

A Grammar of Guìqióng

A LANGUAGE OF SICHUAN



LANGUAGES OF THE GREATER HIMALAYAN REGION

BY
JIĀNG LÌ

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A Grammar of Guìqióng

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Abbreviations

ABL	ablative case marker -ni
AUX	auxiliary bei
CAUS ₂	manipulative causative marker -ku
cf.	confer
CIRC	circumstantial nominaliser and mood marker -lu
CL	classifier
COM	completive <i>Aktionsart</i> auxiliary
COMP	comparative case marker -wən'jən
CON	conjunction
COP	copula
DAT	the dative markers -wuələ ~ -ələ ~-ləwuə ~ -wuə ~ -ə
D	directive causative marker -tsi
DIM	diminutive suffixes -tsei and -'ən'əntsei
DIR	any of the five directional prefixes, ji- 'inward', wu- 'outward', thu- 'upward', mi- 'downward' and də- 'back following the original course'
EMP	emphatic marker -ni
EP	present tense marker of experienced perceptions -mu
ERG	ergative marker -nəŋ
EXH	exhortative particle mə
EXS ₁	animate substantive verb nəŋ
EXS ₂	inanimate substantive verb jən
EXS ₃	dependent existential verb bu
1pIIMP	first person plural inclusive imperative suffix -li
GEN	genitive case marker -mə
GN	gnomic tense marker and agentive nominaliser -'wu
ILL	illative case marker -gəu or gu
IMP	non-existent ending of bare stem imperative sentences or either of the two suffixes, -nə or -'wə following the verb ji of ji ~ gǝ 'go' or he 'come' respectively in second person imperative sentences
IND	indefinite plural article -jɪə
INS	instrumental case marker -nəŋ
LAT	lative case marker -kən
MOM	momentaneous suffix -di
NEG	negative suffix mə- ~ mə- ~ mə-
ngEXS	negative existential verb mǝ
ngIMP	negative imperative or prohibitive prefix thə- ~ thə- ~ thə-

obNOM	oblique nominaliser -'ji
P	sentence final lə, pɛ; the sentence-final question particle lɛ; sentence-final particle jɔ or jɛ
PF	perfective marker -lɛ
PRG	progressive aspect marker su- ~ <su>
PRS	prospective morpheme -lɔ
2PIMP	second person plural imperative suffix -so
REP	reported speech marker tsi
SIM	simultaneous ending -ʃi
SJV	verbal suffix -lə
TEL	telic <i>Aktionsart</i> auxiliary -kɔ
3PI	third person plural inclusive dutsei
3PE	third person plural exclusive dugu
3S	third person singular pronoun zo
TOP	the topic marker -phə
∅	zero morph or morpheme
[]	phonetic transcription (phone); etymological note
//	phonological/phonemic transcription (phoneme)
<>	infix
~	alternates
*	reconstructed, unattested or ungrammatical form, or rejected analysis; verb roots that are preceded by an asterisk have not be attested.
→	yields (in synchronic analysis)

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Introduction

The purpose of this book is to present a comprehensive grammar of Guìqióng, a hitherto unwritten Tibeto-Burman language spoken at the west of Sichuan Province and at the east of Tibetan Autonomous Region. The grammar deals with the core aspects of Guìqióng, including phonology, morphology, syntax and information structure. A general introduction about Guìqióng speakers, their situation, origin and lifestyles, was given at the beginning of the book. The appendices at the end of the book were comprised of sample narrative texts, an extensive Guìqióng-English glossary and an English-Guìqióng glossary.

1.1 Location

The rectangular area home to the current Guìqióng speakers less than 20 kilometres from north to south and barely 1 kilometre from east to west across the Dàdù River is located in the east of north Kāngdìng County (between $29^{\circ}39' \sim 30^{\circ}45'$ N and $101^{\circ}33' \sim 102^{\circ}38'$ E) and the west of south Lúding County (between $29^{\circ}54' \sim 30^{\circ}10'$ N and $101^{\circ}46' \sim 102^{\circ}25'$ E), west of Sìchuān Province, China. The following map contains major towns where Guìqióng is still spoken. The provincial road numerated as S211 immediately parallels the Dàdù River in the Guìqióng area, where S stands for the initial letter of Shěng 省 ‘province’. Construction of the first road in history that connects every Guìqióng village by modern transportation, however, was only completed by the end of 2010. For decades, vehicles could only reach slightly north of Gūzán, a small town located at the west side of the narrow Dàdù valley in east Kāngdìng County by G318, where G stands for the initial letter of Guó 国 ‘nation, country’. A traveller must then walk from half an hour to a couple of hours in the mountains to reach a Guìqióng village. Commodity transportation mainly relied on horsebacks and manpower.

The Chinese characters *Xiāng* 乡 and *Zhèn* 镇 on the map indicate an equal-level local administrative division ranking only on top of cūn 村 ‘village’, usually containing an indefinite number of villages from several to a score depending on the density of population and historic administrative conventions. In the research, I have translated both of the words *Xiāng* and *Zhèn* either as town or township. Whilst I mainly collected the language data at

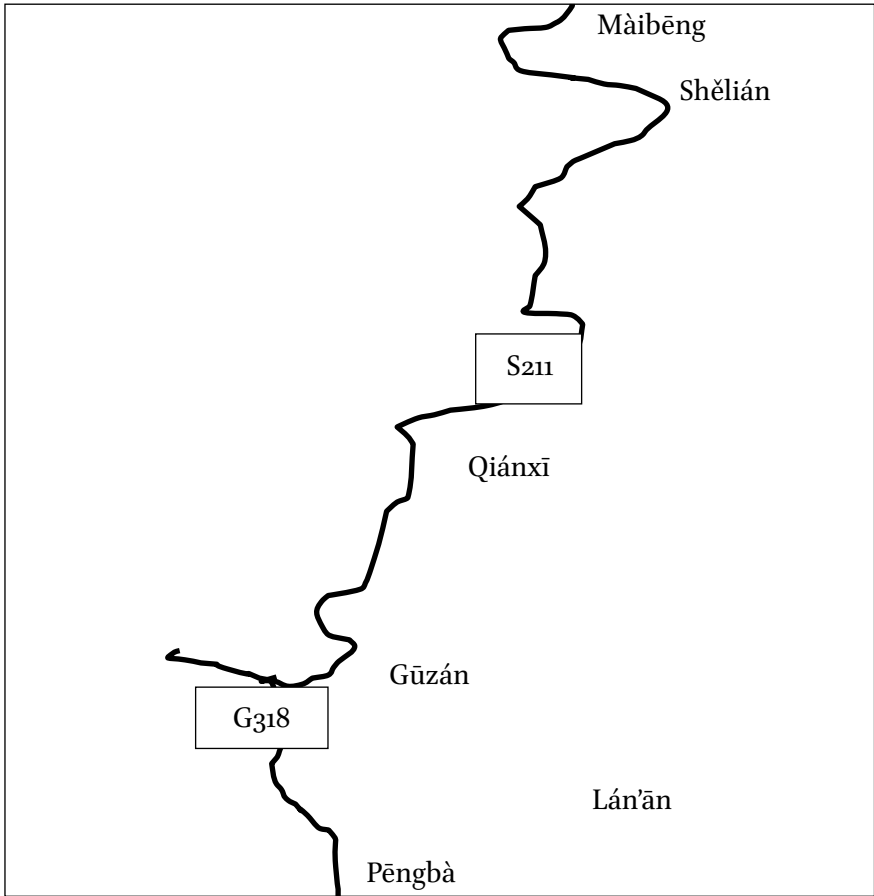


FIGURE 1 A map of the *Guiqióng* speaking towns.

the town of Gūzán, my two informants, Yáng Xuéwǔ (1930–2010) grew up and lived at Chǎngmǎ Village, which belongs to the Township of Mài'bēng and Yáng Xiàoyún (1933–2011), alias Yáng Xiàoróng, who grew up at Qiánxī Village, a member village of the Township of Qiánxī. The tones of this *Guiqióng* grammar are mainly resulted from an analysis of the recordings of Mr. Yáng Xiàoyún of Qiánxī Village with the help of Gāo Zhèngxiù (1965–) who used to live in the same village before middle school. She moved out of the village after college. Whilst the two elderly informants provided me with the basic data for collecting *Guiqióng* words and sentences, Gāo Zhèngxiù gave me enduring help in understanding the grammar of the language.



PLATE 1 *The Dàdù River.*



PLATE 2 *Waiting for a beast of burden at the north end of Güzán.*



PLATE 3 *Taking a rest on the way home.*



PLATE 4 *A winter view of the Dàdù valley.*

1.2 The Names of the People and the Language

Current names in relation to Guìqióng can be classified into two types, one is what the people call themselves or their language and the other is what other peoples call them and the language. The Guìqióng people call themselves *gutchieŋ*. It is now believed that Chinese names like *Guìqióng* 贵琼, *Gùqiāng* 顾羌 and *Gǔqiāng* 古羌 are all transliterations of /gutchieŋ/, which, as the result of regressive assimilation, is often heard as [guitchieŋ].

According to my informants, *gutchieŋ* is the name by the Guìqióng people to designate both themselves and the Qiangic people living in north counties like Sōngpān, Lítáng, Wēnchuān and Màoxiàn. Guìqióng people call their language *gutchieŋ kɛ*, where *kɛ* means spoken language and dialect of a group of people. The language uses *dzɛŋciɛ* ‘words’ to denote words and speech and *kɛciɛ* ‘language’ to denote language of a person, a nation or people, which can be abbreviated as *kɛ* ‘spoken language’. When talking in Chinese, the Guìqióng people often call their language *wǒmende* (our) *Dìjiǎohuà*, where *Dìjiǎohuà* denotes a language spoken in wild field corners remote from centres of political administration. It turns out that *Dìjiǎohuà* is an overarching name for a dozen more unwritten languages spoken in the Tibetan-Yí corridor located in southwest China bordering on Tibet, including Tibetan, Jiāróng, Báimǎ, Qiangic, Pǔmǐ, Ěrsū, Shǐxǐng, Mùyǎ, Ěrgōng, Zhābā, Quèyù, Yí, Lìsù, Nàxī, Bái, Zhuàng, Bùyī, Dǎi and Miáo. One could suspect prejudice when a Hàn Chinese uses *Dìjiǎohuà* to denote Guìqióng or any of the above-mentioned languages. Guìqióng people, however, use it with a considerable degree of self-respect. Whatever the name, Guìqióng has long been a unique medium for the isolated group of people tilling lands up in the alpine areas.

The academic name Guìqióng denoting both the language and the people is unknown to most Guìqióng people. A more common name of the Guìqióng people in Hàn Chinese with a history of over 600 years in ancient documents still used both by Guìqióng themselves and by people of non-Guìqióng origin is Yútōngrén, which, according to Wú Jíyuǎn (1991), came from a Chinese transliteration of a Tibetan word meaning (probably the peculiar group of) people wearing heavy headgear, which is plausible, since Guìqióng is the only group of people wearing heavy turban in the vicinity. Yútōnghuà is used to denote the language these people speak.

The Guìqióng people, however, care little about the name of Yútōngrén as if it is not derogatory in the least and would use it to introduce themselves whenever they need to specify their origin in Chinese. The grace to accept a bad name can be attributed to different reasons, one of which points back to the likely misinterpretations of a meaningful designation. According to local

priests, both Yútōng and Guìqióng denote people relocated from the upper area, where *upper* means the still further upstream of a river, or the still higher great plateau, according to the Guìqióng tradition. Nevertheless, the local priests, generally addressed as Gōngbā 公巴 in Chinese, or *gəmə* in Guìqióng, have been trusted as the intelligentsia of the Guìqióng people to take charge of rituals of birth, death and marriage of every family in the alpine Guìqióng region from unknown times. Mostly hereditary, a Gōngbā has the privilege to hold the mass memories of generations of the Guìqióng people and it would not be surprising if they have learnt more than an average Guìqióng farmer or a sedentary scholar. Besides, the name *gutchieŋ* might just contain linguistic clues in relation to the north. The second syllable *chieŋ* is normally heard as a high level tone, occasionally it is also heard as the breathy voiced *dz'ieŋ*, and the name of north now in the language is the medial toned *dzieŋ*.

It is not only based on the interpretations of local *gəmə* that Guìqióng might have migrated from the north. Folklore research has found that Guìqióng and north Qiangic people have much in common in terms of wedding procedures, burial rituals, architecture, calendar, divining, white stone worship among others. The name of *gutchieŋ* 'Guìqióng', which denotes both Qiangic and the current Guìqióng, may get deeply rooted in the long history of early Qiangic people who had settled in the boundary region of Shǎnxī, Gānsù, Sìchuān and Qīnghǎi since recordings of the carapace inscriptions of the Shāng Dynasty (1600–1100 BC). The later Qingic Kingdom entitled Hòuqín (384–417) in history with its capital in Xī'ān might also contain threads of the migration stories of the Guìqióng people.

1.3 Guìqióng in the Documented History

The name of Yútōng was used to designate two Tǔsī Yámen of local chieftains in history, at least one of which reigned in evidence the present Guìqióng area exclusively. In the Tǔsī system, mostly local and native chieftains were appointed by central Chinese administrations to act as head of a Tǔsī Yámen. Thus, Tǔsī refers both to the title of the chieftain and the name of the administrative system. While the Tǔsī system as a whole can be traced back to Táng (618–907) and Sòng (1127–1279) Dynasty, the earliest Tǔsī administrative operations bearing the name of Yútōng began to appear in historical texts since Yuán Dynasty (1279–1368) and were in existence for over six centuries by the end of Qīng dynasty (1644–1911).

The earlier Yútōng Tǔsī had a much larger jurisdiction than the present-day Guìqióng settlement with its seat first at west Kāngdìng inhabited by Mùyǎ

people and later transferred to Kāngdìng, which for centuries had been called Dǎjiànlú, literally, a furnace to forge arrows. According to my informants, the Guìqióng name of Kāngdìng, *qo*, is derived from *qə*, the word indicating arrow in Guìqióng. The full name of this first Tǔsī bearing the name of Yútōng is Míngzhèng Tǔsī Sìchuān Chánghéxī Yútōng Níngyuǎn Jūnmín Xuānwèishìsī Dǎjiànlú, which reined over Kāngdìng, Dàofú, Yǎjiāng of the present Ābà Tibetan and Qiāngic Autonomous Prefecture and Miǎnníng county of the present Liángshān Yí Autonomous Prefecture from around 1700 to 1917. Among the 18 Tǔsī in the broader Jiāróng area in West Sìchuān, this Míngzhèng Tǔsī might have given the earlier Kāngdìng the name of Yútōng in history despite the fact that its jurisdiction might not consistently include the present-day Guìqióng settlement. The origin of Míngzhèng Tǔsī has been controversial. Whilst some research attributes the Tǔsī lineage to a Mùyǎ tribe, other documentary evidence suggests that it might come from a Mongolian branch. The later findings of the cognate connection between Mùyǎ and the lost Tangut added to the source study that the Míngzhèng Tǔsī might have been post-Xìxià Tangut by descent (1994).

A younger and smaller subordinate Tǔsī with the full name Mùpíng Tǔsī Dǒngbó Hánhú Xuānwèishìsī seated at Mùpíng, Bǎoxīng County, had begotten the latter-day Yútōng Tǔsī, with the full name Yútōng Tǔsī Yútōng Zhǎngguānsī Kāngdìngxiàn Yútōngqū Màiběng. For two hundred years this Yútōng Tǔsī governed an area of twenty-odd square kilometres with its seat at Màiběng village, Yútōng District of Kāngdìng County purely inhabited by the Guìqióng people. This Yútōng Tǔsī has undoubtedly given the Guìqióng people the name of Yútōng rén. The centre of its old jurisdiction remains to be the major Guìqióng speaking area. Now Yútōng is used to denote the Guìqióng people, Yútōng People, the Guìqióng language, Yútōng Spoken Language, and the area mainly inhabited by Guìqióng people, Yútōng Region.

Officially in China, the Guìqióng people were designated with the nationality of Tibetan by the government since early 1950s on the basis of assessment on the attire, the religion and the language of Guìqióng, which resembled local Tibetans more than other ethnic groups in the region.

1.4 Archaeological Findings of the Guìqióng Area

Located 27 kilometres north of Lúdìng County, the small alpine town of Lán'ān 2,400 metres above sea level with an area of 57.96 square kilometres, has 97% of its 3,000 people with Tibetan nationality of pure Guìqióng origin, though only a few of them can still speak some of the language now. Residents had

been naturalised by Hàn so early that by the time origins of people were officially registered shortly after the foundation of People's Republic of China (1949), they were designated as Hàn Chinese. About 30 years later in 1980s, local Guìqióng people appealed to local authority for restoration of their origin. In 1986, these Guìqióng residents of Lán'ān was re-designated as Tibetan, just like their Guìqióng relatives living a little north along the upper stream of the Dàdù River on the mountains.

Despite its altitude, the land evens off at Lán'ān as if to create a scenic, quaint and tranquil atmosphere for travellers to rest their feet among well-preserved constructions surrounded by snow-capped rolling mountains. In 1987, two buried ruins were discovered in Lán'ān. The larger site of Sigǎbà ruins extends about 500 meters long and contains five layers, with pottery sherds and human remains spanning a period at least from West Hàn Dynasty (206 BC–23 AD) to Táng Dynasty (618–907). Prehistoric relics like polished stone axes and stone needles were also excavated in the ruins, suggesting that Lán'ān was already inhabited as early as the Neolithic Age. The relatively small site of Gǎběi ruins contains pottery tile scraps in rope patterns unique to Qín Dynasty (221 BC–206 BC) and earlier West Hàn Dynasty (206 BC–23 AD).



PLATE 5 *Dawning mountains.*

An archaic tea horse road has also been discovered in Lán'ān, which may date back to Táng Dynasty (618–907). Evidence to support the discovery includes the excavation of derelict pestles and the recognition of ancient tea shops, archaic road sign stones deserted in the depth of high mountains, weathered official road paved with sliced stones and the ruins of earlier time tea and horse trade. These findings indicate that the lower Guìqióng area by the Dàdù River at Lúdìng County may have risen to prosperity in Táng Dynasty (618–907).

1.5 Lingering Memories

According to the recollections of my informants, however, family histories of some present Guìqióng speakers have not reached half a thousand years. My late informant Yáng Xiàoyún said that his forefathers and that of their neighbours of Qiánxī Village moved to the present Kāngdìng area during a massacre committed by the Tàipíng Heavenly Kingdom (1851–1864) in Tiānquán County, about 200 kilometres east to Kāngdìng County. The other late informant of Chǎngmǎ Village told me that there were also families relocated from north counties such as Sōngpān, Lǐtáng and Bǎoxìng to avoid famine, massacre or other disasters.

Guìqióng people's narratives thus at least partially coincide with Guō's study (2001) about their origin. The ancestors of Guìqióng people might be a branch of the historic Máoniú Qiāng tribe, which literally means the yak Qiangic (by the way, there is always a pair of yak horns painted on the upper corners of a Guìqióng gate, see Plate 7). They received Hàn Chinese surnames at the end of Táng dynasty as they migrated to Tiānquán county from Guìchuān, the present Bǎoxīnghé River of Yǎ'ān area where they might bear the name Guìchuān Qiāng. As early as South Sòng Dynasty (1127–1279), some of these people began to move to Yánzhōu, which is an old name of Lán'ān, and merged with the aboriginal clans such as Wáng in the region. These people might just be what historical documents called Guìqiāng, Guìqióng, and Gùqiāng. From the earlier times of Míng Dynasty (1368–1644), residents of Lán'ān began to spread to the northeast of Kāngdìng and gradually merged with the aboriginal Qiangic people who had been largely assimilated by local Tibetans.

An earlier study of Wú (1991) on the history of Yútōng Tǔsī demonstrates that a branch of the Guìchuān tribe settling in the present Kāngdìng area ever since Hàn Dynasty (202 BC–220) should be the direct ancestors of later Guìqióng. The later incidence of a Tibetan military force under the leader Hésū mainly consisting of Guìchuān Qiāng to succumb to the Táng Dynasty (618–907) in 692 was no more than a mergence with some earliest ancestors of Guìqióng.

According to the textual research of Rèn (1983), the two branches of Guìchuān tribes were differentiated in their lifestyles before the mergence. Whilst the east branch settling in the larger Kāngdìng area of West Sìchuān was accustomed to farming and agriculture, the Tibetan branch of the Guìchuān tribe lived a nomad life grazing their cattle on the wide Tibetan grassland.

Nevertheless, researchers agree that earlier Guìqióng settlement should also include current Jiāróng area still north up the Dàdù River, and Tiānquán, which was situated to the east of the current Guìqióng area. However, confined by huge mountains and abysmal rivers, the Guìqióng speakers have little contact with people surrounding it, thus avoiding being completely assimilated by any of them. By the 1930s, investigators of Chiang Kai-shek Administration aiming to set up Xikāng 西康 Province were amazed to find the Guìqióng area a reclusive land with language and customs so well-kept that it was nearly completely differentiated from the neighbouring Hàn, Jiāróng, Yí, Qiangic and Tibetan.

1.6 Life Styles

Alpine Guìqióng people live in strong and spacious houses built mainly with cobbles and wood reminiscent of Qiangic housing up north by the Mínjiāng River. Underlying the ground level is the sty for livestock. The ground floor contains a multifunctional living room designed for cooking, eating, getting warm and other family routines. The food is cooked on a stone or iron tripod leg set in the fireplace at the centre of the room with the strongest leg close to the family shrine standing for the Guìqióng people and the two minor legs standing for people of Hàn and Yí respectively, two major ethnic groups immediate neighbouring Guìqióng, according to Gōngbā or *gəmə*. Food pantries are arranged right to the fireplace. The host and hostess usually live in a side room next to the fireplace on the ground floor. The first floor contains children's room, the parlour room and the storage place. Half of the third floor is used for the worship of the White Stone Deity, which is common to the Qiangic people, and the other half is used for threshing, processing and drying grains. Toilet and chicken coop were separately annexed to the main building.

Traditional Guìqióng costumes are impressive blue cloth gown and goatskin coat worn by men and women alike. Local Guìqióng men wear blue cloth turban about ten metres long. Women wear shorter turban and apron. The status of marriage can be differentiated by hairstyles and clothing. Whilst girls tie single braid, married women wear double braid. Middle-aged women's apron is monotonously dark and relatively simple in style. A young woman's apron can be embroidered with various beautiful patterns, lively and pretty.



PLATE 6 *A Guìqióng village.*



PLATE 7 *At the village of Qiánxī.*



PLATE 8 *Guìqióng girls at the fireside.*



PLATE 9 *Yáng Xiàoyún.*



PLATE 10 *Yúndèngsōngmǔ and friend.*



PLATE 11 *Guìqióng women attending a wedding ceremony.*



PLATE 12 A *Guìqióng* bridegroom with his cousins.

A rich store of agricultural glossary suggests *Guìqióng* may have been an agrarian society for several generations minimally. *Guìqióng* not only contains original names for grains, crops and fruit trees, it also contains distinctive ways of sowing, detailed names of various part of a tilled field, and specified names of various parts of earliest tilling device. Traditional *Guìqióng* diet is said to be quite similar to the bigger *Jiāróng* area along the *Dàdù* River and the *Mínjiāng* River up in the north counties where *Qiangic* live. Sauerkraut soup to be eaten with preserved pork and boiled corn paste is a favourite course. Fried bacon, sauerkraut, tofu are among daily dishes. Barley, wheat, buckwheat, sweet potatoes, corns, turnips are local products of high yields. Also according to my informants, fertile land on the mountains hardly needs irrigation not only because regular precipitation can warrant a year's good harvest but also because too much water ruins the land to vicious marshes.

Guìqióng mainly practices monogamy in marriage and family. Each family has its own *Guìqióng* name. A *Guìqióng* family also has its own *Hàn* surnames, which, according to my informants, has been granted or designated even before their forefathers removed to the present *Guìqióng* area hundreds of years ago. If the connection between *Guìqióng* and *Qiangic* is true, these *Hàn* surnames may have longer history than it was assumed because the *Qiangic* emperors of

Hòuqín 后秦 (alias Yáoqín 姚秦) obtained their Hàn surnames over 1500 years ago in history. A man married to a girl and living with the girl's family ever since will automatically give up his family name and Hàn surnames. Guìqióng people address each other with their Guìqióng Fángmíng 房名 'clan name; house name; family name'. Marriage is mainly arranged by elders in the family. Even now, a couple in love can only be arranged into marriage with the help of the parents. The wedding ceremony arranged by the two families is usually quite grand, with at least 200 attendees and a series of complex procedure lasting for three days minimally, the details of which are said to be very much similar to Qiangic people living in north counties such as Sōngpān, Lǐtáng, Wēnchuān and Màoxiàn, from the shoe patterns of the newly-wed to the entire organising procedure.

The famous Guìqióng festival, the celebration of the Year of Rams, which was held during the Year of Rams on October 13 once every 12 years stopped since the Cultural Revolution in 1960s. Though the festival was marked by slaughtering animals, it was also a most solemn occasion for Guìqióng people to pray gods' blessing for humans and animals, headed by *gāmə*. Nowadays the most popular Guìqióng festival is Zhuǎnshānhuì 转山会, the Round the Mountains Meet, celebrated on September 11, lunar calendar. People of the same village, usually close relatives after centuries of intermarriages, would donate money and food for the celebration of the occasion. Local priests or *gāmə* will dance ahead of the procession along the fixed alpine route, praying, chanting while sprinkling the walk with food and drinks to the gods of the mountains. The mountains were addressed with the names of their gods. The beasts in the wild mountains will also be summoned along the way to eat the food to their heart's contents so that villagers will have safety, health, and a better harvest in the coming year. Participants will stop for a snack after the prayer and jubilee. Then they will return for a hearty feast in the village. Once each village has held their rituals, a township consisting of dozens of villages will congregate for a bigger celebration.

The Guìqióng area is among the most difficult in transportation. Extremely high mountains and deep waters separate one village from another and even separate one village into a couple of sections. Traditional cableway bridges woven with bamboo strips have been used across rivers for centuries. Such an adventure became common experience for some Guìqióng villages at least. The Guìqióng people are also famous for their capacity to carry heavy objects on the forehead or on the back travelling in the mountains.

A considerable number of older generations of the Guìqióng people believe in Nyingma. They frequented Nyingma temples to burn incense or join open prayer aggregations. Religious belief in common with nearby Tibetans seems

to be one of the major reasons why the Guìqióng people were identified as Tibetan in origin at the beginning of the People's Republic of China in the 1950s. Local Nyingma followers observe religious practice in Dorjedra. A score of senior worshippers even travelled to Lhasa despite their age, the harshness of nature and the inconvenient transportation. In addition to Nyingma, Guìqióng follow religious ceremonies and activities operated by Gōngbā or *gāmā*, the Guìqióng priest or shaman, which has been an important part of Guìqióng traditional culture with mysterious springhead. However, the classic scriptures possessed by *gāmā* have much in common with sacred books of Tibetan Buddhism. Thus, it is believed that *gāmā* is intricately linked both with the primitive Bon and the Tibetan Buddhism. But still, the archaic *thangka* worn (rather than hung) by *gāmā* in conducting religious ceremonies puzzles researchers because on the left top corner of the *thangka* robe is a portrait of Confucius and on the right corner of it is the Tibetan God named Xiángyāng 降央.



PLATE 13 *A family shrine.*



PLATE 14 *A bridge over the Dàdù River.*

1.7 Demographic Data of Guìqióng Speakers

The population size of Guìqióng speakers has long been an estimated number. Since the foundation of the People's Republic of China, the Guìqióng speakers have been designated as Tibetan in nationality. As a result, the government census cannot yield an official count of these people. In August 2008, my late informant Yáng Xiàoyún help me make an estimate of the present distribution of Guìqióng speakers on the basis of latest census figures of Tibetan people then in different towns of the area contained in the up-to-date Kāngdìng 2007 Yearbook. Then Yáng Xiàoyún advised me on the corresponding percentage of the Guìqióng speakers among each and every figure. In the process, Gāo Zhèngxiù helped me with the calculation of concrete numbers. Yáng Xiàoyún then modified the figures for us according to the facts he has grasped about those locations. By this means we have worked out the following chart, where the numbers of Tibetan population of all towns in Kāngdìng are census data contained in the 2007 yearbook. The populations of Lán'ān were obtained from an internet source because it is under the jurisdiction of Lúdìng county.

As an old timer of Qiánxī village versed in Guìqióng folklore, Yáng Xiàoyún provided with some most precise numbers about Guìqióng speakers in towns

such as Shèlián, Qiánxī, Mài bēng and Shíjì. Though Shíjì is not marked on the map (Figure 1), it is located just opposite Gūzǎn across the abysmal but narrow Dàdù River. In Qiánxī, a dozen Hàn Chinese villagers have learnt to speak the language due to the fact that local Guìqióng speakers do not speak Chinese. In Mài bēng, about two and a half hundred people have given up speaking the language. But in all the three most concentrated Guìqióng towns, Shèlián, Qiánxī and Mài bēng, every villager of the Guìqióng origin can understand the language. In the two north towns, Sānhé and Jìntāng, over 1000 people of Hàn Chinese in nationality perhaps of Guìqióng origin can still speak the language.

Before this calculation, Sūn Hóngkǎi (1983) estimated 7,000 Guìqióng speakers and Huáng Bùfán (1992) estimated 6,000 Guìqióng speakers. Sūn's estimate has been quoted by later researchers such as Liú & Shàng (2001) and Huáng (1996). Even though there seems to be more people speaking the language than originally thought, Guìqióng does not have a bright future when it will be widely and actively used and endlessly inherited. Instead, quite a few signs suggest a language seriously losing its vigour. At the alpine Guìqióng homes, an old generation over 60 years of age largely monolingual has been using the language whole life long. Within the family, people between 40 and 60 have become bilingual, with most of them making a living in towns and cities where Guìqióng is hardly used. The younger generation can only understand a very limited number of Guìqióng words and hardly speak the language now that they spend most of their life at school or working with Chinese-speaking

TABLE 1 *Populations of Guìqióng speakers and listeners*

Location	Tibetan Population	Guìqióng Population	
		Listeners	Speakers
Shíjì	2,878	1,400	600
Gūzǎn	3,817	1,000	300
Shèlián	2,457	2,457	2,300
Qiánxī	1,816	1,816	1,827
Mài bēng	2,741	2,741	2,500
Kǒngyù	150	150	150
Sānhé		1,000	1,000
Jìntāng		500	500
Lán'ān	2,500	1,500	500
Total	16,359	12,564	9,677



PLATE 15 *A deserted primary school at Qiánxī village.*

population. Though most Guìqióng young people marry those of similar backgrounds, the upcoming generation has a slimmer chance to learn Guìqióng better than any of their ancestors.

The booming town of Gūzán invigorated by the construction of small hydro-power plants on the Dàdù River is the first stop and often also main station for the first generation of Guìqióng migrants. From a small valley village of dozens of people fifty years ago to a densely populated town of over 167,000 nowadays, Gūzán has witnessed the prosperity of economy and the fading of a language all at once. As an unwritten language, Guìqióng is not used in schools, whether the teacher can speak the language or not. A child brought up in Guìqióng only is expected to pick up Chinese as soon as possible at school age for fear that she/he should not catch up in class. Guìqióng can only be heard in the depth of homes when adults and children exchange daily talks with their elders, when alpine friends and relatives come for a visit or, quite sparsely, when old acquaintances meet in the bustling streets.

The Guìqióng population is losing its senior members of fluent speakers, which also means the loss of natural Guìqióng teachers to the younger generations. Already, it has become extremely difficult to find a Guìqióng speaker who can count more than five in Guìqióng. Whereas adult psychology plays a

vital part in determining the future of the language, the mainstream Chinese mentality of leaving education to society means a dead end to an endangered language like Guìqióng in current situations. Government should shoulder the responsibility of conserving the language in addition to economic concerns. Since family is the only feasible source to learn Guìqióng, both interior and exterior efforts must be made to ensure that younger generations will learn their own language from their senior relatives.

1.8 Literature Review

Current Guìqióng literature can be divided into two major classes, the cultural anthropological study aiming to tackle the origin of Guìqióng and its relationship with the neighbouring ethnic groups and the linguistic research. Rèn Nǎiqiáng was among the first researchers to explore folklores of Guìqióng (1933; 1983). Later historians Wú Jíyuǎn (1991) and Guō Shēngbō (2001) investigated the migration and history of Guìqióng by analysing historical records and oral narratives. Guō Jiànxūn (2008; 2010; 2011) studied the recollections



PLATE 16 *Three generations of Guìqióng women at a Gūzán home.*



PLATE 17 *A Guìqióng girl doing homework.*

about Guìqióng Year of Rams, religious activities of local Guìqióng women and the vicissitudes of Guìqióng Guōzhuāng, the fireplace layout. These studies show that in-depth historical research has just begun.

Sūn Hóngkāi (1982) made the first linguistic survey in Guìqióng area and was the first researcher to describe Guìqióng phonology in detail. Sūn's four-tone notation was adopted by later researchers such as Huáng (1996), LaPolla (2005) and Sòng (2011). Sūn also carefully compiled the first Guìqióng word list. Huáng & Wáng's study (1992) compared Guìqióng with other languages in morphological terms and proposed it be included into the Qiangic group of the Tibeto-Burman Languages. Liú Huīqiáng and Shàng Yúnchuān (2001) published findings of their 1984 and 1985 field survey and discloses affricate differences from previous research and includes more descriptions of morphologic traits such as reduplication. Later publications in *Languages of China* (2007) strengthened the view of Guìqióng as a member of the Qiangic group. Sòng's *Guìqióng Study* (2011) published as one of the *Newly-found Languages Series* edited by Sūn Hóngkāi focused on the phonetic description and comparison of Guìqióng words with a brief introduction of the Guìqióng syntax.

This research aims to provide a description of Guìqióng grammar as it is spoken in Qíanxī and Chǎngmǎ, with the help of informants Yáng Xuéwǔ of

Chǎngmǎ Village, Yáng Xiàoyún and Gāo Zhèngxiù of Qiánxī Village. The semantically based grammar includes Guìqióng phonology, Guìqióng nominal and verbal morphology, Guìqióng sentence structures containing tense, aspectual, modal and evidential inflections and a Guìqióng glossary. While most sections of the grammar deal with grammatical categories untouched by former researchers, new ideas were also introduced into the phonological and morphological chapters.

Guìqióng Phonology

In this chapter, the Guìqióng phonemes will be introduced. A Guìqióng phoneme can be a vowel, a consonant or a tone. The symbols used to represent the pronunciation of modern spoken Guìqióng are mainly those of the International Phonetic Alphabet. Guìqióng tones will be described together with initials of syllables ahead of vowels and consonants. The apostrophe is used either at the beginning of the syllable to indicate a high tone or immediately after the initial morpheme to indicate a low tone after van Driem's *Dzongkha* (1998). Chao Tone letters will be used mainly to illustrate the analysis of tonal notations. It will also be used when a syllable bears a different tone from the three major tones. The tilde is used to indicate a nasalised vowel.

2.1 Guìqióng Vowels, Nasalisation and Diphthong

Guìqióng distinguishes eight different vowel qualities, front closed unrounded /i/, the front closed rounded /y/, the back closed rounded /u/, the front open-mid unrounded /ɛ/ the back close-mid rounded /o/, the schwa /ə/, the back open-mid rounded /ɔ/ and the central near open vowel /ɐ/. Nasalisation and diphthongs are also used to distinguish words.

Vowels can be nasalised permanently or temporarily in a syllable. A permanently nasalised vowel occurs in a syllable irrespective of the surrounding environment to indicate a fixed denotation and to distinguish words, e.g. [ẽ] in *dziẽ* 'field, land', which is distinguished from *dziɛn* 'convenient'. Provisional nasalised vowels are much more capricious and either can hardly be predicted because it seems to be a whimsical creation by the speaker on the spur of the moment, or it can only be predicted to a limited extent, e.g. *jĩdeigidi* 'have a think', where the first syllable [ji] indicates an inward direction perhaps because it precedes a voiced initial. The directional morpheme *ji* however, is usually not nasalised when occurring before a voiceless initial, e.g. *jihɛ* 'come here'. But such conjectures do not help explain the frequently heard nasalised single-syllable words. In this grammar, only permanent nasalised vowels bear the tilde over it except in the illustration.

TABLE 2 *Guìqióng vowel phonemes*

	front	central	back
close	/i/ /y/		/u/
close-mid			/o/
		/ə/	
open-mid	/ɛ/		/ɔ/
		/ɐ/	
open			

In principle, every vowel can be nasalised. However, only five nasalised vowels are used to distinguish words, /ĩ/, /ỹ/, /ǎ/, /ĕ/ and /ǖ/, e.g. *t̚shĩ* ‘bed’ and *t̚shi* ‘very’, *dzĩ* ‘good-looking’ and *dzi* ‘blood; objectively possible’, *mỹ* ‘man; steal’ and *mu* ‘classifier for a mouthful’, *dzǎku* ‘food steamer’ and *dzǎ* ‘just’, *gĕ* ‘go’ and *gɛ* ‘good’, *dziĕ* ‘land’ and *dziĕn* ‘convenient’. Permanently nasalised vowels are mainly found as syllable finals. Nasalised vowels are distinguished not only from non-nasalised vowels, but also from the rime comprising of a non-nasalised vowel nucleus and the alveolar nasal coda [n], or the velar nasal coda [ŋ], e.g. [ɛn] in *tshen* ‘wound’ or [ɛŋ] in *tshɛŋ* ‘hair of animals’. The eight Guìqióng rimes comprising of nasal codas are /in/, /ən/, /en/, /iŋ/, /əŋ/, /uŋ/, /ɔŋ/, /ɐŋ/, e.g. *lin* ‘a red mushroom’, *χənsən* ‘sumac tree’, *dən* ‘affair, object’, *liŋ* ‘wear-resisting’, *t̚həŋki* ‘cook’, *widun* ‘wasp’, *həŋni* ‘yon [distal demonstrative]’ and *sən* ‘three’. Some of these rimes comprising of nasal codas can then occur after the three medial glide vowels, the front closed unrounded [i], the front closed rounded [y] and the back closed rounded [u] to either form an independent syllable or to further occur in syllables comprising of an affricate or middle nasal initial. Eight syllable finals comprising of a medial vowel glide, a vowel nucleus and a nasal coda are /in/, /iuŋ/, /iən/, /iəŋ/, /uən/, /ueŋ/, /yən/, /yəŋ/, e.g. *mintɔ* ‘flower’, *t̚chiuŋ* ‘strike into pieces with pestle’, *ɛiənluŋ* ‘pomegranate’, *t̚hiɛŋ* ‘dance; sharp’, *guəndzueŋ* ‘persimmon’, *dzisən* ‘oerst’ and *nyɛŋt̚si* ‘the Dàdù River’.

Guìqióng has a host of rising diphthongs which are distinguished from each other and also from rimes comprising of other types of vowels. Guìqióng rising diphthongs include /iu/, /iɛ/, /iə/, /iɔ/, /iɐ/, /yo/, /ui/, /uɛ/ and /uɐ/, e.g. *t̚ɛiu* ‘what’, *dziɛ* ‘eight’ and *dziɔ* ‘hundred’, *dziɔ* ‘look’, *dz̥iɐ* ‘consume’, *t̚ɛhyo* ‘sit’, *χui* ‘tooth’, *mikue* ‘tail’, *khueʷu* ‘sweet things’. The falling diphthongs include /ɛi/, and /ɐi/, e.g. *phɛi* ‘father’ and *mɐi* ‘bamboo’. There is also a triphthong [uɛi], e.g. *t̚ɕuɛi* ‘jump’ and *ɕiɕuɛi* ‘caress’, though some speakers are heard to use the diphthong [uɛ] instead.

In present-day Guìqióng, the length of vowels is not used to differentiate meanings. A syllable can be lengthened for the purpose of emphasis, thus producing a temporary long vowel. But a syllable comprising of a monophthong is not articulated shorter than a syllable containing a nasalised vowel or a diphthong.

