm w-əŋk ^h uʔ
	three day	3s:GEN-back	house 3s:GEN-back
	after three days		the back of the house
	təʃeʔm w-əŋk ^h uʔ-j	tə	
	house 3s:GEN-back-LOC	C	
	The one at the back of the house. (The one behind the house.)		

I discuss genitives used to mark location in time and space in section 5.6 of the chapter on adverbs.

Genitives can be formed with a noun phrase the head of which is modified by other words:

- (121) ηa [tʃəʔ tə sok w-əmdoʔk] nərgaʔ- η
 I [this C like 3s:GEN-colour] like-1s
 I like a colour like this one [has].

- (122) pkraʃis [tʰi ki w-ətʰa] to-ku-w
 bKra.shis [what IDEF 3s:GEN-book] PFT-buy-3s
 bKra-shis bought a book about something or other.

Genitives can be part of another genitive construction:

- (123) tʃəʔ w-aka-j wu-ʃwetʃʰiᵛ
 this 3s:GEN-bottom-LOC 3s:GEN-semester
 last semester

Below are some examples of the kinds of relationships that are commonly expressed with genitives:

- benefactive: (124) ηa pkraʃis w-ətoʔn to-kə-va- η ɲos
 I bKra.shis 3s:GEN-matter PFT-NOM-do-1s be
 I did it for bKra-shis.

- (125) ηa nəŋʝo nə-tʃʰe ta-kə-va- η ɲos
 I you 2s:GEN-reason 1/2-NOM-do-1s be
 I did it for you.

- dative: (126) tʃəʔ pkraʃis w-əmba-j nə-ʼmbuʔ-w
 this bKra.shis 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC IMP-give-3s
 Give this to bKra-shis.

source:

If there is a source in the sense of a giver as well as a specified recipient the source and recipient are marked on the verb, often with occurrence of prominence marker *kə*. Otherwise a genitive construction is used:

- (127) tʃəʔ tə kəʝoʔ w-əsmok 'na-ɲos
 this C sheep 3s:GEN-wool OBS-be
 This is wool from a sheep.

comitative:

Comitatives are formed with *tapso*, 'together'. A comitative can be negated only through negative marking on the verb, not on *tapso*:

- (128) *ŋa* *pkraʃsi* *w-apso* *ji-rʃi-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* *kə-ŋkər* *ki* *'na-ndoʔ*
 there LOC child 3s:GEN-hand NOM-dirty IDEF OBS-have
 There is a child with dirty hands.

- (131) *ana* *tʃe* *tapuʔ* *w-əktsa* *kə-miʔ* *ki* *'na-ndoʔ*
 there LOC child 3s:GEN-shoe NOM-not.have IDEF OBS-have
 There is a child without shoes.

possessives:

There is no difference in marking for alienable and inalienable possession:

- (132) *tapuʔ* *w-amiʔ* *tapuʔ* *w-ət^ha*
 child 3s:GEN-leg child 3s:GEN-book
 The child's leg. The child's book.

There is also no difference in possessive marking for things that are temporarily possessed or those that are permanently possessed. Such differences, if marked at all, are shown in the use of verb:

(133) ndə wu-je paktsa ki ndo?
 that 3s-POSS piglet IDEF have
 He has a piglet.

ndə wu-paktsa ki ndo?
 that 3s:GEN-piglet IDEF have
 He has a piglet.

ndə paktsa ki na-varo-w
 he piglet IDEF PFT-own-3s
 He had a piglet.

ndə wu-je paktsa ki 'na-varo-w
 that 3s-POSS piglet IDEF OBS-own-3s
 He owns a piglet.

ndə wu-paktsa ki 'na-varo-w
 that 3s:GEN-piglet IDEF OBS-own-3s
 He has a piglet.

There is no difference between present and past tense marking:

(134) wu-paktsa ki 'na-varo-w
 3s:GEN-piglet IDEF OBS-own-3s
 He has a piglet.

wu-paktsa ki na-varo-w
 3s:GEN-piglet IDEF PFT-own-3s
 He had a piglet.

quality: (135) ana tʃe w-əvok kə-ktu ki 'na-ndo?
 there LOC 3s:GEN-stomach NOM-big IDEF OBS-have
 There is a [man] with a big stomach.

(136) ana tʃe tɔʃla ma-kə-ʃpa? ki 'na-ndo
 there LOC joke NEG-NOM-can₁ IDEF OBS-have
 There's a [man] without humour.

Note that the nominalised verb in (136) remains unmarked for person and number since the verb is used in a generalised sense.

- (137) ana tʃe tərnu wu-jontan makəndʒa
 there LOC person 3s:GEN-knowledge not.the.same
 The knowledge of that person is great.

purpose: (138) ɲa tamaʔ ka-va-j ɲə-ka-ptʃo ɲos
 I work NOM-do-LOC 1s:GEN-NOM-use be
 I use it for my work.

- (139) wuʃo tarngaʔ ka-va w-əŋge nə-və-ɲeʔ-w
 he dance NOM-do 3s:GEN-clothes PFT-VPT-borrow₂-3s
 He borrowed the clothes for the performance.

In example (139) *və-* is a viewpoint marker, which indicates that the action is perceived from the perspective of the speaker: the subject came, maybe to the speaker's house, to borrow the clothes needed for the performance. I discuss viewpoint marking in section 7.7 of the chapter on verbs.

function: (140) k^hajtʃak w-ascək jilək to-va-ɲ
 hammer 3s:GEN-change stone PFT-do-1s
 I used a stone as a hammer.

- (141) wu-sarʒup w-əŋge kə-miʔ
 3s:GEN-bed 3s:GEN-clothes NOM-not.have
 Since he had no blankets on his bed he used his clothes as a blanket.

w-əŋge saʒup w-əŋge to-va-w
 3s:GEN-clothes sleeping.place 3s:GEN-clothes PFT-do-3s

reference: (142) wuʃo kə kəʃmo wu-tanxwa na-va-w
 she PR thief 3s:GEN-talk PFT-do-3s
 She talked about the thief.

- (143) wuʃo kə poŋeʔj w-ətʃ^hat kə sonam w-ascok
 he PR money 3s:GEN-reason PR bSod.nams 3s:GEN-letter
 He wrote to bSod-nams about the money.

na-laʔt-w
 PFT-write₂-3s

part and whole: (144) ʃu w-awo k^hə w-ajmiʔ
 tree 3s:GEN-head dog 3s:GEN-tail
 the top of the tree the tail of the dog

price: (145) poŋeʔj kəŋes mp^hjar w-əvə to-ku-ŋ
 money two CL 3s:GEN-price PFT-buy-1s
 I bought it for two yuan.¹¹²

value: (146) ŋa poŋeʔj pərʒa wu-piru ki ndoʔ
 I money hundred 3s:GEN-coral IDEF have
 I have a piece of coral worth one hundred yuan.

(147) piru poŋeʔj kətʃoʔk-pərʒa w-əvə ki ndoʔ
 coral money six-hundred 3s:GEN-price IDEF have
 A piece of coral worth six hundred yuan.

extent: (148) lijəŋsəju^ㄅ w-əʃeʔm w-ambro kərsəcət tascək 'nə-ŋos
 grain.bureau 3s:GEN-house 3s:-high eight layer EV-be
 The building of the grain bureau is eight floors high.

(149) ana tʃe sogle kə-k^hi w-askriʔn 'na-ndoʔ
 there LOC saw one-metre 3s:GEN-long OBS-have
 There is a one metre long saw.

4.3 *Noun adjuncts*

Noun adjuncts modify nouns or other words that can be the head of a noun phrase, such as demonstratives and certain quantifiers. In this section I discuss contrast marker *tə*, indefiniteness marker *ki*, quantifiers and numerals, classifiers and prominence marker *kə*. Numerals occur after a noun and its adjectivals and cover the scope of the noun phrase. Quantifiers also cover the noun phrase, occurring after the head noun, adjectivals and numerals. The markers *tə* and *ki* occur after and cover the scope of the noun phrase. Prominence marker *kə* is actually a discourse marker. The marker is placed after and covers the scope of the entire constituent to which it is attached.

a. Marking contrast: *tə*

Contrast marker *tə* does not determine a referent as such but specifies a referent in its environment, as I will show below. The marker only occurs when a speaker wants to convey information about the specific relation of certain objects to their environment. It is not obligatory. The form of the contrast marker does not vary according to distal or proximal relationship between an object and the speech participant, since the marker defines only the relationship between an object and its

¹¹² The *yuan* (圓) is the basic unit of the Chinese currency. One *yuan* is divided into ten *jiǎo* (角).

environment, not between speaker and object. Contrast marker *tə* can modify any word that can be the head of a noun phrase. The marker occurs immediately after the constituent it modifies, whether it is a single word or a phrase. Contrast marking can modify all sorts of nouns, including proper nouns and abstract nouns:

- (150) pkraʃis w-əmp^hi w-ərmu ɲos
 bKra.shis 3s:GEN-outside 3s:GEN-person be
 bKra-shis is an outsider.

pkraʃis tə w-əmp^hi w-ərmu ɲos
 bKra.shis C 3s:GEN-outside 3s:GEN-person be
 bKra-shis is an outsider (as opposed to other people there who are insiders).

sonam tə-ɲo w-əmp^hi w-ərmu ɲos-ɲn
 bSod.nams C-p 3s:GEN-outside 3s:GEN-person be-3p
 bSod-nams and his people are outsiders (as opposed to other people there who are insiders).

- (151) wu-ɲəgzu tə ma-^lnə-haʔw
 3s:GEN-hatred C NEG-OBS-good
 Hatred is not a good thing (as opposed to other qualities that may be talked about).

Contrast marker *tə* cannot occur independently:

- (152) tət^ha kəsam tə ɾjaŋkə w-əmdoʔk ^lnə-ɲos
 book three C green 3s:GEN-colour EV-be
 The three books are green.

* tə ɾjaŋkə wəmdoʔk nəɲos

But *tə* can modify a noun phrase in which the head is implicit, as in the first clause of (153), where the head of the noun phrase, 'burden', only occurs in full form in the second clause:

- (153) pəʃnu tə na-^la-ɲo ɲ-əpkor tə na-^la-ɲo
 today C PFT-NEV-light 1s:GEN-burden C PFT-NEV-light
 Today[^ls burden] has become light, my burden has become light.

Nagano analyses *tə* as a component of the definite demonstrative pronouns and calls it a 'referential indefinite demonstrative pronoun'.¹¹³ However, unlike a pronoun *tə* cannot occur by itself in pronoun position:

- (154) *tʃəʔ ʃokʃoʔk ɲos* * *tə ʃokʃoʔk ɲos*
 this paper be
 This is paper.

nənʃo mə-tə-tʃʰi-n * *tə 'mətətʃʰi-n*
 you Q-2-go₁-2s
 Are you going?

It also cannot replace a pronoun in adjectival position:

- (155) *ndə kʰəzaʔ nənʃo nə-je mə-ɲos* * *tə kʰəzaʔ nənʃo nəje məɲos*
 that bowl you 2s-POSS Q-be
 Is that bowl yours?

Though it is possible to have *tə* after the noun or pronoun, it does not replace the head there but rather carries specific contrasting meaning as discussed extensively in the section below:

- (156) *kʰəzaʔ ndə nənʃo nə-je mə-ɲos*
 bowl that you 2s-POSS Q-be
 That bowl is yours, right?

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

kʰəzaʔ tə nənʃo nə-je mə-ɲos
 bowl C you 2s-POSS Q-be
 That bowl (as opposed to other objects present) is yours, right?

Since *tə* does not signify any referent as such, it is empty of referential meaning and cannot occur by itself. In the Jiāomùzú dialects it is not a pronoun.

Contrast marker *tə* can modify demonstratives:

¹¹³ Nagano (2003: 473).

- (157) tʃəʔ tə ʃokʃoʔk ɲos
 DEM C paper be
 This is paper.

There can be several contrast markers within one larger noun phrase, modifying smaller noun phrases that are nested within the larger phrase:

- (158) ɲa [[tʃəʔ tə] sok w-əmdoʔk tə] to-ku-ɲ
 I this C manner 3s:GEN-colour C PFT-buy-1s
 I bought the one that is similar to this one in colour.