2.1.1 *Guìqióng Vowel Initials and Their Tones*

A syllable with vowel initial may have the high level tone, which is indicated by the use of an apostrophe at the beginning of the syllable, e.g. the first syllable of *'etsi* 'grandmother', or the medial level tone, which bears no marker, e.g. the first syllable of *ε'mε'metsei* 'walnut bloom'. Chao tone letters are used to indicate a syllable which can only have high falling or high rising tone.

TABLE 3 *Guìqióng vowel initials and their tones*

front close unrounded	'i	i
front close rounded	'y	y
back close rounded	'u	u
front open-mid unrounded	'ε	ε
back close-mid rounded	'o	o
schwa	'ə	ə
back open-mid rounded	'ɔ	ɔ
central near open vowel	'ə	ə

ə'i	aunt
'etsi	grandmother
'etε	father
'əpε	father
'əpu	grandfather
ə'igəu	a family name in Chǎngmǎ village
'əigəu	a family name in Chǎngmǎ village
'inzugəu	a family name
'inə	other people
inphε	tsampa
yu'mε	corn
phə'i	home village
'ələ	where
'ətəiɔ	elder brother
εŋ ³⁵	again

o'jɐ	yes, certainly
ɛ'nien'nien	cicada
'oɐ	nit
ɐ'li	then

2.1.2 *Phonetic Description of Guìqióng Vowels*

In this section, the pronunciation of Guìqióng vowels will be explained, starting with the closed vowels.

The Guìqióng vowel /i/ has three allophones, [i], [i̠] and [ɪ]. The phone [i] occurs at the initial of syllables, e.g. 'inɐ 'other people'. It also occurs after bilabial, dental, palatal, velar and uvular occlusives, e.g. *gi* 'buckwheat' and *k'i* 'barley', and after nasal onsets, e.g. *mi* 'butter', *ni* 'ox', and *ɲi* 'become'. The central [i̠] occurs after the alveolo-palatal sibilant, e.g. *ɕi* 'meat', alveolar sibilant, e.g. *si* 'die', the alveolar affricates, e.g. *dzi* 'blood; supper'. The apical vowel [ɪ] occurs after retroflex fricatives and affricates, e.g. *ʒi* 'mountain', *tʂi* 'water' and *dʒi* 'shoe'. More examples comprising of vowel [i] are given below:

mintshə	sun
li	bell-metal; work
dz'i	Chinese characters; books; burn to carbon
tʂhi	very
khi	bitter
tsipə	wall
ɲi	two
bɛi	do; Tibetan
tʂi	water
tʂiphu	hot water
χi	read aloud
lisei	spring festival
dzimu	itch
giu	nine
gui	happy; cunning
mɛtshei	fight

The nasalised /ĩ/ is distinguished from the non-nasalised /i/, e.g. *tsi* 'listen', *dzĩ* 'good-looking'.

nɛsĩteie	wild apricot, plum
tʂhĩ	bed
dzĩ	ride

βudzĩ	ride a horse
tʂĩtʂi	swim
sĩbɔ	smallpox
sĩtɕiɛ	apricot
sĩthě	web

The front close rounded vowel /y/ contrasts /i/ after the alveolo-palatal fricatives, the alveolo-palatal affricative, the dental and palatal nasals [ɲ] and [ɲ̃], e.g. *tɕhy* ‘walk, move’ and *tɕhi* ‘feel painful; goat’, *ɲi* ‘become’ and *ɲy* ‘finger’. It can be used as a vowel onset.

tɕhy	walk
ɲɲpu	the lower part of the face; mouth
’ɲy	dare
ymɛpɔpɔ	corn cob (c.f. Chinese <i>yùmǐ bàngbāng</i>)
’ɲyɛŋ	buy, can
tɕyətɕyə	a full container of solid entities
’yo	rob
tɕyɛnmě	no problem; all right
wũtɕy	fall asleep

The back closed rounded /u/ is pronounced as [ʊ] after the plosives, e.g. *ɛpu* ‘grandfather’, *gɛ’mu* ‘old woman’ and *gu* ‘understand; melt; wither’ and as [u] after the nasals and the fricatives, e.g. *nu* ‘deep’, *ʂu* ‘garlic’ and *dʒudʒiu* ‘bitter buckwheat’.

khutsei	dog
χui	tooth
’nɛŋtseiɕhy	sisters
ɛngui	bear
butshə	the offspring of an ancestor
βuχɛ	ant
pɛmu	cool
bu	carry
khu’wu	snow
βusi	mosquito
wui	centre
dʒ’iu	tea; break
dʒ’iu’u	lard
’mu	short
’nu	deep

The nasalised /ũ/ occurs as finals of a syllable.

wũdzio	look there
mũm̄ei	many people
mũ	man; steal
jĩguenwũχĩ	slovenly person

The back close-mid rounded /o/ is distinguished from the back close round /u/, and the back open-mid rounded /ɔ/, e.g. *gu* ‘understand; wither; melt’, *go* ‘eat’ and *gɔ* ‘cry’.

'lo	sing
dziuzo	underground floor
lo'wu	argali
tsho	lake; knuckle; joint
ɖo	Kāngdìng
ʈopen	teacher
nɔtsho	cheek
phelo'ŋeŋ	the year of pig
yo	leak
jo	warm
muxo	smoke and fog
χo	broadcast, sow

The dative case markers used by Yáng Xiàoyún from Qiánxī Village, -ə ~ -wuə ~ -ləwuə and those used by Yáng Xuéwǔ from Chǎngmǎ Village, -wuə ~ -wuələ ~ -ələ ~ ə all contain the schwa. In producing the Guiqióng schwa, lips are relaxed and not rounded.

mintshə	sun
'əgə	sister
ŋə	I
phə'i	the home village
kuə'wuhəhə	rub hands
ʈəzɯŋ	school
mətshitshi	scarlet
bətse	second floor of a Guiqióng building
thə'lə	thin maize pancake
g'utsə	chilli pepper
dziə	hundred

ɬə	god
dzəɬɛ	leftovers, garbage

The nasalised /ã/ is not a stable vowel. It is often heard in non-final syllables.

dzãku	food steamer
tãtɛiɛ	lamp
dzãthəuzãthəu	insight

The front open-mid unrounded /ɛ/ occurs after plosives, e.g. *phɛ* 'tear open', nasals, e.g. *'mɛ* 'still', and approximates, e.g. *wɛ* 'wear' and *'jɛ* 'eight'. Its allophone [e] occurs in the diphthong /ɛi/, e.g. *lɛisi* 'apple'.

hɛ	run
'mɛ'le	now
'mɛ	still
ɛ'letɛi	child
ɛiɛ	say
phɛi	father
phɛi'wu	oats
bɛi	do
zɛi	cloth
tɛi	son
z'ɛi	food
sɛ	kill

The nasalised /ɛ̃/ is distinguished from the non-nasalised one, e.g. *gɛ* 'good' and *gɛ̃* of *'ji ~ gɛ̃* 'go'.

mɛ̃	without, do not have
mɛ̃'wu	those who have little, the poor
lɛ̃sɪ 'nɪgɐŋ	when one was younger
lumɛ̃sɐŋ	at the end of one's rope
'mɛ̃khuɐŋ	hospital

The back open-mid rounded /ɔ/ is a rounded vowel between the back open-mid [ɔ] and the central open-mid rounded [ə].

bɔ	weed
b'ɔ'ɔ	bread

wuʧʰo	throat
sɔ	do needlework, do embroidery
tʃhɔ	plant[v.], dibble
dʒiɔ	look
tɕiɔ	write
niɔ	grass
mintɔ	flower
jɔ	stand
ʧɛʧʰɔ	idiot
dzo	dzo (offspring of a bull and a female yak), yak
ʼlɔmutɕhi	elephant
ɕiɔ	east
khɔbu	figure and build of a person
ʂɔ	blow [said of wind]
gɔ	cry

The central near-open /ɛ/ is a productive vowel which can be found after plosives, nasals and the fricatives, e.g. *nɛsi* 'egg'. The glide [i] occurs after the alveolo-palatal fricatives and affricates, the palatal plosives and nasals when they combine with vowel [ɛ], e.g. *tɕhiɛ'i* 'today'.

nɛŋpɕhɛ	nearby
mɛŋŋnitsei	dusk, evening
zɛŋpu	bridge
dz'ɛŋ	rain
'jɛŋ	wheat
tɛ	tiger
d'ɛχin	distant
bɛŋzɛʧtsei	hot
n'ɛnthɛ	thick loop bridge
kuɕiɛn	finger nail
dʒiɛn	convenient
tɕhɛŋɕ	get ill

The central lower /ɛ/ has a corresponding nasalised vowel form /ɛ̃/, which the following words always include:

dʒiɛ̃	land
dɛ̃	beat, strike
thɛ̃	knit, weave

ɕǝ̃mu	foolish
lhǝ̃	lazy

2.2 Phonetic Description of Guìqióng Consonants

Guìqióng has a rich array of consonant phonemes (60) with eight places of articulation being distinguished: bilabial, alveolar, retroflex, alveolo-palatal, palatal, velar, uvular and glottal. In phonation, two sets of distinctions are made: voiced and breathy, voiceless and aspirated voiceless. Table 4 lists the inventory of phonemic oppositions in consonants. As will be explained at 2.3.2, a medial toned syllable does not bear any marker, e.g. *bu* ‘carry; exist (dependently)’, *zǐ* ‘mountain’ and *nv* ‘chicken’. The high level tone of syllables with unvoiced affricate, plosive or fricative initials is also not marked, e.g. *tshui* ‘mouse’ and *tʂei* ‘breakfast’. Otherwise, the high level tone is indicated by an apostrophe at the beginning of the syllable, e.g. *'jɛŋ* ‘wheat’ and *'mu* ‘short’. The high tone of syllables with approximant and nasal initials is thus marked with an apostrophe before the initial phoneme, as is shown in the table. The apostrophe following voiced initials which van Driem used in *Dzongkha* to indicate a devoiced syllabic initial is used in the grammar to indicate a breathy voiced low falling tone (1998), e.g. *dz'ɛnχɛn* ‘tobacco’, as is shown in the table. After table 4, the pronunciation of the 60 Guìqióng consonants will be individually described, beginning with the uvular and the glottal.

2.2.1 The Uvular Fricatives /χ/, /ɣ/ and /ʁ/ and the Glottal Fricatives /h/

The uvular fricative are distinguished into the unvoiced /χ/, the voiced /ɣ/ and the breathy voiced /ʁ/, e.g. *χɛ* ‘eagle’, *ɣɛ* ‘yell’ and *ʁɛ* ‘voimit’. The uvular /χ/ is a voiceless fricative a bit backward than the Mandarin velar /x/ and forward than the glottal /h/. It is followed by the high register tone. It is distinguished from the glottal /h/, e.g. *χɛ* ‘run’ and *hɛ* ‘come’.

χɛ	eagle
d'ɛχin	a distant place
χi	read aloud; trousers
χɛi	roe
sənχəŋ	balcony; ground
χui	tooth
χu'wu	tongue-numb and spicy
χɛ	run
χo	broadcast, sow
χəŋ	chang, self-made barley beer

TABLE 4 *Guìqióng consonant phonemes*

Bilabial Plosive	p ph b b'
Bilabial Nasal	'm m
Bilabial Fricative	ɸ β
Alveolar Plosive	t th d d'
Alveolar Nasal	'n n
Alveolar Fricative	s z z'
Alveolar Lateral fricative	ɬ
Alveolar Affricate	ts tsh dz dz'
Alveolar Lateral approximant	lh 'l l
Alveolar Labial-velar approximant	'w w
Retroflex Plosive	ʈ ʈh ɖ
Retroflex Nasal	'ŋ ŋ
Retroflex Fricative	ʂ ʂ' z' z'
Retroflex Affricate	tʂ tʂh dz dz'
Alveolo-palatal Nasal	ɕ z z'
Alveolo-palatal Affricate	tɕ tɕh dʒ dʒ'
Palatal Nasal	'ɲ ɲ
Palatal Approximant	'j j
Velar Plosive	k kh g g'
Velar Nasal	'ŋ ŋ
Uvular Fricative	χ ɣ ɣ'
Glottal Fricative	h

The phone /ɣ/ is the voiced uvular fricative and is followed by the medial level tone.

ɸəɸə	sifter, sieve
duzɯɸə	become an orphan
ɸeisi	blackberry
ɸeitʂi	star
ɸətu	yell
ɕiɸən	broth
tɕɸən	rice porridge
ɸoɸotɕei	a leafy shade
ɸi	laugh

The phone /ɸ/ is pronounced [χ], followed by the low-falling tone in breathy voice.

ɸ'en	manure
ɸ'ɛbubumu	keck
ɸ'ɛle	vomited
ɸ' ɛgibɛimu	want to burp
ɸ' ɛtʃhibɛimu	sneeze
niɸ'e'wu	shepherd of cattle

The glottal fricative /h/ is followed by the high level tone and is distinguished from the uvular /χ/, e.g. hɛ 'dig' and χɛ 'eagle'.

hɛ	dig
hɛ	come
sənhɛŋdɔ	earthquake
tʃihɛŋ	irrigate
hɔŋni	yon
tshɛntɔhɛŋ	ugly
hɛŋ	difficult
hə	rub
nihɪ	next year

2.2.2 The Velar Plosives and Nasals /k/, /kh/, /g/, /g'/, /ŋ/ and /ŋ/

The velar plosive are distinguished into the unvoiced unaspirated /k/, the unvoiced aspirated /kh/, the voiced /g/ and the breathy-voiced /g'/, e.g. *ki* 'sell', *khi* 'bitter', *gi* 'buckwheat' and *g'i* 'highland barley'. The velar plosive /k/ is pronounced without aspiration. It is followed by the high level tone in modal voice.

'ɛnku	uncle
kɛ	pluck; pick
mikɛ	knock down
ki	sell; open
kɛtʃhi	law
kuku	cuckoo
zɪkuŋ	hare; rabbit
kɛizɪkuɛŋzɛŋ	swan
kuɛntsi	dove
kɛŋ	steel

The unvoiced velar plosive /kh/ is pronounced with aspiration and is followed by the high level tone in abrupt glottal release.

khəŋ	give
khɔ	bowl
khue'wu	sweet things
khi'wu	bitter things'
khənmu	mighty person
khən	increase
khueŋmu	cold
linkhin	pear
khə	needle
khui	sew
khu'wu	snow
'mɛ̃khuəŋ	hospital
z̥i̯ku	peak, top of a mountain
liki	soybean curd

The voiced velar plosive /g/ is followed by the medial level tone in modal voice.

gi	buckwheat
gəny	toe
gəciən	toenail
gɔdzu	very bad person
gɛ	good
gə	quantitatively enough; trim, cut
giu	nine
gɔ	eat
gɛ'mu	old woman
gui	happy; cunning
phəgui	wild boar
gəse	magpie
gə'li	crow
guənsi	dew

The breathy voiced /g'/ is pronounced [k] followed by a low falling tone.

g'i	highland barley
g'iʂə'mə	white barley
g'inikə	black barley

g'utshə	chili pepper
g'εiphəsi	grape
g'uŋluŋ	walnut

The velar nasal /ŋ/ occurs both as initial or coda of a Guìqióng syllable. As an initial of a syllable, it can be followed by the high level tone, as indicated by the high tone apostrophe at the beginning of the syllable. It can also be followed by the medial level tone, which is left unmarked.

'ŋəbu	May
ŋə	I
'ŋeŋ	year
ŋeŋ	fear, scare
wuŋən	breath
ŋe'li	behind
ŋeŋ'wuŋ	cat
ŋetsi	mole, spot
dzɿŋe	bad body odour
ɲəndəŋ	thick
dəŋŋə	a kitchen range cover
'ŋe'ŋeŋ	five years
phəŋe	pig trotters
ŋeŋtə	addiction; obsession
ŋətsei	we
tʂheŋɔ	tail of a field
phə'ŋu	pig trough

2.2.3 *The Palatal Nasals /ɲ/ and /ɳ/*

The palatal nasal /ɲ/ only occurs as the initial of a syllable. When it is followed by the high level tone in modal voice, an apostrophe occurs before it. When it is followed by the medial level tone in modal voice, it bears no marker.

si'ɲi	lion
'ɲiŋtʂə	beak
'ɲyeŋ	can; buy
'ɲyŋku	pen
'ɲy	dare
ɲiɔpɦe	soybean flour
ɲy	finger
ɲiɔ	soybean; monkey

ɲəndəŋ	thick and round
pɛɲi	ice, glacier
ɲiɔdzɨgwi	a golden monkey, a snub-nosed monkey
mɛŋɲitsei	evening
ɡuɛŋɲie	a small cicada
dzɨsɲie	some peaches

2.2.4 *The Alveolo-palatal Fricatives /ç/, /ʒ/ and /ʒ'/*

The voiceless alveolo-palatal fricative /ç/ only occurs at the beginning of a syllable before modal voiced high level tone.

çien'luŋ	pomegranate
çitə	spring
çiu'wu	deer
çioɓei	the roots of Chinese angelica
'jɛŋçien	awn-less wheat
çien'mɛilɥ	turtle
phɛçi	pork
çiphɛ	fat pork
çi	meat
çiumu	sense the fragrance or odour of
çiɛ	say

The voiced alveolo-palatal fricative /ʒ/ is only followed by the medial level tone in the modal voice, which is not marked.

ʒi	farm; keep (animals)
phɛʒi'wu	pig keeper
nizi'wu	ox keeper
ʒiɛtsei	in the morning
'nɛŋʒɔsɨɔ	wayward

The breathy voiced /ʒ'/ is followed by the low falling tone which is indicated by the apostrophe immediately following the voiced alveolo-palatal fricative consonant.

ʒ'iɛntsi	thread, filament
ʒ'ioɲmu	mushroom

2.2.5 *The Alveolo-palatal Affricatives /tɕ/, /tɕh/, /dz/ and /dz'/*

The four-way contrast of the alveolo-palatal affricative initials /tɕ/, /tɕh/, /dz/ and /dz'/ are distinguished in three tones, e.g. *tɕiɛŋ* 'classifier for animals', *tɕhiɛŋ* 'sharp', *dziɛŋ* 'north', and *dzi'ɛŋ* 'house'. The unvoiced /tɕ/ and /tɕh/ are only followed by the high level tone in the modal voice phonation. The voiced /dz/ is only followed by medial level tone in the modal voice. The initial /dz'/ is followed by the low falling tone as the result of the breathy voice phonation.

tɕhiuŋtɕiɛuŋ	yesterday
tɕi	separate, divide
'nesĩtɕiɛ	plum, wild apricot
tɕiɛtɛn	swaddling clothes
tɕiɛŋkɛi	wolf
nidɛtɕiɛŋ	an ox
tɕhi	goat; pain[v.]
tɕhidzɛ	the day after tomorrow
tɕhiɛn	flow
'lɔmutɕhi	elephant
tɕhiɛŋ	sharp; Tibetan chang
mənɪtɕhiɛŋ	dance a traditional dance
dziɔgui	vulture
dziu'mudziɔkɛi	hoopoe
dziɛnnɛ	a flying squirrel
dziɛn'nɛ	the vast land inhabited by Hàn Chinese
dziɛŋ	north
dziɛŋ'mɛtsei	very slippery
dziɛ	arable land
bɛidzɛuɛtsi	tadpole
dzi'ɛnɕɛŋ	notopterygium root
dzi'ɛŋβuzɛ	cockroach
dzi'ɛ	drink
tsĩdz'ɛ	tea and drinks
dzi'ɛnme	living room; home
dzi'ɛŋ	a building; house
dzi'i	Chinese character; books; get burnt
dzi'ithə	a book

dʒ'idənəŋ	a Chinese character
phədʒ'iu'wu	lard
dʒ'iuɛ	broke
dʒ'iu	tea
dʒ'ilimɛ̃	indistinct

2.2.6 *Retroflex /t/, /tʰ/, /d/, /ŋ/, /ɲ/, /ʂ/, /z/ and /z'/'*

Whilst the retroflex plosives and nasals are still used, they do not make a very large vocabulary. Still, the unvoiced plosive initials /t/ and /tʰ/ are followed by the high-level tone and the voiced initial /d/ is followed by the medial voiced initial. The retroflex nasal /ŋ/ can be followed by the high level tone in modal voice, which is indicated by the apostrophe at the beginning of the syllable. When it is followed by the medial level tone in modal voice, the syllable bears no marker.

tə	horse (lit.)
tʰəu	south
tʰəutəhyo	direction; situation
də	shake; arrow
dətsho	idiot
dɛ̃mu	foolish
ʂumuɖə	forget
səŋɖə	irritable
lɛɖə	people of fortune
'wə'mudɔ	well-rounded and healthy

ŋi	two
'ŋi'ŋi	breast
'ŋɔpə	soil, clay
'ŋɔpə thəŋthəŋ	mud
ŋi'mi	milled glutinous broomcorn millet
tɛhŋə	get ill
ŋidziə	two hundred

The voiceless retroflex sibilant /ʂ/ is followed by the high level tone produced in modal voice. The voiced retroflex /z/ is followed by the medial level tone produced in modal voice. The breathy voiced /z'/ is followed by the low falling tone.

ʂə	boil; cook food in boiling water
ʂəŋ	iron; be quick

ʃi	tear, peel off
ʃɔmunie	the opposite site from which the wind blows
ʃiʃuæi	caress
ʃɔpu	cypress, cedar
ʃɔpæŋ	incense burning
ʃikɛ	front
ʃapɛi	saliva
ʃu	garlic
zɿ	mountain
zɿni	rhizoma gastrodiae
zɿkuŋ	hare, rabbit
zɔ	help
zɔpu	acquaintances, companion
zɛi	cloth
pɛzɛi	headwear
buduzɔ	turtledove
ɛzɛ	alcohol
wuzuzɔ	stir
zɛŋsu	self
zɛ	moment; bronze
sɛŋzɔŋ	plan
ʃizɛŋ	the day, today
zɿ'u	hit the target
zɿ'ɔtuŋ	umbrella

2.2.7 *The Retroflex Affricates /tʃ/, /tʃh/, /dz/ and /dz'/*

The retroflex affricates are distinguished into the voiceless unaspirated /tʃ/, the voiceless aspirated /tʃh/, the voiced /dz/ and the breathy voiced /dz'/. e.g. *tʃi* 'water', *tʃhi* 'very', *dzɿ* 'millstone', and *dz'i* 'ash'. The unvoiced retroflex affricate initials /tʃ/ and /tʃh/ are followed by the high level tone in modal voice. The voiced initial /dz/ is followed by the medial level tone in modal voice. The low falling tone follows the breathy voiced initial /dz'/.

tʃɛi	chaff blower
'ɛntʃi	cumin
thutʃɛ	climb upwards
wɛŋ'jɛntʃu	comb hair
tʃi	water
nyɛŋtʃi	big river, the Dàdù River
nientʃi	middle-sized river

t̥sikhe	small river
t̥ʃit̥ʃi	swim
t̥ʃit̥sei	millet
t̥ʃhe	bind
t̥ʃhiz̥ən	flat riverside field
t̥ʃhĩ	bed
t̥ʃhĩtsĩ	very pretty
t̥ʃhidzo	waterside
t̥ʃhidə	wave
t̥ʃhəgo	swallow
w'ut̥ʃhut̥ʃhu	undo
t̥ʃhuen'wu	rosary
wut̥ʃhə	throat
n'iet̥ʃhiuŋ	gun
t̥ʃhə	ladle made from dried gourd
t̥ʃhidziəb	egret
d̥z̥ei	breakfast; sword
d̥z̥it̥sei	small shoes
d̥z̥i	millstone; shoe
d̥z̥ə	clever
d̥z̥u	dragon
gɔd̥z̥u	bad person, wicked man
d̥z̥əgɔz̥ə	spider
d̥z̥uən	OK
d̥z̥ət̥ʃhi	waterfall on the cliff
d̥z̥uŋ'mu	wellspring
d̥z̥uteiu	bitter buckwheat
d̥z̥iʃət̥sei	thin
d̥z̥ei	sword
d̥z̥eiʃi	bug
d̥z̥əd̥z̥ə	Chinese juniper
d̥z̥'i	ash
d̥z̥'i	how much, how many
d̥z̥'imukhele	twin

2.2.8 *The Alveolars /t/, /th/, /d/, /d'/, /n/, /n/, /s/, /z/, /z'/ and /t/*

The alveolar plosives are distinguished into the unvoiced unaspirated /t/, the unvoiced aspirated /th/, the voiced /d/ and the breathy voiced /d'/, e.g. *tɛ* 'tiger', *thɛ* 'the prohibitive marker', *dɛ* 'big' and *d'exin* 'distant'. The unvoiced and unaspirated alveolar /t/ is followed by the high level tone in modal voice.

tɨŋ	wild cat
tɔ	rice
sitɔ	fruit; fruit tree
mintɔ	flower
kuɛtɛ	knot
tɛtɛ	pimple, small raised spots on the body
tɛ	tiger
'ɛtɛ	father
tə	shine; heat [v.]
ɛitəsəŋ	springtime
tɛntə	summer
jɔtə	autumn
guɛntə	winter
tu	poison

The aspirated alveolar /th/ is also followed by the high level tone in modal voice.

liθɔ	crop
thi	aluminium
thɛiti	dust
thɛ̃	knit, weave
thɛŋkɛlɛ	pine
thɛipu	hair whorl
sɛnpuθɔθɔ	woodpecker
thɛ'jinɛ	Don't go!
dʒ'ithə	a book
thɛŋthɛŋ	muddy, washy

The voiced alveolar /d/ is followed by a medial level tone articulated in modal voice.

də	arrow
nidɛtɛiɛŋ	an ox

du	so
dui	boil
dɔ	meet; narrow
dɛŋ	late
dɛi	this
mũdɛpɛi	one person
dəkən	this place
dɛnɛŋ	a sentence; a word
dɛ'wu	the adult, the bigger

The breathy voiced /d'/ is followed by the low falling tone.

d'ɛχin	distant
d'ɛŋ	have a stuffy nose
d'ɛ'wu	hammer
d'ɛn	bask

The alveolar nasal initial /n/ can be followed by the high level tone, which is indicated by the apostrophe before it, e.g. 'ni 'gold'. When the syllable is not marked, it is followed by the medial level tone, e.g. ni 'from'.

'ni	gold
mə'nɛ	vegetable oil
'nɛ'i	tomorrow
ɛ'nien'nien	cicada
niɛnlo	pupil of the eye
ni'wu	the younger, the smaller
nɛ'wuŋ	muntjac
nɛ	chicken; poultry; hide
tʂini	fish, shrimp, water-bound animals
phɛini	parent
zɪnɛ	foot of a mountain
ni	from

The alveolar fricative /s/ is followed by the high level tone articulated in modal voice.

si	chaff; pass away
sɪbɔ	smallpox
sɪtɕiɛ	apricot

sĩthě	web
sitɔ	fruit
su	who
susu	alive
səni	voice
sənniɖə	bad-hearted
sənpu	tree
səŋpi	Buddha
səŋ	aim at, shoot at; three
subu	new
sui	grind; block [v.]

The alveolar fricative /z/ is followed by the medial level tone in modal voice.

zo	he, she, it
zibuzu	get angry
zi'ne	leopard
zukhə	corner
zεzε	point, tip

The breathy voiced /z'/ is pronounced as [z] in the low falling tone.

z'ei	food
z'iliko	thrush
z'ətɛiə	miserly
z' eikhɔ	bowl

The alveolar lateral fricative /ɬ/ is distinguished from the lateral approximants /l/ and /l/, the alveolar plosives /t/ and /th/, e.g. ɬə 'god', lə 'the subjective suffix', thə'lə 'thin maize pancake', tə 'shine' and thə 'the prohibitive prefix'. The alveolar lateral fricative /ɬ/ is followed by the high level tone in modal voice.

khəɬə	moth, butterfly
ɬə	god
ɬəpə	buffalo
ɬəkhueŋ	temple
ɬəpən	teacher
dzəɬə	leftovers, garbage
wuɬəŋ	release
ʂəɬə	taste

2.2.9 *The Alveolar Affricates /ts/, /tsh/, /dz/ and /dz'/*

The alveolar affricates are distinguished into the unvoiced and unaspirated /ts/, the unvoiced and aspirated /tsh/, the voiced /dz/ and the breathy voiced /dz'/, e.g. *tseŋ* 'lunch', *tshəŋ* 'body hair', *dzəŋ* 'sour' and *dz'əŋ* 'rain'. The unvoiced and unaspirated alveolar affricate /ts/ is followed by the high level tone in modal voice.

tseŋ	lunch; clean
tsei	son
tsən	learn, teach
ziətsei	morning
gotsei	foodstuff
dz'ietsei	drinks
tsidz'ie	tea and drinks
χəŋtsei	younger sister
tsuŋ	rust
tsi	hear

The unvoiced and aspirated alveolar affricate /tsh/ is also followed by the high tone in the modal voice.

tshuŋ	trade
tshəi	knife; fight
tshəi	salt
tshitshi	sparrow, small birds
tshui	mouse
tshəŋ	body hair, fur, wool
niəntshəŋ	eyebrow
tshɨ'wu	cheap
tshə	change; filter
tshəzəŋ	midnight

The voiced alveolar affricate /dz/ is followed by the medial level tone in the modal voice.

dzən	(of external force) strong
dzi	ride; good-looking
dzəŋɕiɛ	speech
dzəŋbei'wu	lie
dzəŋ'wu	sour

dzɛŋdzuɐŋ	sting [n.]
dzɔ	dzo (offspring of a bull and a female yak), yak
dzi	blood; supper
dzɛŋmu	copper
dzo'wu	bucket

The alveolar affricate in breathy voice is represented as /dz'/ and is followed by the low-falling tone.

dz'ɛŋ	rain
dz'ɛŋsisitsei	drizzle
dz'imɛi	girl
dz'ɛwɛ	upper garment
dz'ɛŋχɛn	tobacco
χɛdz'ɛn	frost
dz'isi	peach
dz'u	vinegar
dz'i	win

2.2.10 *The Bilabial Consonants /p/, /ph/, /b/, /b'/, /m/, /m/, /ɸ/ and /β/*

The bilabial plosive consonants are distinguished into the unvoiced and unaspirated /p/, the unvoiced and aspirated /ph/, the voiced /b/ and the breathy voiced /b'/, e.g. *pɐ* 'hold', *phɐ* 'pig', *bɐ* 'develop' and *b'ɐ* 'burst'. The unvoiced and unaspirated bilabial plosive /p/ is followed by the high level tone in modal voice.

pɐ	hold
pɛ̃	government official
pɛŋ	heat in fire
ɐpu	grandfather
khɐpɐ	mouth
zɪpu	hair
ʂɐpɛi	saliva
tɛiuputsi	(bigger) millet
pu'wu	wild dog
sɛnpu	tree
pɛŋi	glacier, ice
pɛpɐ	skin, bark, peel
gɐpɛi	sorghum
dɛpɛi	one person

The aspirated voiceless bilabial plosive /ph/ is also followed by the high level tone in modal voice.

phɛgui	wild boar
phɛi	father
phɛi'wu	oats
phɛi	recover
phu	price
phɛŋ'wɛŋ	rock
gədziphɛŋ'wɛŋ	bat
phɔmu	feel
phɛ	tear open; powder; flour
phə	the earliest ancestor
phu'wu	liver

The voiced bilabial plosive consonant /b/ is followed by the medial level tone in modal voice.

bətse	second floor, sleeping room or storage place
bɛi	Tibetan; do
bə'mu	cow
bɛibu	frog
bɛ	develop; occur; leave
bɛ̃	busy
bɛŋ	hot
bubu	bubble foam
dzɛbɔ	cave; nostril
bəlɪbətɛ	waist of a mountain, hillside

The breathy-voiced /b'/ is followed by the low falling tone.

b'ɔlɔ	bread, ban
g'i b'ɔlɔ	barley bread
gi b'ɔlɔ	buckwheat bread
b'ɛ	burst
b'ũ	thick corn paste boiled in water
b'u'wu	birds
b'utɕhiɛŋtɛ 'wu	fireworks, pyrotechnics
b'u	fly

Syllables with the bilabial nasal initial /m/ are distinguished in two tones of which the high level tone is indicated with an apostrophe before it. The medial tone is left unmarked.

'mɛmi	army, soldier
'mɛŋ	corpse
tɕhiɛ' mu	broom
'mɛ̃hɛn	rice steamed with corn flour
'miŋtshɔ	name
'mɛ̃khuɛŋ	hospital
'miŋthəu	fame
mɛnumintɔ	morning glory
mə'nɛ	vegetable oil
mɛlhi	wooden ladle
mɛŋhɛŋ	bad weather
mɛŋ ³⁵	jar
mɛŋ	the alternation of day and night, weather
məgə	insufficient

The unvoiced bilabial fricative /ɸ/ is followed by the high tone and the voiced bilabial fricative /β/ is followed by the medial level tone.

ɸu	flood; puff
ɸɛkui	stump
ɸutɕiɛ	road
ɸutɕuŋ	single man
βu'nɛŋ	horseshit
βu	beast of burden, horse
βuɣɛ	ant
βusi	mosquito
βu'jɛŋ	fly
βudzĩ	ride a horse
βɛ	sticky paste used as glue
khɛŋβu	the learned; professor
βukɛi	snail, slug
βudɛi	earthworm
βutsizɛ	centipede
βugɛi	grasshopper
βɔphu	lunatic

2.2.11 The Lateral Continuant /lh/, the Glides /l/, /l/, /j/, /j/, /w/ and /w/

The lateral continuant /lh/ is followed by the high level tone. The lateral glide initial /l/ can be followed by the high level tone and is indicated as [l̥]. When it is followed by the medial level tone, it bears no marker.

lhəlhesi	fat surrounding the intestine
lhəki	raincoat
dzuəŋlhə	on the right hand
lhə	lick
gəlɦə	altogether, quite
ɲiɔpɦəŋlhəŋ	pea
lhəkɦu	prayer wheel
lhəsui	whistle
təɦienlhə	cymbals

l̥əŋzəp	bull kept for covering
l̥o	sing, chant
l̥o'wu	wild goat
l̥ɛχəŋ	cliff
ləŋ	wait; wide
də'lə	song
lɔ	collapse; fall
lɛ	chop; escape
lɔlɔmu	a Yi person
lin	red edible mushroom
li	bell-metal
linkɦin	pear
liɦɔ	crop
leisi	apple
lɛtɦo	wrist, palm

The palatal approximate /j/ can be followed by the high level tone and is indicated by an apostrophe right before it. When it is followed by the medial level tone, it carries no marker.

'ji	emerald
gulubɛi'ji	toy
jəŋ	wheat
'βu'jəŋ	fly
'jəŋ'jəŋ	grains

'jɛ	eight
'jə	tent, camp
min'jɛmu	a Mùyǎ person
jɛŋtsɛitsei	light[weight]
jɛkuɛndodo	very heavy
ju	lie down; sleep
ji	to go
jɛ	wash

When the labiovelar approximant /w/ is followed by the high level tone, it is indicated with an apostrophe at the beginning of the syllable. When it is followed by a medial level tone, it is left unmarked.

khə'wɛn	thread a needle
dziə'wɛŋ	Tibetan eared pheasant
phɛŋ'wɛŋ	big rock
'wɛŋtɛiɛ	chest
thɛŋ'wɛŋ	flat grassland
wu'lə	back of the head
'wui	horn
'wuŋ	silver
wuitsei	bee
wuiduŋ	wasp
wui	centre; hoe; honey

2.3 Guìqióng Tones and Initials

So far Guìqióng researchers tend to agree that Guìqióng is a tonal language. According to an earlier study by Sūn Hóngkǎi (1982), Guìqióng has four tones, the medial level (33), the high level (55), the high falling (53) and the high rising (35). Huáng Bùfán's study in 1992 argues that Guìqióng has three major tones, 55, 35, 31 in Chao tone letters and two minor tones, of which the medial level (33) is seen as a neutral tone and the contour tone 53 as a permissible substitute for word-final high level tone. Sòng Línglì adopted Sūn Hóngkǎi's tone notation in her latest study (2011) though she also claimed that some informants of hers have 55, 42, 24 and 31 (p56), where only the high level tone is the same with Sūn's observations. Sòng's transcriptions will be quoted and analysed below because the author of this grammar immediately followed Sòng's step in the Guìqióng research and learnt Guìqióng from two common

late informants, Yáng Xuéwǔ of Chǎngmǎ Village and Yáng Xiàoyún of Qiánxī Village. The tones of this Guìqióng grammar are mainly resulted from an analysis of the recordings of Mr. Yáng Xiàoyún of Qiánxī Village with the help of Gāo Zhèngxiù from the same village. Sòng's study, however, concerns three other informants in addition to Yáng Xuéwǔ and Yáng Xiàoyún according to her 2011 book of Guìqióng research.

Sòng did not explain why she gave up the four tones she found in her two other Qiánxī informants and fell back on the four tonemes in Sūn Hóngkǎi's 1982 tone notation in her study. Neither is there any analysis or explanation about the four-tone system she chose to transcribe words. Unfortunately, the only two sets of examples she used to indicate the necessity for the four tonemes are riddled with problems (P44). In order to compare these examples with my observations, I have added Pīnyīn and English translations to Sòng's example words, which were interpreted in Chinese, when it is necessary. The Chinese words Sòng used to explicate the Guìqióng expression remain unchanged. The first set of Sòng's four examples include $n\tilde{3}^{55}$ tūn 吞 'swallow [v.], $n\tilde{3}^{33}$ yǒu 有 'have; there be', $n\tilde{3}^{35}$ zhù 住 'reside; live', and $n\tilde{3}^{53}$ yěshēngzhúzi 野生竹子 'wild bamboo'. Here the animate existence verb which indicates 'live; reside' and also 'there be (said of animate beings)' is distinguished into two separate words, $n\tilde{3}^{33}$ yǒu 有 'have' and $n\tilde{3}^{35}$ zhù 住 'reside; live' to contrast the medial level tone with the high rising tone. The denial of the semantic integrity between existence and living is perhaps not a deliberate mistake because the Guìqióng concept of existence differs from the Chinese one. While the Chinese concept of being distinguishes a right-at-the-moment existence of the subject (indicated with zài 在 'being, exist') from scope-subject containment (indicated with yǒu 有 'have; there be'), Guìqióng classifies the subjects contained in the containment existence relationship and has no particular expression for the right-at-the-moment subjective existence. The fundamental meaning of living in a geographical scope for a relatively stable length of time is conveyed in Chinese by a third word zhù 住, which basically means 'inhabit, reside and dwell'. In Guìqióng, the existence, including living or residing, of an animate being in a geographical scope is conveyed with the same animate existence verb $n\tilde{e}ŋ$, which is my transcription. The tone of the animate existence verb in Guìqióng can be medial level or high rising according to my investigation. Since this is a highly frequent word, eight out of ten times my informant Yáng Xiàoyún of Qiánxī Village pronounced it in medial level tone. The two tones were also alternated in articulations made by the other two informants of mine, Yáng Xuéwǔ of Chǎngmǎ Village and Gāo Zhèngxiù of Qiánxī Village. Sòng's transcription of the word denoting 'swallow [v.]' in a high-level tone making it a counterpart of my transcription of the word $n\tilde{e}ŋ$

‘defaecate; faeces; swallow [v.]’. However, I think it is only part of the picture to notate it with a high-level tone because these were syllables which may have a high level or high falling tone whether uttered in isolation or as a constituent syllable of a word, e.g. *phɛ’neŋ* ‘pig shit’, *ni’neŋ* ‘ox shit’, *phɛci’neŋle* ‘swallowed pork’. Though my recording entries do not include the word indicating wild bamboo, existent entries show that the high level tone has a variant of high falling tone in Guìqióng and it is misleading to contrast a high-level with a high-falling tone. As for the transcription of the animate existence verb, Sòng did not use the essential near-open central vowel [ɛ], but the open-mid back vowel [ɔ], a significant discrepancy because the two vowels are basically distinguished in Guìqióng, e.g. *nɔ* ‘ear’ and *ne* ‘bird’, *tɔ* ‘rice’ and *te* ‘tiger’. According to my informants, the near-open central vowel [ɛ] and the velar nasal coda [ŋ], rather than a half completed nasalised vowel [ɔ̃], can be heard in the medial-level word indicating the existence and living of animate beings and the high-level word indicating ‘defecate; faeces; swallow [v.]’.