The following examples further illustrate the use of *tə*. In the first set example (159) shows that contrast marker *tə* can define its referent, unlike the marker for indefiniteness *ki*. Markers *tə* and *ki* are incompatible, see example (188) below. Examples (160) show how *tə* can be used to determine different sentence constituents, allowing for subtle differences in meaning.

- (159) tərmu tə tərmu ki
 person C person IDEF
 the, that person a person

- (160) nəŋʂo təjeʔm h-ato-j mə-ɲos
 you house D-up-LOC Q-be
 Is your house up on the mountain?

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

h-ato təjeʔm tə nəŋʂo nə-je mə-ɲos
 D-up house C you 2s-POSS Q-be
 The house up on the mountain, is that yours?

Actually the main function of *tə* is not to define a constituent, but rather to signal that the constituent it refers to is unique in its semantic environment.

- (161) tʃəʔ ʃokʃoʔk ɲos tʃəʔ tə ʃokʃoʔk ɲos
 DEM paper be DEM C paper be
 This is paper. This is paper.

The first sentence in (159) indicates that there is paper, without saying anything about what else might be there. There might be more or different paper, or there might be other things. It is unclear

to the listener and apparently not relevant to the speaker. The second sentence however specifies that there are other things around, and that they are not paper. The sentence might be paraphrased as 'This here is paper, as opposed to the other things around'. Another example of the determining and excluding function of *tə* is:

- (162) *tʃəʔ ʃokʃoʔk tə ɲos*
 DEM paper C be
 This is the paper [that, which....]

There might be other paper around, but there is only one kind of paper that the speaker obviously had referred to earlier, to the exclusion of other kinds of paper.

- (163a) *təza tʃəʔ ɲa ɲ-ajze ɲos*
 man DEM I 1s:GEN-older.brother be
 This man is my older brother.

- (163b) *təza tə ɲa ɲ-ajze ɲos*
 man C I 1s:GEN-older.brother be
 The man is my older brother.

- (163c) *təza tʃəʔ tə ɲa ɲ-ajze ɲos*
 man DEM C I 1s:GEN-older.brother be
 This man is my older brother.

Example (163b) indicates that in a group of people there is only one man, and that this man is my older brother. Sentence (163a) is the most general statement, pointing out a person in a group of people about the composition of which the speaker gives no clarification. In (163c) the speaker points out the older brother in a group about which nothing further is known, but it is clear that the brother has been referred to earlier in a conversation between the speaker and the listener.

- (164a) *tʃəʔ məntoʔk kəsam 'na-mpʃar*
 DEM flower three OBS-beautiful
 These three flowers are beautiful.

- (164b) *tʃəʔ məntoʔk kəsam tə 'na-mpʃar*
 DEM flower three C OBS-beautiful
 These three flowers are beautiful.

In (164a) three flowers out of many are singled out as beautiful. In (164b) there are only three flowers among perhaps a variety of other things. The flowers are described as beautiful in contrast to the other things, which are implied to be not beautiful. In some instances this use of *tə* is best

interpreted as a way to give emphasis, especially when it is used to modify personal pronouns. In English intonation the stress is on 'you' in (165) and (166):

- (165) nənʝo tə kətʃe ji-kə-tə-vu-n ɲos
 you C where PFT-NOM-2-come₂-2s be
 Where do you come from?

- (166) k^haʃpa tə kə nə nənʝo tə təŋgli na-tə-va-w to-kə-cəs-w ɲos
 frog C PR CON you C lie PFT-2-do-2s PFT-NOM-say-3s be
 "You are [the one who] lied!" said the frog.

The presence or absence of *tə* can be used to signal genericness, as shown in the following examples. In (167a), the most generic form, there is no additional information about other possible animals or other possible cats:

- (167a) lolə kə-neʔk ɲos
 cat NOM-black be
 The cat is black./The cats are black.

Example (167b) sets the black cat in opposition to other cats that are all of different colours, while (167c) sets a black cat in opposition to other animals, which are not black.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(167b) tʃəʔ tə lolə kə-neʔk ɲos
 this C cat NOM-black be
 <i>This</i> is a black cat.</p> | <p>(167c) lolə tə kə-neʔk ɲos
 cat C NOM-black be
 <i>The cat</i> is black.</p> |
|--|---|

Sentence (167d) contrasts the black cat to other cats that did not eat sausage: 'The one who ate the sausage is the black one':

- (167d) paʒgar kə-ndza tə lolə kə-neʔk tə 'nə-ɲos
 sausage NOM-eat C cat NOM-black C EV-be
 This is the black cat that ate the sausage. (The sausage eater is the black cat.)

And (167e) shows that cats like to eat sausage, as opposed to other possible animals such as birds:

- (167e) lolə tə-ɲo paʒgar ka-ndza kə-rgaʔ-jn ɲos
 cat C-p sausage NOM-eat NOM-like-3p be
Cats like to eat sausage.

The last example in this series, below, does not give information about other possible animals around that may or may not like to eat sausage. But the speaker makes clear that some specified cats like to eat his sausage, though not his other food.

- (167f) lolo-no ɲa ɲə-paʒgar tə ka-ndza 'na-rgaʔ-jn
 cat-p I 1s:GEN-sausage C NOM-eat OBS-like-3P
 The cats like to eat *my sausage*.

b. Marking indefiniteness: *ki*

Marker *ki* derives from numerals *kərek* and *kərgi*, meaning 'one'. In sentences *ki* can mean 'one' or can be used to mark indefiniteness, forming meanings similar to the English indefinite article *a* or signalling 'a certain', 'some...':

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(168a) tət^ha ndo?
 book have
 There are/is a book(s).</p> | <p>(168b) tət^ha ki ndo?
 book IDEF have
 There is a book.
 There is one book.
 There is a certain book.</p> |
|--|--|

The difference between the statements in (168) is that in (168a) the speaker doesn't know the quantity - or doesn't say anything about it, while in (168b) he specifies that there is one. Like contrast marker *tə*, indefiniteness marker *ki* can modify any head of a noun phrase. The marker occurs in the final slot of a noun phrase and cannot occur independently:

- (169) cokrtse w-ərka-j tət^ha ki ndo?
 desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC book IDEF have
 There is a book on the desk.

* cokrtse wərkaj ki ndo?

The indefiniteness marker only occurs directly after the constituent it modifies and cannot be placed in the middle of a syntactical unit:

- (170) [təza w-əvok kə-ktu ki] 'na-ndo?
 man 3s:GEN-stomach NOM-big IDEF OBS-have
 There's a man with a big belly.

* [təza ki wəvok kəktu ki] 'nando?

* [təza ki wəvok kəktu] 'nando?

- (171) [təjam kəsam zəm kə-ndʒəʔt ki] 'na-ndo?
 pot three litre NOM-hold IDEF OBS-have
 There is a pot of three litres.

Marking with *ki* is not obligatory. In (171), for example, it is possible to leave out *ki*. If the marker is there the speaker is not entirely certain that the pot will be adequate for the job at hand. A sentence without *ki* conveys that the speaker does not doubt that the pot will do. He simply directs the listener to the pot that the speaker knows is there and wants to use.

Indefiniteness cannot be marked on non-singular nouns, as demonstrated in the following examples. Sentence (172a) shows the generic or non-specific sense of *kəʃoʔ*, 'sheep', while (172b) refers to sheep known to the speaker:

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

- (172b) pəʃnu kajve kəʃoʔ 'na-ndoʔ-jn
 today meadow sheep OBS-have
 The sheep are grazing in the meadow today.

The second example indicates that all the sheep are in the meadow. If a speaker wants to specify some sheep over other possible animals he has to use contrast marker *tə*: the sheep are in the meadow, but not the cows. In (172b), adding *tə* after *kəʃoʔ* can also indicate that at some other point in time these particular sheep were not in the meadow, but now they are. It is also possible to have *kəʃoʃno*, which agrees with the plural marking on the verb. These strategies all make more specific and immediate the sheep that the speaker is referring to. However, modifying *kəʃoʔ* with *ki* signals that there is only one sheep in the meadow. Number marking cannot occur:

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

* pəʃnu kajve kəʃoʔ ki 'nandoʔjn

With non-count nouns, as in the examples above, it is number marking, not the indefiniteness marker, that indicates generalness and non-specificness. When number marking is used to indicate generalness the meaning is often best translated with an anaphoric pronoun:

- (174) sətʃwan-j tʃʰaʔɿ kə-ji ndoʔ-jn
 Sìchuān-LOC tea NOM-grow have-3p
 Tea grows in Sìchuān. (They grow tea in Sìchuān.)

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

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

* tʃʰaʔɿ kəsna ki wəjmbak kətsətsə ɲos

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

* tamar kəhaʔw ki serpo ɲos

tamar serpo lenlen tə kə-haʔw ɲos
 butter yellow EXPR C NOM-good be
 Pure yellow butter, that is good butter.

* tamar serpo lenlen ki kəhaʔw ɲos

There is only one marker for indefiniteness, *ki*. To distinguish between referential and non-referential indefinites other strategies have to be employed:

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

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

- (177c) pkraʃis tʰi w-ətʰa to-ku-w
 bKra.shis what 3s:GEN-book PFT-buy-3s
 bKra-shis bought some book or other.
- (177d) pkraʃis tʰi kə w-ətʰa to-ku-w
 bKra.shis what PR 3s:GEN-book PFT-buy-3s
 bKra-shis bought a book about something or other.
- (177e) *pkraʃis tʰi wətʰa ki tokuw
- (177f) pkraʃis tʰi w-ətʰa tə to-ku-w
 bKra.shis what 3s:GEN-book C PFT-buy-3w
 bKra-shis bought some book or other.

Of the examples above, the first sentence (177a) is the most general. The speaker does not indicate how many books bKra-shis bought. The emphasis is on the entity 'book', as opposed to other things. Sentence (177b) specifies that it was one book, or a book, as opposed to more than one. Example (177c) specifies that the speaker does not know which kind of book or books bKra-shis bought. Sentence (177d) shows that bKra-shis bought a book for sure, but the speaker does not know what the book is about. Prominence marker *kə* here gives prominence to *tʰi*, 'what', which indicates the speaker's lack of knowledge about the contents of the book. Example (177e) has an undefined referent. Adding *ki* doubles the indefiniteness marking, which is ungrammatical in Jiǎomùzú. Adding *tə* though is possible, as evidenced by (177f). The contrast marker *tə* here does not make it any clearer what book bKra-shis bought but rather defines bKra-shis' purchase as 'some book' rather than 'some other object'.

The marker for indefiniteness, *ki*, can occur after numerals to express the meaning 'about, around, some':

- (178) ndə wu-je kəʃo? kəbdu kəmɲi 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) poŋeʔj kəmɲi-zʃi 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) *ŋa pakʃu zʒi caʔm ki ndoʔ*
 I apple ten at.most IDEF have
 I have about ten apples, no more.

* *ŋa pakʃu zʒi ki ndoʔ*

The same sense of *ki* occurs when it is used with nouns to express the speaker's lack of clarity about a fact. In these cases *ki* can occur with common nouns as in (181a) as well as with proper nouns, as in example (181b). Note that marking the proper noun with *ki* does not generate a meaning such as ‘in Chéngdū or some other place’ but rather ‘somewhere in Chéngdū’:

- (181a) *ndə makmə ɲos*
 that soldier be
 He is a soldier.

- (181b) *ndə makmə ki ɲos*
 that soldier IDEF be
 He is a soldier or something.

- (182a) *lhamo ʃintəhu na-ɲu*
 lHa.mo Chéngdū PFT-live
 lHa-mo lived in Chéngdū.

- (182b) *lhamo ʃintəhu ki na-ɲu*
 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 ɲilək to-vəja-w*
 that stone PFT-pick-3s
 He picked up the stone.

- (183b) *ndə ɲilək ki to-vəja-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) *kəsce kəsce tərmu ki ʃintəhu ji-kə-vu 'nə-ɲos*
 before before person IDEF Chéngdū PFT-NOM-come₂ EV-be
 Long long ago a man came from Chéngdū.

* *kəsce kəsce tərmu ʃintəhu jikəvi nəɲos*

Indefiniteness can be marked with nouns marked for plural or other words expressing plural such as 'many, much, all':

- (185) jino pakʃu wuvjot ki na-k^hit-j
 we:e apple many IDEF PFT-pluck-1p
 We picked lots of apples.