In the other set of Sòng’s examples comprising of *tchi⁵⁵ téng* 疼 ‘pain[v.]’, *tchi³³ zì* 字 ‘Chinese characters’, *tchi³⁵ jiāo* 焦 ‘get burnt’, *tchi⁵³ yáng* 羊 ‘goat’, Sòng used *tchi⁵⁵ téng* 疼 ‘pain[v.]’ and *tchi⁵³ yáng* 羊 ‘goat’ to contrast the high level tone with the high falling tone, which are homonyms in my study. When the first time I asked Yáng Xuéwǔ of Chǎngmǎ Village to articulate the word for ‘goat’, he used the high level tone, *tchi⁵⁵*, and Yáng Xiàoyún pronounced it with a high falling *tchi⁵³*. When it occurs in a multisyllabic word, e.g. *tchi⁵⁵tsei⁵⁵* ‘lamb’, it has the high level tone 55 by both informants. The data I recorded from my informants about the word indicating *tchi⁵⁵* ‘pain [v.]’ also sound perplexing at first because it may have both the high level and the high falling tone. For the noun indicating ‘Chinese character’, Sòng transcribed it with a medial level tone, the lowest of her four tonal names, which according to my understanding, has largely overlooked a host of breathy voiced syllables which need to be differentiated from the modal voiced medial level tone, e.g. *ɸ^hɛ²¹bu³³bu³³mu³³* ‘be about to vomit’, *ɸ^hɛ²¹mu³³* ‘be vomiting’, *g^huŋ²¹luŋ³³* ‘walnut’, *dʒ^hi²¹ mɛ³³tɕiɔ⁵⁵* ‘didn’t/don’t write’, *dʒ^h ɛŋ²¹ mɛ³³wui³³*. The same is true for *tchi³⁵ jiāo* 焦 ‘(of food) burnt’, which according to my informants, is homonym to the word denoting Chinese character and books, both of which are transcribed as *dʒ^hi* ‘Chinese character; (of food) burnt’ in my research.

Despite her proclamation to use the four tone names she illustrated in the examples to distinguish syllables, Sòng’s study is beleaguered with inconsistencies. Even the tones prescribed in the example words are repeatedly contradicted. To name just a few, the word for 有 ‘have; there be’ which is transcribed as *nɔ̃³³* yǒu 有 in her first set of examples has two different transcriptions on page 118, *nɔ̃³³* and *nɔ̃⁵⁵*, respectively. In the first sentence on this page,

the medial level tone is used and the word is notated as $n\tilde{3}^{33}$. In the second sentence, the high level tone is used and the word is notated as $n\tilde{5}^{55}$. Then in the third sentence, still the high level tone is used and the word is notated as $n\tilde{5}^{55}$. And all these sentences are given to demonstrate the existence of animate beings. Whilst the second sentence is a negative one, the other two (in contrasting tones) were positive statements. One cannot make out why the same word cannot stick to one tone. On the following page 119, in order to demonstrate the use of another word for 有 'have; there be', bu^{35} , Sòng gave two sentences comprising of $n\tilde{3}^{33}$, rather than bu^{35} , and restored the tone of the animate existence verb to a medial level one. Then on page 135, a negative sentence containing the negative animate existential verb exactly the same to the one on page 118 has the animate existence verb in the high falling tone, $n\tilde{5}^{53}$. With all the three of her four contrasting tone names attached to one single word, Sòng's study confuses rather than clarifies the objective conditions of Guìqióng tones.

Much more evidence shows that Sòng's phonetic study was far from completed before it was published. The word for $tchi^{53}$ yáng 羊 'goat', which Sòng used to demonstrate the need of a high falling tone in her second set of examples, has the medial level tone in the two phrases $tchi^{33}$ 山羊 'goat' pi^{53} '公山羊 Gōngshānyáng, he-goat' and $tchi^{33}$ 山羊 'goat' ji^{53} '母山羊 Mǔshānyáng, she-goat' on page 75. Then the same word bears the high level tone in exactly the same pair of phrases, $tchi^{55}$ 山羊 'goat' pi^{53} 'he-goat' and $tchi^{55}$ 山羊 'goat' ji^{53} 'she-goat' on page 95. Then precisely the same word turns back to the high falling tone at the end of page 144, $tchi^{53}$ yáng 羊 'goat'. Still it changes into the high level tone again, $tchi^{55}$ yáng 羊 'goat' on page 159. At the appendix word list of the book the word for goat continues to bear different tones. On page 236, the word 'goat' has the high falling tone. On page 240, the same word has three tones, the medial level in the phrase denoting he-goat, the high falling in the phrase denoting she-goat, then the high-level in the phrase denoting lamb. On page 171, the word $tchi^{55}$ téng 疼 'pain[v.]' which Sòng used to illustrate the necessity of a high-level tone turns into a medial level tone $tchi^{33}$ and her explication of the denotation of the word changes from 疼 'pain[v.]' to 病 'illness[n]'.
 And these contradictions to her illustrations of tones are only a very limited part of an immature study. Many more inconsistencies filled the book. To name just a few from the non-example words, the word for Yífu 衣服 'upper garment' is transcribed as $tsh\epsilon^{55}w\epsilon^{53}$ on page 43, $tsh\epsilon^{33}w\epsilon^{55}$ on page 45 and still $tsh\epsilon^{33}w\epsilon^{55}$ on page 149. On page 104 only, the genitive case marker has two different tones, $m\epsilon^{55}$ and $m\epsilon^{53}$. On page 143, the genitive case marker bears a medial level tone, $m\epsilon^{33}$. On page 46, the word for tīng 听 'listen, hear' is

transcribed with *fi*⁵⁵ and *fi*³³ respectively. The phrase indicating fish is transcribed as *tsɿ*³³*ŋi*⁵⁵ on page 118 and *fi*⁵⁵*ŋi*⁵⁵ on page 135. The existential verb *bu* bears two tones on the same page of 138, *bu*⁵³ and *bu*³⁵. On pages 110, 111, 137 and 146, the perfective marker and conjunction occurs at least twice on each page and alternately bears the high level and the medial level respectively, *le*⁵⁵ and *le*³³. On page 132, three tones are applied to the same perfective marker and conjunction, *le*⁵³, *le*⁵⁵ and *le*³³. The word for now is transcribed as *me*⁵⁵*le*⁵³ on page 78 and *me*³³*le*⁵³ on page 107. The word for mountain is transcribed as *zɿ*³⁵ and *zɿ*³³ respectively on the same page of 111. The word for people is transcribed as *mü*⁵³ on page 132 and *mu*³³ on page 33. Indeed further following of Sòng's research would not only put into serious doubt the four Guìqióng tone names, but also the necessity of any Guìqióng tones.

A variety of reasons may account for the differences between people documenting the same language because so much can affect the output and outcome of the tonal notation before a thorough study. When listening to a syllable in isolation, a beginning researcher may easily turn to compare a tentative tone with those he or she knows in other languages without knowing that a low tone in one language may sound higher than a high tone in another language in misleading contexts.

When articulated in multisyllabic words, the tone of one syllable will inevitably be compared with that of other syllables under the influence of tone terracing and varied methods of phonation. The researcher must be conscious that more comparisons will have to be conducted with the same syllable in different situations, e.g. in isolation in case of a free morpheme, or in multisyllabic words in case of bound morpheme, so that the interference of assimilation and tone terracing can be lowered. To minimise the interferences, categorical comparisons must be conducted to observe the behaviour of different types of initials and rimes in comparable circumstances.

2.3.1 A General Description of Guìqióng Tones

Guìqióng is a tonal language with three distinctive tones, the high level, the medial level and the low falling, which can be expressed as 55, 33 and 21 in Chao tone letters. The high falling 53 and the high rising 35 are seen as secondary variants of the high level and the medial level tone respectively. That the high level only has the corresponding variant 53 and the medial level 33 only has the variant 35 is seen as related to the modal voice phonation of these syllables. Whilst the high level, high falling, medial level and high rising are produced in modal voice, the low falling tone is produced in breathy voice. In the research, the high level tone is indicated by an apostrophe at the beginning of the syllable, e.g. *'jəŋ* 'wheat' and *'lo* 'sing'. The medial tone is left unmarked,

e.g. *jɛŋ* 'light [weight]' and *mũ* 'man; steal'. An apostrophe following the consonant is used to indicate the low falling tone, e.g. *dz'ɛŋ* 'rain' and *ɕ'i* 'Chinese characters; burn to carbon'. As mentioned earlier, the use of an apostrophe either at the beginning of a syllable to mark a high tone or after the initial of the syllable to indicate a low tone is borrowed from van Driem's *Dzongkha* (1998).

Tone is not indicated whenever it can be predicted. Modal voiced syllables with unvoiced affricate, plosive and fricative initials have the high level tone, e.g. *teiu* 'what', *tseŋ* 'lunch; clean', *tehiu* 'put', *tshu* 'complete', *te* 'disrobe; disengage', *tho* 'bounce', *ke* 'harvest[v]', *khə* 'needle', *phu* 'price', *sɛ* 'kill', *χen* 'chang', *he* 'come' and *χɛ* 'run'. Modal voiced syllables with voiced affricate, plosive, fricative and nasal initials have the medial level tone, e.g. *dɛŋ* 'late', *qə* 'shake; arrow', *gɛ* 'foot', *go* 'eat', *zi* 'mountain', *dzɛn* '(of external force) strong', *dzu* 'dragon', *mũ* 'man; steal', *ni* 'small' and *nɛŋ* 'live, exist (said of animate being)'.⁵⁵

Guìqióng syllables with plosive or affricate initials exhibit a four-way contrast in phonation, the unvoiced unaspirated, e.g. *ki* 'sell; open', *teivɛŋ* 'classifier for living animals', *tseŋ* 'lunch; clean', the unvoiced aspirated, e.g. *khi* 'bitter, salty; bag', *tehiɛŋ* 'dance; sharp; sheath', *tshɛŋ* 'hair, fur', the voiced, e.g. *gi* 'buckwheat', *dzivɛŋ* 'north', *dzɛŋ* 'sour', and breathy voiced, e.g. *g'i* 'highland barley', *ɕ'ivɛŋ* 'sheep' and *dz'ɛŋ* 'rain'. Whilst the modal voiced syllables with the unvoiced initials have the high level tone, e.g. *ki* 'sell; open', *teivɛŋ* 'classifier for living animals', *tseŋ* 'lunch; clean', *khi* 'bitter, salty; bag', *tehiɛŋ* 'dance; sharp; sheath', *tshɛŋ* 'hair, fur', those modal voiced syllables with the voiced initials have a medial level tone, e.g. *gi* 'buckwheat', *dzivɛŋ* 'north' and *dzɛŋ* 'sour', still those breathy voiced syllables have a low falling tone, e.g. *ɕ'ivɛŋ* 'sheep', *dz'ɛŋ* 'rain' and *g'i* 'highland barley'. Thus of the syllables with plosive or affricate initials, those bearing an apostrophe immediately after the initial should be articulated in breathy voice, or murmured voice differentiated from the medial level and the high level tone.

Guìqióng syllables with fricative initials exhibit a three-way contrast. While the modal voiced syllables with voiceless initials have high level tone, e.g. *sɛn* 'wood', *sɛŋ* 'three; aim at', *sui* 'grind', *ɛi* 'meat', *χui* 'tooth' and *χen* 'chang', the modal voiced syllables with voiced initials have medial level tone, e.g. *zi* 'mountain', *βu* 'horse', *dzu* 'friend' and *βɛ* 'shout'. The breathy voiced syllables have the low falling tone, e.g. *z'ei* 'food', *z'u* 'hit the target' and *β'en* 'manure'.

Most Guìqióng syllables with nasal and vowel initials exhibit a two-way contrast in tones, e.g. *ni* 'rent' and *ni* 'ox', *nɛŋ* 'defecate; faeces; swallow [v.]' and *nɛŋ* 'exist (said of animate beings)', *mɛŋ* 'corpse' and *mɛŋ* 'the alternation of day and night'.

The high level tone is relatively stable in isolation, e.g. *tshɛŋ*⁵⁵ 'hair of animals, wool'. The high falling tone is seen as a free variant of the high level tone occurring to word-ending high level syllables following a medial or low

falling tone, e.g. *zɛ³³pu^{55/53}* ‘rope’, *ziɛ³³tsei^{55/53}* ‘in the morning’, *li³³sɛi^{55/53}* ‘the spring festival’, *lɛi³³si^{55/53}* ‘apple’, *lin³³khin^{55/53}* ‘pear’, *miŋ⁵⁵tshɔ^{55/53}* ‘name’, *ni³³ŋi³³tɛiŋ^{55/53}* ‘two oxen’, *niɛn³³tɕi^{55/53}* ‘middle-sized river smaller than the Dàdù River’, and *dz^hɛn²¹χɛn^{55/53}* ‘tobacco’. The high level tone does not change into the high falling contour at the beginning of a multisyllabic word, e.g. *khu⁵⁵ɕi⁵⁵* ‘jute’, *tɕhiɛŋ⁵⁵si⁵⁵* ‘often’, *jɛŋ⁵⁵jɛŋ⁵⁵* ‘grains’, *lhɛ⁵⁵lhɛ⁵⁵si⁵⁵* ‘lard obtained from the soft caul fat’, *tɕhi⁵⁵sɛŋ⁵⁵* ‘otter’, *tɕ⁵⁵pɛ⁵⁵* ‘buffalo’. In this research, I adopted the high level pronunciation in accordance with my late informant Yáng Xiàoyún 杨孝云 from Qiánxī Village.

The high rising tone is seen as a free variant of the medial level tone. A considerable number of local speakers prefer to use the high rising tone for syllables with the medial level tone especially when it needs to be distinguished from the high level tone perhaps (say, in front of a non-native speaker) because two level tones sound confusing to outsiders when uttered in isolation, e.g. *ni^{33/35}* ‘monkey’, *dzɛi^{33/35}* ‘sword’, *ŋə^{33/35}* ‘I’, *nun^{33/35}* ‘you[s]’, *zo^{33/35}* ‘he, she, it’. The high rising tone thus can often be heard when a medial level tone is in isolation, or immediately before a high level tone (perhaps a result of tone terracing), e.g. *lɛi^{33/35}si^{55/53}* ‘apple’, *ɛi^{33/35}si^{55/53}* ‘blackberry’, *gui^{33/35}tɕhiɛŋ^{55/53}* ‘Guìqióng’, *lɛi^{33/35}tu^{55/53}* ‘easy’, *gi^{33/35}phe^{55/53}* ‘buckwheat flour’, *wi^{33/35}tsei^{55/53}* ‘bee’. The medial level tone can remain unchanged when occurring at the end of multisyllabic word, *wu³³ŋɛn³³* ‘breath’, *tshɛ⁵⁵zɔŋ³³* ‘midnight’, *phe⁵⁵gui³³* ‘wild boar’, *tɕhiɛŋ⁵⁵nu³³* ‘yesterday’, *zɛi²¹go³³* ‘eat food’, *mɛi³³gui³³* ‘ape’, *ɛn³³gui³³* ‘bear’, *dɛi³³gi³³* ‘think’. This grammar adopts the medial level tone for these syllables as they were pronounced by my late informant Yáng Xiàoyún from Qiánxī Village.

The breathy-voiced syllables articulated in the low falling tone are relatively stable in isolation, e.g. *dz^hɛŋ²¹* ‘rain’. In this research they are indicated by an apostrophe following the initial of the syllable.

The neutral tone described by Huáng (1992) exists in Guìqióng and is distinguished from any of the three major tones or their variants in the manner of pronunciation. It only occurs to highly frequently used ending suffixes which should bear a high level tone, e.g. the nominal ending *tsei*, which has a high level tone when denoting son or the small child of animals, can have a very slight and short tone in words like *ɛ³³lɛ⁵⁵tsei* ‘child’ or *mɛŋ³³ni³³tsei* ‘evening’. The high level ending syllable of a reduplicated item may also have the neutral tone, e.g. the second syllable in *ji³³χun⁵⁵χun* ‘take a smell of the fragrance or odour of’. The neutral tone in Guìqióng sounds very slight and short, similar to the neutral tone in Mandarin. The research will specify the tonal situation of such syllables whenever it is appropriate. The reason that it is not given a special marker is that these neutral toned syllables are often found restoring a high level tone when occurring in the middle of an utterance.

The distinction of the three tones, the high level, the medial level and the low falling are basic in Guìqióng. For a very limited number of syllables which can only have high falling or high rising tones, the grammar will specify it as so and mark it in Chao tone letters, e.g. *ɤŋ*³⁵ ‘again’. Such syllables were later found in dialogues and had not been asked to be pronounced alone in the interviews of my late informants. However, no contrastive items have been found to contrast a high-level tone with a high falling tone or to contrast a medial-level tone with a high-rising tone by this research.

2.3.2 *Guìqióng Tones and Their Markers*

In this grammar, a medial toned syllable does not bear any marker, e.g. *nɤŋ* ‘exist (said of animate beings), live’, *zɛi* ‘cloth’, *gui* ‘be happy; cunning’ and *bu* ‘carry’. The high level tone of syllables with unvoiced affricate, plosive or fricative initials is also not marked, e.g. *tshu* ‘complete’, *tʂhi* ‘very’, *tchi* ‘pain[v.]’, *tsi* ‘hear’, *tʂi* ‘water’, *phɛi* ‘father’, *ki* ‘bitter’, *khu* ‘dog’, *ʂu* ‘garlic’, *ʂi* ‘louse; bow’ and *ɛi* ‘meat’. Otherwise, the high level tone is indicated by an apostrophe at the beginning of the syllable, e.g. *'jɤŋ* ‘wheat’, *'ŋy* ‘dare’ and *'ɔɛ* ‘nit’. The apostrophe which van Driem used in *Dzongkha* to indicate a devoiced syllabic initial is used in the grammar to indicate a breathy voiced low falling tone (1998). It follows the breathy voiced initial, e.g. *dz'i* ‘Chinese character, book’ and *dz'ɤŋ* ‘rain’. A breathy voiced syllable always has the low falling tone.

In comparison, the three-tone contrast is prominent among syllables with affricate and plosive consonant initials. Syllables with nasal, glides and vowel onsets are distinguished between the high and medial level tone. Guìqióng initial nasals, glides and vowels are listed below in the two tone names, the high level and the medial level respectively.

TABLE 5 *Tones of Guìqióng syllables with nasal, glides and vowel onsets*

	high-level	medial-level
<i>nasals</i>		
velar nasal	'ŋɛ	ŋɛ
palatal nasal	'ɲɛ	ɲɛ
retroflex nasal	'ɳɛ	ɳɛ
dental nasal	'nɛ	nɛ
bilabial nasal	'mɛ	mɛ
<i>vowels</i>		
front close unrounded	'i	i
front close rounded	'y	y

	high-level	medial-level
back close rounded	'u	u
front open-mid unrounded	'ɛ	ɛ
back close-mid rounded	'o	o
schwa	'ə	ə
back open-mid rounded	'ɔ	ɔ
central near open vowel	'ɐ	ɐ
<i>glides</i>		
palatal glide	'jɐ	jɐ
voiced lateral	'lɐ	lɐ
labiovelar glide	'wɐ	wɐ

Guìqióng plosive, affricate and fricative initials are listed below in the three tone names, the high level, the medial level and the low falling respectively.

TABLE 6 *Tones of Guìqióng syllables with plosive, affricate and fricative onsets*

	high-level		medial-level	low-falling
	unvoiced	aspirated	voiced	breathy-voiced
velar plosive	kɐ	kʰɐ	gɐ	g'ɐ
alveolar affricate	tɕɐ	tɕʰɐ	dʒɐ	dʒ'ɐ
retroflex affricate	tʂɐ	tʂʰɐ	dʐɐ	dʐ'ɐ
alveolo-palatal affricate	tʃɐ	tʃʰɐ	dʒɐ	dʒ'ɐ
dental plosive	tɛ	tʰɛ	dɛ	d'ɛ
retroflex plosive	ʈɛ	ʈʰɛ	ɖɛ	
bilabial plosive	pɐ	pʰɐ	bɐ	b'ɐ
alveolo-palatal sibilant	çɐ		ʒɐ	ʒ'ɐ
retroflex sibilant	ʂɐ		ʐɐ	ʐ'ɐ
alveolar sibilant	sɐ		zɐ	z'ɐ
bilabial fricative	ɸɐ		βɐ	
uvular fricative	χɐ		ʁɐ	ʁ'ɐ
coronal lateral fricative	ʎɐ			
lateral continuant	lhɐ			
voiceless aspirate	hɐ			

2.4 Guìqióng Syllables and Consonant Finals

The structures of Guìqióng syllables are given in the following chart where C represents a consonant, V represents a vowel and G represents any of the three glides [i], [u], [y]. Only two consonant codas have been found, the alveolar nasal [n] and the velar nasal [ŋ]. The nasalised vowel occurs in the nucleus where there is no coda in the syllable.

TABLE 7 Structures of Guìqióng syllables

	onset	nucleus	coda	examples
1		V		<i>e'i</i> 'aunt'
2		V	n/ŋ	<i>eŋ</i> 'again'
3	C	V		<i>ei</i> 'meat'
4	C+G	V		<i>niɔ</i> 'grass'
5	C+G	V	n/ŋ	<i>'jyeyŋ</i> 'can'
6	C	V	n/ŋ	<i>sen</i> 'wood'
7	C+C	V		<i>dzu</i> 'snake'
8	C+C	V	n/ŋ	<i>tsuŋ</i> 'rust'
9	C+C+G	V		<i>teiu</i> 'what'
10	C+C+G	V	n/ŋ	<i>dziɛn</i> 'need'

2.5 Assimilation

When the dative schwa occurs immediately after the second person singular pronoun *nuŋ* 'you', regressive assimilation occurs. The rime consisting of the close back vowel nucleus and the velar nasal coda of the singular second person pronoun assimilates to the following dative schwa, which can be either long or short, *nə:* or *nə*. The Guìqióng people's name *gutchiɛŋ* is often heard as [gũtchiɛŋ] as the result of regressive assimilation.

2.6 Regressive Vowel Harmony

Regressive vowel harmony, whereby a syllable copies the vowel of the following syllable in its immediate vicinity, occurs in Guìqióng, following a repeated pattern.

One of the root denoting numeral one, *dɛ- ~ dɛ- ~ dɔ-*, which only occurs before classifiers to form quantifications, exhibits a regular pattern of allomorphy determined by regressive vowel harmony. When prefixed to syllables comprising of an open vowel, the numeral prefix exhibits the allomorph *dɛ-* of *dɛ- ~ dɛ- ~ dɔ-*, e.g. *dɛ-tchiɛŋ*, a quantifier used to describe any one animal or *dɛ-jɛŋ*, a quantifier used to describe any one unit of crop from a seed to the plant, e.g. a wheat, or an object in similar shape, e.g. a gun. When prefixed to syllables comprising of a closed back vowel, the numeral prefix exhibits the allomorph *ɔ-* of *dɛ- ~ dɛ- ~ dɔ-*, e.g. *dɔtsuŋ*, ‘a pair of’ or *dɔju* ‘a given length (in olden times when cloth could only be woven by manual looms at home, only two lengths were available, either 10.667m or 9.342m) of (cloth)’. When prefixed to syllables comprising of a closed front vowel, the numeral prefix assumes the allomorph *dɛ-* of *dɛ- ~ dɛ- ~ dɔ-*, e.g. *dɛpɛitsei* ‘by oneself, alone’.

The negative negative prefix *mɛ- ~ mɔ- ~ mɛ-* exhibits the same regular pattern of allomorphy determined by regressive vowel harmony. When prefixed to a monosyllabic verb or the final syllable of a multisyllabic verb comprising of an open vowel or an opening diphthong, the negative prefix exhibits the allomorph *mɛ-*, e.g. *mɛ-nɛŋ*, the negative form of the animate existential verb or *mɛ-ŋyɛŋ* ‘can’t’. When prefixed to a monosyllabic verb or the final syllable of a multisyllabic verb comprising of a closed back vowel, the negative prefix exhibits the allomorph *mɔ-*, e.g. *mɔ-tshu* ‘don’t complete’ or *zibu<mɔ>zu* ‘don’t lose temper’. When prefixed to monosyllabic verbs or the final syllable of multisyllabic verbs comprising of a closed front vowel, the negative prefix assumes the allomorph *mɛ-*, e.g. *mɛ-bei* ‘don’t do’ and *tshɛ<mɛ>gi* ‘don’t like’ ‘don’t enjoy or love’.

Regressive vowel harmony also occurs with the pre-modal prefix particle *ɛ-* of *ɔ- ~ v- ~ ɛ-*, which is used in the middle of a proposition before the modality of the sentence is disclosed. When the pre-modal particle prefixed to syllables comprising of an open vowel, the pre-modal prefix exhibits the allomorph *v-*, e.g. (1). When prefixed to syllables comprising of a closed back vowel, the pre-modal prefix exhibits the allomorph *-ɔ*, e.g. (2). When prefixed to syllables containing a closed front vowel or approximate *j*, the pre-modal prefix exhibits the allomorph *ɛ-*, e.g. (3) and (4).

- (1) *phu detɛi thəu-le v-nɛŋ-mu?*
 price a.bit high-PF P-EXS1-EP
 ‘Isn’t the price a bit too high, don’t you think?’
- (2) *dɛi-tɛiv nuŋ-nɛŋ dʒ’iuku-mɛ ɔ-mu dʒi*
 this-CL you[s]-ERG break-GEN P-EP COP
 ‘It seems you have broken this (glass).’

- (3) *nuy z'ei bei-lu ε-tei lə?*
 you[s] food do-CIRC P-become.available P
 'Is it likely for you to do the cooking now?'
- (4) *nuy ligə bei-lu ε-jen lə?*
 you[s] work do-CIRC P-EXS2 P
 'Are there things for you to do now?'

The Guìqióng negative imperative or prohibitive prefix *thε- ~ thv- ~ thə-* (from Proto Tibeto-Burman *t.-), which is glossed as ngIMP in the interlinear morpheme glosses, exhibits precisely the same regular pattern of allomorphy. When prefixed to syllables comprising of an open vowel, the prohibitive prefix exhibits the allomorph *thv-* of *thε- ~ thv- ~ thə-*, e.g. *thvɔdziɛŋ* 'don't throw'. When prefixed to verbal syllables containing a closed back vowel, the prohibitive prefix exhibits the allomorph *thə-* of *thε- ~ thv- ~ thə-*, e.g. *thəkhə* 'don't roast'. When prefixed to verbal syllable comprising of a closed front vowel, the prohibitive prefix assumes the allomorph *thε-* of *thε- ~ thv- ~ thə-*, e.g. *thεhe'we* 'Don't come!'.

2.7 Prosody

Stress, or accentuation, will be understood here as a complex phenomenon that is characterised by the prosodic parameters of pitch, loudness and length. Word stress in Guìqióng is not distinctive. Word stress can be characterised by higher pitch and may occur on any syllable, though there is a tendency for words to be stressed on the final syllable if it is a multisyllabic word. The lengthening of a multisyllabic word, however, tends to occur with the initial syllable, e.g. the word used to affirm a statement or question, *o'jv* 'yes', can be lengthened on the first syllable and stressed on the second syllable for emphasis.

Four functional intonation contours are identified: communicative, focusing, delimiting and attitudinal. The four types of intonation contours are based on two pitch levels (high and low) and four contours (falling, rising, rising-falling and level). An unmarked statement typically has a slow downward drift in pitch, otherwise known as declination. Pitch may also be employed for discourse purposes of emphasis. High level pitch is a characteristic of discourse prominence. Enumeration or listing of items, whether lexical or phrasal, typically involves rising intonation. Focalisation and emphasis may involve level (high or low), high falling or rising-falling intonation. Pitch prominence may reside within the stressed syllable or extend over the phonetic word. With the

rise-fall intonation, the locus may be the stressed syllable or the rise may be aligned with the stressed syllable with the fall taking place on the post-nuclear syllable, e.g. on a functional affix. Attitudinal intonation has to do with subjective or speaker-oriented attitudes and emotions. Imperatives may be divided into strong, such as commands, and weak, such as requests and invitations. The shape of a strong imperative intonation contour is a rapid fall ending with a falling tone. An invitation or weak imperative has a gradual fall with the final syllable ending on an overall high level tone.

Topic and comment are usually separated by a considerable length of pause immediately after the topic marker, if any.

Questions may be divided into those employing local intonation such as question words and utterance-final interrogative particles, and global intonation with yes-no questions and echo questions, which employ rising intonation. Tag questions occur in the form of a statement or declarative with the final particle pronounced with rising intonation as a separate intonation unit.

2.8 Variation

Phonemic and lexical variation occur between dialect areas, villages, families, generations and continues down to the individual level. Dialect differences will not be comprehensively discussed, though some of the variation among the informants have been observed here.

Both of my two late informants who were born around 80 years ago, Yáng Xuéwǔ 杨学武 (1930–2010) from Chǎngmǎ 厂马 Village, which belongs to the Township of Mǎibēng 麦崩 and Yáng Xiàoyún 杨孝云 (1933–2011), alias Yáng Xiàoróng 杨孝荣, who grew up at Qiánxī 前溪 Village, a member village of the Township of Qiánxī, had three distinct sets of Affricates, the alveolar affricate /ts/, /tsh/, /dz/ and /dz'/, the retroflex affricates /tʂ/, /tʂh/, /dʒ/ and /dʒ'/ and the alveolo-palatal affricates /tɕ/, /tɕh/, /dʑ/ and /dʑ'/. For my informant Gāo Zhèngxiù 高正秀 (1965–) who were born and grew up at Qiánxī, the same village as my informant Yáng Xiàoyún, there are only two distinct sets, the alveolar affricate /ts/, /tsh/, /dz/ and /dz'/ and the alveolo-palatal affricates /tɕ/, /tɕh/, /dʑ/ and /dʑ'/. There seemed to be more retroflex affricative syllables at Chǎngmǎ than Qiánxī. The morpheme *dzi* denoted 'mill'; 'millstone'; 'shoe'; 'succeed'; 'be' and *dzi* denoted 'tongue'; 'blood'; 'supper'; 'itch'; 'one' and 'ten' for Yáng Xiàoyún, whereas *dzi* denoted 'mill'; 'millstone'; 'shoe'; 'succeed'; 'be'; 'ten'; 'supper' and *dzi* denoted 'tongue'; 'blood'; 'itch' and 'one' for Yáng Xuéwǔ. For Gāo Zhèngxiù, the retroflex set of affricates completely gave way to the alveolar set, thus creating a lot more homonyms, the morpheme *dzi* denotes 'mill';

'millstone'; 'shoe'; 'succeed'; 'be'; 'tongue'; 'blood'; 'supper'; 'itch'; 'one'; 'become objectively permissible'.

The younger generation tend to use more front vowels than their elders. The diphthong [ei] is often pronounced as [ɛ], e.g. *'mɛi* 'medicine' as *'mɛ*; many words containing [ui] is pronounced as the round close front vowel [y], e.g. *dzui* 'arrive' as [dzy] or [ɗzy].

Morphology

In this chapter, the morphology of Guìqióng will be dealt with. Section 3.1 deals with the nominal morphology, where number and case of nominals, the diminutives, personal pronouns, demonstratives and numerals will be described. Section 3.2 deals with the verbal morphology, where bare-stem sentences, copulas, derivational verb roots, the constructions of tense, aspect, modality and evidentiality will be described.

3.1 Nominal Morphology

The section of Guìqióng morphology deals with the number of nominals in 3.1.1, the case of nominals in 3.1.2, diminutives in 3.1.3, personal pronouns in 3.1.4, demonstratives in 3.1.5, numerals and classifiers in 3.1.6.

3.1.1 *Definite versus Indefinite Number of Nouns*

The number of a Guìqióng noun is indicated either as definite or indefinite. The definite number is denoted with a quantification containing a numeral plus a classifier, in that order, be it singular, e.g. (1), dual, e.g. (2) or plural, e.g. (3). The word for numeral one *dɛ-* ~ *dɛ̃-* ~ *də-* before a classifier can be omitted when it is not necessary to accentuate the fact that the quantification denotes one entity only. In other words, a classifier occurring immediately after a noun without a numeral preceding it suggests one item or article, e.g. (4). A classifier does not distinguish singular from plural in number.

- (1) *ɛ'letsei dɛ-peɪ mɛi wu-ki bɛ̃-lɛ*
 child one-CL.human door DIR-open go-PF
 'One child went to open the door.'
- (2) *dʒ'iɛnme mũ ɲi-peɪ tsɛn-lɛ-nɛŋ*
 home man two-CL.human remain-PF-EXS1
 '(After other people have left) Two people remains at home.'
- (3) *tʂuətsei wɛn'jɛn dʒ'i sɛŋ-thə jɛn*
 table top book three-CL EXS2
 'There are three books on the table.'

- (4) *dei mǔ-pei tshen phɔ-lɛ-nɛŋ*
 this man-CL.human wound suffer-PF-EXS1
 ‘This man was wounded.’

The indefinite number of a noun can be indicated with the indefinite plural article *-niɐ*, which is glossed as IND in the interlinear morpheme glosses, e.g. (5). A noun modified with the indefinite plural article *-niɐ* is multiple yet unspecified and undefined in number or quantity.

- (5) *ɛ'letsei-niɐ zo-wuə tʂhegi*
 child-IND 3S-DAT like
 ‘Children like him.’

The indefinite plural article *-niɐ* cannot be used alone. It must be used as a suffix after a noun, e.g. (6), (7), a nominalised noun, e.g. (8), (9), or a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. (10), or after a plural person pronoun, e.g. (11).

- (6) *tsei-niɐ*
 son-IND
 ‘sons’
- (7) *dz'isi-niɐ*
 peach-IND
 ‘peaches’
- (8) *dɛ-'wu-niɐ*
 big-GN-IND
 ‘adults’
- (9) *gulubei-'ji-niɐ*
 play-obNOM-IND
 ‘toys’
- (10) *dei-niɐ*
 this-IND
 ‘these’
- (11) *nuytsei-niɐ*
 you[pi]-IND
 ‘you[pi]’

- (12) *khukhu-niɛ*
 other-IND
 ‘other people, other things’

The indefinite plural article *-niɛ* can also occur after a verb stem to indicate an unspecified temporal point of an activity time span, e.g. (13)–(15).

- (13) *wɛ-niɛ ni-lɛ*
 get.up-IND become-PF
 ‘It is time to get up.’

- (14) *go-niɛ ni-lɛ*
 eat-IND become-PF
 ‘It is time to eat.’

- (15) *dʒ'iɛnmɛ dɛ-ji-niɛ ni-lɛ*
 home DIR-go-IND become-PF
 ‘It is time to go back home.’

3.1.2 Case

A Guìqióng noun or pronoun can be inflected with different case markers to indicate a variety of grammatical functions. The ablative case marker *-ni*, the ergative and the instrumental marker *-nɛŋ*, the illative case marker *-gəu* or *gu*, the genitive case marker *-mɛ*, the dative marker *-wuələ ~ -ələ ~ -ləwuə ~ -wuə ~ -ə*, the lative case marker *-kɛn*, the comparative case marker *-wɛn'jɛn* and some locative constructions will be described in this section.

3.1.2.1 The Ablative Case Marker *-ni*

The emphatic marker *-ni* indicating a case aberrant from or transcendent over an average standard might have been evolved from the ablative case marker *-ni*, which denotes the place, e.g. (16)–(19), or the temporal point, e.g. (20), from which the motion begins and is glossed as ABL in the interlinear morpheme glosses.

- (16) *ŋəgu tʃhi d'ɛχin-mɛ sutchiu-ni bu-lɛ*
 we[pe] very far-GEN place-ABL move-PF
 ‘We moved from a distant place.’

- (17) *zo 'ələ-kɛn-ni hɛ-mɛ jɛ*
 3S where-LAT-ABL come-GEN P
 ‘Where did he come from?’

- (18) *ŋə dʒ'ienmɛ-ni wu-tʃhɯɛ-lɛ*
 I home-ABL DIR-get.out-PF
 'I left home.'
- (19) *zo d'ɛχin-ni hɛ-mɛ mũ*
 3S distant.places-ABL come-GEN man
 'He came from a distant place.'
- (20) *'mɛ'lɛ-ni zo d'ienχuɛ tɐ*
 now-ABL 3S telephone dial
 'Phone him right away.'

3.1.2.2 The Ergative Case Marker *-nɛŋ*

The ergative marker *-nɛŋ*, which is glossed as ERG in the interlinear morpheme glosses, is used to mark the active participant of an occurrence, which includes the agent, e.g. (21)–(28), or the causer, e.g. (29)–(30). The ergative case marker is the same morpheme used as the instrumental marker, which will be explicated in 3.1.2.3. Both case markers are homonym to the animate existential verb *nɛŋ*.

- (21) *zo-nɛŋ tɔ-phə bu-lɛ zɪ-tɕhy-lɛ*
 3S-ERG rice-TOP back.carry-PF mountain-walk-PF
 'He carried the rice on the back to the mountain.'
- (22) *su-nɛŋ ʎɲɛŋ-mɛ tʃuətsei jɔ*
 who-ERG buy-GEN table P
 'Who bought the table?'
- (23) *dzɔ-phə tʃhɯɛbu-nɛŋ mũ-lɛ*
 money-TOP thief-ERG steal-PF
 'The money was stolen by thief.'
- (24) *nɯŋ-mɛ χɛŋtsei-nɛŋ bɛ-mu*
 you[s]-GEN younger.sister-ERG yell-EP
 'Your younger sister is shouting.'
- (25) *zo-nɛŋ du³⁵ dɛ-tɛiv ciɛ-mu*
 3S-ERG so one-CL say-EP
 'I witnessed he said so.'

- (26) *'epu-nɛŋ* *sunsun-ə* *'ni-mɛ*
 grandfather-ERG grandson-DAT gold-GEN
lətʂɔ-phɛ *kɬɛŋ-lɛ*
 bracelet-CL give-PF
 'His grandfather gave him a gold bracelet.'
- (27) *'epu-nɛŋ* *ŋə* *bɔ'mɛ* *tsɛn-lɛ*
 grandfather-ERG I herb.medicine teach-PF
 'Grandfather taught me herb medicine.'
- (28) *ŋətsei-nɛŋ* *zo-wuə* *zɔ* *kɛ*
 we[pi]-ERG 3S-DAT help ought.to
 'We ought to help him.'
- (29) *tɔpɛn-nɛŋ* *hɛ-'wɛ* *tsi*
 teacher-ERG come-IMP REP
 'It is the teacher who let us come here.'
- (30) *ŋə-nɛŋ* *tʂi-phə* *dui-ku-lɛ*
 I-ERG water-TOP boil-CAUS2-PF
 'I boiled the water.'

3.1.2.3 The Instrumental Case Marker *-nɛŋ*

The instrumental case marker *-nɛŋ*, which is glossed as INS in the inter-linear morpheme glosses, is identical to the ergative case marker. It is used after a noun to indicate the instrument by which the subject accomplishes an action, e.g. (31) and (32). When both the human agent and the instrumental agent occur in the same clause, it is usually the instrument that bears the case marker, e.g. (31).

- (31) *ŋə* *'ŋyŋku-nɛŋ* *dʒ'i* *tɛiɔ*
 I pen-INS Chinese.characters write
 'I write Chinese characters with a pen.'
- (32) *tʂi-nɛŋ* *jɐ* *dzuɛŋ*
 water-INS wash acceptable
 'It is all right to wash it with water.'
- (33) *dʒi-nɛŋ* *ji-lhɛ-di*
 tongue-INS DIR-lick-MOM
 'Lick (it) with the tongue.'

- (34) *ko-ŋy-nəŋ* *ji-təŋ-ku*
 hand-finger-INS DIR-fast-CAUS2
 ‘Clench (something) in one’s hand.’
- (35) *ɛ’letsei* *ko-ŋi-phə-nəŋ* *dz’ɿsi* *ji-ŋuə*
 child hand-two-CL-INS peach DIR-hold
 ‘The child came to catch the peach with two hands.’
- (36) *ko-nəŋ* *sən-phə* *mi-təiə-lə*
 hand-INS wood-TOP DIR-break-PF
 ‘The wood is broken with hand.’

3.1.2.4 The Illative Case Marker *-gu*

The illative case marker *-gəu* or *gu*, which is glossed as ILL in the interlinear morpheme glosses, is used after a nominal to indicate the involvement of the inner scope of a location with respect to a motion.

- (37) *ŋəgu* *məŋ³⁵-gəu* *tə* *tʂuəŋ*
 we[pe] pottery-ILL rice hold
 ‘We put rice into the jar.’
- (38) *tʂətsi-gəu* *təhyo-lə* *ji-nə*
 vehicle-ILL sit-PF go-IMP
 ‘Go there by sitting into car!’
- (39) *ni* *təhi* *dziē-gəu* *nio* *go-lə* *nəŋ*
 ox goat field-ILL grass eat-PF EXS1
 ‘The ox and the goat are grazing into the field.’
- (40) *tʂəgeitsi-gəu* *nun-ə* *zɔ-’wu* *nəŋ*
 quiet.quarters-ILL you[s]-DAT help-GN EXS1
 ‘Somebody is helping you by getting into secret quarters.’
- (41) *ŋətsei* *khu’wu-gəu* *ziənziəbei-’wu*
 we[pi] snow-ILL ski-GN
khu’wu-gəu *’mətshəi-’wu*
 snow-ILL fight-GN
 ‘We are skiing and playing into the snow.’

The illative marker *-gəu* is homophonous with the suffix contained in the names of places, e.g. *zəŋbugəu* ‘the bridge’, the name of Lúding County, where there is a nationally famous iron cable bridge. The illative marker *-gəu* is also homophonous with the suffix of exclusive plural personal pronouns, e.g. *ŋəgəu*, the first person exclusive plural pronoun denoting people from the same clan or people of the same group, e.g. *ɬziɔbugəu*, the name of the chief’s clan.

3.1.2.5 The Genitive Case and the Attributive

The Guìqióng genitive case marker *-mɛ* can occur immediately after nominals and verbs, which will be respectively dealt with in 3.1.2.5.1 and 3.1.2.5.2. The attributive constructions with or without the genitive case marker *-mɛ* will be dealt with in 3.1.2.5.3.

3.1.2.5.1 *The Genitive Case Marker -mɛ*

The Guìqióng genitive case marker *-mɛ*, which is glossed as GEN in the interlinear morpheme glosses, is used after a noun or pronoun to denote possession, e.g. (42) and (43).

(42) *ŋəgəu-mɛ ɬziẽ*
 we[pe]-GEN land
 ‘our land’

(43) *zo-mɛ ɬziẽŋ*
 3S-GEN house
 ‘his house’

A nominal followed by the genitive marker *-mɛ* can be used to modify another nominal as attributive, e.g. (44)–(46) or as complement in the predicate, e.g. (47)–(48). Semantically, a genitive nominal forms a capacious scope to contain or include. The scope can be geographic, e.g. (44), or temporal, e.g. (45). It can also be a set of entities with certain similar attribute, e.g. (46). In the possessive relationship denoted by the genitive marker, a possessor is also seen as having the capacity to contain his or her possession.

(44) *bənɛŋ-mɛ mĩbə*
 sky-GEN cloud
 ‘airborne cloud, cloud in the sky’

(45) *jukhu-mɛ mintɔ*
 spring-GEN flower
 ‘spring flowers’

- (46) *'ni-mε lətʂɔ-phε*
 gold-GEN bracelet-CL
 'gold bracelet'
- (47) *dεi ηə-mε dzi*
 this I-GEN COP
 'It is really mine.'
- (48) *jiki nuŋ-mε*
 that you(s)-GEN
 'That is yours.'
- (49) *zo-mε ji-tsi-gvη ηə səŋzε-lε*
 3S-GEN DIR-REP-CON I feel.relieved-PF
 'When I heard his words, I felt relieved.'

The genitive marker *-mε* can be used to indicate the beneficiary, e.g. (50)–(52).

- (50) *ηə 'ətεio-ləwuə meime-i-mε dʒ'i-thə*
 I elder.brother-DAT younger.sister-GEN book-CL
ʒyεŋ tsi-lε
 buy D-PF
 'I made (our) elder brother buy a book for younger sister.'
- (51) *nuŋ ηə-mε z'εi ji-bei-di lε*
 you[s] I-GEN food DIR-do-MOM P
 'Can you help me cook some food?'
- (52) *dεi tʂuətsei su-mε ʒyεŋ-'wu jɔ*
 this table who-GEN buy-GN P
 'For whom are (you) going to buy the table?'

Without context, a genitive nominal can cause ambiguity because it may indicate both possessive and beneficiary, e.g. (53)–(55).

- (53) *zo ηə-mε tʂuətsei ʒyεŋ-lε*
 3S I-GEN table buy-PF
 'He bought the table for me.'
 or 'He bought the table from me.'

- (54) *zo ʔɐɐ-mɛ ʔmɔtsei-tɛiɛ ʔnyɛŋ-lɛ*
 3S father-GEN cap-CL buy-PF
 'He has bought the cap for his father.'
 or 'He bought a cap from (my) father.'

- (55) *dɛndə puzɔ-mɛ*
 letter younger.brother-GEN
 'This letter is from the younger brother.'
 or 'The letter is written to the younger brother.'

3.1.2.5.2 *The Genitive Nominaliser -mɛ*

The Guìqióng genitive case marker *-mɛ* can also be used as a nominaliser when added to the stem of the verb, e.g. (56), (57). Whilst the genitive form of a dynamic verb indicates a preterite occurrence, e.g. (56), the genitive form of a stative verb indicates a type of attribute, e.g. (57).

- (56) *ʔnyɛŋ-mɛ tʂuətsei*
 buy-GEN table
 'the table bought'

- (57) *gɛ-mɛ ɛʔletsei*
 good-GEN child
 'a good child'

An attributive construction comprising of an attributive verb in the genitive nominaliser *-mɛ* can only precede it, e.g. (58)–(61).

- (58) *gɛ-mɛ ɛʔletsei dɛnidɛtʂɛ dʒʔi tʂɛn ʒi*
 good-GEN child every.day book learn go
 'A good child goes to school every day.'

- (59) *su-nɛŋ ʔnyɛŋ-mɛ tʂuətsei ʒɔ*
 who-ERG buy-GEN table P
 'Who bought the table?'

- (60) *ʔtʂi tʂɔ-mɛ dʒɛnbɛ ʒɛŋsu go*
 grandma sow-GEN vegetable self eat
 'Grandmother plants vegetable and eats it herself.'

- (61) *χεντσαου-νι bu he-me dz'iu ηə*
 Hángzhōu-ABL bring come-GEN tea I
dε-t̚sueŋ wu-kheŋ-le
 one-CL DIR-give-PF
 'I give (you) a bag of tea which has been brought from Hángzhōu.'

The construction of a verb stem followed by a genitive nominaliser can also occur in the predicate, e.g. (62) and (63), which indicates a preterite situation.

- (62) *zo be-me dzi*
 3S leave-GEN COP
 'He was the one that went on business.'
- (63) *ε'letsɛi dz' itciɔ-me dzi*
 child Chinese.characters write-GEN COP
 'The children have written their Chinese characters.'

3.1.2.5.3 *The Attributive Construction*

The Guìqióng attribute of a noun follows the noun it modifies when no genitive marker is used and there is no containment relationship between the two, e.g. (64). If the attribute indicates a scope containing the noun it modifies, the attributive scope occurs before the noun, e.g. (65) and (66).

- (64) *niɔ nigə*
 bean black
 'black bean.'
- (65) *dziɔgə mǔ*
 India man
 'an/the Indian'
- (66) *pɛ'ji mǔ*
 Nepal man
 'a/the Nepalese'

An attributive construction comprising of an attribute in the genitive nominaliser *-me* always precedes the noun it modifies probably because a nominalised noun in the genitive marker *-me* contains a collection of entity with the same attribute or characteristic rather than a single entity. For example, *εɔ'mε me* 'white'+[GEN] 'the white' in sentence (67), is a set of all things and people

characterised as white. The possessive genitive, e.g. (68) and (69), also implies a scope to contain. Thus a genitive attributive constitutes a scope to contain the noun it modifies. The word order of the scope attributive phrase and the noun it modifies is only an example of the containment relationship in Guìqióng, where the scope invariably precedes the entity it contains, e.g. (70).

(67) *ʒɔ'mɛ-mɛ tɛhi*
white-GEN goat
'white goat'

(68) *dziɔgə-mɛ ɡetɬie*
India-GEN language
'Hindi'

(69) *ŋə-mɛ ɛ'letsei*
I-GEN child
'my child'

(70) *tʂuətʂi wən'jən dʒ'i jən*
table top book EXS2
'There is a book on the table.'

An attributive verb in the genitive nominaliser *-mɛ* is consistent with nominal attributives in terms of syntactic position with respect to the noun it modifies. When the verb stem is nominalised with the agentive nominaliser and gnomic tense marker *-'wu* instead of the genitive marker *-mɛ*, it occurs after the noun it modifies, e.g. (71)–(72). The postpositional attributive verb denotes properties and attributes which are inherent in the entity and are meant to be news disclosed to the addressee as indicated by the gnomic tense marker *-'wu*.

(71) *βu wu-thəu-'wu wu-dɛ-'wu tɛiɲ*
horse DIR-high-GN DIR-big-GN CL
'a big and tall horse'

(72) *ɛ'letsei ɡɛ-'wu denidɬɬɛ dʒ'i*
child good-GN everyday book
tʂɛn ji
learn go
'A good child goes to school everyday.'

The nominalised attributive verb comprising of the agentive nominaliser and gnomic tense marker *-wu* can precede the noun it modifies with the help of the genitive nominaliser *-mε*, e.g. (73) and (74).

(73) *libu-wu-ge-'wu-mε* *gepu*
 constitution-DIR-good-GN-GEN old.man
 'a strong old man'

(74) *dεŋ'jeŋ-tʂhi-dε-'wu-mε-mũ*
 heart-very-big-GN-GEN-man
 'a most daring man'

While both genitive nominalised verb and the genitive form of a nominalised noun in the agentive nominaliser and gnomic tense marker *-wu* can act as attributives, the denotations differ, e.g. (75) and (76), (77)–(79).

(75) *ge-mε* *ε'letsei*
 good-GEN child
 'good child'

(76) *ge-'wu-mε* *ε'letsei*
 good-GN-GEN child
 'good people's child'

(77) *phu-dε-mε* *'mε*
 price-big-GEN medicine
 'expensive medicine'

(78) *tʂhi-dε-mε* *lei'mεŋ*
 very-big-GEN moon
 'a big moon'

(79) *ε'letsei* *dε-'wu-pei*
 child big-GN-CL.human
 'the eldest/elder child'

3.1.2.6 The Dative Case Marker *-wuələ ~ -ələ ~ -ləwuə ~ -wuə ~ -ə*

A nominal in the dative case can take any of the five forms of the Guìqióng dative marker *-wuələ ~ -ələ ~ -ləwuə ~ -wuə ~ -ə*. The dative marker, which is

glossed as DAT in the interlinear morpheme glosses, can be used to indicate the entity to which something is given, e.g. (80)–(82).

- (80) *ŋə zo-wuə zɛi-ju khɛŋ-lɛ*
 I 3S-DAT cloth-CL give-PF
 'I gave him a piece of cloth.'

- (81) *dɛi dʒ'i-thə nuŋ-wuə wu-khɛŋ-lɛ*
 this book-CL you[s]-DAT DIR-give-PF
 'Let me give you a book.'

- (82) *ŋə dʒ'i-phə puzu-ə wu-khɛŋ-lɛ*
 I book-TOP younger.brother-DAT DIR-give-PF
 'I gave a book to (my) brother.'

When the dative schwa occurs immediately after the second person singular pronoun *nuŋ* 'you', regressive assimilation occurs. The rime consisting of the close back vowel nucleus and the velar nasal coda of the singular second person pronoun assimilates to the following dative schwa, e.g. (83).

- (83) *nə tɛiu tɛiv khɛŋ-lɛ gɛ ni*
 you[s]+DAT what CL give-PF good P
 'What is suitable for me to give you as a gift?'

Mutual parties in an interpersonal interaction in Guìqióng are followed by the ergative and the dative markers respectively. Whilst the active participant who initiates the interaction is marked with the ergative marker *-nɛŋ*, the relatively passive participant expected to respond in the interaction takes any of the dative marker *-wuələ ~ -ələ ~ -ləwuə ~ -wuə ~ -ə*. These interpersonal interactions include love, hatred, criticism, praise, teaching and learning, presenting and receiving, request, and directive causation, e.g. (84) to (88).

- (84) *ŋə zo-ləwuə dɛŋdə fuy tɛiv-tsi-lɛ*
 I 3S-DAT letter CL write-hear[D]-PF
 'I made him write a letter.'

- (85) *ʈopɛn-nɛŋ ɛ'letsɛi-wuə dʒɔ-lɛ nɛŋ*
 teacher-ERG child-DAT scold-PF EXS1
 'The teacher is scolding the child.'

- (86) *ŋətsei-nəŋ zo-wuə zɔ̌ kɛ*
 we[pi]-ERG 3S-DAT help ought.to
 ‘We ought to help him.’
- (87) *zo-ləwuə du³⁵ bɛi-thə-ku*
 3S-DAT such do-ngIMP-CAUS2
 ‘Don’t let him do that.’
- (88) *dɛi ɛ’lɛtsei zo-wuə tʂhɐ-mɛ-gi*
 this child 3S-DAT like<NEG>
 ‘This child does not like him.’
- (89) *dɛi tʂuətsei su-ə ʎnyɐŋ-mɛ jɔ̌*
 this table who-DAT buy-GEN P
 ‘For whom did (you) buy the table?’
- (90) *jiki sɛnpu-wuə thɔ̌-nəŋ wu-tɛi-lɛ*
 that tree-DAT thunder-ERG DIR-split-PF
 ‘That tree was split by thunder.’

Sentence-initial adverbials of location and time can also take the dative marker, e.g. (91) and (92), which makes the dative marker a general locative marker in the language. Neither of the two examples can be marked with the illative marker *-gəu ~ -gu*.

- (91) *sutchiu-ləwuə jɪ’mijɐ’mɛ tʂhɛithɔ̌*
 countryside-DAT fleetingly lifetime
dɛ-χui bɐ-tʂu-lɛ
 one-half go-COM-PF
 ‘Quickly half of (my) life has passed in the countryside.’
- (92) *dɛ-ŋyɐŋ-ləwuə kuɛntə zi-tɛiɐ jɛn*
 one-year-DAT season four-CL EXS2
 ‘There are four seasons in a year.’

Examples from (93)–(96) were given by my late informant Yáng Xuéwǔ 杨学武 from Chǎngmǎ 厂马 Village. The speakers from the village Lèshù 勒树 tend to use the [lɛ] rather than [lə] in the dative marker.

- (93) *ŋə zo-wuələ ʒei go-ku-le*
 I 3S-DAT food eat-CAUS2-PF
 ‘I had him eat the meal.’
- (94) *phə tɔ bu-wuə jən,*
 ancestor Tào sons.of.ancestor-DAT EXS2
bu tɔ tshə-ə jən
 sons.of.ancestor Tào grandsons.of.ancestor-DAT EXS2
 ‘The ancestor gives his knowledge to his offspring, who then passes it down to his sons.’
- (95) *dugəu phei tsei-ələ tsən-le nəŋ*
 they[pe] father son-DAT teach-PF EXS1
 ‘The father is teaching the son a lesson.’
- (96) *phei tsei-ələ dẽ-le nəŋ*
 father son-DAT hit-PF EXS1
 ‘The father is beating the son.’

3.1.2.7 The Lative Case Marker *-kən*

The lative case marker *-kən*, which is glossed as LAT in the interlinear morpheme glosses, is used after a nominal to indicate the destination of a motion, e.g (97) to (101). This marker is probably derived from *kẽ* ‘place’.

- (97) *zo sutehiu khukhu-kən ligə bei bɛ-le tsi-mu*
 3S place other-LAT work[n] do leave-PF REP-EP
 ‘It is said that he has gone to some other place to work.’
- (98) *dz’imeɪ ŋə ɕiɛ-gɛŋ, ’ɛŋku-gu-kən dɛ-phɔ ji-dziɛn*
 daughter I say-CON uncle-ILL-LAT one-once[CL] go-need
 ‘My daughter told me that she wanted to go to her uncle’s.’
- (99) *dɛi mũ khukhu-kən bɛ mɛ-niɛn*
 this person other-LAT go NEG-EXP
 ‘This person has not been to anywhere else.’
- (100) *mɛbu-kən dzui-niɛn*
 Mài bēng-LAT arrive-EXP
 ‘He has been to Mài bēng village.’

- (101) *tʃhitʃəu bu-lɔ nuŋgu-kən ji-tɕhy-di*
 time EXS3-PRS you[pe]-LAT DIR-walk-MOM
 ‘If there is time, go to your place for a while.’

In (102), the lative case marker *-kən* is followed by the genitive case marker *-mɛ*, making the lative marker more like a nominaliser. The goal of motion in sentence (103) is marked in the lative case.

- (102) *zɕŋsu-kən-mɛ dz'ɛnχɛn*
 self-LAT-GEN tobacco
 ‘tobacco produced out of one’s own land.’
- (103) *go-lu jɛn-lɛ, ŋə-kən dɛtɕi bu-lɛ hɛ-'wɛ*
 eat-CIRC EXS2-PF, I-LAT a.bit[CL] bring-PF come-IMP
 ‘If there is something to eat, bring a little to me.’

3.1.2.8 The Comparative Case Marker *-wɛnʃɛn*

The comparative case marker *-wɛnʃɛn* is derived from the noun *wɛnʃɛn* denoting ‘head’, e.g. (104), and ‘top’, e.g. (105). The comparative marker *wɛnʃɛn* is glossed as COMP in the interlinear morpheme glosses, e.g. (106)–(109).

- (104) *ŋə wɛnʃɛn tɕhi-mu*
 I head pain-EP
 ‘I have a headache.’
- (105) *tɕsuətɕei wɛnʃɛn dz'i jɛn*
 table top book EXS2
 ‘There is a book on the desk.’
- (106) *dɛi-wɛnʃɛn khuɛŋ-mu mɛ̃*
 this-COMP cold-EP ngEXS
 ‘It is coldest here.’ (Lit: Nowhere else is colder than here)
- (107) *'əgə ŋə-wɛnʃɛn gɛlhɛ thəu*
 elder.sister I-COMP quite tall
 ‘My elder sister is much taller than me.’
- (108) *'mɛ'le ʃikɛ-wɛnʃɛn bɛi-'ji dʒiɛn*
 now past-COMP do-obNOM convenient
 ‘Life is easier now than before.’

- (109) *ŋə əyəciə zo-wən'jən nəŋpʰe*
 I school 3S-COMP close
 'I am closer to the school than she is.'

3.1.3 *The Diminutives*

The two diminutive suffixes, *-tsei* and *-'ən'əntsei*, which are glossed as DIM in the interlinear morpheme glosses, are used to indicate 'tiny' or 'wee' after the noun. The diminutive suffix *-tsei* may be derived from *tsei* 'son' and may have some etymological connection with the Chinese *tsí* '子'. Though both denote smallness, the multisyllabic suffix *-'ən'əntsei* is used to express a strong degree of smallness and endearment. The syllable *'ən* is often pronounced as *ẽ* as well. Younger generation of Guìqióng speakers tend to use the monosyllabic diminutive marker *-tsei* much more frequently because they mainly learn the language before schooling. Whilst elders, especially fraternal grandparents, who stay at home to rear the children throughout the year, tend to use the diminutive forms to indicate children's belongings, e.g. *dzítsei* 'small shoes, children's shoes', the child as an indiscriminate learner just thinks *dzítsei* mean shoes of any size. Before the child has the time to tell the differences, the child is sent to school where all the education is conducted in Chinese. The diminutive suffix *-tsei* is the indispensable final syllable of *é'letsei* 'child'. The morpheme *-tsei* is also the inclusive personal pronoun suffix, e.g. *ŋetsei* 'we', the first person plural inclusive pronoun. It is also the ending of some adjectives and adverbs, e.g. *gegetsei* 'well, in a good manner', *tseŋməntsei* 'clean' and *seŋtshuəntsei* 'bright'. Frequent use of the suffix wears out the high level tone of this suffix to some degree. At the end of a phrase, the nominal or adverbial ending *-tsei* is often (not always, especially when the speaker tends to draw attention) pronounced in the slight and short neutral tone, when it can be replaced with *-tsi*.

- (110) *nə-tsei*
 chicken-DIM
 'any of the little poultry, small geese, chicks, or ducklings'
- (111) *βu-tsei*
 horse-DIM
 'little horse'
- (112) *ni-tsei*
 ox-DIM
 'calf, heifer'

- (113) *tchi-tsei*
goat-DIM
'little lamb'
- (114) *phɛ-tsei*
pig-DIM
'pigling'
- (115) *sɛnpu-tsei*
tree-DIM
'little tree, seedling'
- (116) *sɛnpu -'ɛn'ɛntsei*
tree-DIM
'very small trees, seedling'
- (117) *tʂhi-tsei*
bird-DIM
'little bird, birdie, sparrow'

Except *ɛ'letsei* 'child', most nouns can take either *-tsei* or *-'ɛn'ɛntsei* to form its diminutive, e.g. (110)–(117). Besides, reduplication can also be used in combination with either of the diminutive endings to yield a diminutive form. The reduplicant can either be the single syllable of the noun, e.g. (118), or both the monosyllabic noun and the diminutive suffix *-tsei*, e.g. (119). Reduplication of the diminutive suffix *-tsei* is only used to denote the wee new-born creatures. In that case, only the last *-tsei* can be pronounced in the neutral tone.

- (118) *tshui-tshui-tsei*
mouse-mouse-DIM
'little mouse'
- (119) *tʂhi-tʂhi-tsei-tsei*
bird-bird-DIM-DIM
'tiny new born birdie'

When the monosyllabic noun before the diminutive suffix is reduplicated, numeral or classifier usually does not occur. The classifier can be used before the diminutive suffix *-tsei* when neither the noun nor the diminutive suffix is

reduplicated, e.g. (120) and (121). In some cases, the diminutive marker *-tsei* is used after reduplicated postpositional modifiers denoting small entities, e.g. (122) and (123). In (124), the word denoting common cold one gets in winter contains the reduplicant *phɛ* and the diminutive marker *-tsei* and is probably an onomatopoeia after the sound of coughing and nose wiping.

- (120) *dz'imɛi-peɪ-tsei*
girl-CL-DIM
'one little girl'
- (121) *tʂi-khɐ-tsei*
water-CL-DIM
'a tiny stream'
- (122) *dz'ɐŋ-si-si-tsei*
rain-drizzle-drizzle-DIM
'drizzle'
- (123) *ʁ'ɯŋphə-phɛ-phɛ-tsei*
stone-powder-powder-DIM
'small pebbles'
- (124) *g'utseiphɛphɛtsei tchi-mu*
cold[n.] pain[v.]-EP
'have a cold'

The three-syllabled diminutive suffix *-ɛn'ɛntsei* cannot be used as a reduplicant, perhaps because it already contains the reduplicant */ɛn/*. It can be used after the monosyllabic diminutive marker *-tsei* to denote a new born which is very tiny, e.g. (125) or a very small object, e.g. (126).

- (125) *tchi-tsei-ɛn'ɛntsei*
goat-DIM-DIM
'a tiny new lamb'
- (126) *ʁɛitʂi-ɛn'ɛntsei*
star-DIM
'a little star'

3.1.4 Personal Pronouns

Gender-neutral Guìqióng personal pronouns distinguish between singular and plural forms. The plural personal pronouns are further distinguished both in terms of family ties andclusivity. The grammatical functions of a personal pronoun, whether singular or plural, can be reflected by the case marker it bears in the sentence. Whilst the personal pronouns are given in the following table, singular personal pronouns, plural personal pronouns and reflexive pronouns are dealt with in 3.1.4.1, 3.1.4.2 and 3.1.4.3 respectively.

TABLE 8 *Guìqióng personal pronouns*

Singular	<i>ŋə</i> 'I'; <i>nun</i> 'you[s]'; <i>zo</i> '3S'
General plural inclusive	<i>ŋətsei</i> 'we [pi]'; <i>nunətsei</i> 'you [pi]'; <i>dutsei</i> '3PI'
General plural exclusive	<i>ŋəgu</i> 'we [pe]'; <i>nunɡu</i> 'you[pe]'; <i>dugu</i> '3PE'
Speaker and addressee belong to the same family or group:	<i>ŋətsei</i> (<i>ŋetsei</i>) 'we [pi]'
Speaker on behalf of a group different from the addressee's:	<i>ŋəgu</i> (<i>dzugu</i>) 'we[pe]'
Speaker on behalf of a family different from the addressee's:	<i>zogaŋu</i> 'our family not including you [pe], whether you are one of us or not'

3.1.4.1 Singular Personal Pronouns

When two or three singular personal pronouns are used together, they are linked by the conjunction word *-lə* or *-le* 'and' and follow an intended order by the speaker, e.g. (127)–(130).

- (127) *nun-lə-ŋə*
 you[s]-and-I
 'you and I' or 'you and me'
- (128) *ŋə-le-nun*
 you[s]-and-I
 'you and I' or 'you and me'
- (129) *zo-lə-ŋə*
 3S-and-I
 'He and I' or 'her and me'
- (130) *nun, zo-lə-ŋə*
 you[s], 3S-and-I
 'you, he and I' or 'you, him and me'

3.1.4.2 Plural Personal Pronouns

Guìqióng personal pronouns distinguish between exclusive and inclusive plurals on two interrelated levels. The first level depends on whether a group of people belongs to the same family or not on the basis of the simply distinctive singular first, second and third personal pronoun. Whilst a group of people from within the same family is expressed with exclusive plural pronouns comprising of the morpheme homophonous with the illative suffix *-gu* ~ *-gəu*, the group of people from different families is denoted by inclusive plural pronouns comprising of the nominal suffix *-tsei*. If the singular first person *ŋə* 'I' is within a group of people from his or her own family, the group is denoted by the general plural exclusive form *ŋəgu* or *ŋəgəu* [pe] 'we, our family', where the second person is not included. If the singular first person *ŋə* 'I' is within a group of people from different families, the group is denoted by the general plural inclusive form *ŋətsei* [pi] 'we', where the second person is usually included. If the singular second person *nuŋ* 'you' is with people from his or her family, the group is denoted by the general plural exclusive form *nuŋgu* or *nuŋgəu* [pe] 'you, your family'. If the singular second person *nuŋ* 'you' is with people from different families, the group is denoted by the general plural inclusive form *nuŋtsei* [pi] 'you'. In both cases, the first person 'I' is not included. If the singular third person *zo* 'he/she' is with people from his or her family, the group is denoted by the general plural exclusive form *dugu* or *dugəu* [pe] 'they, his or her family'. If the singular third person *zo* 'he/she' is with people from different families, the group is denoted by the general plural inclusive form *dutsei* [pi] 'they'.

The speaker-addressee relationship can be further distinguished in the plural personal pronouns. The first person inclusive plural pronoun *ŋətsei* or *ŋetsei* [pi] 'we, including you' is used to denote a group of people comprising of both the speaker and the addressee, both of which can be one person or a group of people from more than one family. The first person exclusive plural pronoun *ŋəgu* [pe] 'we' (a Chǎngmǎ resident uses *dzugu* [pe] 'we') is used to exclude the addressee and indicate the group of people containing the speaker and his or her company either from the same family or a temporary team for a common purpose, even though the speaker and the addressee may come from the same family in reality. The highly exclusive *zogəu* [pe] 'we of the same family' is used to indicate a group of people from the speaker's family, to which the addressee definitely does not belong.

Despite the regularity of suffixes, the third person plurals and the first person exclusive plurals seem not to have been derived from the stems of their own singular pronouns. The highly exclusive first person plural pronoun *zogəu* [pe] 'we of the same family where you do not belong' even adopts the stem of the third person singular *zo* 'he, she, it'.

Quantification of the personal pronouns is no different from that of common content nouns. The postpositional quantifier comprising of a numeral plus a classifier can be used after the pronoun to indicate the definite number of the people concerned without affecting the original clusivity or family ties. Such a quantifier can be employed to indicate any concrete number of people contained in a deictic pronoun. Personal pronouns consisting of a preceding singular or plural personal pronoun followed by the quantifier *ηίπει* ‘two people’, where *ηί* denotes numeral two and *πει* is the classifier for humans, are no more than an epitome of the definite number, e.g. (131). *ηə ηίπει* ‘you and I’ is used only when both the speaker and the addressee have no other company, e.g. (132). Other expressions such as *nuηηίπει* ‘you two’ and *zonίπει* ‘they two’ also exist in the language. *ηətσει ηίπει* ‘we two including you’ is another word to include both the speaker and the addressee. The exclusive dual *ηəgu ηίπει* ‘we two excluding you’ is used when the speaker is with another person, either from the same family or of a temporary same team with some common purpose, obviously not including the addressee, who might from the same family as the speaker actually. The indefinite suffix *-nιε* can be used after a plural personal pronoun to suggest an indefinite number of people, e.g. *ηətσειnιε* ‘some of us including you’ or *dugunιε* ‘some members of their family’.

- (131) *dutsei ηι-πει dzɔdzɔ-bei-le neη*
 3PI two-CL curse.each.other-do-PF EXS1
 ‘The two of them were cursing each other.’

- (132) *ηə ηι-πει bebe*
 I two-CL the.same
 ‘We (you and I) are the same age.’

Some imperative constructions inflect for person and number (see Section 3.2.7.5.), e.g. (133)–(135). The grammatical functions of a pronoun can be reflected by the case marker it bears, e.g. (136)–(140).

- (133) *ηə nuη zɔ he-le*
 I you[s] help come-PF
 ‘Let me help you!’

- (134) *ηetsει teio-li*
 we[pi] write-1PIIMP
 ‘Let’s write.’

- (135) *zo wu-'nyey ji-ku*
 3S DIR-buy go-CAUS2
 'You go and get him to buy (some wine).'
- (136) *ηə-nəy zo-phə dē-lə*
 I-ERG 3S-TOP hit-PF
 'I gave him a smack.'
- (137) *zo-phə kho-gε*
 3S-TOP heart-good
 'He is kind-hearted.'
- (138) *ηə zo-wuə zεi-ju khəy-lə*
 I 3S-DAT cloth-CL give-PF
 'I gave him a piece of cloth.'
- (139) *dəi ηə-mε*
 this I-GEN
 'This is mine.'
- (140) *ε'letsəi nuŋ-wuə tʃhəgi*
 child you[s]-DAT like
 'The child likes you.'
- (141) *ηə ηey'wuŋ-teiŋ dʒi*
 I cat-CL COP
 'I am a cat.'
- (142) *ηetsəi zɔzɔ-bəi-lə bəi-lə*
 we[pi] help.each.other-do-PF do-PF
 'We helped each other and have it done.'
- (143) *dugu-mε dzɔ də-khəy-tshu-lə*
 3PE-GEN money DIR-give-COM-PF
 'Their money has been returned.'
- (144) *ηəgu su-go*
 we[pe] PRG-eat
 'We (our family) are in the middle of eating.'

- (145) *nun̄gu he dzie mə*
 you[pe] come need EXH
 ‘You (and your family) definitely must come!’
- (146) *zogaυ me-he*
 we[pe] NEG-come
 ‘Our family did not come.’
- (147) *nun̄gu χε̄σι gutchiεη dzi lε*
 you[pe] also Guìqióng COP P
 ‘Are you Guìqióng as well?’
- (148) *dutsei χε̄σι gutchiεη dzi lε*
 3PI also Guìqióng COP P
 ‘Are they Guìqióng as well?’
- (149) *ε’letsei nun̄gu-wuə t̄shεgi*
 child you[pe]-DAT like
 ‘The child likes you.’
- (150) *η̄agu zo dzɔ-le nεη*
 we[pe] 3S criticise-PF EXS1
 ‘We (the family) have criticised him.’

3.1.4.3 Reflexive Pronouns

The nominal phrase comprising of a preceding pronoun and the modifications *zε̄ηsu* ‘self’ and *dε̄peitsei* ‘alone, by oneself’, e.g. (151)–(159), can be seen as reflexive pronouns.

- (151) *nun̄ zε̄η wu-tshetshe-di*
 you[s] self DIR-try-MOM
 ‘You try it yourself.’
- (152) *η̄ zε̄ηsu ʎ̄nε̄η-ji-le*
 I self buy-go-PF
 ‘I bought it myself.’
- (153) *ε̄tsi zε̄ηsu-nε̄η tshɔ-me dzε̄nbe zε̄ηsu go*
 grandma self-ERG sow-GEN vegetable self eat
 ‘Grandmother eats the vegetables she grows herself.’

- (154) *zɛŋsu-kɛn-mɛ dz'ɛnχɛn zɛŋsu dʒ'iv*
 self-LAT-GEN tobacco self consume
 'Smoke tobacco growing in one's own land.'
- (155) *zɛŋ-nɛŋ zɛŋ-mɛ tɕhiɛ-lɛ wu-tsɛŋ-ku*
 self-ERG self-GEN sweep-PF DIR-clean-CAUS2
 'One sweeps one's own (room) and makes it clean.'
- (156) *dugu-mɛ 'ɛpu zɛŋsu-nɛŋ sɛ-lɛ*
 3PE-GEN grandfather self-ERG kill-PF
 'Their grandfather committed suicide.'

The quantification *depeitse* 'alone, by oneself' comprising of the compound of *dɛ* of *dɛ- ~ dɛ- ~ dɔ-* 'one' and the classifier *pei* for counting people. Guìqióng has two roots for numeral one, *dzi* 'one' is used for counting without classifiers and *dɛ- ~ dɛ- ~ dɔ-* 'one' is used before classifiers to form quantifications. The latter exhibits a regular pattern of allomorphy determined by regressive vowel harmony. When prefixed to syllables containing an open vowel, the numeral prefix exhibits the allomorph *dɛ-* of *dɛ- ~ dɛ- ~ dɔ-*, e.g. *dɛ-tɕhiɛŋ*, a quantifier used to describe any one animal or *dɛ-j'ɛŋ*, a quantifier used to describe any one unit of crop from a seed to the plant, e.g. a wheat, or an object in similar shape, e.g. a gun. When prefixed to syllables comprising of a closed back vowel, the numeral prefix exhibits the allomorph *dɔ-* of *dɛ- ~ dɛ- ~ dɔ-*, e.g. *dɔtsuŋ*, 'a pair of' or *daju* 'a given length (either 10.667m or 9.342m) of (cloth)'. When prefixed to syllables containing a closed front vowel, the numeral prefix assumes the allomorph *dɛ-* of *dɛ- ~ dɛ- ~ dɔ-*, e.g. (157), (158). Compared to the quantifier *depei* 'one man or woman' which is solely used to indicate the number of people, *depeitse* 'by oneself' can occur independently as an adverbial to emphasise the unusual manner of being alone, e.g. (157). Whilst the quantifier *depei* 'one man or woman' must occur after nouns or pronouns, the numeral one *dɛ- ~ dɛ- ~ dɔ-* before the classifier *pei* is often omitted, e.g. (159).

- (157) *zo depeitse zi ji j'ny-lɛ nɛŋ*
 3S alone mountain go dare-PF EXS1
 'She was brave enough to go to the mountains alone.'
- (158) *depeitse bei-gɛŋ tshitshau 'ɛŋ-tɕiv dziɛn*
 alone do-CON time five-CL need
 'It takes a man five hours to complete the job.'

- (159) *dɛi dz'imeɪ-peɪ dʒiɔŋə-me ketʃhie ʃnyɛŋ*
 this girl-CL India-GEN language can
 'This girl can speak Hindi.'

In indirect speech, the word used to denote self is 'wu 'self', e.g. (160)b.

- (160) a. *zo thu-ɔ-ɛ ɛiɛ-'wu ŋə bɛ-ɛ tsi*
 3S DIR-stand-PF say-GN I leave-PF hear
 I tell you, he stood up and said, "I shall leave."
 b. *zo thu-ɔ-ɛ ɛiɛ-ɛ wu bɛ-ɛ*
 3S DIR-stand-PF say-PF self leave-PF
 'He stood up and said that he should go.'

3.1.5 *Demonstrative Determiners and Pronouns*

3.1.5.1 Demonstratives

Guiqióng distinguishes three demonstratives *dɛi* 'this, these', *jiki ~ ni* 'that, those' and *hɔŋni* 'yon', all can be used as determiners and pronouns. The proximal demonstrative *dɛi* 'this, these' denotes people or objects near to the speaker. The medial demonstrative *jiki ~ ni* 'that, those' denotes people or objects near to the addressee. The distal demonstrative *hɔŋni* 'yon' denotes people or objects far from both the speaker and the addressee. The medial demonstrative *jiki* 'that, those' is more frequently heard than *ni* 'that, those', which might be a loan from, or etymologically related to the Chinese demonstrative *nà* 那.

A demonstrative pronoun can occur without taking any case marker, e.g. (161), (162). It can also be followed by classifiers, e.g. (163)–(170), which denotes one entity or one mass of entity rather than multiple entities because the numeral one is omitted, or topic markers, e.g. (171)–(176).

- (161) *jiki χɛʃi go gɛ*
 that still eat good
 'That is still edible.'
- (162) *dɛi ŋə gu-ɛ*
 this I understood-PF
 'I understood this.'
- (163) *dɛi-peɪ*
 this-CL.human
 'this person'

- (164) *ni-pei*
that-CL.human
'that person'
- (165) *hɔŋni-pei*
yon-CL.human
'that person yonder'
- (166) *dei-tɕiɐ*
this-CL
'this object'
- (167) *ni-tɕiɐ*
that-CL
'that object'
- (168) *hɔŋni-tɕiɐ*
yon-CL
'that object further away'
- (169) *jiki-tɕiɐ ɲə detɕi-ni 'mɐ-mɐ-si*
that-CL I a.bit-EMP don't.know
'I know nothing about that matter.'
- (170) *dei-tɕiɐ ɲə mə-gu*
this-CL I NEG-understand
'I don't understand this matter.'
- (171) *dei-phə tʂhi 'liŋ*
this-TOP very strong
'This one is much stronger.'
- (172) *dei-phə tʂhi gɛ-mɛ 'mɛ dʒi*
this-TOP very good-GEN medicine COP
'This is very good medicine.'
- (173) *dei-phə jɛŋtʂɛtsei ju-lɛ*
this-TOP light[weight] become-PF
'This has become lighter.'

- (174) *hɔŋni-phə dʒiʒətsei dʒi tɕhiphɔ-lɛ*
 that-TOP thin COP feel.as.if-PF
 ‘That material feels too flimsy.’
- (175) *dɛi-phə the-bei*
 this-TOP ngIMP-do
 ‘Don’t touch it!’
- (176) *phu detɕiɛ-’wu dʒi gɕŋ hɔŋni-phə*
 price the.same[one.CL]-GN COP CON yon-TOP
mɛ-’ŋyɕŋ tɕhibə
 NEG-buy why
 ‘Now that the price is the same, why don’t you buy that one?’
- (177) *dɛi-wɛŋ’jɛn khueŋ-mu mɛ̃*
 this-COMP cold-EP ngEXS
 ‘It is coldest here.’ (Lit: Nowhere else is colder than here)
- (178) *dɛi-phə zo ə-mu-go*
 this-TOP 3S P-EP-eat
 ‘He may eat this.’

A demonstrative is not confined to the singular number, though it tends to indicate wholeness. The indefinite plural article *ŋiɛ* can occur immediately after the demonstrative pronoun to specify the deictic entity as multiple, e.g. (179). It can also occur after a noun modified by the demonstrative determiner, e.g. (180).