In this sort of sentence *ki* conveys a feeling of amazement or surprise. In (183) the speaker is amazed that they picked such a large quantity of apples.

The marker *ki* can also express 'small quantity, a little', either together with a quantifier or by itself:

- (186) jino k^halet ki to-ndza-j
 we:e rtsam-pa IDEF PFT-eat-1p
 We ate a little rtsam-pa.

jino k^halet kə-tsətsə ki to-ndza-j
 we:e rtsam-pa NOM-little IDEF PFT-eat-1p
 We ate a little rtsam-pa.

jino k^halet kə-tsətsə to-ndza-j
 we:e rtsam-pa NOM-little PFT-eat-1p
 We ate a little rtsam-pa.

- (187) hajtso ki kə-sə-raʔm-j
 chili.pepper IDEF PFT-CAUS-dry-1p
 We dried a few chili peppers.

The contrast marker *tə* cannot occur together with *ki*:

- (188a) təza w-əvok kə-ktu ki 'na-ndo?
 man 3s:GEN-stomach NOM-big IDEF OBS-have
 There is a man with a big stomach.

- (188b) təza w-əvok kə-ktu tə kətʃe w-ərmu ɲos
 man 3s:-stomach NOM-big C where 3s:GEN-person be
 The man with a big stomach, where is he from?

* təza wəvok kəktu ki tə 'nando?

* təza wəvok kəktu tə ki 'nando?

c. Numerals and other quantifying words

Numerals

Jiāomùzú numerals are based on the decimal system. There are few classifiers in the Jiāomùzú 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 ཐུག *thug* is used. Numerals from one through to nine are all prefixed by *kə-*:

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|---|---------|----|
| (190) | kərek | 1 | kətɕoʔk | 6 |
| | kəpəs | 2 | kəʃnəʔs | 7 |
| | kəsam | 3 | kərsɕat | 8 |
| | kəbdu | 4 | kəngu | 9 |
| | kəmɲi | 5 | zɕi | 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... |
| | ʃokʃoʔk kə-mpʰjar | one sheet of paper |
| | ʃokʃoʔk 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 ʃnu | three days |

There are three words in Jiāomùzú that express the number one. The word *kərek* is used throughout the township. The two other words are *kərgi* and its dialect variant *kərtok* or *kərdok*.

(192)	k ^h əna kərek	one dog
	k ^h əna kərtok	one dog
	k ^h əna kərgi	one dog

Neither *kərgi* nor *kərtok* can be used in counting:

(193)	kərek, kənes, kəsam....
	*kərgi, kənes, kəsam....
	*kərtok, kənes, kəsam....

But the roots of these numerals can be used as classifiers:

(194)	kərgi	təmpok	kəbdu	rgi
	one	bread	four	CL
		four pieces of bread		
	kərtok	tarni	kesam	rtok
	one	gold	three	CL
		three ingots of gold		

These numerals have a grammaticalised function as marker of indefiniteness, in the shortened form of *ki*, which often translates as 'one' or indefinite article 'a', but has some other uses besides. I discuss *ki* more fully in section 4.3.b on definiteness marking above.

Numerals from 11 through 19 are formed by adding a numeral without *kə-* to *zji*, 'ten'. Note that for the numerals 11, 12, 13 and 18 the /i/ of *zji* becomes /a/:

(195)	zjatek	11	zjitɕoŋk	16
	zjaŋes	12	zjiŋnəʔs	17
	zjasam	13	zjarscat	18
	zjibdu	14	zjingu	19
	zjimŋi	15	kənes-zji	20

Numerals for multiples of 10 up to 90 are formed by adding *zji* to numbers 2 through 9:

(196)	zji	10	kəɕoŋk-zji	60
	kənes-zji	20	kəŋnəʔs-zji	70
	kəsam-zji	30	kərscat-zji	80
	kəbdu-zji	40	kəngu-zji	90
	kəmŋi-zji	50	pərja	100

Adding a number from 1 through 9 forms numerals up to one hundred:

(197)	kesam-zji-kəsam	33
	kəʃnuʔs-zji-kətʃoʔk	76
	kəʃnes-zji-kəmɲi	25
	kəʃscat-zji-kəngu	89
	kəngu-zji-kərek	91

Larger numbers are formed along the same principles:

(198)	300	kəsam-pərja	stəŋtso	1000
	500	kəmɲi-pərja	krətso	10,000
	425	kəbdu-pərja-kəʃnes-zji-kəmɲi	krətso-zji; mbəmkter	100,000
	687	kətʃoʔk-pərja-kəʃscat-zji-kəʃnəʔs	krətso pərja	1,000,000

Other often used terms for 'one million', *pfawa* and *saja* are derived from literary Tibetan སྐྱལ *sa-ya*.

Numerals come after nouns but before classifiers. This is an important distinction especially for those nouns that also function as classifier:

- (199) məntoʔk kəsam ndoʔ
 flower three have
 There are three flowers.

- (200) ŋa kəsam tətʰot na-ta-naʃo-n
 I three hour PFT-1/2-wait-2s
 I waited for you for three hours.

- (201) tətʰot kəsam tʃe ji-məndə
 hour three LOC PFT-arrive
 [The bus] arrived at three o'clock.

- | | | | |
|-------|------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| (202) | təza kəsam | tavlu kəmɲi pa vi | lo kəsam pa |
| | man three | age five CL come ₁ | year three CL |
| | three men | be five years old | three years old |

- | | | |
|---|-------------|--------------------|
| * kəsam lo vi | kəsam pa vi | be three years old |
| * kəsam lo 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 *kərek tə...*, *kəʃnes tə...*, *kəsam tə...* for 'the first one...', the second one..., the third one...'. When the speaker uses a high register of language, he may use loans

from Tibetan for ordinal numbers, such as *tagbo* from literary Tibetan དང་པོ *dang-po*, 'first' and *nipa* from གཉེས་པ *gnyes-pa*, 'second'.

I have not found native terms for fractions other than 'half' and percentages. If need be words like 'part, share, half' or otherwise quantities like 'a bowl' or 'a bucket' are used. Apparently in the past mathematical functions like addition, subtraction and multiplication were expressed using Jäomüzú.¹¹⁴ But these days the use of Chinese has replaced rGyalrong in this semantic domain.

Indefinite numerals with meanings such as 'about, approximately' can be formed in several ways. The prefix *wa-* combined with a numeral gives the meaning 'at least':

- | | | |
|-------|------------|---------------|
| (203) | <i>zji</i> | <i>wa-zji</i> |
| | ten | at.least-ten |

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

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|
| (204) | <i>təvek</i> | * <i>wavek</i> | <i>wuvjot</i> | * <i>wawuvjot</i> |
| | half | | many | |

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| (205) | <i>kəkərgi</i> ¹¹⁵ | some (Q) |
| | <i>wa-kəkərgi</i> | at least some |

<i>laktʰe</i>	<i>ji-rji</i>	<i>wa-kəkərgi</i>	<i>ma-'nə-ʃpaʔ-ŋ</i>
thing	p:GEN-name	at.least-some	NEG-REFL-can ₁ -1s

I don't know some of the names for things.

The meaning 'at most' is generated by qualifying a numeral with quantifier *caʔm*, 'at most':

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| (206) | <i>tətʰa</i> | <i>kəbdu</i> | <i>kəmɲi</i> | <i>caʔm</i> |
| | book | four | five | at.most |
- at most four or five books.

A noun can occur between the numeral and the quantifier if that noun functions as a classifier:

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|
| (207) | <i>kənes-zji-kəmɲi</i> | <i>jeʔm</i> | <i>caʔm</i> | <i>ndoʔ-jn</i> |
| | two-ten-five | house | at.most | have-3p |
- There are at most twenty-five households.

¹¹⁴ Tshe-dbang sGron-ma, personal communication.

¹¹⁵ The quantifier *kəkərgi* also occurs as *kərgirgi*, see example (231).

Combining a numeral with the noun *təro*, 'surplus, extra' forms the meaning of 'more than':

- | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|---------------|
| (208) | zji | təro | zji-ro |
| | ten | extra | more than ten |

Prefix *wa-* and quantifier *caʔm* are semantically incompatible and cannot be used to modify the same numeral:

- (209) * wazji caʔm

But *wa-* and *caʔm* can occur individually to modify a numeral already modified by *təro*:

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|-------|--|---------|
| (210) | wa-zji-ro | (211) | jigə-ʃiŋtʃiʔ-ro | caʔm |
| | at.least-ten-extra | | one-week-extra | at.most |
| | definitely more than ten | | More than one week but less than two weeks | |

Numerals in daily life

Though Jiăomùzú numerals occur regularly in conversations, there are many situations in which native speakers find it more convenient to use Chinese numerals, which are shorter. Code-switching between Chinese and Jiăomùzú is common. For some time references in contemporary contexts there is no proper Jiăomùzú equivalent, in which case a Chinese numeral is used. For example, day, month and year tend to be all in Chinese numerals:

- (212) ndə aʔliŋliŋjoʔ nijanʔ ndə w-əpa na-kə-sci 'nə-ŋos
that 2009 year that 3s:GEN-CL PFT- NOM-be.born EV-be
He was born in 2009.

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

- (213) lo stontso-kənes-kəngu w-əpa
year thousand-two-nine 3s:GEN-CL
[in] the year 2009.

However, in traditional time reckoning the Tibetan twelve year cycle is used. The symbols of the years are the equivalents of the Tibetan symbols, but rGyalrong names are used, except for the Year of the Tiger, which uses the Tibetan word for 'tiger', ཐག *stag*, instead of the indigenous *kʰoŋ*.

(214)	pak-lo	year of the pig	tarmok-lo	year of the dragon
	mbro-lo	year of the horse	k ^h ə-lo	year of the dog
	stag-lo	year of the tiger	mbala-lo	year of the ox
	kəʃoʔ-lo	year of the sheep	pəʃu-lo	year of the rat
	kəzu-lo	year of the monkey	kalaʔ-lo	year of the rabbit
	k ^h apri-lo	year of the snake	patʃu-lo	year of the bird

Jiăomùzú has no names for months, but rather uses seasons to indicate time within the year. There are two seasons, winter and summer. If there is a need for more detail or precision to pinpoint an event in time, usually the speaker will use a recurring event that takes place around that time as his reference point:

(215)	ndə	pəzar	ndzamləŋ	sci-psəŋ	tʃe	na-kə-sci	'nə-ŋos
	that	summer	world	birth-offering	LOC	PFT-NOM-be.born	EV-be
	He was born in summer, at the time of the Festival of Creation.						

The agricultural year revolves around a lunar cycle of twelve months, each of which has thirty days. The first half of the month, in which the moon is waxing, is called *kət^ho* or *t^howa*. The second half, with the waning moon, is called *kəmbot* or *ʃowa*. Days are counted in native numerals:

(216)	kət ^h o	kəsam	the third day of the waxing moon
	ʃowa	kəʃes	the second day of the waning moon

For dates as required for horoscopes and certain types of divination, the Tibetan system of counting months is used, simply saying 'the first month, the second month...'. The word for 'month, moon' as well as the numerals are loans from:

(217)			literary Tibetan
	zlawa	danbo	the first month
	zlawa	nespa	the second month
	zlawa	səmba	the third month
			ཇལ་བ་དང་པོ་ <i>zla-ba dang-po</i>
			ཇལ་བ་གཉིས་པ་ <i>zla-ba gnyes-pa</i>
			ཇལ་བ་གསུམ་པ་ <i>zla-ba gsum-pa</i>

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

(218)	pəʃnu	kəsam-zʃi	ŋos
	today	three-ten	be
	Today is the thirtieth.		

- (219) ndə tə tə kəsam-zji-kərek w-əʃnu na-kə-sci 'nə-ŋos
 that C C three-ten-one 3s:GEN-day PFT-NOM-be.born EV-be
 He was born on the thirty-first.

When using the traditional lunar calendar rather than the modern calendar days are counted by *tsepsa*, the classifier for dates, with the Jiāomùzú numeral from one through to thirty:

- (220) tsepsa kərek the first day (of the month)
 tsepsa kənes the second day
 tsepsa kəsamzji the thirtieth day

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

- (221) pəʃnu ʃiŋtʃʰiɿ 'nə-ŋos kə-rətʰa ma-ra
 today day EV-be NOM-read NEG-need
 Today it is the weekend, we don't need to go to school.

In example (221) *ʃiŋtʃʰi* is a loan from Chinese 星期 *xīngqī*, 'day', which in rGyalrong areas is now widely used in the sense of 'weekend', and by extension 'holiday, day off, break'. For workdays the Chinese names are used:

- (222) ʃiŋtʃʰijiɿ ka-rətʰa
 Monday INF-go.to.school
 go to school on Monday

In (222) *ʃiŋtʃʰiji*, from Chinese 星期一 *xīngqīyī*, literally 'day-one' is used for Monday, the first working day of the week.

In formal circumstances, such as the drawing up of a horoscope in the monastery or the yearly divination that take place at New Year, the monk will ask for year and time of birth, using Jiāomùzú vocabulary:

- (223) tʰi w-əlo tʰi w-əʒak
 what 3s:GEN-year what 3s:GEN-time
 What year, what date?

For birth year speakers make use of the traditional twelve year cycle of the Tibetan calendar with its animal symbols, or simply use Chinese, as they do for the date:

- (224) stag-lo wuꞌ jweꞌ sanꞌ hawꞌ
 tiger year five month three number
 The third day of the fifth month of the year of the tiger.

In (224) *wu jwe san haw* are from Chinese 五月三号 *wǔ yuè sān hào*.

Days are divided into several periods that each have their own name, beyond the normal morning, afternoon and evening, such as *fark^{ha}*, 'the time when the cock crows; the crack of dawn' and *tanam*, 'when the sun comes up; very early morning'. Traditionally rGyalrong also divided the day into set periods of hours, with a name for each period, still mentioned by some of the texts in the Collection Āwàng.¹¹⁶ These time references are, to my knowledge, no longer current among native speakers.

In telling time the use of Jiǎomùzú numerals is common, both for hours and minutes:

- (225) wuꞌo tətshot kəsam tʃe ji-rʃi
 he hour three LOC PFT-go₂
 He went at three o'clock.
- (226) xwotseꞌ tətshot kəsam təvek tʃe ji-məndə
 train hour three half LOC PFT-arrive
 The train arrived at half past three.
- (227) kəmɲi hənꞌ w-əŋk^{hu}? tʃe kə-rət^{ha} ra
 five minute 3s:GEN-back LOC NOM-study need
 Class will start in five minutes.

The word for minute, *hen*, is a loan from Chinese 分 *fēn*. Note that *hen* functions as a classifier, with the numeral preceding, while *təts^{hot}*, 'hour', behaves like a noun.

Prices of goods etc. can be given in Chinese but are often in Jiǎomùzú numerals. Often the price precedes the quantity. The classifier is not obligatory:

- (228) kərsat [mp^hjar] tʃe kə-tərpa 'nə-ŋos
 eight [CL] LOC one-pound EV-be
 It's eight (yuan) per pound.

Phone numbers are exclusively in Chinese, including emergency numbers:

- (229) ka-ŋalalat mə-na-ndo? rə jawjawliŋꞌ ka-nak^{ho}
 NOM-fight COND-PFT-have CON one-one-zero INF-call
 If there is a fight, call 110.

¹¹⁶ Zànlā Āwàng Cuòchéng and Prins 2006.

The emergency number here, 110, is from Chinese 一一零 *yāoyāolíng*. Numbers of public transportation such as busses or trains, hotel rooms, dorms, and house numbers most often use Chinese numerals but, especially if they are small numbers that are convenient to pronounce, Jiǎomùzú numerals can occur. Age tends to be expressed with Jiǎomùzú numerals more often than with Chinese numbers, though either one is acceptable.

There is no way to distinguish partitive and non-partitive numerals in Jiǎomùzú. Adding contrast marker *tə* defines the entity as opposed to other entities around. However, the presence of *tə* does not single out some part of a whole, as the English 'some of the...' construction does. In (230a) the listener cannot know if there are more boys beside the two who went running, if only 'some of the boys' went running:

- (230a) *təzapu? tə kə-rjə?k ji-rji-ndʒ*
 boy C NOM-run PFT-go₂-3d
 The two boys went running.

- (230b) *təzapu? kə-rjə?k ji-rji-ndʒ*
 boy NOM-run PFT-go₂-3d
 Two boys went running.

Other quantifying words

Non-numeral quantifiers are modifiers of nouns and pronouns that indicate quantity or scope, such as English 'many, much, few, all, some'. Here is an overview of the most frequently used quantifiers in Jiǎomùzú:

(231)	<i>wuvjot</i>	much, a lot, many	<i>rere...kaka</i>	each...one
	<i>təgnes</i>	(a) few	<i>ndo?mi?</i>	about; approximately
	<i>kəʒu</i>	all	<i>kətəp^hok</i>	several
	<i>kəmcok</i>	some, several	<i>t^homat^ho</i>	about; more or less
	<i>kəkərtokrtok</i>	some	<i>ndo?ndo?</i>	all; every
	<i>ca?m</i>	at most	<i>kərgirgi</i>	some
	<i>stamce</i>	all, entire	<i>kəmənʃu</i>	all, whole
	<i>tsat</i>	a little		

Some of the quantifiers derive from numerals, classifiers or verbs. Most often compounding or reduplication form quantifiers derived from other words:

(232)	ndo?	have (verb)	təp ^h ok	group (CL)
	mi?	not have (verb)	kə-	one
	ndo?mi?	about, approximately	kətəp ^h ok	several
	kərgi	one (numeral)	kərtok	one (numeral)
	kərgirgi	some, a few	kəkərtokrtok	some

Quantifiers occur after the noun they modify or stand alone as the head of a noun phrase. Marking for plural does not influence the place of the quantifier. But markers for indefiniteness or contrast cannot occur between the noun and the quantifier if the quantifier precedes the noun:

(233)	kəru?	kəzu tə	kəzu kəru?-no	
	Tibetan	all C	all Tibetan-p	
	all Tibetans		all Tibetans	
	kəzu kəru?-no	tə	kəru?-no kəzu tə	* kəzu tə kəru?no
	all Tibetan-p	C	Tibetan-p all C	
	all the Tibetans		all the Tibetans	

Some quantifiers have a prefix *kə*, as do non-process verbs. However, the quantifiers do not inflect for verbal categories like evidentiality and person and number. By this distinction *kəzu*, 'all' is a quantifier but *kəməca*, 'many' is a stative verb:

(234)	kəzu	all	* 'nazu	* 'nazujn
	kəməca	many	'na-məca	'na-məca-jn
			OBS-many	OBS-many-3p

Here are some sample sentences:

(235)	ts ^h e	wuvjot	'na-ndo?	tət ^h a	təgnes	ki	'na-ndo
	salt	much	OBS-have	book	few	IDEF	OBS-have
			There is a lot of salt.				There are a few books.
	tət ^h a	kəmcok	ndo?	ʃu	kətəp ^h ok	na-p ^h o-jn	
	book	several	have	tree	several	PFT-cut-3p	
			There is a pile of books.			Several trees were cut.	
	tandzam	w-ətɹə	tsat	tʃe	nos		
	bridge	3s:GEN-front	little	LOC	be		
			It's just before the bridge.				

Quantifiers can stand alone, like numerals, and be the head of a noun phrase:

- (236) kəʒu na-cu ɲa kəmcok kaku ɲ-əsi 'na-vi
 all PFT-rot I some buy 1s:GEN-heart OBS-come
 All were rotten. I want to buy some.

Quantifiers can occur with markers of indefiniteness and contrast:

- (237) ndoʔndoʔ tə ji-jo^Ɂ kəmɲi kaka 'nə-ɲos
 all C one-jiăo five each EV-be
 Each one is five jiăo.

- (238) wuvjot ki na-k^hit-j
 many IDEF PFT-pick-1p
 We picked an amazingly large amount.

They also occur with prominence marker *kə*:

- (239) piʒo^Ɂ w-apkap kəkərtokrtok kə nə mbərzaʔ kə 'na-vəja-jn
 beer 3s:GEN-cap some PR CON knife PR OBS-fetch-3p
 Some open beer bottles with a knife,

 kəkərtokrtok kə nə ɲ-əʃwa kə 'na-ci-jn
 some PR CON 3p:GEN-tooth PR OBS-open-3p
 some use their teeth.

There is no difference between partitive and non-partitive quantifiers in Jiăomùzú.

- (240a) təza-ɲo w-əvek tə comco-vu 'nə-ɲos
 boy-p 3s:GEN-half C Jiăomùzú-person EV-be
 Some of the boys are from Jiăomùzú.

- (240b) təza-ɲo laŋtʃin ka-leʔt kərgaʔ kə-təp^hok
 boy-p ball NOM-hit NOM-like one-group
 Some boys like football.

In (240a) *təvek* literally means 'half', but it can be used to express 'a part of', as can *kətap^hok*. There are also no special partitive negative quantifiers. If such a difference in meaning has to be expressed normally it is done through number marking, the use of contrast or indefiniteness markers or other strategies:

(241a) tʃəʔ jirpe tapuʔ-no kərtok ʒik ʃi-'a-rət^ha-jn
 this village boy-p one also NEG-NEV-study-3p
 None (not even one) of the boys of this village went to school.

(241b) təzapuʔ ji-kə-vu miʔ-jn
 boy PFT-NOM-come₂ not.have-3p
 No boys came.

It is possible to indicate a difference in meaning through word order:

(242a) kətəp^hok təza-no mbotan ka-leʔt 'na-rgaʔ-jn
 several boy-p ball NOM-hit OBS-like-3p
 Some of the boys like to play football.

(242b) təza kətəp^hok mbotan kaleʔt kərgaʔ makəndra 'na-ndoʔ
 man several ball hit NOM-like very OBS-have
 Some guys love to play basketball.

If the quantifier is emphasised by putting it before the noun, as in (242a), the sentence implies that there are other boys in the context of the conversation who do not like to play. Sentence (242b), in which the quantifier occurs after the noun, is a general statement without any reference to a specific group of guys, some of whom love to play.

d. Classifiers

Classifiers mark lexical items as belonging to the same semantic class, based on features like shape, size, colour, animacy, movability etc. They occur when a noun is also modified by a numeral, demonstrative or certain non-numerical quantifiers. The Jiăomùzú dialects have both bound classifiers, which cannot occur independently, and free classifiers based on nouns, though Jiăomùzú does not very frequently employ them. Most nouns by far do not require a classifier and are modified by a numeral or quantifier only:

(243) tapuʔ kəsam three children
 mbotan kəmɲi five balls

For those nouns that do take a classifier, the use of the classifier is often optional, as for *məntoʔk*, 'flower'. The classifier comes after the numeral:

(244)	məntoʔk kəsam	məntoʔk kəsam pʃu	kəsam pʃu
	flower three	flower three CL	three CL
	three flowers	three stems of flowers	three stems

The classifier here is *pʃu*, which is used with objects of long thin shape. Nouns that take *pʃu* include *məntoʔk*, 'flower', *ʃopʃop*, 'fish', *kʰapri*, 'snake', *takʰu*, 'cigarette', *ɲangən*, 'river' and *scape*, 'sword' - but not *mɒrzaʔ*, 'knife'. Other commonly used classifiers in Jiăomùzú are:

(245)	mpʰjar	sheet, layer; for flat rectangular things
	bəm	pair
	pʃu	for long thin things
	kor	pack load (animals as well as humans, carried on the back)
	tʰən	for food; meal
	kpʰu	for trees
	tʃʰe	set; for clothes
	cʰa	time; turn
	mpʰrəm	line, row, queue
	rdok	piece

The classifiers are unmarked when used with a numeral but are prefixed by *kə-*, which derives from the numeral *kərek* or *kərgi*, 'one', when they express the meaning 'one of...'. Classifiers follow the noun they modify, with numerals inserted before the classifier:

(246)	mpʰjar	classifier for flat rectangular things, 'sheet', 'unit of money'
	poŋeʔj kə-mpʰjar	poŋeʔj zʃi mpʰjar
	money one-CL	money ten CL
	one yuan	ten yuan
	ʃokʃoʔk kəsam pʰjar	* ʃokʃoʔk kəsam kəmpʰjar
	paper three CL	
	three sheets of paper.	