- (179) *dɛi-ŋiɛ tɕiɔ-tshu-lɛ*
 this-IND write-COM-PF
 ‘These have been written.’
- (180) *dɛi b’ɔlɔ-ŋiɛ tshĩ-’wũ dʒi*
 this bread-IND cheap-GN COP
 ‘These bans are cheap.’

A demonstrative determiner occurs immediately before the noun it modifies, e.g. (181)–(185).

- (181) *dei-mũ-pei*
 this-man-CL.human
 ‘this person’
- (182) *jiki-mũ-pei*
 that-man-CL.human
 ‘that person’
- (183) *hɔŋni-mũ-pei*
 yon-man- CL.human
 ‘that person yonder’
- (184) *jiki mũ-niə zɛ̃-thə-ku*
 that man-IND associate-ngIMP-CAUS2
 ‘Don’t go around with such sort of person.’
- (185) *dei dzɛŋciɛ gu-’ji tʂhi χɛŋ*
 this speech understand-obNOM very hard
 ‘The speech is very hard to understand.’
- (186) *jiki ɛ’letsɛi dzɛŋ-mɛ-bei*
 that child don’t.lie
 ‘That child does not tell lies.’
- (187) *jiki mũ-pei tʂhi mɛ-dzɛ*
 that man-CL.human very NEG-wise
 ‘That man is not very wise.’
- (188) *jiki sɛnpu-pu tʂhi ʂu*
 that tree-CL very straight
 ‘That tree is indeed straight.’

In (189), the demonstrative determiner occurs before the interrogative pronoun *tɛiu* ‘what’, which might be a result of inversion due to the lengthy determiner occurring sentence-initially. In (190), the demonstrative is nominalised with the agent nominaliser and gnomic tense marker -‘*wu*, which denotes a type of comparable occurrences.

- (189) *g’uændzɪg’uændzɪtsei χɪnχɪn-phə, jiki tɛiu jɔ*
 thin long-TOP that what P
 ‘What is that very long and thin object?’

- (190) *ɛ'letsei jiki-'wu dɛ-tɛiɛ bei-thə-ku*
 child that-GN one-CL do-ngIMP-CAUS2
 'Don't let child do such things.'

In (191) and (192), the distal demonstrative determiner *hɔŋni* 'yon' occurs before *niɛ* 'vicinity' to indicate deictic places.

- (191) *nuy hɔŋni-niɛ lɛŋ*
 you[s] yon-vicinity wait
 'You wait yonder.'
- (192) *hɔŋni-niɛ mindɛ bɛ-lɛ*
 yon-vicinity fire initiate-PF
 'It is on fire yonder.'

3.1.5.2 Deictic Adverbs of Places

Three adverbs of places *dələ* 'here', *jikə* 'there', *hɔŋni* ~ *hɔŋ* 'yonder' are derived from the demonstrative pronouns *dɛi* 'this, these', *jiki* ~ *ni* 'that, those' and *hɔŋni* 'yon' respectively. The proximal *dələ* 'here' and the medial *jikə* 'there' may be derived from the dative-cased demonstrative pronouns *dɛi* 'this, these' and *jiki* of *jiki* ~ *ni* 'that, those' because the dative marker *-wuələ* ~ *-ələ* ~ *-ləwua* ~ *-wua* ~ *-ə* is often used to denote temporal and spatial locations as explicated in 3.1.2.6. The distal adverb of place *hɔŋni* 'yon' might have been a contraction of the distal demonstrative pronoun *hɔŋni* 'yon' and the ablative marker *-ni*, which is explicated in 3.1.2.1.

The proximal adverb *dələ* 'here' can also be shortened as *də* 'here', e.g. (196) and (197). The distal adverb of place, *hɔŋni* 'yon', can be reduced to the monosyllabic *hɔŋ* 'yonder', e.g. (230).

- (193) *dələ du³⁵lə bɛŋ-'wu-li, mɛitɛiɔ wu-ji-lə dzuɛŋ*
 here so hot-GN-2piIMP, outside DIR-go-SJV acceptable
 'It has been so hot in the room. It is good to go outside.'
- (194) *dələ tɛ-hɛ-'we*
 here ngIMP-COM-IMP
 'Don't come here.'
- (195) *nuy jikə tɛhyo dzɛŋ mɛ̃*
 you[s] that sit auspicious ngEXS
 'Don't sit there!' or. 'It is inauspicious for you to sit there.'

- (196) *zo da-nɛŋ*
 3S here-EXS1
 'He is here.'
- (197) *də-mɛ dz'ɛŋ wu-to-gɛŋ wu-'mɛi*
 here-GEN house DIR-build-CON DIR-many
 'More and more houses are being built in this area.'
- (198) *nuy jikə nɛŋ dzien*
 you[s] there EXS1 need
 'You must be there.'
- (199) *sutɕhiu hɔŋ-mɛ-tɕiɛ*
 village yon-GEN-CL
 'a village yonder'

3.1.5.3 Deictic Adjective and Adverbs

The deictic adjective and pronoun *du*³⁵ 'such' may be a blend of the medial-level toned proximal pronoun *dei* 'this, these' and the gnomic tense marker and the high-level toned agentive nominaliser *-'wu*, e.g. (200)–(202). In (201), *du*³⁵ 'such' is used as an adjective. In (202) and (203), *du*³⁵ 'such' and *jiku* 'so' are used as adverbs respectively.

- (200) *du*³⁵ *dɛ-tɕiɛ mɛ̃*
 such one-CL NEG
 'Such things are simply impossible.'
- (201) *du*³⁵ *dɛtɕi-tɕiɛ suzizi bei 'nyɛŋ*
 such a.little-CL whoever do can
 'Whoever it is can handle such a bit of matter.'
- (202) *mɛŋ du*³⁵ *khueŋ-'wu suzizi mɛ-tehyɛ*
 whether such cold-GN whoever NEG-go.out
 'It is so cold. Nobody will go out.'
- (203) *phu jiku dɛ-'wu suzizi mɛ-'nyɛŋ*
 price so big-GN whoever NEG-buy
 'The price is so high that nobody will buy it.'

3.1.6 Numerals

The Guìqióng numerals used to count are not exactly the same as those occurring before classifiers. The following chart lists numerals used in counting without classifiers.

TABLE 9 *Guìqióng numerals*

<i>dzi</i>	one
<i>ŋi</i>	two
<i>sɛŋ</i>	three
<i>zi</i>	four
<i>ʼŋə</i>	five
<i>dzu</i>	six
<i>dɛn</i>	seven
<i>dziɛ</i>	eight
<i>giu</i>	nine
<i>dzi</i>	ten
<i>dziudzi</i>	eleven
<i>dziuŋi</i>	twelve
<i>dziusɛŋ</i>	thirteen
<i>dziuzi</i>	fourteen
<i>dziuʼŋə</i>	fifteen
<i>dziudzu</i>	sixteen
<i>dziudɛn</i>	seventeen
<i>dziudziɛ</i>	eighteen
<i>dziugɛi</i>	nineteen
<i>ŋitʂhi</i>	twenty
<i>ŋitʂhidzi</i>	twenty-one
<i>ŋitʂhiŋi</i>	twenty-two
<i>ŋitʂhisɛŋ</i>	twenty-three
<i>ŋitʂhizi</i>	twenty-four
<i>ŋitʂhiʼŋə</i>	twenty-five
<i>ŋitʂhidzu</i>	twenty-six
<i>ŋitʂhidɛn</i>	twenty-seven
<i>ŋitʂhidziɛ</i>	twenty-eight
<i>ŋitʂhigɛi</i>	twenty-nine
<i>sɛŋdzi</i>	thirty
<i>sɛŋtʂhi</i>	thirty

<i>seṅṭshizədzi</i>	thirty-one
<i>seṅṭshizəṇi</i>	thirty-two
<i>seṅṭshizəsəṇ</i>	thirty-three
<i>seṅṭshizəzi</i>	thirty-four
<i>seṅṭshizə'ḥə</i>	thirty-five
<i>seṅṭshizədzu</i>	thirty-six
<i>seṅṭshizəden</i>	thirty-seven
<i>seṅṭshizədzie</i>	thirty-eight
<i>seṅṭshizəgei</i>	thirty-nine
<i>zitsi</i>	forty
<i>zitsizədzi</i>	forty-one
<i>zitsizəṇi</i>	forty-two
<i>zitsizəsəṇ</i>	forty-three
<i>zitsizəzi</i>	forty-four
<i>zitsizə'ḥə</i>	forty-five
<i>zitsizədzu</i>	forty-six
<i>zitsizəden</i>	forty-seven
<i>zitsizədzie</i>	forty-eight
<i>zitsizəgei</i>	forty-nine
<i>'ḥətəi</i>	fifty
<i>'ḥətəsi</i>	fifty
<i>'ḥətəzədzi</i>	fifty-one
<i>'ḥətəzəṇi</i>	fifty-two
<i>'ḥətəzəsəṇ</i>	fifty-three
<i>'ḥətəzəzi</i>	fifty-four
<i>'ḥətəzə'ḥə</i>	fifty-five
<i>'ḥətəzədzu</i>	fifty-six
<i>'ḥətəzəden</i>	fifty-seven
<i>'ḥətəzədzie</i>	fifty-eight
<i>'ḥətəzəgei</i>	fifty-nine
<i>dzutsi</i>	sixty
<i>dzutsizədzi</i>	sixty-one
<i>dzutsizəṇi</i>	sixty-two
<i>dzutsizəsəṇ</i>	sixty-three
<i>dzutsizəzi</i>	sixty-four
<i>dzutsizə'ḥə</i>	sixty-five
<i>dzutsizədzu</i>	sixty-six
<i>dzutsizəden</i>	sixty-seven
<i>dzutsizədzie</i>	sixty-eight

TABLE 9 *Guìqióng numerals (cont.)*

<i>dzutɕizəgei</i>	sixty-nine
<i>dentɕi</i>	seventy
<i>dentɕizədzi</i>	seventy-one
<i>dentɕizəŋi</i>	seventy-two
<i>dentɕizəsəŋ</i>	seventy-three
<i>dentɕizəzi</i>	seventy-four
<i>dentɕizə'ŋə</i>	seventy-five
<i>dentɕizədzu</i>	seventy-six
<i>dentɕizəden</i>	seventy-seven
<i>dentɕizədzie</i>	seventy-eight
<i>dentɕizəgei</i>	seventy-nine
<i>dziətɕi</i>	eighty
<i>dziətɕizədzi</i>	eighty-one
<i>dziətɕizəŋi</i>	eighty-two
<i>dziətɕizəsəŋ</i>	eighty-three
<i>dziətɕizəzi</i>	eighty-four
<i>dziətɕizə'ŋə</i>	eighty-five
<i>dziətɕizədzu</i>	eighty-six
<i>dziətɕizəden</i>	eighty-seven
<i>dziətɕizədzie</i>	eighty-eight
<i>dziətɕizəgei</i>	eight-nine
<i>geitɕi</i>	ninety
<i>geitɕizədzi</i>	ninety-one
<i>geitɕizəŋi</i>	ninety-two
<i>geitɕizəsəŋ</i>	ninety-three
<i>geitɕizəzi</i>	ninety-four
<i>geitɕizə'ŋə</i>	ninety-five
<i>geitɕizədzu</i>	ninety-six
<i>geitɕizəden</i>	ninety-seven
<i>geitɕizədzie</i>	ninety-eight
<i>geitɕizəgei</i>	ninety-nine
<i>dzia</i>	(one) hundred
<i>ŋidzia</i>	two hundred
<i>səŋdzia</i>	three hundred
<i>zidzia</i>	four hundred
<i>'ŋədzia</i>	five hundred

<i>dzudzia</i>	six hundred
<i>dendzia</i>	seven hundred
<i>dziedzia</i>	eight hundred
<i>geidzia</i>	nine hundred
<i>tuytshudzieŋ,</i>	a thousand
<i>tuytshuŋidzieŋ,</i>	two thousand
<i>tuytshuseŋdzieŋ</i>	three thousand
<i>tuytshuzidzieŋ</i>	four thousand
<i>tuytshu'ŋeŋdzieŋ</i>	five thousand
<i>tuytshukhɔdzieŋ</i>	six thousand
<i>tuytsh'nindzieŋ</i>	seven thousand
<i>tuytshu'jedzieŋ</i>	eight thousand
<i>tuytshuguidzieŋ</i>	nine thousand
<i>tʂikhuteie</i>	ten thousand
<i>dɛkhɔ</i>	ten thousand
<i>mɛŋ</i>	a hundred thousand
<i>teiwuo</i>	a million
<i>sə'jə</i>	ten million
<i>duytʂhi</i>	a hundred million

The numerals indicating thousands contain attributive numerals occurring immediately before classifiers, here *dzieŋ* 'thousand'. Pre-classifier numerals indicating *dɛ-* ~ *dɛ-* ~ *də-* 'one', *zi* 'four', *khɔ* 'six', 'nin' 'seven', *je* 'eight' and *dzi* 'ten' are different from those used in counting, which suggest distinguished roots. The pre-classifier numerals five and nine probably have the same roots with their corresponding forms used in counting, though they have inconsistent pronunciations, which can be generalised as *ŋə* ~ *ŋen* ~ *ŋeŋ* 'five' and *gei* ~ *giu* ~ *gui* 'nine'. These pre-classifier numerals are relatively consistent in form before different classifiers, e.g. (204)–(243). The pre-classifier numeral one used in Guìqióng *dɛ-* ~ *dɛ-* ~ *də-* exhibits a regular pattern of allomorphy determined by regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6.

- (204) *dzieŋ dɛ-teie*
house one-CL
'a house'

- (205) *dz'ieŋ* *ŋi-tɛiɛ*
house one-CL
'two houses'
- (206) *tʂhitʂəu* *dɛ-tɛiɛ*
two.hour[cf. Chinese *shíchén* 时辰] one-CL
'a two-hour period'
- (207) *tʂuŋtʂhiɛ* *də-tsuŋ*
chopsticks one-CL
'a pair of chopsticks'
- (208) *zɛi* *də-ju*
cloth one-CL
'a piece of cloth'
- (209) *niɛtʂhiuŋ* *dɛ-j'ɛŋ*
gun one-CL
'a gun'
- (210) *l̥ə* *dɛtʂho*
god one-CL
'an idol'
- (211) *mũ* *dɛ-pɛi*
man one-CL.human
'one man'
- (212) *lo* *dɛ-'ŋɛŋ*
age one-year
'one year old'
- (213) *lo* *ŋi-'ŋɛŋ*
age two-year
'two years old'
- (214) *lo* *dziə*
age hundred
'a hundred years.'

- (215) *lo* *ŋi-dziə*
 age two-hundred
 'two hundred years'
- (216) *lo* *tuytshudziəŋ*
 age thousand
 'a thousand years.'
- (217) *lo* *tʂhikhudziəŋ*
 age ten.thousand
 'ten thousand years'

Due to the dominating SOV word order of Guìqióng, quantifier occurring immediately after a pre-verbal noun can be immediately followed by a verb, e.g. (218).

- (218) *ɛzɸ* *ŋi-tʂuəŋ* *dz'ɪɸ-lɛ*
 wine two-cup[CL] drink-PF
 '(Someone) has drunk two cups of wine.'
- (219) *z'ei* *ŋi-khɔ* *go-lɛ*
 food two-bowl[CL] eat-PF
 '(Someone) has eaten two bowls of (rice).'

The classifier for the number of months is 'li, e.g. (220–231).

- (220) *dɛ-'li* *bɛi-lɛ*
 one-month[CL] do-PF
 '(Someone has) worked for a month.'
- (221) *ŋi-'li*
 two-month[CL]
 'two months'
- (222) *sɛŋ-'li*
 three-month[CL]
 'three months'
- (223) *zi-'li*
 four-month[CL]
 'four months'

- (224) *'ɣɛn-'li*
 five-month[CL]
 'five months'
- (225) *khɔ-'li*
 six-month[CL]
 'six months'
- (226) *'nin'li*
 seven-month[CL]
 'seven months'
- (227) *'jɛ-'li*
 eight-month[CL]
 'eight months'
- (228) *gui-'li*
 nine-month[CL]
 'nine months'
- (229) *si-'li*
 ten-month[CL]
 'ten months'
- (230) *seide-'li*
 eleven-month[CL]
 'eleven months'
- (231) *sĩŋĩ-'li*
 twelve-month[CL]
 'twelve months'

The name of each month is given below for comparison. The word for moon is *lei'mɛŋ* 'moon' and the name of each month contains the common final syllable *pu*, which is probably derived from a root syllable with the bilabial nasal initial. The alternate name of the last month *bei'lisei* 'December' is derived from the name of the Spring Festival *lisei* 'the Spring Festival'. These names are based on the Chinese lunar calendar.

<i>dɛŋpu</i>	January
<i>ŋĩpu</i>	February
<i>sɛŋpu</i>	March
<i>zĩpu</i>	April
<i>ʼŋəpu</i>	May
<i>dzuɸu</i>	June
<i>dɛnpu</i>	July
<i>dziɛpu</i>	August
<i>gɛĩpu</i>	September
<i>tɕĩpu</i>	October
<i>sɛntɕi</i>	November
<i>dzuɛŋpu/beiʼlɛɛi</i>	December

The numerals and classifiers one uses to count Chinese currency CNY are given below.

<i>dɛpɐ</i>	‘one yuán’
<i>ŋĩpɐ</i>	‘two yuán’
<i>sɛŋpɐ</i>	‘three yuán’
<i>zĩpɐ</i>	‘four yuán’
<i>ʼŋɛnpɐ</i>	‘five yuán’
<i>khɔpɐ</i>	‘six yuán’
<i>ʼnĩnpɐ</i>	‘seven yuán’
<i>ʼjɛpɐ</i>	‘eight yuán’
<i>gũĩpɐ</i>	‘nine yuán’
<i>sĩpɐ</i>	‘ten yuán’

The combination of two numerals usually indicates an indefinite number, e.g. (232) and (233).

(232) *mũ tuŋtɕhetɕhitɕhɐ nɛŋ*
 man thousands EXS₁
 ‘There are thousands of people.’

(233) *ji-tɕhy wu-tɕhy ŋisɛnthen*
 DIR-walk DIR-walk two.three.time[CL]
 ‘They have visited a couple of times.’

It has not been found that there is a system of ordinal numbers in the language. However, ordinals can be expressed by the morpheme homophonous with the illative case marker *gəu* after the classifier, e.g. (235)–(239).

- (234) *thoho-thən*
 first-time[CL]
 ‘the first time’ (cf. Chinese *Tóuyītàng* 头一趟)
- (235) *ŋi-thəngəu*
 two-time[CL]
 ‘the second time’
- (236) *sən-thəngəu*
 three-time[CL]
 ‘the third time’
- (237) *zi-thəngəu*
 four-time[CL]
 ‘the fourth time’
- (238) *ŋən-thəngəu*
 five-time[CL]
 ‘the fifth time’
- (239) *si-thəngəu*
 ten-time[CL]
 ‘the tenth time’

Fractions can also be indicated with the help of numerals and classifiers, e.g. (240)–(243). The numerator and the denominator use different classifiers. The classifier used to indicate the denominator can be *ʂɔtsei* or *ʂɔtsi*, e.g. (242) or *ʂɔgəu*, e.g. (243), which contains the productive nominal and adverbial suffix *tsei* or *tsi*, or the illative marker *gəu* respectively.

- (240) *dɛ-niɛ* *go-lɛ* *dɛ-niɛ* *tɕhyɛ-lɛ* *jən*
 one-half[CL] eat-PF one-half[CL] put.aside-PF EXS2
 ‘One half is eaten. The other half was put aside.’
- (241) *səŋ-ʂɔtsei* *dɛ-ʂɔ*
 three-CL one-CL
 ‘one third’

(242) *səŋ-ʂɔtsi ŋi-ʂɔ*
 three-CL two-CL
 ‘two thirds’

(243) *zi-ʂɔgəu dɛ-ʂɔ*
 four-CL one-CL
 ‘one fourth’

3.2 Verbal Morphology

In this section, bare-stem sentences, copulas, direction-marking, tense, aspect, modality and evidentiality will be dealt with.

3.2.1 *Guìqióng Bare Stem Sentences*

A bare stem sentence in Guìqióng contains the stem of the verb without additional markers of aspect, tense, mood or evidentiality. The internal temporal texture of an event or situation depicted in a bare stem sentence is whole and unspecified. In negative sentences, the negative affix *mɛ-* ~ *mɛ-* ~ *mə-* ~ precedes the final syllable of the verb stem in accordance with the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6, e.g. (244) and (245).

(244) *ɛ'letsɛi-niɛ ŋə tʂhɛgi lɛ?*
 child-IND I like P
 ‘Do the children like me?’

(245) *ɛ'letsɛi-niɛ nuŋ tʂhɛgi*
 child-IND you[s] like
 ‘The children like you.’

(246) *ɛ'letsɛi-niɛ nuŋ tʂhɛ<mɛ>gi*
 child-IND you[s] like<NEG>
 ‘The children do not like you.’

(247) *zo hɛ lɛ*
 3S come P
 ‘Will he come?’

(248) *zo hɛ*
 3S come
 ‘He will come.’

- (249) *zo mɛ-hɛ*
 3S NEG-come
 'He will not come.'
- (250) *dɛi dɛjɛ tʂhi bẽ*
 this period very busy
 'These are very busy days.'
- Both stative and active verbs can occur in this type of clauses in Guìqióng. Adverbials of time can occur in the bare stem sentences, e.g. (250), to specify a time span valid for the occurrence or situation. The temporal span implied in a bare stem sentence, if not specified, is supposed to last however long and repeated however many times, e.g. (251)–(258).
- (251) *ŋəgu-kən jukhu-mɛ nəŋthə tʂhi χin*
 we(pe)-LAT warm-GEN day very long
 'We have many warm days in our hometown.'
- (252) *phu tʂhi dɛ*
 price very big
 'The price is too high.'
- (253) *zo dutsɛi-ə tʂhɛgi*
 3S 3PI-DAT like
 'She likes them.'
- (254) *dɛi ɛ'letsɛi-pɛi gɔ tʂhɛgi*
 this child-CL cry like
 'The child cries a lot.'
- (255) *jiki-tɛiɐ ɛiɛ-ji tʂhi χɛŋ*
 that-CL say-obNOM very hard
 'That thing is very hard to say.'
- (256) *mɛi mɛ-tɕhiɔ*
 door NEG-close
 'The door is not closed.'
- (257) *zo dɛi sutɕhiu hɛ tʂhɛ<mɛ>gi*
 3S this place come like<NEG>
 'He does not like visiting this kind of place.'

Habituality can be explicitly or implicitly expressed in Guìqióng. The dynamic perfective aspect in *-lenɛŋ* discloses the post-occurrence resultative state of a habit, e.g. (264). The present tense of experienced perceptions in *-mu* depicts a habitual action in the eyes of the speaker, e.g. (265). The gnomic tense in *-wu* introduces a habitual event to the addressee as a new piece of information, e.g. (266). Bare stem sentences express habitual events in a stable and imperfective state, e.g. (258)–(263).

- (258) *zo dz'ɛŋχɛn dʒ'ie 'mɛ ɛzɐ dʒ'ie*
 3S tobacco consume also wine consume
 'He smokes and drinks.'
- (259) *zo tɕhieŋsi tʃhimu ligə lu*
 3S often outside affair seek
 'He often makes trouble outside.'
- (260) *'ɛtsi zɛŋsu dzɛnbɛ tʃɔ-le zɛŋsu go*
 grandma self vegetable sow-PF self eat
 'Grandmother eats the vegetables she grows herself.'
- (261) *ŋə tɕhieŋsi dugu-kɛn ji*
 I often 3PE-LAT go
 'I often go to their house.'
- (262) *dəkɛn tɕhieŋsi dz'ɛŋ wui*
 here often rain fall
 'It often rains in this area.'
- (263) *zo dz'ɛŋχɛn mɛ-dʒ'ie 'mɛ ɛzɐ mɛ-dʒ'ie*
 3S smoke NEG-consume also wine NEG-consume
 'He neither smokes nor drinks.'
- (264) *zo dz'ɛŋχɛn dʒ'ie-le nɛŋ*
 3S smoke consume-PF EXS1
 'He smokes.'
- (265) *zo dz'ɛŋχɛn dʒ'ie-mu*
 3S smoke consume-EP
 'I see he is smoking.'

- (266) *zo dz'ənχən dʒ'iv-'wu*
 3S smoke consume-GN
 '(I don't think you know this) He is a smoker.'

Impending events may also be conveyed in bare stem sentences as a decision or plan, e.g. (267)–(269). The distinction between the steady state present and the prospective relies heavily on the context or the temporal adverb.

- (267) *ŋə detʃi wu-dəŋ-lɛ dugu-kən ji*
 I a.bit DIR-late-PF 3PE-LAT go
 'I shall go to their place later than (originally planned).'

- (268) *ɛ'letsei 'nɐ'i dʒ'i tɛio*
 child tomorrow Chinese.character write
 'Children will be writing characters tomorrow.'

- (269) *zo 'nɐ'i dɐ-hɛ*
 3S tomorrow DIR-come
 'He will be back tomorrow.'

A second person bare stem sentence with the stem of an activity verb is more often in the imperative mood, e.g. (270), (271). Such a sentence can also be seen as a special arrangement of some activity or a scheduled event in some context.

- (270) *nuy go*
 you[s] eat
 'You eat!'
- (271) *nuy dʒ'i tɛio*
 you[s] Chinese.characters write
 'You write Chinese characters!'

3.2.2 *Guìqióng Copulas*

The verbs described in this chapter are the equational, existential and the inchoative copulas. These verbs can be seen as translations of the English verb 'to be'. The main division which can be made between the various *Guìqióng* copulas is that between the equationals and the existentials. The equational copulas are *dʒi* and zero. The existential verbs include the animate substantive verb *nɐŋ*, the inanimate substantive verb *jɐn*, the dependent existential *bu* and

the negative existential verb *mɛ̃*. The inchoative verb *ɲi* and constructions indicating the age of animate and inanimate beings will also be introduced in this chapter. The construction *tɕhi phɔ* ‘feel . . . as if’ occurring after the equationals and the inchoative in sentences denoting an excessive degree of certain attribute will also be described here. All these verbs and verbal constructions can occur in clause-final position, and most of them can take sentence-final aspect, tense, mood or evidential markers. Syntactic and semantic features of these Guìqióng ‘to be’ verbs are dealt with individually in the following sections.

3.2.2.1 The Equational Copulas *dzɿ* and Zero

The equational copula *dzɿ*, probably a loan from Chinese 是 *shì* ‘be’, seldom occurs in Guìqióng affirmative copular sentences except to express emphasis. The subject and predicate of an affirmative copular sentence are generally linked by a zero copula, which is glossed in the interlinear morpheme glosses as \emptyset . By contrast, the overt equational copula *dzɿ* is indispensable in both yes-no copular questions and in negative copular sentences, and for emphasis the copula *dzɿ* can occur at the end of an affirmative copular sentence as well. The word order of an affirmative copular sentence comprising of two nominals is as follows: subject + predicate + copula. Such a sentence identifies the subject nominal with the predicate nominal. Either of the two nominals may be followed by the topic marker *phə*, as shown in the following examples.

(272) *zo bei dzɿ*
 3S Tibetan COP
 ‘He is Tibetan.’

(273) *dɛi-phə tʂhi gɛ-mɛ ’mɛ dzɿ*
 this-TOP very good-GEN medicine COP
 ‘This is very good medicine.’

(274) *zo-phə dɛtshɔ*
 3S-TOP idiot \emptyset
 ‘He is an idiot.’

When the topic marker marks the subject of an affirmative copular sentence, the overt copula *dzɿ* is generally not needed. This evidently has to do with the fact that both the topic marker and the copula *dzɿ* convey some sort of emphasis, so that this double type of emphasis used at once has not been attested. By contrast, one and the same predicate nominal may be marked by the topic marker used conjointly with the copula *dzɿ*, e.g. (275).

- (275) *zo qɛtshɔ-phə dzi*
 3S idiot-TOP COP
 'He is an idiot.'

In affirmative copular sentences, the sentence-final copula *dzi* emphasises the predicate nominal, e.g. (276).

- (276) *zo qɛtshɔ dzi*
 3S idiot COP
 'He is an idiot.'

In negative copular sentences, the topic marker is not used after either nominal, and the copula *dzi* is obligatory and hence fulfils no emphatic function, e.g. (277).

- (277) *zo qɛtshɔ mɛ-dzi*
 3S idiot NEG-COP
 'He is not an idiot. It is not the case that he is an idiot.'

The identity operator copula *dzi* is distinguished from the existential verbs by means of its functions of affirmation, characterisation and verification, as illustrated by the following two sentences with a numerical quantification.

- (278) *tʂuətʂi-wɛn'jɛn dz'i 'ɣɛ-thə dzi*
 desk-on.top book five-CL COP
 'The number of books on the desk is five. It is the case that there are five (rather than, say, six) books on the desk.'

- (279) *tʂuətʂi-wɛn'jɛn dz'i 'ɣɛ-thə jɛn*
 desk-on.top book five-CL EXS2
 'There are five books on the desk.'

3.2.2.2 Copular Clauses with Stative Verb and Adjective as Predicative
 A copular clause comprising of a stative verb or an adjective in the predicate denotes an attribute of the subject nominal. Syntactically, these constructions are of the form: nominal + stative verb stem/adjective + COP. The copula here is usually zero. The only nominal occurring in this type of clause is the syntactic subject, which usually bears no marker. When it is called for, the topic suffix *phə* may occur.

- (280) *dɛi sɛnpu tʃhi dɛ*
 this tree very big Ø
 'This tree is very big.'
- (281) *dɛi sɛnpu tʃhi dɛ tsi*
 this tree very big REP
 'It is said that the tree is very big.'

The morpheme *tsi* 'hearsay; listen; say' occurring at the end of the sentence is distinguished both in form and in meaning from the copula *dzi*. The hearsay evidential particle *tsi* literally denotes 'hear sb. say' and, as a sentence-final particle, indicates that the situation denoted by the sentence is a matter of hearsay, e.g. (281), (283). According to my informant, this is the verb that denotes both listen, hear and say. It is homophonous to the directive causative marker in the language, which is glossed as D.

- (282) *zo tʃhi dzɐ*
 3S very intelligent Ø
 'He is most intelligent.'
- (283) *zo tʃhi dzɐ tsi*
 3S very intelligent REP
 'It is said that he is most intelligent.'
- (284) *dɛi mũ-pei tʃhi gɛ*
 this person-CL very good Ø
 'This person is very good.'
- (285) *dɛi mũ-pei tʃhi gɛ tsi*
 this person-CL very good REP
 'It is said that that person is very good.'
- (286) *dɛi-phə tʃhi 'liŋ*
 this-TOP very strong Ø
 'This is very strong.'

Note that the copula *dzi* does not occur in sentence (286) because the topic marker marks the subject. Recall the discussion regarding example sentence (274) above.

- (287) *dz'ɛwɛ* *tseŋmɛŋtsei*
 upper.garment clean Ø
 'The jacket is clean.'
- (288) *dz'ɛwɛ* *tseŋmɛŋtsei* *dzi*
 upper.garment clean COP
 'The jacket is indeed very clean.'

The speaker uttered sentence (288), using the copula, to reassure the listener that there was really no need to wash the jacket. Sentences (282), (284) and (286) illustrate that stative verbs in simple clauses, not containing an explicit comparison, occur with the zero copula. Sentences (287) and (288) show that adjectives, on the other hand, may occur either with the zero copula or with the copula *dzi*. In this respect, adjectives behave like nominals. A distinction in syntactic behaviour between adjectives and stative verbs can also be observed in the use of the inchoative, which will be introduced in the next section. Reduplicated stative verb constructions, however, behave like adjectives in that they may co-occur with the copula *dzi* for emphasis, e.g. (290). The topic marker *phə* may or may not occur in this type of sentence.

- (289) *dz'eŋ* *wu-dzɛn* *wu-dzɛn* Ø
 rain DIR-strong DIR-strong
 'The rain is getting heavier and heavier.'
- (290) *dz'eŋ* *wu-dzɛn* *wu-dzɛn* *dzi*
 rain DIR-strong DIR-strong COP
 'The rain is indeed getting heavier and heavier.'

The speaker in sentence (290) was worrying about whether or not she would be able to return home on time.

- (291) *ɸeŋ-'wu-phə* *wu-dɛ* *wu-dɛ*
 swell-GN-TOP DIR-big DIR-big Ø
 'The tumour is getting bigger and bigger.'
- (292) *ɸeŋ-'wu-phə* *wu-dɛ* *wu-dɛ* *dzi*
 swell-GN-TOP DIR-big DIR-big COP
 'The tumour is indeed getting bigger and bigger.'

A comparative clause may contain either a stative verb or an adjective. In comparative clauses containing adjectives, the copula *dzi* may occur both in the affirmative and in the negative, e.g. (293) and (294).

(293) *ŋə ɛyəcio zo wen'jen neŋphɛ dzi*
 I school 3S COMP close COP
 'I am closer to the school than she is.'

(294) *ŋə ɛyəcio zo wen'jen neŋphɛ mɛ-dzi*
 I school 3S COMP close NEG-COP
 'I am not closer to the school than she is.'

Comparative clauses containing stative verb in the predicate tend to occur without the copula *dzi*, e.g. (295), (296).

(295) *'əgə ŋə wen'jen gelhɛ thəu*
 elder.sister I COMP quite tall
 'My elder sister is much taller than me.'

(296) *'əgə ŋə lo wen'jen gelhɛ dɛ*
 elder.sister I age COMP quite big
 'My elder sister is much older than me.'

Genitive copular sentences in Guìqióng contain the genitive suffix *-mɛ* and may contain either the copula *dzi* or the zero copula, whereby a sentence containing the overt copula *dzi* emphasises the situation denoted by the genitive phrase, e.g. (298), (299).

(297) *dɛi ŋə-mɛ*
 this I-GEN ∅
 'This is mine.'

(298) *dɛi ŋə-mɛ dzi*
 this I-GEN COP
 'It is really mine.'

(299) *jiki nuŋ-mɛ*
 that you[s]-GEN ∅
 'That is yours.'

- (300) *jiki nuŋ-mε dzi*
 that you[s]-GEN COP
 'I know that one is yours.'

The genitive marker *-mε* may also occur immediately after the bare stem of a verb in copular sentences. Through its syntactic position posterior to the verb, the genitive marker is readily distinguished from the homophonous negative affix which precedes a monosyllabic verb or the last syllable of a multisyllabic verb. In copular sentences, the genitive marker emphasises that the event denoted by the verb has occurred. Copula *dzi* must occur at the end of this type of sentence, e.g. (301), (302).

- (301) *zo be-mε dzi*
 3S leave-GEN COP
 'He was the one that has gone/been on business.'
- (302) *ε'letsɛi dz'i teio-mε dzi*
 child Chinese.characters write-GEN COP
 'The children have written their Chinese characters.'

By contrast, to indicate a prospective event, the gnomic tense nominaliser *-'wu* is used, e.g. (303), (304).

- (303) *ŋə ji-'wu dzi*
 I go.on.an.errand-GN COP
 'I am the one who is going on an errand.'
- (304) *ε'letsɛi dz'i teio-'wu dzi*
 child Chinese.characters write-GN COP
 'The children will be writing their Chinese characters.'

Constructions consisting of a verb stem marked by the genitive marker *-mε* may be used adnominally in an attributive function. Sentence (305) is a zero copular sentence. Events described by such attributive constructions can be either past or habitual.

- (305) *dei-kən dz'vŋ wui-mε sutchiu*
 this-LAT rain fall-GEN location ∅
 'This is a rainy place. This is a place where it often rains.'

Sentence (306) is another zero copular sentence with an attributive clause *diditshei-'wu-mε*, containing both the gnomic tense nominaliser *-'wu* and the genitive marker *-mε*.

- (306) *dei-niε diditshei-'wu-mε ε'letsēi*
 this-IND quarrel-GN-GEN child ∅
 'These are the quarrelling people's children.'

The copula *dzi* is negated by adding the negative prefix *mε-* before it, e.g. (307)–(309). The Guìqióng negative prefix *mε-* ~ *mə-* ~ *mε-* exhibits a regular pattern of allomorphy determined by regressive vowel harmony. When prefixed to a monosyllabic verb or the final syllable of a multisyllabic verb containing an open vowel or an opening diphthong, the negative prefix exhibits the allomorph *mε-*, e.g. *mε-nεŋ*, the negative form of the animate existential verb or *mε-'ŋyεŋ* 'can't'. When prefixed to a monosyllabic verb or the final syllable of a multisyllabic verb containing a closed back vowel, the negative prefix exhibits the allomorph *mə-*, e.g. *mə-tshu* 'don't complete' or *zibu<mə>zu* 'don't lose temper'. When prefixed to monosyllabic verbs or the final syllable of multisyllabic verbs containing a closed front vowel, the negative prefix assumes the allomorph *mε-*, e.g. *mε-bei* 'don't do' and *tshε<mε>gi* 'don't like' 'don't enjoy or love'.

- (307) *dei gε-'wu mε-dzi*
 this good-GN NEG-COP
 'This is not a good thing.'

- (308) *dei-phə tshi gε-mε 'mε mε-dzi*
 this-TOP very good-GEN medicine NEG-COP
 'This is not very good medicine.'

- (309) *zo bei mε-dzi*
 3S Tibetan NEG-COP
 'He is not a Tibetan.'

In a yes-no copular question, the use of the overt copula *dzi* is obligatory, e.g. (310)–(311) and (315)–(316).

- (310) *ŋetsēi gεŋtʂi'wu gutchiεŋ dzi lε*
 we(pi) all Guìqióng COP P
 'Are we all Guìqióng?'

- (311) *zo bei dzi le*
 3S Tibetan COP P
 'Is he Tibetan?'
- (312) *dzi zo bei dzi*
 COP 3S Tibetan COP
 'Yes. He is Tibetan.'
- (313) *mε-dzi zo bei mε-dzi*
 NEG-COP 3S Tibetan NEG-COP
 'No, he isn't. He isn't Tibetan.'
- (314) *zo dziẽ le bei dzi*
 3S Hàn P Tibetan COP
 'Is he Hàn Chinese or Tibetan?'
- (315) *zo qetshɔ dzi le*
 3S idiot COP P
 'Is he an idiot?'
- (316) *zo qetshɔ ε dzi*
 3S idiot P COP
 'Is he an idiot?'

dzi
 COP
 'Yes, he is.'

mε-dzi
 NEG-COP
 'No, he isn't.'

By contrast, in question-word questions, the zero copula is required.

- (317) *jiki khε'wu tɛiu jo*
 that thing what P
 'What is that?'

3.2.2.3 The Inchoative Verb *ɲi* 'Become'

With its inherent meaning of a property acquired through change or transformation, the inchoative verb *ɲi* 'become' may occur with the perfective aspect

marker *-le* or the suffix of experienced perceptions *-mu*. Generally, the latter two morphemes are most suitable for representing a change in state and its consequences, in contrast to other copulas which denote a steady state or quality.

- (318) *zo-mε libu jinχin ni-le nεŋ*
 3S-GEN body red become-PF EXS1
 'His body has turned red.'

- (319) *zo-mε libu sɔ'mε ni-le*
 3S-GEN body white become-PF
 'His body has turned white.'

- (320) *zo gɛdɛlə ni-le*
 3S hard become-PF
 'It has become hard.'

- (321) *dɛi phɔlɔ̃ gɛdɛlə ni-mu*
 this bun hard become-EP
 'I observe that this bun has become hard.'

In contrast to sentence (320), sentence (321), which is marked by the suffix of experienced perceptions *-mu*, denotes a change or transition which has been observed by the speaker. The inchoative construction can also be used in combination with the gnomic tense marker and the equational copula *dzi*, for example in warnings and admonitions, e.g. (322).

- (322) *thə-khə zo gɛdɛlə ni-'wu dzi*
 ngIMP-roast 3S hard become-GN COP
 'Don't roast it. Otherwise it will turn hard.'

- (323) *dɛi-phə jɛŋtʂɛtsei ni-le*
 this-TOP light[weight] become-PF
 'This has become lighter.'

Similar to sentences containing the overt steady state copula *dzi*, in sentences containing the inchoative verb *ni*, either the subject or the predicate complement may be marked by the topic marker *phə*, e.g. (323), (324) vs. (325).

- (324) *dɛi-phə dziʂɛtsei ni-le*
 this-TOP thin become-PF
 'This has become thin.'

- (325) *zo gedɛlə-phə ʝi-lɛ*
 3S black-TOP become-PF
 ‘It has become black.’
- (326) *dz’ɛwɛ theŋtheŋ ʝi-lɛ*
 upper.garment wet become-PF
 ‘The shirt has got wet.’
- (327) *dz’ɛwɛ ŋɛnbu ʝi-lɛ*
 upper.garment old become-PF
 ‘The shirt has become worn.’
- (328) *dz’ɛwɛ ŋɛnbu ʝi-’wu dzi*
 upper.garment old become-GN COP
 ‘The shirt will become worn.’

Sentence (329) is an admonition uttered by a mother to her child when she found the boy playing in the dirt.

- (329) *dz’iɛnmɛ tshələ’mələ ʝi-lɛ*
 home mess become-PF
 ‘The house has become messy.’

Sentences (318) to (329) illustrate the inchoative verb *ʝi* linking a subject with a predicate nominal designating colour, hardness, cleanliness or weight. In Guizhóng, such predicate nominals should be distinguished from stative verbs. Stative verbs can convey an inherent temporal dimension and so may, just like dynamic verbs, take the various aspectual, tense, modal and evidential markers without the help of the inchoative.

- (330) *’ɛtsi ɡɛ-lɛ*
 grandmother get.well-PF
 ‘Grandmother has recovered.’
- (331) *ɡɛ ɲɛŋ-lɛ*
 foot swell-PF
 ‘The foot has swollen.’
- (332) *dz’ɛwɛ su-lɛ*
 upper.garment dry-PF
 ‘The shirt has become dry.’

- (333) *məŋ* *bəŋ-lə*
 weather hot-PF
 ‘It has become hot.’
- (334) *tsikhə* *’nu-lə*
 river deep-PF
 ‘The river has become deep.’
- (335) *leisi* *lən-lə*
 crab.apple rot-PF
 ‘The crab apple has gone rotten.’
- (336) *dz’əŋ* *ni-lə*
 rain small-PF
 ‘The rain has become light.’
- (337) *ə’ŋə’ŋə* *də-lə*
 Chinese.yam big-PF
 ‘The Chinese yam has become big.’
- (338) *məŋ* *khəŋ-lə*
 weather cold-PF
 ‘It has become cold.’

The inchoative verb *ŋi* can also be used to express the age of inanimate beings, as will be described in Section 3.2.2.9.

3.2.2.4 The Copular Construction Intensifier *tchi phɔ* ‘feel as if...’ and the Sensory Linking Verb *phɔ* ‘feel’

The verbal construction *tchi phɔ* ‘feel as if...’ is used to combine with equational copula, stative or inchoative verbs to denote the culmination of certain property in the perception of the speaker. Whilst *phɔ* denotes ‘feel’, ‘suffer’ or ‘undergo’, it is also used as a derivational verb root to turn a foreign verb into a native verb. The denotation of *tchi* is not quite clear. In accordance with discussions on the morpheme with van Driem (personal communication, April 13, 2012), three possible sources of the morpheme *tchi* is mentioned. It might be a loan from Chinese *jí* 极 ‘extremely’, with aspiration somehow having been added, or an abbreviated loan from *jíqí* 极其 ‘extremely’, conserving only for the second syllable, or maybe a borrowing from Tibetan [mchis] *chi* ‘be, exist, manifest, come’. For the current study the compound of *tchi phɔ* is dealt with as a disyllabic verb and explicated as ‘feel as if...’ in the interlinear morpheme

glosses. A construction containing *tɕhi phɔ* ‘feel as if...’ may occur in the perfective aspect in *-lɛ*, e.g. (339), (341)–(343), or in the tense of perceived perception in *-mu*, e.g. (340). The construction *tɕhi phɔ* ‘feel as if...’ can govern either a stative verb, e.g. (339)–(343), or the inchoative *ɲi* or the copula *dzi* with an adjectival complement, e.g. (344), (345).

(339) *dɛi ɛ'letsei zɔ tɕhiphɔ-lɛ*
 this child wayward feel.as.if-PF
 ‘This boy is so wayward.’

(340) *dɛi ɛ'letsei zɔ tɕhiphɔ-mu*
 this child wayward feel.as.if-EP
 ‘I feel that this boy is so wayward.’

(341) *ɛ'letsei ni tɕhiphɔ-lɛ*
 child small feel.as.if-PF
 ‘The child is too small.’

(342) *zɔ ʂixui tɕhiphɔ-lɛ nɛŋ*
 3S disappointed feel.as.if-PF EXS1
 ‘He felt very disappointed.’

(343) *dɛi dɛjɛ bɛŋ tɕhiphɔ-lɛ*
 this just.now hot feel.as.if-PF
 ‘It has just become very hot.’

The construction *tɕhi phɔ* ‘feel... as if’ cannot govern an adjective directly, such as those found in example sentences (324) to (328), but an adjective can occur as the complement of either inchoative *ɲi* or of the copula *dzi*, which is in turn governed by *tɕhi phɔ* ‘feel... as if’, e.g. (344), (345).

(344) *dz'ɛwɛ ɲɛnbu ɲi tɕhiphɔ-lɛ*
 upper.garment old become feel.as.if-PF
 ‘The shirt has become too worn.’

(345) *dɛi-phə dziʂɛtsei dzi tɕhiphɔ-lɛ*
 this-TOP thin COP feel.as.if-PF
 ‘This [material] feels too flimsy.’

In sentence (346), the verb can be viewed as a linking element similar to the English sensory verb ‘feel’.

- (346) *ŋə zɔsi phɔ-le*
 I anxious feel-PF
 ‘I have been worried’.

The verb *phɔ* ‘feel, suffer, undergo’ is also used as a derivational verb root to turn a foreign verb into a native verb, as will be discussed at greater length in Section 3.2.3.

3.2.2.5 The Animate Substantive Verb *nɛŋ*

The verb *nɛŋ* ‘live; there be (said of animate beings)’ is one of four existential verbs in Guìqióng. The verb *nɛŋ* expresses the presence or existence of animals, human beings as well as gods or other personified entities within an explicit or implicit scope. Such sentences often begin with the subject or with some adverbial phrase denoting a type of scope.

- (347) *dugu-me dz’ienme mũ gelhe nɛŋ*
 3PE-GEN home man quite EXS1
 ‘There are many people in their house.’

- (348) *zo ni dɛ-tɛiɛŋ nɛŋ*
 3S ox one-CL EXS1
 ‘He has an ox.’

- (349) *dz’ienme-gu-wuə ŋɛŋ’wuŋ-tɛiɛŋ nɛŋ*
 home-ILL-LOC cat-CL EXS1
 ‘There is a cat on the roof.’

- (350) *zo də nɛŋ gutchiɛŋ mɛ-dzi*
 3S here EXS1 Guìqióng NEG-COP
 ‘Though he lives here, he is not Guìqióng.’

- (351) *zo dz’ienme nɛŋ pɛ*
 3S home EXS1 P
 ‘He might be at home.’

- (352) *teĩ-ŋu ’mɛ βu nɛŋ*
 land-ILL still livestock EXS1
 ‘There are still livestock in the field.’

The allomorph of the Guìqióng negative prefix *mɛ-* ~ *mə-* ~ *mɛ-* used with the animate existential verb *nɛŋ* is the allomorph *mɛ-*, in accordance with the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6.

- (353) *khukhu-peɪ mɛ-nɛŋ*
 other-CL NEG-EXS1
 ‘There’s nobody else.’
- (354) *zo tchiɛŋsi dʒ’ienmɛ mɛ-nɛŋ*
 3S often home NEG-EXS1
 ‘He is often not at home.’
- (355) *dəkən mǔ mɛŋtʂhɛn mɛ-nɛŋ*
 here people whatsoever NEG-EXS1
 ‘There are not many people here.’

3.2.2.6 Inanimate Substantive Verb *jən*

The existential verb *jən* is used to denote the presence or existence of inanimate objects and abstract concepts such as time. The absence of lifeless things is expressed with the negative existential verb *mɛ̃*. As noted in the preceding section, a sentence may often begin with some adverbial qualification denoting scope.

- (356) *dəkən tʂikhɛ ’ɛn’ɛntsei-khɛ jən*
 here river small-CL EXS2
 ‘There is a small river here [in front of our house].’
- (357) *ŋə dz’ɛwɛ dɛ-tɕiɛ jən*
 I upper.garment one-CL EXS2
 ‘I have one coat.’
- (358) *tʂuətsei-wɛn’jən dʒ’i jən*
 table-on.top book EXS2
 ‘There is a book on the table.’
- (359) *ŋə-mɛ ’ətɕiə simu tʂhi jən*
 I-GEN elder.brother strength very EXS2
 ‘My elder brother has a lot of strength.’

Example (359) shows that the existential verb *jən* is akin to the Guìqióng stative verbs in being able to be modified by the adverb of degree *tʂhi* ‘very’.

3.2.2.7 Dependent Existential Verb *bu*

The existential verb *bu* denotes a relationship of dependence between one entity and another. Word order of this type of existential sentence with the verb *bu* is rigid. The dependent entity invariably occurs immediately before the existential verb, whilst the adverbial qualification occurs at the beginning of the sentence. The negative form of the dependent existential verb is *mə-bu*, formed with the regular vowel harmonic allomorph *mə-* of the Guìqióng negative prefix *mɛ- ~ mə- ~ mɛ-*.

- (360) *χɛŋtsei ɛ'letsei bu-lɛ nɛŋ*
 younger.sister child EXS3-PF EXS1
 'My younger sister is pregnant.'
- (361) *φuteiv gɛigo gɛlhɐ bu*
 road turn quite EXS3
 'There are many bends in the road.'
- (362) *zo liɕiɛn bu*
 3S crop.expertise EXS3
 'He has crop expertise.'
- (363) *hɔŋninie zi bu*
 yon mountain EXS3
 'There are mountains yonder.'
- (364) *tɕhitʂhəu bu-lɔ nuŋgu-kən ji-tɕhy-di*
 time EXS3-PRS you[pe]-LAT DIR-walk-MOM
 'If there is time, go to your place for a while.'
- (365) *dugu-mɛ teiẽ-gu bɔ gɛlhɐ bu*
 3PE-GEN field-ILL weed quite EXS3
 'There are many weeds in their field.'
- (366) *teiẽ-gu bɔ mə-bu*
 field-ILL weed NEG-EXS3
 'There are no weeds in the field.'

3.2.2.8 The Negative Existential Verb *mẽ*

The negative existential verb *mẽ* denotes the absence or non-existence of animate and inanimate entities, including humans, as shown in the following examples.

- (367) *ŋə dɛnnɐ mɛ̃*
 I work ngEXS
 'I am free now.'
- (368) *khukhu-peɪ mɛ̃*
 other-CL ngEXS
 'There is nobody else.'
- (369) *dʒ'ienmɛ mũ mɛ̃*
 home people ngEXS
 'There is no one at home.'

3.2.2.9 Expressions Indicating Age Divided between Animate and Inanimate Beings

Guìqióng distinguishes expressions of age of animate beings from that of inanimate beings. The verb *gɛ̃* 'accumulate', used for animate beings, is homophonous with stem of the verb 'go' used in denoting past events, e.g. (370).

- (370) *jiki mũ-peɪ gɛ̃-'wu-li*
 that man-CL go-GN-1PIIMP
 'It is the case that the man has gone.'
- (371) *nuy-mɛ χɛntsei lo dz'i ŋɐŋ gɛ̃*
 you[s]-GEN younger.sister age how.many years accumulate
 'How old is your younger sister?'
- (372) *lo 'ŋɐ-'ŋɐŋ gɛ̃*
 age five-years accumulate
 'Five years old.'
- (373) *dɛi khu-phə dz'i ŋɐŋ gɛ̃*
 this dog-TOP how.many years accumulate
 'How old is the dog?'
- (374) *dɛi khu-phə 'ŋɐ-'ŋɐŋ mɛ-gɛ̃*
 this dog-TOP five-years NEG-accumulate
 'The dog is not yet five years old.'

For inanimate objects, the verb used to describe age is the inchoative *ɲi*.

(375) *dei sɛnpu-phə dz'i 'hɛŋ ni?*
 this tree-TOP how.many year become
 'How old is this tree?'

(376) *dei sɛnpu-phə si-'hɛŋ mɛ-ni*
 this tree-TOP ten-years NEG-become
 'The tree is not yet ten years old.'

3.2.3 *Guìqióng Derivational Verb Roots*

Two derivational verb roots, *bei* 'do' and *phɔ* 'feel', 'suffer' or 'undergo', will be introduced in this chapter. These roots can be used to derive new verbs when in combination with various other verbal roots.

3.2.3.1 Naturalisation of Foreign Verbs

The two basic verb roots, *bei* 'do' and *phɔ* 'feel', 'suffer' or 'undergo' are used to naturalise loan verbs. Either of the two roots is added at the end of a loan word to verbalise it, whether the word is originally used as a verb or not in the donor language. Verbs ending in *phɔ* 'feel', 'suffer' or 'undergo' only have patient subjects, e.g. (377). Contrastingly, verbs ending in *bei* 'do' take agent subjects, e.g. (378) and (379). The three Chinese expressions *shàngdàng* 'to be swindled'; *duìbǐ* 'to compare'; *shàngbān* 'to work regularly' in (377)–(379) are all mainly used as verbs in Mandarin.

(377) *sɛŋdɛŋ* (Chinese *shàngdàng*, 上当) 'to be swindled'

zɔ ɛ'li'wu ɛiɛiɛ ŋə sɛŋdɛŋ mɛ-phɔ
 3S however say.say I get.swindled NEG-suffer
 'No matter how (wonderfully) he said about it, I would not get swindled.'

(378) *tuipei* (Chinese *duìbǐ*, 对比) 'to compare'

ŋə ni khɛ'wu tuipeibe-iɛ dei-phə tshi 'liŋ
 I two thing compare-PF this-TOP very strong
 'I have compared the two. This one is much stronger.'

(379) *sɛŋpɛn* (Chinese *shàngbān*, 上班) 'to work regularly'

'ɛpɛ sɛŋpɛn-bei dziɛn-'wu-lɔ
 father work-do need-GN-PRS
 'Father will go to work.'

(380) *kusu* 'flattery'

jən-'wu kusu-bei mɛ-dziɛn
 EXS2-GN flattery-do NEG-need
 'Don't flatter the rich.'

(381) *tshɛn* 'wound'

ji'mɛijɛmɛ tshɛn phɔ-lɛ.
 negligently wound get-PF
 '(I) was injured out of carelessness.'

3.2.3.2 Frequentative Verbs Derived from Reduplication

A frequentative verb is derived from reduplication of the bare verb stem with or without adding new morphemes into the reduplicated pattern. Compared with a non-reduplicated bare stem, a reduplicated verb denotes multiple occurrence of action or event of equal texture over a given period of time. A frequentative verb may occur as main verb in itself, e.g. *bei bei* 'do this and that' in (382). Or it may turn into a subordinate component of a compound verb ending in suffix *-bei* 'do', e.g. *ɛiɛ ɛiɛ* 'say this and that many times' in *ɛiɛ ɛiɛ bei* 'dispute' in (387). Within the compound verb, the subordinate reduplicated verb retains the denotation reflected by its reduplication pattern. As a result, the interior temporal texture of the verb is hierarchical. In the expression *ɛiɛ ɛiɛ bei* 'have a dispute', the reduplication of *ɛiɛ* 'say' lies at the lexical layer indicating multiple talking. The whole verb *ɛiɛ ɛiɛ bei* 'have a dispute' is viewed as a new bare verb stem capable of its own linear progress. Thus a flexional form of compound verb *ɛiɛ ɛiɛ bei* 'have a dispute' may contain message both on lexical and grammatical aspect, e.g. (387).

The reduplication patterns of frequentative verbs vary in accordance with the number of syllables and the denotation of the reduplicative pattern. The basic reduplication pattern occurs to the monosyllabic verb root. The single syllable of the verb stem is reduplicated and no derivational affix is added to the reduplicated syllable. These reduplicated monosyllabic verb roots customarily occur in fixed syntactic constructions denoting multiple possibilities of occurrence. Whereas non-reduplicated stem of the verb denote a one-time occurrence, the reduplicated form implies multiple occurrence of similar action or event, e.g. (382).

(382) *zo tɛiu bei bei, sɯɛŋsɯɛŋthɛthɛ*
 3S what do do, prompt.and.efficient
 'Whatever he does, he does it promptly and efficiently.'

Directional prefixes may combine with the basic type of reduplication to denote initiation of a frequentative process, e.g. imperative constructions (383)–(386). Normally the monosyllabic root is reduplicated only once. Example has also been found where the verb root is reduplicated more than once, e.g. (365).

- (383) *ji-lhɛ-lhɛ*
 DIR-lick-lick
 ‘Give (it) a lick.’
- (384) *ji-χuw-χuw*
 DIR-smell-smell
 ‘Smell (it).’
- (385) *ko wu-hə-hə(-hə)*
 hand DIR-rub-rub(-rub)
 ‘Rub (your) hands.’
- (386) *dɛ-ji-l-l*
 DIR-DIR-round.up-round.up
 ‘Round up (the cattle).’

The basic reduplication pattern may be included in a new frequentative verb ending with the verbal suffix *-bei* ‘do’. Grammatical aspect, mood or evidentiality of the event denoted by the new verb is further reflected by adding corresponding flexional affixes to the final syllable *-bei*, e.g. (387) and (388). These derived verbs have distinct meanings from the non-reduplicated bare stem.

- (387) *ɛiɛ* ‘say’
 → *ɛiɛɛiɛbei* ‘dispute’
tɛi-ɲiɛ ɛiɛɛiɛbei-lɛ nɔŋ
 SON-IND dispute-PF EXS1
 ‘The sons have been quarrelling.’
- (388) *jɛ* ‘wash’
 → *jɛjɛbei* ‘bathe’
zo jɛjɛbei-lɛ nɔŋ
 3S bathe-PF EXS1
 ‘He has been taking a bath.’

Among these frequentative verbs ending in *-bei* ‘do’, some are reciprocals, e.g. (389)–(391).

- (389) *zɔ* 'help'
 → *zɔzɔbei* 'help each other'
ɲetsei zɔzɔbei-le bei-le
 we(pi) help.each.other-PF do-PF
 'We helped each other and have it done.'
- (390) *dzɔ* 'criticise'
 → *dzɔdzɔbei* 'revile each other'
dutsei ɲi-peɪ dzɔdzɔbei-le neɲ
 3PI two-CL curse.each.other-PF EXS1
 'The two of them have been cursing each other.'
- (391) *dutsei tshetshɛbei-mu*
 3PI quarrel-EP
 'They are quarrelling with each other, according to my observation.'

In denoting a chain of repeated action, *Guìqióng* combines the reduplication of the verb stem with fossilised suffixes *su* and *bɔ* at the end of each reduplicated prosodic unit preceding the verb ending *-bei* 'do'. For monosyllabic verbs, the reduplicated pattern can be represented as *v+su+v+bɔ+bei*, where *v* represents the reduplicant bare stem of the monosyllabic verb. Thus reduplications with suffixes *su* and *pɔ* denote repetitive courses of action at the lexical level and aspectual, tense or modal affixes will be added to the verbal ending *-bei* 'do', e.g. (392).

- (392) *dz'iv* 'smoke', 'drink'
 → *dz'ivɚsudz'ivbɔbei* 'do chainsmoking'
zo dz'veɲɣen dz'ivɚsudz'ivbɔbei-le neɲ
 3S cigarette do.chainsmoking-PF EXS1
 'He has been doing chainsmoking.'

Some verbs, e.g. *tshɛ* 'change', *tsho* 'move', have long-established reduplicated disyllabic forms, e.g. *tshɛtshɛ* 'exchange' and *tshotsho* 'wriggle'. In forming new reduplications with the denotation of a continuous repetitive pattern, the original disyllabic roots have been fossilised into one prosodic unit, e.g. (393).

- (393) *tshɛ tshɛ* 'exchange'
 → *tshɛtshɛɚsutshɛtshɛbɔ bei* 'change back and forth'
dutsei-mɛ dz'ɛwe tshɛtshɛɚsutshɛtshɛbɔbei-le neɲ
 3PI-GEN upper.garment change.back.and.forth-PF EXS1
 'They have been changing clothes back and forth among themselves.'

Another reduplication pattern in deriving frequentative verbs is $\text{dir}_1+\text{v}+\text{dir}_2+\text{v}+\text{bei}$, where v represents the bare stem of the verb, dir_1 and dir_2 represent two directional morphemes with contrasting directions, e.g. (394).

- (394) 'ni 'lend, rent, borrow, loan'
 → *jiniwunibei* 'borrow back and forth'
dɛi tɛiɛŋθuŋ-phə ɡɛŋtɕi'wu j'i'niwu'nibɛi-lɛ
 this mortar-TOP everybody borrow.back.and.forth-PF
tɕu-lɛ nɛŋ
 use-PF EXS1
 'This mortar has been borrowed back and forth.'

For disyllabic verbs with non-reduplicated syllables (represented as vs_1+vs_2 , where vs stands for a verbal syllable), two reduplication patterns have been found. In the first pattern $\text{vs}_1+\text{vs}_1+\text{vs}_2+\text{vs}_2+\text{bei}$, each syllable of the original verbal base is treated as an independent reduplicated prosodic unit, e.g. (395).

- (395) *nɛgi* 'hide'
 → *nɛnɛgigibɛi* 'go into hiding at one place after another'
dɛi ɲi 'ɲɛŋ zo dza nɛnɛgigibɛi-lɛ nɛŋ
 these two year 3S just hide.in.different.places-PF EXS1
 'In the past two years he has just been hiding in one place after another.'

In the second pattern of reduplication, two syllables of the original verb root are treated as one prosodic unit, using the reduplicative suffixes *ɕu* and *pɔ* together with the verbal ending *bei* 'do', $\text{vs}_1+\text{vs}_2+\text{ɕu}+\text{vs}_1+\text{vs}_2+\text{pɔ}+\text{bei}$.

- (396) *minkhɛŋ* 'ask'
 → *minkhɛŋɕu minkhɛŋpɔbɛi* 'ask frequently'
zo minkhɛŋɕu minkhɛŋpɔ bɛi-lɛ
 3S ask.frequently do-PF
 'He has asked (about that) in many ways again and again.'

3.2.3.3 The Basic Verbal Suffix *-bei* 'do' in Expressions of Simultaneous Events

The Guìqióng main verb *bei* 'do' is also used to derive new verbs with the help of other lexical aspectual morphemes. Simultaneous actions denoted by verbs with ending *ɕi*, which is glossed in the interlinear morpheme glosses as *SIM*, can be compounded into a new verb with the help of the auxiliary suffix *-bei* 'do', e.g. (397).

- (397) *ŋə tɕhy-ʒi dɕigi-ʒi bɛi-lɛ*
 I walk-SIM think-SIM do-PF
 'I walked, lost in thought.'

The simultaneous ending *ʒi* is added immediately after the bare stems of the verbs denoting concurring events. It is required that the agentive subject of the verb in one clause is co-referent with that of the previous clause. The simultaneous verbal ending may occur to form parallel predicate structures without additional use of verbal suffix *-bɛi* 'do', e.g. (398) and (399), especially when there is no need to relate the synchronous events to an exogenous framework of aspect, tense, mood or evidentiality, e.g. (398)–(400).

- (398) *ɛ'letsei ɡɔ-ʒi ɕiɛ-ʒi*
 child cry-SIM say-SIM
 'The child cried when he spoke.'

- (399) *zɔ tɕhy-ʒi ɡɔ-ʒi*
 3S walk-SIM eat-SIM
 'He was eating while walking.'

- (400) *ŋə dɪɲsi dʒiɔ-ʒi z'ei ɡɔ-ʒi*
 I television watch-SIM meal eat-SIM
 'I was watching television and having supper.'

- (401) *'əɡə dʒ'i dʒɔ-ʒi məʒi tʃ-ʒi*
 elder.sister book read-SIM sweater knit-SIM
 'My elder sister was reading a book while knitting the sweater.'

3.2.3.4 The Auxiliary *bɛi* in Compound Markers of Tense, Aspect and Mood

The verb root *bɛi* 'do' also occur in compound markers where its original denotation is semantically bleached. These constructions include the gnomic prospective, e.g. (402) and the prospective tense of experienced perceptions, e.g. (403) use *bɛi* 'do' in their sentence-final compound markers. In resultative potential mood, e.g. (404), the morpheme *bɛi* 'do' occurs immediately after the bare stem root as a component of the compound mood marker *-bɛijɛn*. The interlinear gloss *AUX* is only used in the constructions of the resultative potential mood where the auxiliary *bɛi* follows immediately the content verb *bɛi*, e.g. (404). These constructions will be described in 3.2.5.1.4, 3.2.5.2.2 and 3.2.7.2. respectively under the corresponding categories of tense and aspect.

- (402) *'epu dz'ɛŋχɛn dz'iv-lə-bei-'wu-lə*
 grandfather tobacco consume-SJV-do-GN-PRS
 'I know that grandfather will be smoking right away.'
- (403) *tʂi dui-lə-bei-mu*
 water boil-PRS-do-EP
 'According to what I see, the water will soon come to a rolling boil.'
- (404) *tchiɛ'i bei bei jɛn*
 today do AUX EXS1
 'Today it is worthwhile to do [the job].'

3.2.4 Directional Morphemes

As van Driem has observed, "Many . . . languages of the Himalayan region have rich inventories of lexical and grammatical categories which express spatial deixis, mostly in the form of verbs and adverbs" (2001: 660). In Guìqióng, typical spatial deixis includes directional morphemes and the semantically bleached verbs denoting 'come' or 'go'. Both types of words combine with main verbs to convey directional implications.

3.2.4.1 Directional Morphemes

In Guìqióng, the most distinct areal feature of verbs consists in the productive application of directional prefixes, which precedes the monosyllabic verb, e.g. *ji* 'inward' in *ji-lɛŋ* 'begin waiting' or the last syllable of the verb root, e.g. *wu* 'outward' in *zibu<wu>zu* 'get angry<DIR>'. Five Guìqióng directional morphemes have been abstracted from the compounds containing one or two spatial deictic morphemes and a main verb, *ji* 'inward', *wu* 'outward', *thu* 'upward', *mi* 'downward' and *dɛ* 'back following the original course'.

Take the verb root *hɛ* 'come' as an example. Compounds consisting of the directional morphemes and the verb *hɛ* 'come' are listed as follows:

TABLE 10 An illustration of the directional suffixes in *hɛ* 'come'

<i>ji-hɛ</i>	'come in'
<i>wu-hɛ</i>	'come out'
<i>thu-hɛ</i>	'come upward'
<i>mi-hɛ</i>	'come downward'
<i>dɛ-hɛ</i>	'come again', 'come back'
<i>dɛ-ji-hɛ</i>	'come in along the same course (after one has gone out)'

TABLE 10 *An illustration of the directional suffixes in he 'come' (cont.)*

dɛ-wu-hɛ 'come out along the same course (after one has gone in)'
dɛ-thu-hɛ 'come upwards along the same course (after one has gone downwards)'
dɛ-mi-hɛ 'come downwards along the same course (after one has gone upwards)'

Sentences (405) to (409) illustrate more compounds containing directional morphemes.

- (405) *ŋə ji-zɔ-lɛ tɛku wu-ki-lɛ*
 I DIR-help-PF window DIR-open-PF
 'Please help me open the window.'
- (406) *zɔ mɛi wu-ki bɛ-lɛ*
 3S door DIR-open go-PF
 'He went to open the door.'
- (407) *ŋə zɪ-gu thu-tʂhɛ ji dzien*
 I mountain-ILL DIR-climb go need
 'I am going to go up to the mountain top.'
- (408) *ŋə zɪnɛ-wuə dɛ-mi-tʂhɛ ji dzien*
 I mountain.foot-DAT DIR-DIR-climb go need
 'I am going down to the mountain foot.' (said after climbing to the top.)
- (409) *tʂhɛŋlhɛŋkhu dɛ-bɛ tʂhu-lɛ*
 relative DIR-go complete-PF
 'The relative has gone back.'

Among the five directional preverbs, *ji* 'inward' is regarded by my informants to be the same word as one of the verb roots denoting 'go'. *wu* 'outward' is thought by my informant to denote 'give', though the current word for 'give' in the language is *khɛŋ* instead. *thu* 'upward' seems to be etymologically connected with the stative verb denoting *thəu* 'tall' (compare: Limbu, *thəŋ*. van Driem 2001: 660 and Qiangic, *tə* 'upward', Huáng Bùfán 黄布凡, 1991: 298–9). Further evidence is needed to confirm these notes. *dɛ* 'back following the original course' (cf. Qiangic, *da* 'uncertain direction', Huáng Bùfán, 1991: 298–9) is a homophony with one of the two numerals indicating one in the language.

While the above examples can be seen as illustrations of basic spatial denotations, the original spatial meaning of these directional preverbs has also been diluted in many other circumstances. My late informant Yáng Xuéwǔ, when asked about how to express ‘begin’, referred me to the clause *ji bei geη*, where *bei* denotes ‘do’ and *geη* denotes ‘the right time when the event happens’ and has been a widely used conjunction word to denote simultaneous events with different subjects (see Chapter 14). The expression that he gave me for ‘end’ is *wu tshu geη*, where *tshu* denotes ‘complete’ (c.f. 卒 *tsut*, van Driem 2001: 377) and has elsewhere been widely used as a completive *Aktionsart* auxiliary. That the verb for ‘begin’ should have an inward direction and the word for ‘end’ should have an outward direction can hardly be explained in spatial terms. While denotations of direction in these idioms seem elusive, an inherent denotation of dynamic tendencies remains. The directional compound with the outward morpheme *wu* ‘outward’ often implies the speaker’s view that a circumstance, a transition or an action is progressing towards some helpless, uncontrollable even unwanted end, e.g. (410)–(413).

- (410) *mεη wu-ni wu-ni dzi*
 sky DIR-darken DIR-darken COP
 ‘It is indeed getting darker and darker.’
- (411) *dz’εη wu-dzen wu-dzen dzi*
 rain DIR-strong DIR-strong COP
 ‘It is raining heavier and heavier.’
- (412) *zo wu-cie-geη zi-bu<wu>zu*
 3S DIR-say-CON lose<DIR>temper
 ‘The more he talked, the angrier he became.’
- (413) *də-me dz’ieη wu-to-geη wu-’mei*
 here-GEN house DIR-build-CON DIR-many
 ‘More and more houses are being built in this area.’

The outward directional morpheme *wu* also occur as if it has been stereotyped in some aspectual or tense constructions, as sentences (410)–(413) have shown. Compared with bare stem sentences without directional morphemes, these copular sentences are particularly used to express dynamic tendencies.

In momentaneous constructions, the momentaneous suffix *di* is used together with the prefixal directional morphemes to denote an action that is not meant to last long. Momentaneous actions usually occur in, but are not confined to imperative and subjunctive expressions.

- (414) *ji-go-di*
 DIR-eat-MOM
 ‘Have a taste.’
- (415) *gɛ-ji-sɛŋ-di. ɐ mɛ-gɛ-sɛŋ*
 take-dir-rest-MOM P NEG-tired-utterly
 ‘Have a short rest and you won’t feel tired any longer.’

Like the other directional morphemes, the denotation of direction in compounds containing the directional morpheme *dɛ* ‘back following the original course’ has also become much less distinct. What can always be expected in the *dɛ* ‘back following the original course’ compounds is a returning course in the metaphorical sense. Actions taken on account of an original one are often formed with *dɛ* ‘back following the original course’, e.g. (416)–(417).

- (416) *zɛŋsu-nɛŋ 'jinɛ-wuə dɛibə tɛi-gɛŋ*
 self-ERG others-DAT respect grant-CON
 ‘Respect others,
'jinɛ ŋətsei-wuə dɛibə dɛ-tɛi
 others ɪpi-DAT respect DIR-grant
 then others will pay you respect in return.’
- (417) *zo-mɛ dzɔ dɛ-khɛŋ-tshu-lɛ*
 3S-GEN money DIR-give-COM-PF
 ‘His money has been returned to him.’

3.2.4.2 Suppletive Forms of the Verb ‘to Go’

The Guìqióng verb *ji* ‘go’ has the suppletive form *gɛ̃* in some contexts. Generally speaking, the stem of *gɛ̃* is mainly inflected for past events, whereas the stem of *ji* is used for prospective and subjunctive events. Details of the inflected forms of ‘to go’ are given in contrast to the paradigm of the regular verb *hɛ* ‘come’ in the following chart.

TABLE 11 *Inflected forms of ‘to go’ and the regular verb hɛ ‘come’*

Bare stem	<i>ji</i> ‘go’	<i>hɛ</i> ‘come’
Experienced past	*	<i>hɛniɛn</i>
Experienced perceptions	<i>jimu</i>	

TABLE 11 *Inflected forms of 'to go' and the regular verb he 'come' (cont.)*

present		
Experienced perceptions	<i>ji</i>	<i>hɛlɔbeimu</i>
prospective	<i>lɔbeimu</i>	
Gnomic present tense	<i>ji'wu</i>	<i>hɛ'wu</i>
Gnomic perfect tense	<i>gɛ'wuli</i>	<i>hɛ'wuli</i>
Gnomic prospective	<i>ji'wulɔ</i>	<i>hɛ'wulɔ</i>
Perfective	<i>gɛɛ</i>	<i>hɛɛ</i>
Dynamic perfective		<i>hɛɛnɛŋ</i>
Static perfective		<i>hɛɛjɛn</i>
Progressive		
Imperative	<i>jine</i>	<i>hɛ'we</i>
Prohibitive	<i>thɛjine</i>	<i>thɛhɛ'we</i>
Inclusive first person		
plural imperative	<i>jili</i>	<i>hɛli</i>
Momentaneous	<i>wujidi</i>	<i>jihɛdi</i>
Potential	<i>jilutei</i>	<i>hɛlutei</i>
Resultative potential	<i>jibeijen</i>	<i>hɛbeijen</i>
Auspicious		
constructions	<i>jidzɛŋmɛ</i>	<i>hɛdzɛŋmɛ</i>
Modal verb	<i>jidziɛn</i>	<i>hɛdziɛn</i>
Bare stem sentences	<i>ji</i>	<i>hɛ</i>

* The combination of the stem *ji* with the experienced past tense suffix *nien*, *ji nien*, is contentious among native speakers. Older generations do not use this combination and do not think it right to use this expression. Younger people born after the 1960s whom I have interviewed do not use the expression themselves though a couple of them admit hearing the expression used by peers. If so, one of the suppletive roots is slowly gaining advantage over the other with time.

Sentences (418)–(430) contain 'come' and 'go' verbs.

(418) *ŋə tshəŋdu gɛ-nien*
 I Chéngdū go-EXP
 'I have been to Chéngdū.'

(419) *zo qo ji-'wu*
 3S Kāngdìng go-GN
 'Actually he is heading for Kāngdìng.'

- (420) *ɛ'letsɛi ji-mu*
 child go-EP
 'I see that the child is going there. (Don't let him. It is dangerous.)'
- (421) *phei qo ji-lɔ-bɛi-mu*
 father Kāngdìng go-PRS-do-EP
 'It seems father is going to Kāngdìng.'
- (422) *ji-li*
 go-1pɪIMP
 'Let's go.'
- (423) *ji-nɛ*
 go-IMP
 '(You) Go!'
- (424) *thɛ-ji-nɛ*
 ngIMP-go-IMP
 'Don't go!'
- (425) *jiki mǔ-pɛi gɛ̃-'wu-li*
 that man-CL go-GN-1pɪIMP
 'It is the case that the man has gone.'
- (426) *nuy hɛ lɔ mɛ-hɛ?*
 you[s] come P NEG-come
 'Are you coming or not?'
- ŋə hɛ-'wu-lɔ*
 I come-GN-PRS
 'I will come.'
- (427) *jiki mǔ hɛ-lɛ ɐ nɛŋ-mu?*
 that man come-PF P EXS1-EP
 'Has the man come? (Did you see or do you know if the man has come?)'
- hɛ-lɛ nɛŋ*
 come-PF EXS1
 'He has come.' Or. 'He is on his way to be here.'

- (428) *ji-he-'we*
DIR-come-IMP
'Come in!'
- (429) *'əgə he-'wu-li*
elder.sister come-GN-1PIIMP
'It is the case that my elder sister has come.'
- (430) *də-thu-ji-ne*
DIR-DIR-go-IMP
'You go back upwards!'

3.2.4.3 Semantically Bleached 'Come' and 'Go' Verbs

In a sentence containing the compound of a preceding main verb and a Guìqióng 'come' or 'go' verb, the latter often becomes semantically bleached. The 'come' or 'go' verb no longer forms focus of the event, but turns to help the main verb by providing a kind of deictic information. In addition to *ji ~ gē* ~ 'go', *he* 'come', either of the verb stems of *bə* 'leave, go' or *dzui* 'arrive, come' can also form compound with the preceding main verb to add deictic information. Generally speaking, *he* 'come' and *dzui* 'arrive, come' suggests a centripetal direction towards the speaker, e.g. (431) and (432). *ji ~ gē* ~ 'go' and *bə* 'leave, go' implies a centrifugal direction away from the speaker, e.g. (433) and (434). Whereas *ji* of *ji ~ gē* ~ 'go' occurs frequently in prospective constructions, e.g. (434), *bə* 'go, leave' is more frequently seen in the perfective constructions than *gē* of *ji ~ gē* ~ 'go', e.g. (433) and (436). In a perfective compound, the semantically bleached 'come' and 'go' verbs are allowed to be marked separately from the main verb, as (431), (432), (433) and (436) have shown. Other affixes, however, can be attached either to the bare stem of the main verb or to the semantically bleached 'to go' verbs in the compound, but not both, e.g. (434) and (435).

- (431) *ɛ'letsɛi sɛnpu-ni də-mi-pə-le he-le*
child tree-ABL DIR-DIR-hold-PF come-PF
'Bring the child down from the tree.'
- (432) *ɛ'letsɛi vɛzə-kuən 'nyɛŋ-le dzui-le*
child wine-jīn[CL] buy-PF arrive-PF
'My son has just bought me half kilogram of wine.'

- (433) *ŋə-nəŋ Ɂ'uyphə mi-tɛ-lɛ bɛ-lɛ*
 I-ERG stone DIR-disengage-PF go-PF
 'I rolled the stone down.'
- (434) *dzɛnbɛ ʔyɛŋ ji-'wu*
 vegetable buy go-GN
 'It is the case that I am on my way to buy vegetable.'
- (435) *dɛdɛtshɛi thɛ-ji-nɛ*
 fight ngIMP-go-IMP
 'Don't go fighting!'
- (436) *phɛ si-lɛ bɛ-lɛ*
 pig die-PF go-PF
 'The pig has died.'

3.2.5 Tense Marking

This section deals with the gnomic present marked with *-'wu*, the gnomic perfect marked with *-'wuli* and the gnomic future marked with *-'wulɔ*, the tense of experienced perceptions marked with *-mu*, the prospective tense of experienced perceptions marked with *-lɔbɛimu*, the experienced past tense marked with *-niɛn*. The agent nominaliser *-'wu*, the attributive clause and the complement clause containing *-'wu* will also be dealt with.