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

(247)	tʰistok kə ra	kəmɲi mpʰjar
	how.many PR need	five CL
	How many do you want?	Five (sheets).

In some cases it is also possible to have just the numeral without the classifier, but it seems to depend on the classifier. A classifier such as *mp^hjar*, which is extensively used in daily conversation, will rarely be omitted. Some non-numeral quantifiers can be modified by classifiers, as in (248) where quantifier *wuvjot*, 'many', is modified by classifier *c^ha*, 'time'. Quantifiers, like numerals, are placed before the classifier. Note that the classifier in its turn is modified by locative marker *-j*:

- (248) ndə tange wuvjot c^ha-j to-'a-ku-w
 that clothes many CL-LOC PFT-NEV-buy-3s
 He often bought clothes. (He bought clothes many times.)

Nouns can be used as classifiers, especially those nouns that measure volume, time or distance. This subset of classifiers is often called measure words. Because the nouns in this subset behave like other classifiers I call them all classifiers in this study. As with other classifiers, *kə-* is prefixed to the noun to express 'one'. The prefix does not replace the normal noun prefixes *tə-* and *ta-*:

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------|--|---|
| (249) | k ^h əza? | k ^h rə?w kə-k ^h əza? | k ^h rə?w kebdu k ^h əza? |
| | bowl | rice one-CL | rice four CL |
| | | one bowl of rice | four bowls of rice |
| | tərpa | pakʃu kə-tərpa | pakʃu kəpəs tərpa |
| | pound | apple one-CL | apple two CL |
| | | one pound of apples | two pounds of apples |

Unlike quantifiers classifiers cannot indicate greater measure by reduplication of the root. For example, doubling the root *jam* of 'pot' does not form the meaning 'many pots':

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------|------|--------------------------|--|
| (250) | tajam | pot | * tajamjam | *tajam tajam |
| | k ^h əza? | bowl | * k ^h əza?za? | *k ^h əza? k ^h əza? |

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

- (251) wuʃo k^hrə?w kə-k^həza? kə-k^həza? to-ndza-w
 he rice one-CL one-CL PFT-eat-3s
 He ate bowl after bowl of rice.

Sometimes a noun is modified by another classifier which can, in its turn, be modified by a numeral to express volume or measure, as in (252):

- (252) *təjam kəsam zəm kə-ndʒəʔt ki 'na-ndoʔ*
 pot three litre NOM-hold IDEF OBS-have
 There is a pot of ten litres. (There is a pot that holds ten litres.)

Traditionally distance is not expressed by standardised units of ten, as in the metric system, but by nouns derived from geographical features, as is the system of geographical direction marking:

- (253) *kəʃpət kandʒek kənes tanənes stəki na-ndrek-ŋ*
 livestock chase two stretch like.that PFT-pursue-1s
 I chased the cow for some two kilometres.

- (254) *kəʃoʔ kərtok na-p^ho k^honə ŋa ʒigəʒiga wuvjot na-ndʒek-ŋ*
 sheep one PFT-flee CON I bend many PFT-pursue-1s
 One sheep ran away and I chased it all over the place.

- (255) *ʒiga kəsam na-ndʒek-ŋ k^honə ka-vəja ʒi-c^ha-ŋ*
 bend three PFT-chase-1s CON NOM-catch PFT/NEG-able-1s
 I chased it for a distance of three bends but I could not catch it.

In (253) *tənənes*, 'stretch', literally means 'resting point'. Since in the rGyalrong area traditionally all distances were travelled by foot, there were resting points at regular intervals along the road, such as a convenient rock or a shady tree. By extension, the distance between two resting points became called *tənənes*, the stretch of road one can walk before one needs a break. The word *ʒiga*, 'bend' in (254) and (255) literally means bend in a river or road. It is also used as a measure of distance in a known environment to indicate how far things are in relation to one another. The measure has direct relation to the road or the river it refers to. It cannot be used for just any river or road, since it is then unclear how long the distance between bends is or even if there are bends at all. Another traditional measure of distance in Jiāomùzú is *təmbriʃam*, which is a length of twenty meters. The measure is used to express distance between two villages as well as shorter measures, such as the width of a house. Other frequently used classifiers of this type are *təʃə*, 'one lap', for a distance back and forth, *c^ha*, 'time, turn', *təjam*, 'pot'.

Classifiers can modify the head of a genitive construction:

- | | | |
|-------|--------------|------------------------------------|
| (256) | <i>tsəla</i> | <i>kə-tsəla w-əp^hok</i> |
| | moon, month | 1-CL 3s:GEN-salary |
| | | a month's salary |
| | <i>təpa</i> | <i>kə-pa w-ərkok</i> |
| | year | 1-CL 3s:GEN-grain.harvest |
| | | a year's worth of grain |

In some instances classifiers borrowed from Chinese become nouns in Jiǎomùzú, as in (263). The Chinese classifier 角 *jiǎo*, 'one tenth of one unit of money', is in Sìchuān dialect pronounced as [ʃo]. Prefixed with the Chinese numeral 一 *yī* for 'one' the construction occurs as a noun followed by a numeral:

- (263) ndoʔndoʔ tə jʃoᵛ kəmŋi kaka ʔnə-ŋos
 each C one.jiǎo five each EV-be
 Each one is five jiǎo.

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

- (264) ndə arliŋliŋɣuᵛ niʃanᵛ ndə w-əpa na-kə-sci ʔnə-ŋos
 that 2009 year that 3s:GEN-CL PFT-NOM-be.born EV-be
 He was born in 2009.

In example (264) *arliŋliŋɣu niʃan* is borrowed from Chinese 二零零九年 *èrlínglíngjiǔ nián*, 'the year 2009', where *nián* is a classifier. In the Jiǎomùzú sentence the Chinese numeral with the Chinese classifier occur followed by the Jiǎomùzú classifier for 'year', *pa*. The Chinese construction of numeral plus classifier is clearly treated as a unit and considered a noun by native speakers. But unlike the normal classifiers *-pa* in (264) occurs as the head of a genitive construction, with the demonstrative *ndə* as the possessor. The whole construct is perhaps best translated as 'He was born in 2009, [in] that year'.

e. Prominence marker *kə*

The Jiǎomùzú marker *kə* usually occurs in previous studies on rGyalrong labelled as 'case marker' or 'ergativity marker'. In Jiǎomùzú *kə* can be used to mark ergativity and to disambiguate subject and object, as well as for the marking of prominence of one or more constituents in a clause or sentence and tracking of subjects to ensure referential continuity across clause and sentence boundaries. But actually all those uses are rather a by-product of the marker's overarching function. The primary function of prominence marking with *kə* is to apportion prominence to a constituent relative to the prominence of other constituents in the sentence. Prominence marking functions as a watchdog: it keeps track of the prominence of each constituent in the clause or sentence relative to the prominence of all other constituents. Jiǎomùzú constituents each have their own level of prominence, based on their position in the sentence and on the Jiǎomùzú animacy hierarchy. When the prominence due a certain constituent is lost to another constituent, due to operations that influence speaker empathy or change prominence of constituents such as topicalisation and attention low marking, prominence marker *kə* occurs to even out the imbalance. In some cases adjustment of the prominence balance must occur. In these cases marking with *kə* is obligatory. In other cases,

when the basic balance of constituents is not in danger, a speaker can use *kə* to give prominence to one or more constituents of his choice. The Jiāomùzú marker *kə* is a discourse marker rather than a case marker. But because most authors discuss the equivalent of Jiāomùzú *kə* in terms of case, and because this grammar does not have a separate chapter on information structure, I discuss *kə* here in the section on noun adjuncts. The following subsection gives an overview of the functions of *kə*, first as a marker of prominence used at the speaker's discretion, and then as the obligatory marker of prominence in situations where constituents' relative prominence needs adjusting. The second subsection contains a discussion of ergativity and case, and the role of *kə* as described in previous studies of rGyalrong varieties.

For the purposes of the following discussion I define 'discourse' as a structural series of sentences, the development of which constitutes a coherent whole and is recognised as such by speakers of a language. A conversation and a story are different forms of discourse. A 'context' is a situation defined by the interlocutors: a set of circumstances given a cultural interpretation.¹¹⁷ I base my definitions of empathy, topic-comment and focus-presupposition on Avery Andrews' overview of pragmatic functions of the noun phrase and on the work of Lambrecht.¹¹⁸ I define 'empathy' as the point of view taken by the speaker on the situation under discussion. The 'topic' in a sentence is the matter of current interest which indicates what the sentence is about while 'comment' is the remainder of the sentence which is relevant to and provides information about the topic. The body of a sentence is the 'presupposition', which represents a situation with which the hearer is presumed to be familiar, or old information. The 'focus' noun phrase gives the identity of an unpredictable participant that is chosen to supply the missing argument in an open proposition.

The use of prominence marker kə

Jiāomùzú has a prominence marker *kə*, which occurs when a speaker wants to give prominence to one or several constituents in a sentence. In Jiāomùzú sentences, which have a basic subject-object-verb order, the first slot has inherently more prominence than the second slot. In neutral sentences the first slot is occupied by the subject, the second slot by the object. In a neutral sentence, that is a sentence in which each constituent has prominence according to its normal place in the sentence, no marking with *kə* occurs. By marking a constituent with *kə* a speaker gives prominence to that particular constituent. Marking with *kə* can be used to signal subtle differences in meaning by shifting the focus from one constituent to another. Consider the following examples:

(265a) *nənʃo ɲa ko-top-ŋ*
 you I 2/1-hit-1s
 You will hit me.

(265b) *nənʃo kə ɲa ko-top-ŋ*
 you PR I 2/1-hit-1s
 You will hit me.

Say, for instance, that the object *ɲa*, 'I' in (265a) anticipates being hit if a certain task is not done to the satisfaction of the subject *nənʃo*, 'you'. Sentence (265a) without *kə* is a simple statement. The

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

¹¹⁸ Andrews (1996: 77-80); Lambrecht (1994: 117-131, 206-218, 334-340).

sentence provides information about what ‘you’ will do. It answers the question ‘What will you do next?’ The subject is also the topic, *nəŋɔ*, ‘you’. The comment is *ŋa kotopɪ*, ‘will hit me’. In terms of focus, the question that is answered by (265a) is ‘Who will you hit (if the task is not performed properly)?’ The presupposition is that ‘you will hit x’, the missing argument or focus is ‘me’. The only difference between the two sentences of (265) is the occurrence of *kə* with the subject *nəŋɔ*, ‘you’. Sentence (265b) is not the answer to ‘What will you do next?’ The question answered by (265b) is ‘Who will hit me?’ The presupposed information here is ‘x will hit me’. The focus of (265b) is *nəŋɔ*. In sentence (265b), where the subject is marked by *kə*, the speaker gives prominence to the subject which is in focus. This sentence might be uttered by someone who either is incredulous that ‘you’ can have the nerve to think ‘you’ can hit him, or by someone who is scared and does not want to go near ‘you’ because he knows or anticipates that ‘you’ will hit him. Another example along these lines is (266):

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(266a) <i>ŋa nəŋɔ ta-top-n</i>
 I you 1/2-hit-2s
 I will hit you.</p> | <p>(266b) <i>ŋa kə nəŋɔ ta-top-n</i>
 I PR you 1/2-hit-2s
 I will hit you.</p> |
|--|--|

The first sentence, (266a), is the neutral form. The subject *ŋa*, ‘I’ is also the topic. Sentence (266a) provides information about what the topic *ŋa* will do. Focus is on *nəŋɔ*, ‘you’, as (266a) answers the question ‘Who will I hit?’ The second sentence (266b) with *kə* can be used in situations where ‘I’ am near losing my temper, maybe because ‘you’ have been pestering me for a long time. The presupposition in (266b) is ‘x will hit you’. The question answered by (266b) is ‘Who will hit you?’ The focus in (266b) has shifted from *nəŋɔ*, ‘you’ to *ŋa*, ‘I’. In all these cases the presence of *kə* signals focus on the subject. It would be tempting to consider *kə* as a focus marker. But note that topicalisation by switching the object *nəŋɔ*, ‘you’ to the first slot in the sentence puts prominence on the object, implying that there may be other people around who ‘I’ will not hit. Still *ŋa*, ‘I’ is marked with *kə* :

- (266c) *nəŋɔ ŋa kə ta-top-n*
you I PR 1/2-hit-2s
You I will hit.