3.2.5.1 Guìqióng Gnomic Tenses

The gnomic present tense marker and agentive nominalising suffix *-'wu* and compound tense markers containing the gnomic morpheme *-'wu* will be described here in 3.2.5.1.1. The Guìqióng gnomic present tense marker and agentive nominaliser *-'wu* is glossed in the interlinear morpheme glosses as GN. It parallels 'Dzongkha gnomic forms in *-ni*, *-mi* or *-wi*, the Limbu nominaliser and imperfective suffix *-pa*, the Yamphu factitive in *-æ ~-e~-Ye*, the Dumi nominaliser and imperfective ending *-m*, all morphemes which nominalise both verbs and clauses' (van Driem 55: 2002). The group of gnomic tense markers in Guìqióng contain the gnomic present in *-'wu*, the gnomic perfect in *-'wuli* and the gnomic future in *-'wulɔ*. The gnomic potential mood in *-'wudzɿ* will be described in 3.2.8.3. The gnomic present tense marker *-'wu* will be described in 3.2.5.1.1. The agent nominaliser *-'wu* will be described in 3.2.5.1.2. The gnomic perfect tense in *-'wuli* will be dealt with in 3.2.5.1.3. The gnomic prospective tense in *-'wulɔ* will be dealt with in 3.2.5.1.4. The attributive clause and the complement clause containing *-'wu* will be dealt with in 3.2.5.1.5.

3.2.5.1.1 *The Gnomic Present Tense Construction with -'wu*

The gnomic present tense construction has its main verb in the gnomic suffix -'wu. The gnomic present tense denotes truth or fact previously unaware or unrevealed to the addressee. A gnomic present tense construction characterises the agent as the initiator or cause of the event, action or state. The two aspects of the gnomic denotation are interrelated in Guìqióng. As the action or state is attributable to the volition or inherent quality of the agent, it can hardly be inferred from circumstantial factors equally accessible both to the speaker and to the addressee. As a result, the event, action or state is allowed to remain unbeknownst to the addressee before it is disclosed by the speaker in the gnomic tense. The gnomic tense constructions contrast with the circumstantial constructions in the circumstantial suffix -lu, where the event is seen as attributable to circumstantial factors accessible to the speaker and the addressee on equal terms. Comparison between the gnomic present tense and the circumstantial constructions can be found in 3.2.7.1. In examples (437)–(441), the clauses are seen as taken from contexts where short-term unknown activity or occurrence is given as new information to the hearer, rather than long-established fact which may qualify the agentive subject as characterised with certain well-known attributes. However, none of the following examples is against the interpretation of a nominalisation plus zero copula when deprived of an appropriate context. In these examples with predicate verbs marked with the gnomic tense marker -'wu, the sentence-initial element occurs as topic, the predication comments on the topic and codes new information and focus at the end of the sentence.

(437) *muhi tchiəŋsi ʂɔ-'wu*
 wind often blow-GN
 'It is the case that the wind often blows.'

(438) *jiki ɛ'letsei dzəŋbei-'wu*
 that child lie-GN
 'It is the case that the child lies.'

(439) *ŋəŋ'wuw tsui ɕɔ-'wu*
 cat mouse catch-GN
 'It is the case that cats catch mice.'

(440) *gəŋtʂi'wu bei-lɛ nəŋ zo jən'mu bei-'wu*
 everybody do-PF EXS1 3S dillydally do-GN
 '(I don't think you knew this) while everyone else was busy with their jobs; he was dawdling.'

- (441) *ŋə zo tʂhɛgi-'wu*
 I 3S love-GN
 'It is the case that I love him.'

A clause in the gnomic present tense can be used to reveal reasons indistinct to the addressee, e.g. (442)–(443).

- (442) *mɛŋ du³⁵ khuɛŋ-'wu suzɪzi mɛ-tɕhy*
 weather so cold-GN whoever NEG-walk
 'It is so cold. Nobody would go out.'

- (443) *phu jiku dɛ-'wu suzɪzi mɛ-'ŋyɛŋ*
 price that big-GN whoever NEG-buy
 'The price is so expensive. Nobody would buy it.'

The gnomic present tense often occurs when the speaker discloses a habitual or an ongoing event to an addressee who is believed to have been unaware of the situation, in contrast with the dynamic perfective in *-lɛnɛŋ*, where the addressee is given post-occurrence result about an anticipated event or situation. The information exchanged in the gnomic tense is meant to be surprising to the addressee. In utterance (444), the speaker replied to the question why she had stopped on her way to speak to a stranger. The girl she just spoke to is not a stranger, but an acquaintance.

- (444) *ŋə zo 'mɛsi-'wu*
 I 3S know-GN
 'The fact is I know her.'

In utterance (445), the speaker told a curious acquaintance why she came to the shop.

- (445) *ŋə dzɛnbɛ 'ŋyɛŋ-'wu*
 I vegetable buy- GN
 'I am on the way to buy some vegetable.'

By contrast, in utterance (446), the speaker attested to a neighbour that she was in the market buying some vegetable.

- (446) *ŋə dzɛnbɛ 'ŋyɛŋ-lɛ nɛŋ*
 I vegetable buy-PF EXS1
 'Indeed I want to buy some vegetable.'

In utterance (447), the speaker explained to the addressee that the people were sowing wheat in the field.

- (447) *dutsei yu'mε tshɔ-'wu*
 3PI corn sow-GN
 'It is the case that they are sowing corn. They are corn sowers.'

Contrastingly, in question utterance (448), the questioner anticipated the scope of reply. The reply in utterance (449) affirmed his anticipation.

- (448) *kεke puzu tɛiu-tɛiε bei-ε neŋ?*
 elder.brother younger.brother what-CL do-PF EXS1
 '(I know the brothers are working on some of those things.) Which job have the brothers been doing?'

- (449) *dugu yu'mε tshɔ-ε neŋ*
 3PE corn sow-PF EXS1
 'They have been sowing corn.'

In utterance (450), the speaker attested to a friend that his wife was cooking.

- (450) *zo z'ei bei-ε neŋ*
 3S food make-PF EXS1
 'She has been making food.'

Contrastingly, the question in (451) is posed by a visitor who just spotted that the youngest boy of the family seems to be cooking in the kitchen somewhere between two normal mealtimes.

- (451) *zo tɛiu-tɛiε bei-'wu?*
 3S what-CL do-GN
 'What is he doing there? Why is he there in the kitchen?'

In (452), the mother of the 9-year-old boy replied to the visitor that the boy is really doing the cooking (as it was required by the school teacher and an educational programme).

- (452) *zo z'ei bei-'wu*
 3S food make-GN
 '(Oh I did not tell you about it). It is the case that he is making food.'

For hospitable alpine dwellers, food is the best thing they treat visitors with. This visitor arrived after lunchtime and told the hostess that he had his lunch not an hour before. But stealthily the hostess insisted on cooking something for him. Having finally found the hostess in the kitchen, the visitor posed his question in (453).

- (453) *nuy tciu-tciɛ bei-'wu?*
 you[s] what-CL do-GN
 '(I don't understand you.) What are you doing?'

Such a rhetorical question does not require an answer. The questioner raised the question to the effect that he did not understand the situation. He had eaten his lunch and so had everybody else in the house. There was no need to make lunch again. Then why was the hostess still busy around in the kitchen? The question is used as a technique to save the hostess from hassle in the kitchen rather than trample on her warm-heartedness. Compared with a question in the perfective marker *-le* where the addressee anticipates an answer, e.g. (454), the sharp gnomic question is more often used when the situation containing an evident answer is considered outrageous, e.g. (455).

- (454) *nuy tciu-tciɛ dɛigi-'wu?*
 you[s] what-CL think-GN
 '(I don't understand you.) What are you thinking about? How could you think like that?'

- (455) *nuy tciu-tciɛ dɛgi-le nɛŋ?*
 you[s] what-CL think-PF EXS1
 '(I think I understand you. Let me see if I am right. And if I know more details and maybe we can come by something better, etc.) What do you think about?'

In sentences (456)–(463), the denotation of the gnomic marker *-'wu* is compared with more constructions of varied verbal endings including bare stem sentences, the marker of experienced perceptions, and witnessed prospective markers using the same verb stem *~ji ~ gɛ'go*. In sentences in the gnomic present tense marker *-'wu*, the event is viewed as news to the speaker, e.g. (456), (459), (460), (464) and (465).

- (456) *zo dɔ ji-'wu*
 3S Kāngdìng go-GN
 '(You don't know this.) It is the case that he is on his way to Kāngdìng.'

- (457) *zo do ji*
 3S Kāngdìng go
 'It is arranged that he will go to Kāngdìng.'
- (458) *zo do ji dzien*
 3S Kāngdìng go need
 'He wants to go to Kāngdìng.'
- (459) *zo do ji-'wu dzi*
 3S Kāngdìng go-GN COP
 '(I think you do not know this) It is the case that he is going to Kāngdìng.'
- (460) *zo do ji-'wu dzi tsi*
 3S Kāngdìng go-GN COP REP
 '(I think you do not know this) He said to me that he is going to Kāngdìng.'
- (461) *zo do ji-mu*
 3S Kāngdìng go-EP
 'I witnessed that he is on his way to Kāngdìng.'
- (462) *zo do ji-mu tsi*
 3S Kāngdìng go-EP REP
 'I saw him on the road and learnt from him that he is going to Kāngdìng.'
- (463) *zo do ji-mu tsi-mu*
 3S Kāngdìng go-EP REP-EP
 'Our neighbour saw him on the road and learnt from him that he is going to Kāngdìng. I learned from our neighbour that he (someone else other than our neighbour) is going to Kāngdìng.'
- (464) *ŋə do ji-'wu*
 I Kāngdìng go-GN
 'The fact is I am going to Kāngdìng. (I met you on my way to Kāngdìng. You wonder why I was there.)'
- (465) *ŋə do ji-'wu-lə*
 I Kāngdìng go-GN-PRS
 '(You don't know this) I am going to Kāngdìng. I am on my way to Kāngdìng. I have not reached there yet.'

3.2.5.1.2 *The Agent Nominaliser -'wu*

The suffix *-'wu* is also used to nominalise verbs and clauses in Guìqióng, focusing on the agent of the event, action or state, therefore it is referred to as the agent nominaliser. The two other nominalising suffixes whose denotations are also largely based on thematic relations with respect to the event or action described by the verb preceding them are the circumstantial nominaliser *-lu*, which will be described in 3.2.7.1.1, and the oblique nominaliser *-'ji*, which will be described in detail in 3.2.11. The nominaliser *-'wu* can be added to the stem of dynamic verbs, e.g. (466)–(468).

(466) *go-'wu*
eat-GN
'the eater(s); whoever is/are going to eat (something)'; 'the thing that someone will definitely eat'

(467) *wε-'wu*
wear-GN
the one who wears/is wearing something; those who wear/are wearing something'; 'the thing that someone will definitely wear'

(468) *t̥su-'wu*
use-GN
'the user; the person who uses (something); those who use(something)';
'the thing that someone will definitely use'

A speaker may disambiguate a nominalised noun by adding more information such as patient of the event before the verb stem, e.g. (469) to (473).

(469) *ligə bei-'wu*
work do-GN
'worker'

(470) *z'ei ki-'wu*
food sell-GN
'the person who sells food; the restaurant owner'

(471) *dzi tciε-'wu*
shoe mend-GN
'shoe-menders'

(472) *dziẽ li bei-’wu*
 land work do-GN
 ‘farmers’

(473) *tshuŋ bei-’wu*
 trade do-GN
 ‘businessman’

When the agent nominaliser -’*wu* is added to the stem of a stative verb, the nominalised noun denotes agent, people or object, characterised with the property described by the stative verb, e.g (474)–(480). These derivatives also imply that the agent begets the characteristics described by the stative verb. A contrasting perspective in Guìqióng is the circumstantial suffix -*lu*, which ascribes the event preceding it to the circumstances rather than the agent.

(474) *jen-’wu*
 EXS2-GN
 ‘the rich; people who have a lot’

(475) *dɛ-’wu*
 big-GN
 ‘adult, parent, the elder/eldest; the bigger things’

(476) *nĩ-’wu*
 small-GN
 ‘the younger/youngest; the smaller thing’

(477) *kɔ-’wu*
 able-GN
 ‘the able; the fierce; the winner’

(478) *gɛ-’wu*
 good-GN
 ‘the good; the nice and the beautiful; the nice people’

(479) *mɛ-gɛ-’wu*
 NEG- good-GN
 ‘the bad things; the bad people’

- (480) *mɛ-dzuɐŋ-'wu*
 NEG-acceptable-GN
 'shortcomings; the vulnerable people or objects.'

Sentences (481)–(487) contain the stative verbs nominalised with the agent nominaliser *-'wu*.

- (481) *ɛ'letsei dɛ-'wu-mɛ dzeŋciə tsi dziɛn*
 child big-GN-GEN words REP need
 'Children should listen to the adults.'
- (482) *dɛ-'wu-phə nĩ-'wu wɛn'jɛn dzuɐŋ*
 big-GN-TOP small-GN COMP acceptable
 'The bigger is better than the smaller.'
- (483) *'əgə dɛ-'wu-pɛi*
 elder.sister big-GN-CL
 'Elder sister is the eldest child.'
- (484) *zo-nɛŋ ciɛ-mɛ dzeŋciɛ dzeŋbɛi-'wu.*
 3S-ERG say-GEN words lie-GN
 'What he said is all lies.'
- (485) *jɛn-'wu kusu bɛi mɛ-dziɛn*
 EXS-GN flattery do NEG-need
 'Don't flatter the rich.'
- (486) *tʃhɛ-mɛ-gi-'wu-phə gɛ-'wu wɛn'jɛn dzuɐŋ*
 like<NEG> -GN-TOP good-GN COMP acceptable
 'The unpopular are better than the popular.'
- (487) *zo-mɛ mɛ-dzuɐŋ-'wu ciɛdzibədzi*
 3S-GEN NEG-acceptable-GN prolix
 'The man's shortcoming is his wordiness.'

Whereas the circumstantial nominaliser *-lu* and the oblique nominaliser *-'ji* only occur in combination with verb stems, the agent nominaliser *-'wu* has also been found following nouns. The derivatives formed on the root of a noun with the nominaliser *-'wu* denotes a type of objects or people having the characteristic in common with the prototype nominal, e.g. (488). In this particu-

lar respect, the Guìqióng nominaliser *-wu* attests to its connection with the Chinese morpheme wù 物 in nominals such as *dòngwù* 动物 ‘animals’, *zhíwù* 植物 ‘plants’ and *rénwù* 人物 ‘people, celebrity’.

- (488) *ɛ'letsei -'wu*
 child-GN
 ‘people like a child’

When applied after demonstratives, the compound containing the nominaliser *-wu* denotes a deictic type of people or objects, e.g. examples (489) and (490). The nominaliser *-wu* has also been found to occur after the possessive pronouns, e.g. (491), denoting an example set by the person mentioned.

- (489) *jiki-'wu*
 that-GN
 ‘such people; such things’

- (490) *jiki-'wu de-teie jɛn lɛ?*
 that-GN one-CL EXS2 PF
 ‘Could there be such a thing?’

- (491) *ŋə nuŋ-mɛ-'wu bei-'wu-lɔ*
 I you[s]-GEN-GN do-GN-PRS
 ‘I shall do this by following your example.’

In the nominalised compound containing the nominaliser *-wu*, the agent is seen as the cause of the event and the patient is described as what the agent handles, or takes control of, e.g. *dz'ɛwɛ* ‘clothing’ in (492) and *j'ɛŋ* ‘wheat’ in (493). In the contrasting circumstantial constructions containing the circumstantial nominaliser *-lu*, however, the speaker attributes occurrence of the event to circumstantial factors independent of the agent, e.g. sentences (494)–(496). In these sentences containing the circumstantial suffix *-lu*, a situation may become necessary to be dealt with even before the event occurs. Information about the agent falls into secondary consideration. In (494), the clothes are dirty so they need washing. In (495), it is going to snow the next day because the circumstantial factors have indicated it so. In (496), the circumstance of completing the job is given in the adverbial clause, which indicates that there is no possibility of completing it. More differences between the two markers will be illustrated in 3.2.7.1.

- (492) *dz'ewε jε-'wu gεlhε nεη*
 clothing wash-GN quite EXS1
 'Many people are washing clothing.'
- (493) *dz'ienmε 'jεη tshɔ-'wu nεη lε?*
 home wheat sow-GN EXS1 P
 'Are there wheat-sowing people at home?'
- (494) *dz'ewε gεlhε jε-lu jεn*
 clothing quite wash-CIRC EXS2
 'Much clothing needs washing.'
- (495) *'nε'i khu'wu wui-lu jεn*
 tomorrow snow fall-CIRC EXS2
 'There is a possibility of snow tomorrow.'
- (496) *lei'u-mε dε-tciε dzi-lə bei mε-ji-lə*
 easy-GEN one-CL COP-SJV do NEG-go-SJV
tshu-lu mē
 complete-CIRC ngEXS
 'No matter how easy a task is, there is no chance of completing it if one does not start to do it.'

The nominaliser *-'wu* can also nominalise clauses when the compound it forms occur in complex sentences. The relative clause may occur as the syntactic subject, e.g. sentences (492)–(493), subject complement, e.g. (497)–(499).

- (497) *zo lithɔ tshɔ-'wu*
 3S crop sow-GN
 'He is a farmer.'
- (498) *dutsei gεηtʂi zi-mε hɔηninie-mε ligə-bei-'wu*
 3PI all mountain-GEN yon-GEN work-do-GN
 'They are all workers beyond the mountains.'
- (499) *dutsei gεηtʂi 'jεη tshɔ-'wu*
 3PI all wheat sow-GN
 'They are all wheat growers.'

The relative clause containing the nominaliser *-wu* may also serve as syntactic object, e.g. sentences (500) and (501).

(500) *nuy phu-dɛ-wu ʎnyɛŋ-lɛ*
 you[s] price-big-GN buy-PF
 '(I don't think you knew this) you have bought the thing at a higher price than it should cost.'

(501) *ŋə-mɛ mɛ-dzɯɛŋ-wu-tɛiɛ mɛsi*
 I-GEN NEG-acceptable-GN-CL know
 'I know my shortcoming.'

Whereas the denotation of an agentive nominaliser *-wu* can always be found in a substantive clause, the denotation of a gnomic present tense marker *-wu* can also be found in the same clause occasionally. In sentence (502), the compound *tshuŋ bei-wu* 'man doing business' can be viewed as an agent noun complementing the syntactic subject. It also has the denotation of the gnomic present tense marker, implying that the addressee did not know that the speaker does business as a trade. When the same compound *tshuŋbei-wu* occurs in sentence (503), however, the denotation of the gnomic tense marker is less evident than that of the agent nominaliser, which is perhaps because the compound is meant as an entity familiar to the addressee occurring after the demonstrative. The independent clause in the perfective denotes that the person known as a businessman is unsurprisingly a local resident.

(502) *ŋə tshuŋ bei-wu*
 I business do-GN
 '(You did not know this) I am doing business.' Or 'I am a businessman.'

(503) *dɛi tshuŋ-bei-wu-phə də nɛŋ-lɛ nɛŋ*
 this business-do-GN-TOP here live-PF EXS1
 'The businessman has been living here.'

In sentence (504), the nominaliser *-wu* occurs in the subject and the gnomic present tense marker *-wu* occurs in the predicate of the independent clause. Different from sentence (503), sentence (504) denotes the person known as a businessman is a local resident, a fact that the addressee did not know previously. In both (503) and (504), however, the compound *tshuŋ bei-wu* 'man doing business' occurring in the subject does not denote surprising information to the addressee, which is probably due to use of the demonstrative *dɛi*

and the topic marker *phə*. Without the demonstrative, the nominalised compound denotes a collective entity. These observations show that it is still a challenge to distinguish the nominaliser of verbs from that of clauses in default of appropriate contexts.

- (504) *dɛi tshuŋ bei-'wu-phə də nɛŋ-'wu*
 this business do-GN-TOP here live-GN
 '(I think you did not know this) It is the case that the businessman lives here.'

The suffix *-'wu* in sentences (505) and (506) should be viewed as the gnomic tense marker. The sentence initial element in each sentence is patient of the verb and can be interpreted as what the agent initiates, causes or begets. The agent, which is the speaker, is omitted in these sentences.

- (505) *dɛi-tɕiɐ dziɛŋ-'wu dzi*
 this-CL discard-GN COP
 'This is what I am going to throw away.'
- (506) *jiki-phə χɛsi dziɛŋ-'wu dzi*
 that-TOP also discard-GN COP
 'That is also what I shall throw away.' Or: 'I shall also throw that (bag) away.'

3.2.5.1.3 *The Gnomic Perfect Tense in -'wuli*

The gnomic perfect tense marker *-'wuli* contains the gnomic tense morpheme *-'wu* and the first person inclusive plural imperative morpheme *li*. With this compound marker, the speaker reveals a finished or completed event or situation remaining unknown to the addressee until the speaking moment, e.g. (507)–(509).

- (507) *dz'ɛwɛ jɐ-'wu-li*
 upper.garment wash-GN-1piIMP
 'It is the case that I have washed the jacket.'
- (508) *dz'ɛwɛ jɐ-tshu-'wu-li*
 upper.garment wash-COM-GN-1piIMP
 'It is the case that I have completed doing the laundry.'

- (509) *z'ei bei-'wu-li*
 food do-GN-1PIIMP
 'It is the case that we have cooked the meal.'

In the gnomic tense sentences where the verb stem is followed by the gnomic tense marker *-'wu*, e.g. (510), (512), the speaker explains a currently happening event or situation as news to the addressee. Usually the addressee has difficulty figuring things out even though she/he has witnessed some signs of the event or situation. In utterance (510) someone who should not be doing the cooking busy about in the kitchen aroused the curiosity of the addressee. The speaker who knows more about the situation said that a meal is being made. In the gnomic perfect sentences where the verb stem is followed by the compound marker *-'wu li*, the event or situation explained is not only unknown to the addressee, it was also finished or completed, e.g. (509), (511). Usually the event or situation has yielded immutable result previously unnoticed or unknown to the addressee. In (509), a visitor of the house suggested eating out. Then the hostess told her that the lunch has been made. In (511), the addressee came with some gift of flower seeds. She suggested to the speaker sowing them in the plot in front of the yard. The speaker then mentioned this sowing of corn at an earlier time, obviously unknown to the addressee before.

- (510) *z'ei bei-'wu*
 food do-GN
 '(Oh, don't you know?) The fact is that (he is) cooking the meal.'

- (511) *yu'me tshɔ-'wu-li*
 corn sow-GN-1PIIMP
 'It is the case that we have sown corn (in that plot of field).'

- (512) *yu'me tshɔ-'wu*
 corn sow-GN
 'It is the case that they are sowing corn (in that plot of field). (The speaker told me this when I asked what the men was doing on that plot of field.)'

The big sister of the family insisted that the little boy and girl write those Chinese characters as required by the school teacher. She did not know that the children had written them by the time of speaking. Their mother explained the situation in (513) or (514).

- (513) *dz'i* *teio-'wu-li*
 Chinese.characters write-GN-1piIMP
 '(The children) have written those Chinese characters.'
- (514) *dz'i* *teio* *tshu-'wu-li*
 Chinese.characters write COM-GN-1piIMP
 '(The children) have completed writing all those Chinese character.'

The gnomic perfect tense marker *-'wu li* can be used in giving background information in a factual way, with a hint that the fact was not previously noted by the addressee, e.g. (515). The gnomic perfect tense may also be used in rhetorical questions concerning a recent observation, e.g. (516).

- (515) *dələ* *du³⁵lə* *bəŋ-'wu-li*, *meiteio* *wu-ji-lə* *dzuəŋ*
 here so hot-GN-1piIMP, outside DIR-go-SJV acceptable
 'It has been so hot in the room. It is good to go outside.'
- (516) *tehiəŋsi* *ξə* *gəŋ*, *sueŋ* *mɛ-he-* *'wu-li?*
 often free CON play NEG-come-GN-1piIMP
 'Now that you have so much free time, why have you not come to play?'

3.2.5.1.4 *The Gnomic Prospective Tense in -'wulə*

There are two components in the gnomic prospective tense marker *-'wulə*, the gnomic tense suffix *-'wu* and the prospective morpheme *-lə*, the latter is glossed in the interlinear morpheme glosses as PRS. So far the prospective morpheme *-lə* has been found in two compound markers, the gnomic prospective tense marker *-'wulə* and the prospective tense of experienced perceptions marker *-ləbeimu*, e.g. (518), both of which are related with prospective event or situations. It has not been found to stand alone in independent clause, though it can occur as a conjunction word in some conditional clauses, e.g. (517), denoting a subjunctive situation. The prospective tense of experienced perceptions marker *-ləbeimu* will be described in 3.2.5.2.2.

- (517) *tʂhitʂəu* *bu-lə* *nunɡu-ken* *ji-tehy-di*
 time EXS3-PRS you[pe]-LAT DIR-walk-MOM
 'If there is time, go to your home for a short stay.'
- (518) *'epu* *dz'enχən* *dz'iv-lə* *bei-mu*
 grandfather cigarette consume-PRS do-EP
 'Grandfather is on the point of smoking the cigarette (in his fingers).
 (His move shows this.)'

The gnomic prospective is used when the speaker believes the agent of the prospective event is going to initiate the action and thinks the situation is unnoticed or unknown to the addressee. Assurance of the occurrence of the prospective event, according to the strong belief of the speaker, is directly attributed to the agent of the event who will undoubtedly make it happen either by volition or by obedience to other people's command. The first person agent most often occurs in the gnomic prospective sentences, e.g. (519)–(523). When third person subject occurs in the gnomic prospective sentences, the speaker is either in charge of the activity, e.g. being teacher in charge of the children in (524), or is quite certain about the inveterate habit of the subject leading to the event, e.g. (525), (526). In either case, the speaker assures that the agent subject of the event will make it happen and believes that such information is news to the addressee.

- (519) *nun̄gu ji le?*
 you[pe] go P
 'Are you going?'

ŋəgu ji-'wu-lə
 you[pe] go-GN-PRS
 'We are leaving.'

- (520) *ŋəgu go-'wu-lə*
 we[pe] eat-GN-PRS
 'We are eating. We are not waiting for you.'

- (521) *ŋetsɛi dei khu-tɛiŋ ʎnyɛŋ-'wu-lə*
 we[pi] this dog-CL buy-GN-PRS
 'We are going to buy the dog.'

- (522) *ŋə z'ei bei-'wu-lə*
 I food do-GN-PRS
 '(I have spent too much time chatting.) I am going to make food (right away).'

- (523) *ŋə b'ɔlɔ ʎnyɛŋ-'wu-lə*
 I bread buy-GN-PRS
 '(You don't know what I am going to do) I am going to buy some bread.'

- (524) *ɛ'letsei dz'i tɛiɔ-'wu-lə*
 child Chinese.characters write-GN-PRS
 'The children are going to write Chinese characters. (I am the teacher in charge and I will make them write.)'
- (525) *dɛi mĩ-pei phɛci go-'wu-lə*
 this man-CL pork eat-GN-PRS
 '(This man eats pork.) He is certain to eat pork (this afternoon when he has dinner with us this evening.) (So let's get some pork for him.)'
- (526) *'ɛpu dz'ɛŋχɛn dz'iv-'wu-lə*
 grandfather cigarette consume-GN-PRS
 '(Grandfather cannot live without tobacco.) He is certain to smoke cigarette this time (when he arrives). (Let's prepare for this. Let's buy cigarettes before he arrives.)'

In expressing an impending event about to happen right away, subjunctive morpheme *-lə* and the auxiliary *bɛi* 'do' is inserted between the verb stem and the gnomic prospective marker *'wu-lə*, e.g. sentences (527)–(529). In addition to the use here, the subjunctive suffix *-lə* also occurs as a conjunction in conditional sentences, e.g. (530) a. and b.

- (527) *'ɛpu dz'ɛŋχɛn dz'iv- lə bɛi-'wu-lə*
 grandfather cigarette consume-SJV do-GN-PRS
 'Grandfather is about to smoke right away. (Grandfather is sitting among us, he is fumbling in his pocket now and I can tell that this is the right point when he is about to smoke.)'
- (528) *lɛiɛ dzui-lə bɛi-'wu-lə, phɛci ʒyɛŋ-lɛ*
 spring.festival arrive-SJV do-GN-PRS pork buy-PF
 'The Chinese new year is coming soon. Let's buy pork.'
- (529) *tʂi dui-lə bɛi-'wu-lə, nuŋ ʂuɛŋkutsei-lɛ*
 water boil-SJV do-GN-PRS you[s] quick-PF
dz'ienmɛ dɛ-ji-nɛ
 home DIR-go-IMP
 'I know the water is boiling right soon. I could not leave my work here. You go quickly back home (and turn off the stove).'

- (530) a *ŋə jikə ji-'wu dzi-ləli ŋetsei ɲyɛŋmə ji-li*
 I there go-GN COP-CON we[pi] together go-1PIIMP
 'If I go there, let's go together.'
- b *ŋə jikə ji-lə ŋetsei ɲyɛŋmə ji-li*
 I there go-SJV we[pi] together go-1PIIMP
 'If I go there, let's go together.'

The gnomic prospective marker *-'wulo* also occurs after modal verbs such as *dziɛn* 'want' or *ɲyɛŋ* 'can', e.g. (531)–(533), with first or third person (single or plural) as subject. Some of these sentences are seemingly not about future event, e.g. (531) and (532). In fact, all these constructions imply that an intention, a habit or an acquired skill will ensure that an agent will make a prospective event to happen. Because the gnomic marker *-'wu* implies the information being disclosed is news to the addressee, the skill learned do not have past and current demonstrations. In the future, however, the speaker is certain that owner of the skill will demonstrate it.

- (531) *'ɛpɛ ʂɛŋpɛn bei dziɛn-'wu lə, z'ɛi bei-lɛ*
 father go.to.work do need-GN PRS food do-PF
ji ʂɛŋ ku
 go quick CAUS2
 'Father is about to go to work. Make food quickly.'
- (532) *nun bei ketɕhiɛ ɐ-ɲyɛŋ mu?*
 you[s] Tibetan speech P-can EP
 'Can you speak Tibetan?'
- ŋə bei ketɕhiɛ ɲyɛŋ-'wu-lə*
 I Tibetan speech can-GN-PRS
 'I used to be able to speak Tibetan.'
- (533) *zo bei ketɕhiɛ ɐ-ɲyɛŋ mu?*
 3S Tibetan speech P-can EP
 'Can he speak Tibetan?'
- zo bei ketɕhiɛ ɲyɛŋ-'wu-lə*
 3S Tibetan speech can-GN-PRS
 'It is the case that he used to be able to speak Tibetan.'

3.2.5.1.5 *The Attributive Clause and the Complement Clause Containing -'wu*

The Guìqióng nominaliser *-'wu* has been found to follow the stem of a verb in some attributive clauses, e.g. (534). The attributive clause may also occur before the genitive case marker *-mε* and together they form attributive of a noun, e.g. (536). These attributive clauses actually assume characteristics both of the agentive nominaliser and the gnomic tense marker *-'wu*. They usually describe surprising information to the addressee. They also describe characteristics issuing from the inherence of agent. They are factual and generic.

- (534) *ŋə βu wũ-thəu-'wu wu-dε-'wu lo-dε-'wu-mε*
 I horse DIR-tall-GN DIR-big-GN age-big-GN-GEN
'wuʂε-tciεŋ dʒiɔ ji-'wu
 yellow-CL look go-GN
 'I am on my way to see the big old yellow horse.'

- (535) *βu tʂhi-χεŋ-'wu tʂhi kɔ-'wu-tciεŋ neŋ*
 horse very-hard-GN very fierce-GN-CL EXS1
 'There is a bad-tempered horse quite hard to tame.'

- (536) *ge-'wu-mε ε'letsei-pei denidetshe dʒ'i tsɛn ji*
 good-GN-GEN child-CL.human everyday book learn go
 'A child from a good family goes to school every day.'

The nominaliser and gnomic present tense marker *-'wu* also occurs after *ciε* 'say', or *dεigi* 'think' to introduce and report the content of speech, thinking or belief. Such a construction can be interpreted as 'what one says, thinks or believes is that', e.g. (537)–(538), (540)–(543). The complement clause can be seen as a counterpart of the content of the speech. It implies that the addressee does not previously know what the specific speaker articulates, which is the denotation of the gnomic present tense marker *-'wu*. It also implies that the speech is given by the specific speaker rather than any other sources, which is the denotation of the agent nominaliser *-'wu*. By contrast, when the conjunction word *-geŋ* 'at that time' or 'hence' is used, e.g. (539), the speaker does not intend that the precise content of the indirect speech is being reported. Neither does the speaker mean it as anything surprising to the addressee. Whereas the content of thought or speech is given immediately after the verb denoting think or speak ending with *-'wu*, (537)–(538), (540)–(542). The content of belief given in a clause ends with the gnomic tense marker *-'wu*, which is then followed by the verb denoting believe, e.g. (543).

- (537) *zo dzio-ɛ tʃhi tɕiə ɣeŋ, zo ɕie-'wu tɕiə mɛ-kɔ*
 3S look-PF very clear CON 3S say-GN clear NEG-TEL
 'He saw it clearly, but he said that he could not see it clearly.'
- (538) *zo ɕie-'wu jiki dzisɛn-pu*
 3S say-GN that oerst-CL
 'He said that it was an oak tree.'
- (539) *zo ɕie ɣeŋ jiki dzisɛn-pu*
 3S say CON that oerst-CL
 'He said that it was an oak tree.'
- (540) *ɛmɛ ɕie-'wu su ŋə-mɛ ɛ'letsɕi dɛ-ɛ*
 mother say-GN who I-GEN child hit-PF
 Mother asked, "Who bullied my child?"
- (541) *mɛimɛi ɕie-'wu nuŋ ŋə zɔ ɐ-kɔ*
 younger.sister say-GN you[s] I help P-TEL
 The younger sister asked (me), "Will you be able to help me?"
- (542) *zo dɕigi-'wu 'wu ji-'wu-lɔ*
 3S think-GN self go-GN-PRS
 'He thinks that he will go.'
- (543) *zo tɕhi dɛ-tei-mɛ-kɔ-dzi-'wu tsitʃɕegi*
 3S sheep DIR-find-NEG-TEL-COP-GN believe
 'He believes that the sheep couldn't be found.'

3.2.5.2 Guìqióng Present, Prospective and Past Tense of Experienced Perceptions

This section deals with the present tense of experienced perceptions marked with *-mu* and the prospective tense of experienced perceptions marked with *-lobɛimu*.

3.2.5.2.1 *The Present Tense of Experienced Perceptions in -mu*

The Guìqióng suffix *-mu*, which is glossed as EP in the interlinear morpheme glosses, shows an affinity with Dzongkha grammatical category of experienced perceptions in *-mä*. Both morphemes "expresses an activity or phenomenon going on at the moment of reference which the speaker has just experienced"

(van Driem 57: 2002). The moment of reference is taken to be in the present, unless otherwise specified, as in sentence (545), (547) below. The Guìqióng morpheme of experienced perceptions *-mu* is also used to express habitual events, which describes the event in the way it is witnessed by the speaker, e.g. (544) and (546).

- (544) *muhi tchiɛŋsi ʒɔ-mu*
 wind often blow-EP
 'The wind often blows like this.'
- (545) *khu'wu dziɛŋmeijɛŋtsei wui-mu*
 snow softly fall-EP
 'As I watch, the snow is falling softly.'
- (546) *'mɛ'lɛ dz'ɛŋ tchiɛŋsi wui-mu*
 now rain often fall-EP
 'Nowadays it often rains as I see it now.'
- (547) *dz'ɛŋ wui-mu*
 rain fall-EP
 'I see it is raining now.'

Example (547) was given by my informant Yáng Xiàoyún when it was raining again outside on an August afternoon. Two additional sentences he has given to describe the scene are (548) and (549). While all these sentences are related to the fact that it is raining, sentence (547) in the suffix of experienced perceptions *-mu* denotes that snowing is a just witnessed scene, sentence (548) in the dynamic perfective marker *-lɛŋɛŋ* depicts the post-occurrence result of raining, sentence (549) in the progressive prefix *su-* denotes a progressive raining process.

- (548) *dz'ɛŋ wui-lɛ nɛŋ*
 rain fall-PF EXS1
 'As you know, it is raining.'
- (549) *dz'ɛŋ su-wui*
 rain PR-fall
 'It is raining.'

- (550) *jiki e'letsei dzɛŋbeɪ-mu*
 that child lie-EP
 '(We have been listening to him and have come to realize that) the child was lying.'
- (551) *nɛsi phu dɛ-ku-mu*
 egg price big-CAUS2-EP
 '(The speaker went into a supermarket and found that) the price of eggs has been raised.'

Like the Dzongkha *-mä*, the Guìqióng *-mu* is used to “express an activity whose subject is in the third person. The use of the tense of experienced perceptions with respect to a first person is ungrammatical in virtually every naturally occurring context, since a person’s information about his own activities is personal knowledge, which he has not acquired through observing himself from outside” (van Driem 58: 2002).

- (552) *zo mɛi ki-mu*
 3S door open-EP
 '(I saw) he opened the door.'
- (553) *zo jɛjɛbeɪ-mu*
 3S bathe-EP
 '(I found) that he has just begun to take a shower.'

In expressing an activity conducted by a third person, the event marked by the suffix of experienced perceptions *-mu* implies that the action has just begun. In the dynamic perfective construction which depicts the event in an active post-occurrence resultative state, e.g. (555), (557) and (559), and the progressive sentence (560), the activity could not be specified as at the initial stage. Thus when a speaker uses the present tense of the experienced perceptions, he/she is only trying to articulate observations and not to jump to hasty conclusions.

- (554) *dutsei diditsheɪ-mu*
 3PI quarrel-EP
 'I see they have just begun a quarrel.'
- (555) *dutsei diditsheɪ-lɛ nɔŋ*
 3PI quarrel-PF EXS1
 'They had/have been quarreling.'

- (556) *zo tchĩŋɛ-mu*
 3S get.ill-EP
 ‘He appears to have been ill.’
- (557) *zo tchĩŋɛ-ɛ nɛŋ*
 3S get.ill-PF EXS1
 ‘He had/s been ill.’
- (558) *zo dz’ɛwɛ jɛ-mu*
 3S uppergarment wash-EP
 ‘She has just begun to do the laundry.’
- (559) *zo dz’ɛwɛ jɛ-ɛ nɛŋ*
 3S uppergarment wash-PF EXS1
 ‘She has been doing the laundry.’
- (560) *zo dz’ɛwɛ su-jɛ*
 3S uppergarment PRG-wash
 ‘She is in the process of doing the laundry.’

Again similar to Dzongkha *-mä*, the Guiqióng *-mu* is used to “express feelings, sensations and thoughts experienced by the speaker and cannot be used to express the feelings of a third person subject because the sensations and emotions felt by a third person are not personally experienced by the speaker, which is an essential aspect of the meaning of this tense” (van Driem 59: 2002)

- (561) *ŋə tʂhi kuɛŋ-mu*
 I very cold-EP
 ‘I feel very cold.’
- (562) *ŋə wɛnʼjɛn tchi-mu*
 I head pain-EP
 ‘I have a headache.’
- (563) *ŋə tsei ə nikɛtchi-mu*
 I son DAT forehead.pain-EP
 ‘I miss my son.’

Sentence (563) contains the idiomatic expression that forehead-pain denotes missing someone.

- (564) *ŋə gui-mu*
 I happy-EP
 'I feel happy.'

In the indirect speech, a third person subject is allowed to occur, e.g. (565), (566).

- (565) *zo wən'jən tɛhi-mu tsi*
 3S head pain-EP REP
 'I heard she say she had a headache.'

- (566) *zo ɛiɛ-'wu zo gui-mu*
 3S say-GN 3S happy-EP
 'I heard she say she was happy.'

Or the descriptions can be made in a careful observer's way, e.g. (567).

- (567) *zo wən'jən tɛhi-mu ʂu-'wu*
 3S head pain[v.]-EP true-GN
 'It seems that she is having a headache.'

Due to the private nature of dreaming, a speaker cannot watch or personally experience a child dreaming. So the only possible explication of sentence (568) is that the speaker dreamed of the child and the child appeared in the speaker's dream. When the speaker talked about his own dream, therefore, he can speak of it as personal experience, e.g. (569), or he can recollect the people involved in his dream, e.g. (568). A dynamic perfective sentence, e.g. (570), may have double paraphrases in case of inadequate contexts.

- (568) *ɛ'letsɛi mɛŋ-mu*
 child dream-EP
 '(I) dreamt of the child.'

- (569) *ŋə mɛŋ-mu*
 I dream-EP
 'I dreamt.'