In the case of (266c) *kə* is obligatory and occurs to give due prominence to the syntactic subject, to balance the prominence obtained for the object by moving it into the first slot. I discuss constructions in which *kə* is obligatory later in this section. Here I will just note that *kə* does not exclusively mark focus, so that focus marker is not an appropriate term. I have chosen to call *kə* a prominence marker. For more on topicalisation, see section 8.1 of the chapter on sentences.

It is possible to have two or even several prominence markers that give prominence to different constituents in one sentence. In example (267) both the subject *wuɔ*, ‘he’ and the reason for the writing, *poŋeʔj*, ‘money’, occur with *kə*. In (268) the speaker gives prominence to the subject and agent *amɲi*, ‘ancestor’ as well as the instrument *ʃamtok*, ‘hammer’:

(267) wuʃo kə poŋeʔj w-ətʃʰat kə sonam w-ascok na-laʔt-w
 he PR money 3s:GEN-reason PR bSod.nams 3s:GEN-letter PFT-write₂-3s
 He wrote to bSod-nams about the money.

(268) ampi kə nə ʃamtok kə wuʃo w-awo-j kərek
 ancestor PR CON hammer PR he 3s:GEN-head-LOC one
 The ancestor dealt him a blow with the iron hammer.

to-kə-laʔt-jn 'nə-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s:HON EV-be

It is entirely up to the speaker which constituents he chooses to highlight. For example, in (269) two constituents are given prominence, both of which give reasons why the implicit subject fell asleep:

(269a) karama ʃi kə təspap kə w-əmɲak na-ʃu
 work much PR exhaustion PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-sleep
 Exhausted by the hard work [he] fell asleep.

The logical order of the sentence is 'because he had worked hard he was exhausted, and because he was exhausted, he fell asleep'. It is possible to leave out the first marker, so that *karama ʃi*, 'much work' and *təspap*, 'exhaustion' form one unit giving the reason for the subject falling asleep. But omitting only the second marker gives an ungrammatical construction:

(269b) karama ʃi təspap kə w-əmɲak na-ʃu
 work much exhaustion PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-sleep
 Exhausted by the hard work he fell asleep.

(269c) * karama ʃi kə təspap wəmɲak naʃu

Example (269c) is ungrammatical because without *kə* the logical link between the immediate reason, which is his exhaustion, and the action expressed by the verb, his falling asleep, is no longer there. Prominence marking can give prominence not only to subjects and objects, but also other constituents such as adverbials:

(270) ŋa nəŋʃo nə-pʰa-j kə tətʰa nə-kʰam-ŋ
 I you 2s:GEN-vicinity-LOC PR book PFT-pass-1s
 I handed you a book.

In example (270) *nəŋʃo* looks like an indirect object but actually the constituent here is *nəŋʃo nəpʰaj*, 'to the place in your proximity, towards you', which is a locative. The semantics of the verb *kakʰam*, 'hand, pass' imply that the book will be passed on to a third person, it cannot remain with the person

it was handed to. The locative in (270) expresses a location which the book passes on its way to its final destination, a person or place beyond the scope of the sentence.

Prominence marking is used to give prominence to constituents that express a variety of semantic roles, such as agent, instrument, cause, reason, source, manner and translativ, as well as subject and object. Marking depends on the importance or relevance the speaker accords the specific information of the marked constituent in relation to the information given in the other constituents of the sentence. Below are some examples of *kə* marking different constituents and different roles. The first sentence shows *kə* giving prominence to the subject and agent *amɲi*, 'ancestor':

- (271) amɲi kə nə wuɟo w-awo-j ʃamtok kərek to-kə-laʔt-jn
 ancestor PR CON he 3s:GEN-head-LOC hammer one PFT-NOM-hit₂-3s:HON
 The ancestor dealt him a blow with the iron hammer.
- 'nə-ŋos
 EV-be

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

- (272) pakʃu kə lhamo pkraʃis nə-mbuʔ-w
 apple PR lHa.mo bKra.shis PFT-give-3s
 An apple is what lHa-mo gave bKra-shis.

Example (273) highlights the means or manner or implement with which something is done, marking the instrument *k^hajcak*, 'hammer':

- (273) k^hajcak kə tərmu na-sə-top-ŋ
 hammer PR person PFT-CAUS-hit-1s
 I hit him with a hammer.

Translatives, constructions in which a subject causes an object to take action or acquire a position, can be marked with *kə*:

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

Note that often in sentences with *kə* marking agent or instrument the verb will be marked for indirect causativity by *-sə* or *-sa*, indicating that there is an outside agent or instrument that causes the action on the recipient or goal, rather than the subject acting directly on the object. The literal meaning of sentence (274), for example, is 'I caused him to be hit by using a hammer'. For more on the use of different causativity markers, see section 7.8.h and 7.8.i in the chapter on verbs.

Prominence marker *kə* can occur with constituents that signal cause of an action, a reason or a result. In these situations the marked constituent is often an adverbial phrase or other constituent rather than the subject or object:

- (275) tamk^hu kə-neʔk tə k^halu kə to-kə-va-w k^honə
 cloth NOM-black C wind PR PFT-NOM-do-3s CON
 Because the wind blew, the black cloth made a flapping sound in the wind.

tʃəʔ sok vej-vej-vej to-kə-cəs 'nə-ŋos
 this like flap-flap-flap PFT-NOM-say EV-be

- (276) w-apa nə w-əʒder kə w-aʃcu nə-ʃlak tʃəʔ tʃe nə...
 3s:GEN-father CON 3s:GEN-afraid PR 3s:GEN-urine PFT-pass this LOC CON
 When his father wet his pants out of fear....

- (277) karama ʃi təspap kə w-əmpak kə-ʃu
 work much exhaustion PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-close
 Exhausted by the hard work he fell asleep.

To give prominence to source, marker *kə* also can appear:

- (278) tamar təlo kə nə-ka-va 'nə-ŋos
 butter milk PR PFT-NOM-do EV-be
 Butter comes from milk.

Marker *kə* also occurs with constituents signalling manner:

- (279) w-əza w-ajiʔk w-əŋk^huʔ-j təʃuʔ c^hot c^hot kə-cəs kə
 3s:GEN-son 3s:GEN-hand 3s:GEN-back-LOC water plink plink NOM-say PR
 The water dripped onto his son's hand, making a plinking sound.

na-kə-vu na-'a-ŋos
 PFT-NOM-conme₂ PFT-NEV-be

Another example for manner is (280). The speaker gives prominence to the way things are done:

- (280) karts^he kəngu w-əngem tə w-ap^hispo-j ka-rko
 deer nine 3s:GEN-corpse C 3s:GEN-armpit-LOC NOM-put
 He put the nine dead deer under his armpit, that's how he managed.
- ndə sok w-ərca tə kə to-kə-c^ha na-kə-ŋos 'nə-ŋos
 that like 3s:GEN-likeness C PR PFT-NOM-able PFT-NOM-be EV-be

The second clause in the previous example shows that prominence marker *kə* can occur with noun phrases modified by contrast marker *tə*. Unlike contrast marker *tə*, prominence marker *kə* does not cover just the scope of a noun phrase but rather indicates how the speaker wants the hearer to interpret the importance of different sentence constituents in relation to each other. Prominence marking functions on the level of the sentence or clause. Prominence markers occur after *tə*. The function of *kə* and *tə* can seem rather similar. But there are subtle differences of meaning depending on which marker is used:

- (281a) pkraʃis pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
 bKra.shis apple PFT-give-3s
 bKra-shis gave apples.
- (281b) pkraʃis tə pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
 bKra.shis C apple PFT-give-3s
 [Only] bKra-shis gave apples.
- (281c) pkraʃis kə pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
 bKra.shis PR apple PFT-give-3s
 bKra-shis gave apples.
- (281d) pkraʃis tə kə pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w (manʃi tərmu-ŋo t^hi ʒik
 bKra.shis C PR apple PFT-give-3s (other person-p what also
 bKra-shis gave apples (the other people did not give anything at all).
- nə-mbuʔ-jn miʔ)
 PFT-give-3p not.have)
- (281e) *pkraʃis kə tə pakʃu nəmbuʔw

The five sentences above all express the same idea: bKra-shis gave apples. They may be used in the context of people discussing the gifts that different guests brought for the birth of a baby. The neutral sentence is (281a). In (281a) the topic is bKra-shis. The sentence gives information about

what bKra-shis did in the comment *pakfu nambu?w*, ‘give apples’. The sentence does not give any indication about possible other guests and what they did or did not give. In sentence (281b) the subject bKra-shis is marked with contrast marker *tə*. The contrast here is between bKra-shis and his gift and all the other guests and their gifts. The sentence indicates that there were other people who also gave things, but only bKra-shis gave apples, see the discussion on contrast marking in section 4.3.a. The question answered by (281b) is ‘What did bKra-shis give?’, with the answer *pakfu*, ‘apples’, being the focus of the sentence. In sentence (281c) prominence marker *kə* gives prominence to the giver, bKra-shis, as the source of the apples. The question answered by (281c) is ‘Who gave apples?’, with focus on bKra-shis. The question answered by example (281d) is ‘Who gave the apples?’, indicating the focus of the sentence is on bKra-shis. Note that this sentence is normally followed by another clause or sentence, in which information about the other guests is forthcoming. The marking with *kə* gives prominence to bKra-shis as a giver of a gift, indicating that the other guests did not give gifts. This is one case in which the scope of *kə* goes beyond the noun phrase. For a discussion on marking with *kə* as a referential tracking device, see the discussion of example (294) below. Contrast marker *tə* in this context, since bKra-shis is the only person in the company who gives a gift, indicates that bKra-shis gave apples, rather than some other kind of fruit, or tea, or butter. Sentence (281e), in which the place of *tə* and *kə* is inverted, is not grammatical.

Marking with *kə* is normally a matter of the speaker's discretion. But marking becomes obligatory when the hearer's attention is with an unmarked constituent in the sentence rather than with the constituent which, in the normal course of events, would be the more prominent and thus be the locus of the hearer's attention. In such sentences the prominence marker *kə* must occur with the constituent that by rights should be the most prominent, to balance the unmarked constituent which has drawn the hearer's attention and restore the internal relative prominence of constituents in the sentence. I have found four scenarios which trigger the obligatory use of *kə*. They all involve the syntactic subject of a sentence or clause, which is normally the most prominent constituent in a sentence and the locus of the hearer's attention.

In the first scenario, a change of constituent order through topicalisation causes the constituent that normally occupies the first slot, the subject, to be in the second slot. As mentioned before, in sentences with a neutral word order, in which the subject occupies the first slot, followed by the object, the arguments remain unmarked, no matter the person of the argument, unless the speaker wants to give prominence to one or the other constituent. However, the arguments in a neutral sentence do not have equal prominence. The subject is in the first slot, and has most prominence, meaning that the hearer's empathy is with the subject. The object is in the second slot and is less prominent, that is to say, the empathy of the hearer is less with the object than with the subject. Topicalisation reverses constituent order, putting the object in the first slot with subject in the second, for the express reason of giving more prominence to the object. The hearer's empathy accordingly is with the constituent in the first slot, which is now the unmarked object, while the subject in second slot is less prominent. This still does not matter much if the hearer is clear which constituent is the subject, and thus the appropriate locus of his empathy. As discussed in section 8.1 of the chapter on sentences, in most cases, person and number marking on the verb as well as the semantic context of the sentence is enough for the hearer to pick the right constituent as the subject.

But in some situations neither the marking on the verb nor the constituent order give enough indication for the hearer to know which constituent is the subject. In the Jiǎomùzú dialects in such situations the subject must be marked with prominence marker *kə*, to show that it is inherently the most prominent constituent in the sentence, even though it is in the second slot. This kind of ambiguity only occurs in sentences with two third person arguments. The examples in (282) clarify this issue. Sentence (282a) has neutral constituent order, with the subject *bSod-nams* in the first slot, so no marking occurs. But in a topicalised sentence such as (282b), with object *bSod-nams* in the first slot and subject *bKra-shis* in the second slot, the subject is marked with *kə*:

- (282a) sonam pkraʃis na-sat-w
 bSod.nams bKra.shis PFT-kill-3s
 bSod-nams killed bKra-shis.
- (282b) sonam pkraʃis kə na-sat-w
 bSod.nams bKra.shis PR PFT-kill-3w
 It was bSod-nams that bKra-shis killed.

If *kə* does not occur in such situations, the hearer will automatically think of the argument occupying the first slot as the most prominent and thus as the subject. Prominence marking with *kə* functions to disambiguate sentences in which syntactic roles have become ambiguous because of topicalisation. The object remains in the first slot and so receives emphasis. The prominence due to the subject is ensured by marking with *kə*.

A second situation in which marking with *kə* is obligatory is when the object in a sentence attracts more attention than the subject because it ranks higher on the animacy hierarchy which the Jiǎomùzú dialects employ. In the verb chapter I show that Jiǎomùzú has the following animacy hierarchy: 1 > 2 > 3 human > 3 animate, non-human > 3 inanimate. Transitive relations which have an object that outranks the subject are marked on the verb as inverse. To some extent the animacy hierarchy also influences the occurrence of prominence marker *kə*. In sentences with a third person human subject and a first person human object, subject marking with *kə* is optional. Since the hearer's attention will rest with the object rather than with the subject, even though the subject is in the first slot, the verb is often marked for passive with *ŋo-*, as in (283):

- (283) pkraʃis [kə] ŋa ŋo-mbuʔ-ŋ
 bKra.shis [PR] I PAS-give-1s
 [It] will be given to me by bKra-shis.

However, third person non-human subjects must be marked with *kə*- if they occur with first person objects:

- (284) *təwaʔm kə ɲa no-najo-ŋ* * *təwaʔm ɲa nonajon*
 bear PR I AF/PFT-wait-1s
 The bear waited for me.

Example (284) shows a sentence with a third person subject and a first person object. The subject is in the first slot, the most prominent slot. Still marking with *kə* occurs. However, it is a third person animate subject, while the object is first person human. The prominence marker appears to offset the loss of prominence at the subject slot because the hearer's attention is drawn to the first person human, which outranks third person animate, in the object slot. Sentence (285) shows again a third person subject with a first person object. Marking with *kə* appears even though the subject is in the first slot. Clearly the demon, though animate, is considered less than human:

- (285) *tʃəʔ tə bdət tə kə jji-ɲo pəʒək wu-veravla-j* *konə*
 this C demon C PR we:1-p again 3/1:INV-destroy-1p MD
 This demon will once again destroy us all!

In my data the only instances of obligatory marking of a third person subject with *kə* due to a higher ranking object as defined by the animacy hierarchy is for third person non-human subjects with first person objects and third person inanimate subjects with third person human and animate objects. All other third person subjects can occur with first and second person objects without triggering obligatory marking with *kə*, as in (286), which has an example of a third person subject with a second person object:

- (286) *pkraʃis nənʒo to-najon-n* *me*
 bKra.shis you 3/2-wait-2s INTR
 Will bKra-shis wait for you?

A third situation in which marking with *kə* is obligatory is when an unmarked constituent attracts unwarranted prominence because that constituent undergoes or experiences an action which draws the empathy of the hearer, taking prominence away from the rightful locus, the first constituent in the sentence. In such cases also the constituent that naturally would be most prominent, the constituent in the first slot of a neutral sentence, must be marked by *kə*. Example (287) shows such a sentence. The sentence is not topicalised, the subject is in the first slot. There is no ambiguity as to which constituent is subject or object. Also there is no problem with the person hierarchy, since the subject is first person. Still marker *kə* occurs with subject *jino*, 'we', drawing the hearer's empathy there. Though there is no unclarity here about syntactic roles, *kə* cannot be omitted:

(287a) *jino kə wuʃo j-ascok kə-ləʔt to-sə-va-j*
 we:e PR he 1p:GEN-letter NOM-write₁ PFT-CAUS-do-1p
 We appointed him as secretary.

* *jino wuʃo jascok kəleʔt tosavaj*

The issue in this sentence is one of double action. In this simple sentence with just one clause the hearer's empathy is with *wuʃo*, 'he', because he is involved in an action, he is changing and becoming something else, a secretary. However, the actual agent of the action, the cause of the change in status that *wuʃo* is experiencing or undertaking, is *jino*, 'we'. The speaker must mark *jino* with *kə* so that the hearer will give appropriate prominence to the actual agent of the main action in the clause, with is *tosəvaj*, literally 'caused to do'. It is not ambiguity about syntactic or semantic roles that makes use of *kə* here obligatory, but unclarity about which is the main event in the clause: the becoming of secretary or the causing to become secretary. The same sentence without prominence marking becomes grammatical only when there is a second clause giving the hearer more information about *wuʃo*, firmly establishing *wuʃo* and his actions as the topical constituent for the hearer. It is for example possible to have (287b):

(287b) *jino wuʃo j-ascok kə-ləʔt to-sə-va-j koronə*
 we:e he 1p:GEN-letter NOM-write₂ PFT-CAUS-do-1p but
 We appointed him as our secretary,

kə-haʔw ma-ʔnə-ʃpeʔ-w
 NOM-good NEG-OBS-able₃-3s
 but he doesn't do a very good job.

In a sentence with two clauses the hearer finds out more about *wuʃo* and how the action of becoming secretary panned out. The hearer, who put his empathy with *wuʃo* in the first clause, is vindicated, in knowing that indeed the main locus of the action is *wuʃo* and what happens to him. The grammatical subject *jino* is what caused the events but it is not the topic. Prominence marker *kə* does not need to appear. If there is only one clause, as in (287a), no more information on *wuʃo*, 'him' is forthcoming and the speaker needs to give prominence to *jino*, 'we' to balance the constituents. The use of prominence marking in (287a) and (287b) shows that *kə* does not mark syntactic prominence for subject or semantic prominence for agent, but rather it marks what the speaker thinks is important about an action or event if the hearer's empathy may be with another constituent because the locus of the action is there. Marker *kə* functions as a tracking device for prominence with a scope larger than just the constituent it marks. Marking *wuʃo* for prominence also leads to ungrammaticality:

(287c) * *jino wuʃo kə jascok kəva tosavaj*

The sentence is ungrammatical because marking with *kə* links *wuʃo* with the main action of *tosəvaj*. But the person and number marking on the verb as well as the genitive marking on *jascok*, 'letter' agree with first person *jino*, not with third person *wuʃo*. Verb agreement in this case might be considered inconclusive, since Jiăomùzú verbs agree with object if there is a third person subject, as shown in (287d). Note that *wuʃo* is now in the first slot, the subject position, and *tascok*, 'letter' is not marked for genitive. The sentence is ungrammatical if *tascok* is marked for first person plural genitive with *j-*:

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

- (287e) * *wuʃo kə jino jascok kəva tosəvaj*

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

- (287f) * *jino wuʃo kə wascok kəva tosəvaj*

Third person *wuʃo* cannot be marked for prominence unless there is agreement on the other constituents.

This sort of referent tracking is also common in quotes, in which the subject is almost always marked with *kə*. Jiăomùzú quotes are always direct, which means that the action takes place in the complement clause. The empathy of the hearer is drawn back to the subject of the main clause by prominence marker *kə*. Note that *kə* occurs not only with transitive verbs but also with intransitives like *kacəs*, 'say':

- (288) *nəŋʃo kə ŋa ma-tʃʰi-ŋ na-tə-cəs-n*
 you PR I NEG-go₁-1s PFT-2-say-2s:vi
 You said that you won't go.
 You said: "I won't go."

The following sets of examples in (289) and (290) illustrate the same principle of assigning prominence by marking with *kə* to a constituent that, though naturally prominent in a sentence, has lost the empathy of the hearer in favour of another constituent. In both examples the subjects or agents are rather intangible forces while the results of the action on the objects are very prominent. In the three sentences of (289) the empathy of the hearer naturally is drawn to the objects because of the terrible things that have happened to them, the burning of respectively *təjeʔm*, 'house', *patʃu*, 'chicken' and, maybe most horrific of all, *bKra-shis*. The hearer gives little or no empathy to the actual cause of the burning, the syntactic subject and semantic agent *təmtʃuk*, 'fire'. The speaker

must restore this imbalance by giving prominence to *təmtʃuk* with prominence marker *kə*, so that the subject and agent of the sentences is given, as it were, its proper due. It could be argued that the animacy hierarchy comes into play here, since the objects in (289b) and (289c) are animate while the subject is not. But that still leaves (289a), which has an inanimate object, unaccounted for:

(289a) *təmtʃuk kə təjeʔm kəmənʃu tə kə-^la-cop*
 fire PR house entire C PFT-NEV-burn
 The fire burned up the entire house.

(289b) *təmtʃuk kə patʃu kəʒu tə kə-^la-cop*
 fire PR chicken all C PFT-NEV-burn
 The fire burned all the chickens.

(289c) *pkraʃis təmtʃuk kə-ktu kə kə-^la-cop*
 bKra.shis fire NOM-big PR PFT-NEV-burn
 The fire burned up bKra-shis.

Note that in sentences with a human object and a non-human subject the preference is for the object to occur in the first slot of the sentence. However, topicalisation in such cases is only preferred, not obligatory, as shown by (290b). Somewhat less dramatic but still following the same principle of marking for inherent prominence are the sentences in example (290). The tendency is for a hearer to give empathy to the result of the action signalled in the verb phrase on the objects, respectively the overturned car, the fallen bKra-shis and the sand that is now gone. The speaker must restore proper prominence on the logical cause of all this by marking the subject *k^halu*, 'wind' with *kə*. Once again, neither the animacy hierarchy nor object prominence explains the occurrence of *kə* in the first sentence:

(290a) *k^halu kə k^horlo kə-^la-tʃ^hwek*
 wind PR vehicle PFT-NEV-overturn
 The wind blew the car over.

(290b) *k^halu kə pkraʃis na-^la-tʃap*
 wind PR bKra.shis PFT-NEV-push
 The wind blew bKra-shis down.

(290c) *k^halu kə p^hjema ji-^la-tsep*
 wind PR sand PFT-NEV-take
 The wind blew the sand away.

Marker *kə* occurs in sentences with implicit arguments:

- (291) pkraʃis kə no-kə-mbuʔ-ŋ ŋos
 bKra.shis PR AF-NOM-give-1s be
 bKra-shis gave it [to me].

In sentence (291) the object, I, is implicit, though it is marked with *-ŋ* for first person singular in the verb phrase. Still the hearer's empathy is with the implicit object rather than with the subject *bKra-shis*, because the first person object ranks higher than the third person subject in the person hierarchy. Furthermore, the attention flow marker *no-* in the verb phrase lets the hearer perceive the action of giving from the perspective of the receiver, 'I'. Though the neutral sentence would simply state that 'bKra-shis gave [it] to me', attention flow marking and person hierarchy make the object the locus of the hearer's empathy. An English translation that reflects this more appropriately would be 'I got [it] from bKra-shis'. In order to ensure that the subject does retain the prominence it should have it is marked with *kə*, even though it is already in the first slot of the sentence.

In some sentences the occurrence of *kə* is the only indication of the syntactic role of the constituent. In (292) for example, the subject is implicit. No marking appears with *wuʃo*, 'he'. But when the implicit subject becomes explicit marking appears, even though the object is implicit as in (292b):

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

- (292b) wuʃo kə lhabzo kə-va kə-skoʔr-w
 he:AG PR thangka.painter NOM-do PFT-hire-3s
 He hired [someone as] a thangka painter.

The presence of *kə* in (292b) makes clear that *wuʃo*, 'he' is the subject, whereas in example (291a), which has an implicit subject, *wuʃo* is the object. Marker *kə* does not occur independently to represent an implicit argument:

- (292c) * kə wuʃo lhabzo kəva kəskoʔrw

Also in sentences that have an implicit object or subject but have clear agreement marking on the verb *kə* still appears:

- (293) pkraʃis kə kʰəzaʔ soʃnu wu-mbuʔ-ŋ
 bKra.shis PR bowl tomorrow 3/1-give-1s
 bKra-shis will give me the bowl tomorrow.

Note that the agreement marking on the verb is for a third person subject and a first person second object, 'I', not the first object 'bowl'.

The fourth situation in which marking with *kə* is obligatory occurs when the subject of an event or action switches in a complex sentence. For example, in the first clause of (294) the empathy of the hearer is with *patʃu*, 'chicken', the constituent in the first slot and the subject. But in the second clause the subject is no longer the chicken, but *lolo*, 'cat'. Besides, the chicken, now the object, is implicit in the second clause. The speaker disambiguates the sentence by marking the subject of the second clause with prominence marker *kə*, assigning it due prominence. It is not the chicken who chases the cat but rather the cat chases the chicken. Without *kə* to mark *lolo* the sentence means that the chicken came in through the window and is now chasing the cat. Note that the attention flow marker *no-* in the verb phrase of the second clause ensures that the hearer's attention remains with the chicken. The hearer's perspective is, as it were, with the chicken while it comes down through the window as the subject in the first clause, and stays with the chicken while it is being chased by the cat, even though the cat is now the grammatical subject and the speaker has made that clear through the use of prominence marker *kə*. For more on attention flow, see section 7.6 in the chapter on verbs.

- (294) *ntoməndə rə patʃu kamtsa sku ka-vi rə*
 originally CON chicken window down NOM-come₁ CON
 Originally a chicken had come in through the window and
- lolo kə no-na-ndʁek-ndʁek-w*
 cat PR AF-PFT-RED-chase-3s
 [now] the cat was chasing it back and forth.

In this section I have shown that prominence marker *kə* serves several functions. It gives prominence to one or several constituents in a sentence. Marker *kə* also ensures due prominence for the syntactic subject of a clause, sometimes by disambiguating the syntactic roles of constituents. And lastly *kə* functions as a tracking device to ensure referential continuity for the syntactic subject in discourse over the scope of several clauses. Since the functions of discourse marker *kə* all involve the marking of prominence, I call it a prominence marker.

Prominence marker kə and case

In previous studies of rGyalrong scholars have interpreted *kə* and its variant forms as a case marker, marking ergativity in a split-ergative system. Given the use of *kə* in the Jiăomùzú dialects as described in the previous section, case is not the most appropriate category for *kə* in these dialects. In this section I first test if Jiăomùzú marks for case in the traditional sense of the word at all. Then I give an overview of earlier analyses of markers like *kə* to see if they can apply to the Jiăomùzú data.

In a nominative-accusative case system marking of the subject or agent of transitive and intransitive verbs differs from marking for the object. The marking can be inflection on the argument or

morphologically independent. Since the goal of the exercise is to clarify the function and meaning of marker *kə* I do not look at marking on the verb phrase, only at markers that occur with constituents that are subjects and objects. In Jiăomùzú there is no difference in marking for subjects and objects on the noun phrase or on the pronoun, as the following examples make clear. The sentences in (295) show no difference in inflection, form or marking for subject and object:

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (295) | ɲa nənɲo ta-top-n
I you 1/2-hit-2s
I will hit you. | nənɲo ɲa ko-top-ɲ
you I 2/1-hit-1s
You will hit me. |
|-------|--|---|

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

- (296) tapuʔ-ɲo ɲa ʃi-sə-rwe-ɲ
 child-p I VPT-CAUS-rise-1s
 The kids I'll wake.

Clearly Jiăomùzú does not employ a nominative-accusative marking system for the subject or object. In an ergative-absolutive system the expectation is for the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb to show the same marking, as opposed to the subject of a transitive verb. The Jiăomùzú dialects do not evidence such a system of marking on noun phrases or pronouns. In the examples of (297) below, the intransitive subject *ɲa*, 'I' in (297a) and the object *ɲa*, 'me' in (297c) both remain unmarked and unchanged in their pronominal form, as does the transitive subject *ɲa*, 'I' in (297b):

- | | | | | | |
|--------|---|--------|--|--------|---|
| (297a) | ɲa ʃintəhu tʃʰi-ɲ
I Chéngdū go ₁ -1s
I'll go to Chéngdū. | (297b) | ɲa nənɲo ta-top-n
I you 1/2-hit-2s
I will hit you. | (297c) | nənɲo ɲa ko-top-ɲ
you I 2/1-hit-1s
You will hit me. |
|--------|---|--------|--|--------|---|

Scott DeLancey, working with a limited set of data from Jin's monograph on Suōmò,¹¹⁹ proposed that rGyalrong, like several other languages in the Tibeto-Burman family, is a split ergative language which marks third person transitive agents for case, while first and second person agents remain unmarked.¹²⁰ DeLancey links marking for split ergativity on noun phrases with *kə* to a person hierarchy in which first and second person rank higher than third person. His evidence for

¹¹⁹ Jin 1958.

¹²⁰ DeLancey (1980: 7).

such ranking comes from the agreement system on the verb, which marks for first and second person objects if the subject is a third person but for subject if the object is a third person. DeLancey's analysis covers the second scenario of obligatory marking with *kə* in Jiǎomùzú, 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 Jiǎomùzú data do have such examples, shown in the third scenario above. DeLancey then introduces the psychological notion of viewpoint, which is the perspective from which an event is viewed.¹²¹ In a situation with natural viewpoint a first or second person is preferred over a third person, and no marking appears. If viewpoint rests with a third person, rather than with a first or second person, an ergative marker *kə* appears after the third person argument.¹²² When a prototypical viewpoint locus is the starting point of an action or event the first or second person argument is not marked. That is to say, when the speaker presents an interaction between subject and object in the most neutral way, with subject and object in the first and second slot respectively, which in the viewpoint hypothesis is the unmarked situation. But when a less natural viewpoint locus is the starting point, it must be marked for its role. Marker *kə* occurs when and only when the more natural viewpoint is not the starting point.¹²³ So *kə* marks viewpoint, and the split-ergative system in rGyalrong marks semantic roles rather than syntactic case. DeLancey's viewpoint resembles the interpretation of *kə* as a prominence marker, that is as a marker that draws the empathy of the hearer to the marked constituent. The notion of viewpoint can account for the first scenario above, in which a subject ends up in the second slot of a sentence because of topicalisation, and the second scenario in which first and second person constituents outrank a third person subject. However, viewpoint cannot account for the other situations in which obligatory marking with *kə* occurs in Jiǎomùzú, and it clearly is no solution for the numerous cases of non-obligatory occurrence of *kə* with a variety of constituents, especially not if two or more markers occur in the same sentence.

Jackson Sun, in his study of Cǎodēng nominal morphology, describes an ergative-instrumental case marker *-kə*.¹²⁴ The marker is, he notes, frequently subject to ellipsis. Nominals bearing patient or recipient roles are usually not case-marked. But generally speaking, Cǎodēng has a split-ergative system where the applicability of the ergative-instrumental marker *-kə* is determined by the relative ranking of the agent and patient-recipient arguments on an animacy-empathy hierarchy. The major function of the ergative case is to indicate marked agency such that ergative marking is required if and only if the patient argument outranks the agent argument on the hierarchy, which runs as follows: speaker > hearer > non-participant > non-human animate > inanimate, with the speaker having the highest rank. In Sun's hierarchy first and second person outrank third person, which accounts for the occurrence of an ergativity marker with third person subjects in constructions with a first or second person object, as covered by DeLancey's split-ergativity hypothesis and my

¹²¹ DeLancey (1981: 626).

¹²² DeLancey (1980: 33).

¹²³ DeLancey (1981: 642).

¹²⁴ Sun (1998: 129-133).

scenario two. The system cannot account for Jiǎomùzú data in which a first person subject, in Sun's hierarchy the speaker, still occurs with *kə*, as in Jiǎomùzú quotes with a first person subject or in cases of tracking for referential continuity for subject over the scope of several clauses or even sentences. As I have shown above, the animacy hierarchy has only limited influence on prominence marking with *kə* in Jiǎomùzú. Compare the sentences in examples (289) and (290) above. In the first series, (289), *təmtʃuk*, 'fire' is the inanimate subject. Prominence marker *kə* occurs in each sentence, even though the object in one case is inanimate, in the second animate but not human, and in the third case human. If the animacy hierarchy were responsible for prominence marking in Jiǎomùzú, *kə* would not occur in sentences with an inanimate agent and an inanimate patient, such as the first sentence of (289). Another example makes this even clearer:

- (298a) *pak kə kam na-sənjət-w*
 pig PR door PFT-open-3s
 The pig opened the door.

In sentence (298a) animate subject *pak*, 'pig' is marked with *kə*, even though there is an inanimate object. However, the marker disappears if there is a second clause in which the speaker gives more information about *kam*, 'door', along the principles set out in scenario three and four:

- (298b) *pak kam na-sənjət-w rənə kam*
 pig door PFT-open-3s CON door....
 The pig opened the door and then the door....

Furthermore, if the object is human and the subject is animate, the object ranks higher on the animacy hierarchy than the subject but *kə* is not obligatory, contrary to the expectation:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(299a) <i>təwaʔm tərmu na-sat-w</i>
 bear person PFT-kill-3s
 The bear killed a man.</p> | <p>(299b) <i>təwaʔm kə tərmu na-sat-w</i>
 bear PR person PFT-kill-3s
 The bear killed a man.</p> |
|---|---|

Both sentences in (299) are perfectly grammatical. If the animacy hierarchy would be the only trigger for marking with *kə* the sentence without *kə* would be ungrammatical.

Also, *kə* can occur with subjects of all persons when the third person argument is inanimate, as in direct speech quotations:

- (300) *ŋa kə nəŋʝo kə-nəndze katʃʰi ra na-cəs-ŋ*
 I PR you NOM-have.a.meal go need PFT-say-1s
 "You should go and have a meal," I said.

Sun does make the important observation that for constituents which do not have obligatory marking with ergative marker *-kə*, the marker can still be used to give emphasis to that particular constituent.

Though Sun's analysis only deals with subjects and objects, his understanding that *-kə* can mark emphasis beside ergativity goes a long way towards explaining the non-obligatory marking with *kə* that occurs so frequently in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. However, a split-ergative system cannot account for the occurrence of several markers in one sentence. Sun remarks that in Cǎodēng it is not possible to have two ergativity markers in one sentence.

Lín Xiàngróng, writing about Zhuōkèjī, reports on a marker *kə* which can mark a number of different semantic roles. He lists agent, instrumental, cause, and reason. Lín calls this marker 'agentivity marker' but avoids the term 'case'. Lín notes that marking does not occur with first and second person constituents, unless the speaker wants to emphasise that constituent, and that topicalisation of the non-agent triggers marking on the agent. His examples for topicalised sentences include sentences in which an animate subject is marked with *kə* while the object is inanimate.¹²⁵ Animacy-empathy hierarchy as described by Sun for Cǎodēng is clearly not the only determining factor in Zhuōkèjī. This affirms the conclusions for Jiǎomùzú, as does the obligatory marking for third person subjects when they occur with a first or second person object and the non-obligatory marking to emphasise a constituent. However, Lín's agentivity marker cannot deal with scenario three and four in the Jiǎomùzú data, nor does he list the possibility of having more than one marker in a sentence.

One of the most recent descriptions of a rGyalrong dialect is Guillaume Jacques' description of Chábǎo. Jacques recognises that case is not a very appropriate term to cover the meaning or function of markers like *kə*, but since other scholars work with the category he retains it in his description. The Chábǎo dialect has an ergative marker *ku* which can mark agent and instrumental. The ergativity marker rarely occurs with first or second person and can be used to emphasise a particular constituent. The marker can also mark reason, and can be reinterpreted as a sentence connector. There can be two markers in one sentence.¹²⁶ The Chábǎo marker *ku* seems quite close to Jiǎomùzú's prominence marker *kə*, in that it is used to prominence to constituents, it can occur with more than one constituent in a sentence, and it occurs more frequently with third person agents than with first or second person agents.

In view of the usage of *kə* in Jiǎomùzú, case, even in the sense used by other scholars, is not the right syntactic category. Marker *kə* is best categorised as a discourse marker.

¹²⁵ Lín (1993: 336-338).

¹²⁶ Xiàng (2008: 162-167).