- (570) *ε'letsɛi mɐŋ-lɛ*
 child dream-PF
 'The child had/has dreamed.' Or 'I have dreamed of the children.'

The following sentences nearly blur the boundary between one's personal sensations and perceptions and a third person's activities in that it describes a third person's inner sensations somehow discerned by the speaker in empathy. But these sentences cannot counter the definitions of the tense of experienced perceptions because the main verbs of sentences (571) and (572), actually also indicate activities outwardly perceptible by a third party.

- (571) *zo dɛŋ'jɛŋ tɕuɛitɕuɛi-mu*
 3S heart throb-EP
 'One can feel that his heart is beating loudly.'
- (572) *'əgə zosi phɔ-mu*
 elder.sister worry feel-EP
 'My elder sister is very worried.'

A second person is not often described in the tense of experienced perceptions, though it is possible for second person subject to occur in an event of experienced perceptions, e.g. (573).

- (573) *nuŋ zo ŋɐŋ-mu*
 you[s] 3S fear-EP
 'You are afraid of him, as I have found.'

The tense of experienced perceptions can also be used in the first clause of compound sentences with one event occurring immediately after the other, e.g. (574) and (575), usually both with respect to a third person. Of the two events, the event bearing the suffix of experienced perceptions *-mu* has also just started by the time the second event begins. A touch of concern is also contained in these sentences.

- (574) *zo mi-tɕhyo-mu dziɛŋzu-lɛ dz'ɛŋχɛn dz'ɛ dzien*
 3S DIR-sit-EP immediately-PF cigarette consume need
 'According to what I see, he wants to smoke as soon as he sits down.'
- (575) *zo dɛ-ji-dzui-mu dziɛŋzu-lɛ gɔ-lɛ*
 3S DIR-DIR-arrive-EP just-PF cry-PF
 'I found that she cried immediately after she got in.'

In the interrogative sentences, the present tense marker of experienced perceptions *-mu* often occur at the end of the question to elicit information about the addressee's experienced perceptions, e.g. (576) and (577). The pre-modal particle *ə- ~ v- ~ ε-* occurs in the middle of the sentence right before the modality of the sentence is disclosed, usually before the sentence-final verb stem or auxiliary. When the pre-modal particle prefixed to syllables containing an open vowel, the pre-modal prefix exhibits the allomorph *v-*, e.g. (577). When prefixed to syllables containing a closed back vowel, the pre-modal prefix exhibits the allomorph *-ə*, e.g. (578). When prefixed to syllables containing a closed front vowel or approximate *j*, the pre-modal prefix exhibits the allomorph *ε-*, e.g. (579) and (580).

- (576) *nuy-ə tʂi ji-mu?*
 you[s]-DAT water thirsty-EP
 'Are you thirsty?'
- (577) *phu detʂi thəu-lɛ v-nvɛŋ-mu?*
 price a.bit high-PF P-EXS1-EP
 'Isn't the price a bit too high, don't you think?'
- (578) *dɛi-tɛiv nuy-nvɛŋ dʒ'iuku-mɛ ə-mu dʒi*
 this-CL you[s]-ERG break-GEN P-EP COP
 'It seems you have broken this (glass).'
- (579) *nuy z'ɛi bɛi-lu ε-tɛi lə?*
 you[s] food do-CIRC P-become.available P
 'Is it likely for you to do the cooking now?'
- (580) *nuy ligə bɛi-lu ε-jɛn lə?*
 you[s] work do-CIRC P-EXS2 P
 'Are there things for you to do now?'

3.2.5.2.2 *The Prospective Tense of Experienced Perceptions in -lɔbɛimu*

The Guìqióng prospective tense of experienced perceptions in the compound marker *-lɔbɛimu* 'appear to happen soon' denotes an event that is believed to occur soon in accordance with perceptions of the speaker. The prospective tense of experienced perceptions marker *-lɔbɛimu* has three components, the prospective morpheme *-lɔ*, the basic auxiliary *bɛi* 'do' and the suffix of experienced perceptions *-mu* in that order. The activity in the prospective tense of experienced perceptions is most naturally conducted by, or an event will most naturally happen to any of the second or third person singular or plural,

animate or inanimate. The prospective tense of experienced perceptions is consistent with the tense of experienced perceptions in that the whole event, despite its accomplishment in the future, is rooted in the perceptions of present signs, e.g. (581)–(591).

- (581) *zo dei khu-teiɛŋ ʎyɛŋ-lɔ-bei-mu*
 3S this dog-CL buy-PRS-do-EP
 'It seems that he is going to buy the dog.'
- (582) *dutsei dei khu-teiɛŋ ʎyɛŋ-lɔ-bei-mu*
 3PI this dog-CL buy-PRS-do-EP
 'It appears that they are going to buy the dog.'
- (583) *nuy qo ji-lɔ-bei-mu*
 2S Kāngdìng go-PRS-do-EP
 'According to what I see, you are going to Kāngdìng.'
- (584) *nugu qo ji-lɔ-bei-mu*
 you[pe] Kāngdìng go-PRS-do-EP
 'So you people are going to Kāngdìng, according to what I see.'
- (585) *tɕi dui-lɔ-bei-mu*
 water boil-PRS-do-EP
 'According to what I see, the water will soon be boiling.'
- (586) *mintɔ pɕe-lɔ-bei-mu*
 flower open-PRS-do-EP
 'I see (some plants) will soon come into bloom.'
- (587) *dz'eŋ wui-lɔ-bei-mu*
 rain fall-PRS-do-EP
 'It seems that it is raining soon.'
- (588) *zo ɠɔ-lɔ-bei-mu*
 3S cry-PRS-do-EP
 'I see that he is at the point of crying.'
- (589) *dɛŋpu si'ŋɛ dzui-lɔ-bei-mu*
 January 15th arrive-PRS-do-EP
 '15th of January is arriving soon.'

- (590) *dugu-me dz'ienj to tshu-l-bei-mu*
 3PE-GEN house build COM-PRS-do-EP
 'It seems that the building of their house is about to be completed.'
- (591) *zo qo ji-l-bei-mu*
 3S Kāngdìng go-PRS-do-EP
 'It seems that he is going to Kāngdìng.'

When the speaker suddenly becomes conscious of a precarious situation he or she is in, the experienced prospective construction can be used in the first person for the effect of empathy as if it were experienced by the addressee, e.g. (592).

- (592) *ŋə te-l-bei-mu nuŋ ŋə χɔ-di*
 I fall-PRS-do-EP you[s] I catch-MOM
 'Look I am falling! Give me a hand and help me stand firm.'

3.2.5.3 The Experienced Past Tense

Etymologically or semantically, the Guìqióng experienced past tense in *-niən* does not have anything to do with the tense of experienced perceptions. It is described in the same chapter because it also indicates human experience. Semantically it parallels the experiential aspect suffix *-guò* 过 in Mandarin. Like the Chinese *-guò*, the Guìqióng suffix *-niən* is used to denote a post-occurrence state when all the result of a past event has been removed.

- (593) *dɛi liki go-niən*
 this tofu eat-EXP
 'I have eaten this kind of tofu before.'
- (594) *dutsei jiki dz'i-thə dzio-niən*
 3PI that book-CL look-EXP
 'It is a book that they have read.'
- (595) *ŋə tshəŋdu gẽ-niən*
 I Chéngdū go-EXP
 'I have been to Chéngdū.'
- (596) *zo qo gẽ-niən*
 3S Kāngdìng go-EXP
 'He has been to Kāngdìng.'

- (597) *dɛi mũ khukhu-kən bɛ mɛ-niɛn*
 this person other-LAT go NEG-EXP
 ‘This person has not been to anywhere else.’
- (598) *mɛbu-kən dzui-niɛn*
 Mài**bēng**-LAT arrive-EXP
 ‘He has been to Mài**bēng** (麦崩) village.’
- (599) *ʂikɐ ləʂi-mɛ gɛbu gɛmu-niɛ ɕiɛ-niɛn*
 past old-GEN old.man old.woman-IND say-EXP
lɛmɐŋ-mɛ zi ji-gɐŋ sɛnpu zieziɛ
 Shělián-GEN mountain go-CON tree dense
 ‘Old people of the past once said, trees grew densely on the mountains
 of Shělián village.’

An experienced past event is negated by adding the negative prefix *mɛ-* of *mɛ-* ~ *mɛ-* ~ *mə-* before the experienced past morpheme *-niɛn*, e.g. (599) in accordance with the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6. The experienced past tense marker *-niɛn* is used to end an affirmative clause. In questions, *-niɛn* can be followed by the question particle *lɛ*.

- (600) *nuy tʂəŋdu gɛ̃-niɛn lɛ?*
 you[s] Chéngdū go-EXP P
 ‘Have you been to Chéngdū (成都)?’

gɛ̃-niɛn
 go-EXP
 ‘Yes, I have been there.’

gɛ̃ mɛ-niɛn
 go NEG-EXP
 ‘No, I have not been there.’

3.2.6 Aspect Marking

This section deals with progressive aspect, perfective aspect, momentaneous aspect and *Aktionsart* auxiliary.

3.2.6.1 Guìqióng Progressive Aspect Marker *su-* ~ <*su*>

The progressive aspect marker *su-* ~ <*su*> glossed as PRG in the interlinear morpheme glosses, precedes the final syllable of the verb stem. Only activity

verbs and some emotional verbs can take the progressive aspect marker *su-* ~ <*su*>. An activity or process in the progressive aspect depicts a pre-resultative state where the occurrence is progressing along a stable time span without any post-occurrence result disclosed. The progressive aspect marker *su-* ~ <*su*> is similar to the Chinese *zài* 在 and contrasts with the Chinese *zhe* 着. Unlike *zhe* 着, an activity or process in the progressive aspect is not depicted as a continuing one. It is only ongoing at a specific temporal point. Verbs denoting innately and steadily persistent state overflowing and defying against a particular temporal point could not occur in the progressive aspect.

(601) *phɛi zibu<su>zu*
 father get.angry<PRG>
 'Father was/is in a fit of anger.'

(602) *dz'ɛŋ su-wui*
 rain PRG-fall
 'It was/is in the process of raining.'

(603) *tʂi su-dui*
 water PRG-boil
 'The water was/is boiling.'

(604) *ŋə su-gui*
 I PRG-happy
 'I am just feeling happy.'

The progressive marker *su-* ~ <*su*> stands in opposition to the perfective aspect marker *-le* in terms of position and denotation. Both the basic perfective marker *-le* and the compound perfective marker *-lenɛŋ* are often used to denote post-occurrence result issued from an imperfective event and implies continuity forbidden by the denotation of the progressive aspect. Details of these perfective markers will be given in 3.2.6.2. The temporal texture is supposed to be evenly distributed in the progressive aspect constructions. Event in the progressive aspect is depicted as pre-resultative and counter-resultative. Contrastingly, perfective aspect markers such as the perfective marker *-le* and the compound perfective marker *-lenɛŋ* depicts post-occurrence result contained in the time span from after the occurrence. A speaker uses the progressive aspect marker *su-* ~ <*su*> to describe an ongoing event without disclosing any post-occurrence result such as continuity, e.g. (602). He uses the perfective aspect to describe continuing result yielded from after the occurrence, e.g. (605).

- (605) *dz'veŋ wui-le neŋ*
 rain fall-PF EXS1
 'It has been raining.'

The prefixed progressive marker *su-* ~ <*su*> and the suffixed perfective aspect marker *-le* contrasts with each other in perspectives. Whereas the progressive aspect marker *su-* ~ <*su*> screens post-occurrence continuity from being disclosed, the basic perfective *-le* and the compound perfective marker *-lenəŋ* views an occurrence in terms of its continuing post-occurrence result. Thus these markers are incompatible with each other in one sentence. Even for the same activity verb which can bear either of the makers, it has never been found that the verb takes both markers within the same sentence.

Depicting the event in an unequivocally stable time span without any change in the quality of the activity, the progressive aspect marker *su-* ~ <*su*> also contrasts semantically with the tense marker of experienced perceptions *-mu*, which describes an event as the perceptions of the speaker rather than an inexorable truth. These observations can be proved by the suffixal endings in concord with the progressive *su-* ~ <*su*> in the same sentence.

In most cases, verbs compounding with the progressive prefix *su-* ~ <*su*> do not carry suffixal marker when occurring in a clause, e.g. (601)–(604). However, a small portion of the sentences articulated by my informants do have endings. The speakers from Lèshù 勒树 and Chǎngmǎ 厂马 tend to use the gnomic tense marker *-wu*, e.g. (606)–(608).

- (606) *ŋə z'ei su-bei-'wu*
 I food PRG-do-GN
 'I was/am cooking food.'

- (607) *dutsei z'ei su-go-'wu*
 3PI food PRG-eat-GN
 'They were/are eating.'

- (608) *zo 'mɛ'le dz'ɛwɛ su-ki-'wu*
 3S just.now clothing PRG-sell-GN
 'She is selling clothing now.'

An informant from Chǎngmǎ village of Mài'bēng Township also use copula *dzi* after the main verb stem, e.g. (609).

- (609) *dz'ɛwɛ* *su-jɐ* *dzi*
 clothing PRG-wash COP
 'Someone was/is doing laundry.'

In Qiánxī 前溪 village, no sentence-final morpheme is necessary for the progressive aspect. But my Qiánxī informants have confirmed to me that it is all suitable to add the copula *dzi* at the end of the verb stem to assert the truth. Another common practice among speakers of different regions is to prolong the last syllable of the verb. The gnomic tense marker *-wu* (see 3.2.5.1) is often used to explain an unexpected piece of news to the addressee. The copula *dzi* occurs to verify a fact. Thus both endings evidence that the progressive aspect marker *su-* ~ <*su*> describes an unequivocally progressive event.

3.2.6.2 Guìqióng Perfective Markers

In this chapter, the Guìqióng perfective aspect markers will be described. The group of Guìqióng perfective aspect markers includes the basic perfective aspect marker *-lɛ* and the compound perfective markers formed with the basic perfective suffix *-lɛ* in combination with three of the existential verbs, the animate *nɛŋ*, the inanimate *jɐn* and the dependent *bu* in the language.

3.2.6.2.1 *The Perfective Marker -lɛ*

The perfective marker *-lɛ*, glossed in the interlinear morpheme glosses as PF, follows the verb stem to indicate a post-occurrence resultative state which has arisen as a consequence of an occurrence at some other time or location. A time span from after the occurrence and ever after is contained in the perfective constructions containing the perfective marker *-lɛ*. The specific result implied in the basic perfective indicated by the verb in the perfective marker *-lɛ* is seen as inevitably contained in the post-occurrence time span. The inevitable containment relationship of the implied resultant state within the post-occurrence time span is understood between the speaker and addressee. The post-occurrence time span is inherent to the event. It has little to do with the reference time and will not be affected by the time of utterance. The post-occurrence resultative state indicated by the perfective marker *-lɛ* can be contained in an occurrence past, present or prospective. It can also be contained in the indicative as well as the subjunctive mood.

For the basic perfective marker *-lɛ*, the type of post-occurrence result released and disclosed is not specified or distinguished. An addressee will construe its specific interactions with contextual events. The post-occurrence state of a day getting dark, for example, may specifically denote an afternoon temporal point later than one originally hopes, or as approaching the dinner

time, or as inappropriate for alpine hiking, or as against one's personal plan concerning a particular temporal point and so on and so forth. The resultant implications of one's shopping may include possession of the purchased items, the observing of other people's shopping, or the precise reason why the shopper is not at home.

The perfective marker *-le* can combine with any of the three clause-ending existential verbs, the animate *neŋ*, the inanimate *jen* and the dependent *bu* to specify the type of result contained in the post-occurrence time span. These compound markers will be described in the 3.2.6.2.2, 3.2.6.2.3 and 3.2.6.2.4 respectively.

Translating of the perfectives into English is full of challenge. The Guìqióng perfective *-le* is comparable to the Mandarin Chinese *-le* but very different from the English present perfect tense. Difficulty in the documentation of the precise denotation of a particular perfective construction doubles the challenge. It is hardly possible to record the context of a perfective construction fully when much of the contextual information is simply speechless. Besides, the successful explication of a particular perfective construction in its context may not help one understand its translation in another context because the same construction is allowed to have different interactions in changed contexts. Any change in the context may raise difficulty in its English translation. The current description tries to list more than one rendition of the original Guìqióng perfective construction and each is also accompanied by a specified context. However, only one denotation is appropriate when the perfective construction is used in any given context.

- (610) *dz'eŋ wui-le*
rain fall-PF
'It has begun to rain (and it would be cold outside without a jacket)'.
'It rained (early this morning so the girl stayed in)'. 'It has been raining
(as this is the rainy season so you'd better not stay out too long)'.
- (611) *phɛ si-le*
pig die-PF
'The pig died (ten minutes ago)'. 'The pig has died (so there are only
chickens in the yard)'. 'The pig has died (so we see the dead corpse
here at the roadside)'.
- (612) *tʂi dui-le*
water boil-PF
'The water has begun to boil (so I can turn off the cooker in a minute
and leave for the market with you)'. 'The water boiled (half an hour ago

so it should not be too hot for us to drink now)'. 'The water has been boiled (so we can stop to make some tea)'.

- (613) *dutsei* *φuteiε* *tchy-le*
3PI road walk-PF

'They have begun to take a stroll down the road (so you can meet them at the road)'. 'They have taken a stroll down the road (and now they are probably on their way to a weekly market)'. 'They are taking a walk down the road (and they will return in fifteen minutes)'. 'They were taking a walk down the road (and it was just one of the things they have been doing for decades)'.

- (614) *zo* *z'ei* *bεi-le*
3S meal do-PF

'He has begun to make food (since the guests have expressed their wish to stay)'. 'He has made the lunch (so the children can enjoy a meal with him)'. 'He is making the lunch (while everybody else is watching a television program)'. 'He has been making the lunch (since he got married eleven years ago)'. 'He made supper (and then waited for the children at the phone)'.

- (615) *z'ei* *bεi-le*
meal do-PF

'The food was cooked.' 'The food is being cooked.' 'The food has/had been made.'

- (616) *βεitsi* *tsitsuεŋ-le*
star(s) see-PF

'The travellers saw the stars (when they trudged on the plateau)'. 'The stars have come out and I was staring at them (when listening to the neighbours chat)'.

- (617) *mintɔ* *phε-le*
flower open-PF

'The flower has begun to open (so I have picked a bundle to light up the living room)'. 'The flower blossomed (half a month ago so we would soon have sunflower seeds)'. 'The flower has been blossoming (due to the season so the country looks different from a couple of months ago)'.

- (618) *jukhu dzui gey mintɔ phe-le*
 spring arrive CON flower open-PF
 ‘Now that the spring has arrived, the flowers opened.’ ‘When spring arrives, the flowers will open up.’
- (619) *muhi ʒɔ-le*
 wind blow-PF
 ‘The wind has begun to blow (so we had better not go out this evening)’. ‘The wind is blowing (and one can see the tree leaves brushing against the balcony)’. ‘The wind has blown (and all clothing has been blown to the ground)’. ‘The wind often blows (so people have weathered face in this region)’.
- (620) *mintshə dzui-le*
 sun arrive-PF
 ‘The sun has begun to come out (so the weather forecast was right that we shall have a sunny day)’. ‘The sun is out (so we can put out the linens under the sun)’. ‘The sun has come out (so you should really get up right away)’. ‘The sun was out (that morning when we went to the mountains)’.
- (621) *mey beŋ-le*
 weather hot-PF
 ‘It has become hot (so we do not need the coat)’. ‘It is hot (and the baby cries a lot because of the heat)’. ‘It was hot (so it was really tough to work outdoors in sweltering heat)’.
- (622) *leisi lən-le*
 crab.apple rot-PF
 ‘The crab apples have begun to rot (so we’d better not eat them)’. ‘The apple has rotten (so mother had to throw it away)’. ‘The apples decayed (last year)’.

When following an inchoative or modal verb, the perfective aspect marker *-le* denotes the post-occurrence resultative state contained in the time span from after the situation is obtained.

- (623) *wε jiv ji-le*
 get.up IND become-PF
 ‘It is time to get up.’

- (624) *go niε ji-ε*
eat IND become-PF
'It is time to eat.'
- (625) *dz'ienmε dε-ji niε ji-ε*
home DIR-go IND become-PF
'It is time to go back home.'
- (626) *'mε go niε ji-ε*
medicine eat IND become-PF
'It is time to take medicine.'
- (627) *dz'eŋ wui niε ji-ε*
rain fall IND become-PF
'The raining season is here.' Or: 'It is time to rain.'
- (628) *zo ligə bei-lu tci-ε*
3S work do-CIRC become.available-PF
'He has been able to work (since he has been offered a job).' Or: 'It has become likely for him to work (now that he has been offered a job).'
- (629) *ŋə hε-lu tci-ε*
I come-CIRC become.available-PF
'It has become likely for me to come.'
- (630) *nuy tchiε'i qo bε-ε. z'ei*
you[s] today Kāngdìng go-PF food
go-lu ε tci-ε
eat-CIRC P become.available -PF
'You have been to Kāngdìng today. Have you been able to find something for food in there?'
- go-lu tci-ε*
eat-CIRC become.available-PF
'Yes, we have.'
- (631) *ŋə bei kε ciε 'ŋyεŋ-ε*
I Tibetan speech speak can-PF
'I can speak Tibetan now.'

The post-occurrence result can be specified by adding any of the existential verbs after the perfective *-le*. When the perfective marker *-le* is followed by the animate existential verb *nɛŋ*, the dynamic perfective marker *-lɛnɛŋ* is formed to denote dynamic post-occurrence result such as perceptible activities, changes of state and emotion, and interactions by the participation or experience of the agent. When the perfective marker *-le* is followed by the inanimate existential verb *ʃɛn*, the static perfective marker *-lɛʃɛn* is formed to denote static post-occurrence result such as inanimate entities removable from the location of the occurrence and signs of change following the activity. When the perfective marker *-le* is followed by the dependent existential verb *bu*, the dependent perfective marker *-lɛbu* is formed to denote a post-occurrence result contained in a geographic scope. These compound markers of specified result reflect deep-rooted grammaticalised interactions of the perfective aspect with basic existential relationship in Guìqióng.

3.2.6.2.2 *The Dynamic Perfective Marker -lɛnɛŋ*

Of the two morphemes constituting the compound marker, the initial *-le* is the basic perfective marker and the ending *nɛŋ* is the animate existential verb. The basic containment relationship between the post-occurrence time span and the implied result in the basic perfective *-le* contained within that time span remains unchanged in dynamic perfective constructions. The animate existential verb occurs to specify a dynamic post-occurrence result such as animate beings, activities, interactions and perceptible emotional changes attributable to the participation of the agent. In sentence (632), after others had left, two people still stayed on in the room. The post-occurrence result of the situation is depicted as a change in the number of people.

- (632) *dʒ'ienmɛ mũ ɲi-peɪ tsɛn-le nɛŋ*
 home man NUM-CL remain-PF EXS1
 'Two people were left in the house.'

By specifying the post-occurrence result in terms of agentive activity and participation, the dynamic perfective denotes explicit activity manifest in the post-occurrence time span, e.g. (633) and (634). Whether or not the agent is expressed overtly in the sentence, the denotation of the dynamic perfective construction is unaffected, e.g. (635).

- (633) *ɲə mɛŋ ɡɛŋ ɲə b'u-le nɛŋ*
 I dream CON I fly-PF EXS1
 'When I dreamt, I was flying.'

- (634) *tʃi tchiɐn-lɛ nɐŋ*
 water flow-PF EXS1
 'The water had/s been flowing.'
- (635) *ɸɛitsi tsitsɯɐŋ-lɛ nɐŋ*
 star see-PF EXS1
 '(The travellers) have seen the stars.'
- (636) *dutsi mɛi tchiɔ-lɛ nɐŋ*
 they[pi] door close-PF EXS1
 'They have been closing the door.'
- (637) *ɛ'letsei ɡɔ-lɛ nɐŋ*
 child cry-PF EXS1
 'The child cried.' 'The child was crying.' 'The child has been crying.'
- (638) *zo dz'ɛwɛ jɛ-lɛ nɐŋ*
 3S clothing wash-PF EXS1
 'She [mother] was doing the laundry.' 'She has been doing the laundry.'
 'She washed clothes.'
- (639) *sɛnpu ɡ'unluŋ zi-lɛ nɐŋ*
 tree walnut grow-PF EXS1
 'Walnuts had/have grown on the tree.'

Verbs expressing habitual behaviour can also denote habitual occurrences in the dynamic perfective *-lɛnɐŋ*, e.g. (640)–(644). When denoting a habit, the dynamic perfective is used to assure the addressee that the agent or experiencer has acquired such a habit and has participated in activities denoted. The ambiguity of habitual or one-time occurrence can only be resolved by the context.

- (640) *ɛ'letsei ɡɔli-ɡu sɯɐn-lɛ nɐŋ*
 child garden-ILL play-PF EXS1
 'The child often plays in the garden.' 'The child had/s been playing in the garden.' 'The child was/is playing in the garden.'
- (641) *zo b'ɔɔ ɡɔ-lɛ nɐŋ*
 3S bread eat-PF EXS1
 'He was/is eating bread.' 'He eats bread.' 'He has been eating bread.'

- (642) *zo jɛŋ ki-lɛ nɛŋ*
 3S wheat sell-PF EXS1
 ‘He was/is selling wheat.’ ‘He sells wheat.’ ‘He has been selling wheat.’
- (643) *dutsei ɸuteiɛ tɛhy-lɛ nɛŋ*
 3PI road walk-PF EXS1
 ‘They have been taking a stroll down the road.’ ‘They took a stroll down the road.’ ‘They (often) take a stroll down the road.’
- (644) *ɛ’letsei denidetsɬe ɡɔli-ɡu suɛn-lɛ nɛŋ*
 child every.day garden-ILL play-PF EXS1
 ‘The child plays in the garden every day.’

When a stative verb occurs in the dynamic perfective, e.g. (645)–(651), some outwardly perceptible change of state, emotion or interaction must have transpired.

- (645) *phɛi zibuzu-lɛ nɛŋ*
 father get.angry-PF EXS1
 ‘Father has/had become angry.’ Or: ‘Father was/is angry.’
- (646) *muhi tʂhi dzɛn-lɛ nɛŋ*
 wind very strong-PF EXS1
 ‘The wind was/is blowing hard.’
- (647) *χɛntsei ɛ’letsei bu-lɛ nɛŋ*
 younger.sister child bear-PF EXS1
 ‘My younger sister has been pregnant with child.’
- (648) *phɛ si-lɛ nɛŋ*
 pig die-PF EXS1
 ‘The pig has died.’
- (649) *ŋə zo tʂhɛgi-lɛ nɛŋ*
 I 3S like-PF EXS1
 ‘I fell in love with him’ or ‘I have been in love with him (he might not know that).’

- (650) *zo dz'ɛwɛ subu wɛ tʃhɛgi-lɛ nɛŋ*
 3S clothing new wear enjoy-PF EXS1
 'He had/had been enjoying wearing new clothes.' 'He enjoys wearing new dress.'

- (651) *ŋə dz'ɛwɛ subu wɛ tʃhɛgi-lɛ nɛŋ*
 I clothing new wear enjoy-PF EXS1
 'I had/have been enjoying wearing new dresses.'

Repeatable behaviour or recurring phenomena may also be expressed with stative verbs in the dynamic perfective, e.g. (650)–(651). The resolution of ambiguity between one-time and frequent occurrences depends on different levels of context. An adverb of time indicating frequency, i.e. *tchiɛŋsi* 'often', occurs in sentences (652) and (653), denoting recurring situations.

- (652) *phɛi tchiɛŋsi zibuzu-lɛ nɛŋ*
 father often get.angry-PF EXS1
 'Father often gets angry.'

- (653) *muhi tchiɛŋsi tʃhi dzɛn-lɛ nɛŋ*
 wind often very strong-PF EXS1
 'The wind is often very strong.'

For verbs denoting perception and interaction, the dynamic perfective form must contain an overt and perceptible process of activity. Interaction verbs are allowed to take the dynamic perfective form in the first and third person, e.g. *tʃhɛgi* 'like', in (649), (650) and (651), because an interaction event involves outwardly perceptible or overt activities between two parties, whether this be a first person or a third person subject. By contrast, perception verbs can logically only express an overt result when a third-person subject is observed, e.g. *gui* 'happy' and *zibuzu* 'get.angry' in (652), (655), (656). In case of personal sensation, one may feel that one begins to feel happy or angry within oneself, but the mental change lacks an externally perceptible effect and cannot be described as a dynamic change to others. Therefore a verb of sensation with a first person subject cannot occur in the dynamic perfective, e.g. (654) and (657).

- (654) *ŋə gui-lɛ*
 I happy-PF
 'I have been happy.'

- (655) *zo gui-le neŋ*
 3S happy-PF EXS1
 'She has indeed become happy.'
- (656) *zo zibuzu-le neŋ*
 3S angry-PF EXS1
 'He is really angry.'
- (657) *ŋə zibuzu-le*
 I angry-PF
 'I have become angry.'
- (658) *zo gu-le neŋ*
 3S understand-PF EXS1
 'It is the case that he has understood.'

Likewise, whilst one may observe an overtly successful process of understanding with respect to a third person and confirm it to the addressee, e.g. (658), it is hardly possible for one to show to an outsider the overt result of one's own successful understanding. Overtly perceptible change is indispensable for the use of the dynamic perfective form, but not necessary for the use of the basic perfective aspect marker *-le* because the basic perfective marker may imply any type of post-occurrence result and does not discriminate, e.g. the positive answer in (659). In second-person questions concerning the post-occurrence result of a perceptual process, the dynamic perfective is not attested for the same reason, e.g. (659)–(661).

- (659) *nuy ə-gu le?*
 you[s] P-understand P
 'Have you understood?'
- ŋə gu-le*
 I understand-PF
 'I have understood.'
- (660) *nuy gu mɛ̃ lə?*
 you[s] understand ngEXS P
 'Have you understood or not?'

ŋə mə-gu
 I NEG-understand
 'I don't understand.'

- (661) *nuy ə-gu mə lə?*
 you[s] P-understand NEG P
 'Do you understand now?'

For modal constructions, the dynamic perfective aspect similarly denotes outwardly perceptible post-occurrence transitions, e.g. (662), (663).

- (662) *zo ligə bei-lu tci-lə nəŋ*
 3S work do-CIRC become.available-PF EXS1
 'It is true that he has become able to work (now that he has been offered a job).'

- (663) *zo hɛ-lu tci-lə nəŋ*
 I come-CIRC become.available-PF EXS1
 'He can come back.'

- (664) *zo bei kɛ ciɛ ʎyɛŋ-lə nəŋ*
 3S Tibetan speech speak can-PF EXS1
 'He has become able to speak Tibetan.'

- (665) *zo depɛitsei zi ji ʎy-lə nəŋ*
 3S alone mountain go dare-PF EXS1
 'She was brave enough to go to the mountains alone.'

The negative form of the dynamic perfective uses the perfective suffix *-lə* followed by the negative animate existential verb *mɛ-nəŋ*. The negative dynamic perfective implies that a certain anticipated post-occurrence result has failed to materialise. As the agent is around, there is hope that the result may be attained sometime later. In sentence (666), the man who is supposed to have drunk the water is still sitting at the table. In sentence (667), people who are likely to close the door have not left yet. The sentence can be used when one has at first thought that the shop had closed but it was still open. Thus one may choose to go shopping at this unusual time. The implication is that the shop would be closed soon. In the context of sentence (668), the implied factors

that would normally make people happy are still available. Thus a negative dynamic perfective form implies that the temporarily unrealised expectation may yet become true at some later moment if the necessary conditions are met in terms of the agent at the moment of utterance.

(666) *tʂi dz'ix-le mə-nɛŋ-sɛŋ*
 water drink-PF NEG-EXS1-utterly
 'He did not drink the water.'

(667) *mɛi tʂhiɔ-le mə-nɛŋ*
 door close-PF NEG-EXS1
 'The door is not closed.'

(668) *zo gui-le mə-nɛŋ*
 3S happy-PF NEG-EXS1
 'He (was expected to be happy but he) looked unhappy.'

(669) *nɛŋɡui ŋɛ-le mə-nɛŋ*
 pants dirty-PF NEG-EXS1
 '(You thought the trousers were dirty.) They are not. (I shall continue to wear them for a couple of days more).'

(670) *phu thəu-le mə-nɛŋ*
 price high-PF NEG-EXS1
 'The price is not as high as originally thought.'

(671) *zo bei ke ciɛ ʎyɛŋ-le mə-nɛŋ*
 3S Tibetan speech speak can-PF NEG-EXS1
 'He cannot speak Tibetan.'

Sentence (671) implies that the man should have been able to learn Tibetan because he had lived with Tibetans every day and was in an advantageous position for learning the language. These conditions did not change at the time implied even though the man had not learnt the language. Sentence (672) denotes that the girl wanted to go to the mountains but failed to do so out of fear. The implication is that the girl could still do so at some later time.

(672) *zo dəpɛitsei zi ji ʎy-le mə-nɛŋ*
 3S alone mountain go dare-PF NEG-EXS1
 'She was not brave enough to go to the mountains by herself.'

- (673) *zo dēdētshvei ʎy-ɛ mə-nɛŋ*
 3S fight dare-PF NEG-EXS1
 'He had intended to fight but he dared not (and gave up) in the end.'

In questions, the dynamic perfective may be combined with question particles or with the gnomic tense marker to reveal more concrete information, even to settle the ambiguity of the dynamic perfective. The questioner in sentence (674) tries to elicit an affirmation regarding the most likely post-occurrence result with respect to the pig. Apparently, he knew the possible situation about the pig as implied by his use of the sentence-final particle *ɛ?*, suggesting that the pig might possibly die. In sentence (675), the denotation of the dynamic perfective bears upon acquiring the habit of drinking a lot of alcohol more generally rather than on a particular episode of drinking the wine right before one's eyes. Because the dynamic perfective is ambiguous between denoting a one-time and a recurring event, the gnomic tense marker *-'wu* is employed in the question to indicate that the questioner wonders whether the utterance expresses an addiction to drinking rather than a particular episode of drinking. In sentence (676), the speaker wanted to know if it is right time to buy pork for the celebration of the New Year's season. Usually local residents buy fresh pork during the butchering season at the end of the lunar year. Temporal adverbials at the beginning of the sentence help resolve the ambiguity of the dynamic perfective and decide between a reading involving the commencement of the killing season, which comprises hundreds of instances of butchering, and a reading of the utterance as denoting a one-time occurrence. One-time occurrences usually have a fuller context on which to depend, e.g. (677). Upon meeting one of the parents of the boys at the neighbourhood early in the morning, the boys' classmate wonders whether or not they have got out of bed as well.

- (674) *dɛi phɛ si-ɛ nɛŋ ɛ?*
 this pig die-PF EXS1 P
 'Is this pig dead?'

phɛ si-ɛ nɛŋ
 pig die-PF EXS1
 'It is the case that the pig has died.'

- (675) *zo vɜp dʒ'iv-ɛ nɛŋ-'wu ɛ-dʒi mu?*
 3S wine drink-PF EXS1-GN P-COP EP
 'Has he really taken to drinking wine?'

dzi zo vɜv dʒ'iv-lɛ nɛŋ mə
 Yes 3S wine drink-PF EXS1 EXH
 'Yes, he has indeed taken up drinking wine.'

- (676) *dɛi wɛtʃɛ phɛ sɛ-lɛ v-nɛŋ mu?*
 this while pig kill-PF P-EXS1 EP
 'Have they begun to slaughter the pigs recently?'

sɛ-lɛ nɛŋ
 kill-PF EXS1
 'Yes, the slaughtering has begun.'

- (677) *dutsei wɛ-lɛ nɛŋ?*
 3PI rise-PF EXS1
 'Are they getting up? Have they got up?'

wɛ-lɛ
 rise-PF
 'They've got up.'

wɛ-lɛ nɛŋ
 rise-PF EXS1
 'They are getting up.' 'They got up.'

dutsei wɛ-lɛ mə-nɛŋ
 3PI rise-PF NEG-EXS1
 'They have not got up.' 'They did not get up (as expected).'

dutsei 'mɛ mə-wɛ
 3PI still NEG-rise
 'They have not got up yet (as it is).' 'They did not get up.'

In questions, the questioner can use either the affirmative or the negative dynamic perfective form to ask if any activity, perception or experience has occurred, e.g. (678), (679). Whether or not the dynamic post-occurrence result has been accomplished, the objective conditions which have led to the result were met.

- (678) *phu thəu-tʃu-lɛ nɛŋ?*
 price high-COM-PF EXS1
 'Has the price got so high?'

- (679) *zo qui-le me-nəŋ le?*
 3S happy-PF NEG-EXS1 P
 'Is he happy? (Previously he was unhappy.)'

3.2.6.2.3 *The Static Perfective Marker -lejen*

When the perfective marker *-le* is followed by the inanimate existential verb *jen*, the static perfective marker *-lejen* is formed. The event or situation bearing the static perfective marker *-lejen* implies what I have chosen to describe as a containment relationship with specified static result contained within the post-occurrence time span. The meaning of the static perfective marker *-lejen* results from a combination of the semantic content of the perfective aspect marker *-le* with that of the inanimate existential verb *jen*. The basic containment relationship with certain result contained in the post-occurrence time span common to the perfective constructions containing the perfective *-le* is still implied in static perfective constructions. The post-occurrence result specified by the inanimate existential verb *jen* is attributable to a preceding activity, process or change. In opposition to the dynamic perfective, however, the denotation of the static perfective does not concern agentive participation, experience and activity. Perceptible signs of the occurrence might include inanimate entities produced by the occurrence, which might be removable from the location of the occurrence, or quantitative changes attributable to the occurrence. The nominal denoting a static post-occurrence result often immediately precedes the verb stem. In many static perfective sentences with a transitive verb as the main verb, there is apparent inanimate agreement between the sentence-final *jen* and the nominal preceding the main verb, e.g. (680)–(687).

- (680) *dz'ienmε dz'iu'wu detei tsən-le jen*
 home oil morsel remain-PF EXS2
 'There is a bit of oil (left) in the house.'

- (681) *zo-me meitehiə mintə də-tʂuəŋ tɕhiu-le jen*
 3S-GEN doorway flower NUM-CL put-PF EXS2
 'A pot of flower has been put in front of her door.'

- (682) *jitshəŋ də-thu-to-le jen*
 a.storey DIR-DIR-build-PF EXS2
 'An additional storey has been built on the top of the original building.'

- (683) *phɛ si-lɛ jɛn*
 pig die-PF EXS2
 'The pig has died and its corpse is here.'

- (684) *phɛ sɛ-lɛ jɛn*
 pig kill-PF EXS2
 'The pig had been slaughtered some time ago and its corpse was/is here.'

In utterance (685), the wheat seed was sown two months ago, and the wheat has been growing ever since in the vegetable garden. The activity denoted by the verb *tshɔ* 'sow' has long since ceased. The abundant wheat is a static result attributable to the action of sowing.

- (685) *gɔli-gu j'ɛŋ tshɔ-lɛ jɛn*
 garden-ILL wheat sow-PF EXS2
 'Inside the garden wheat was sown.'

In utterance (686), the speaker refers to Chinese characters as a static result produced by the child's act of writing. It is irrelevant whether or not the child is still writing at the moment of utterance.

- (686) *ɛ'letsei dʒ'i tɕiɔ-lɛ jɛn*
 child Chinese.characters write-PF EXS2
 'The child has written those Chinese characters.'

In utterance (687), grandfather has a barren garden where he plans to grow some flowers next year. He talks about his plan from the perceptible static post-occurrence result of seed sowing. In utterance (689), a hole was found in the flatland at the bottom of the valley which had been dug sometime beforehand.

- (687) *mintɔ nihi tentə-ləwuwə gɔli-gu tshɔ-lɛ*
 flower next.year summer-DAT garden-ILL sow-PF
jɛn
 EXS2
 'Next summer the flower will grow in the garden.'

- (688) *ɕi sɛ-lɛ jɛn*
 meat boil-PF EXS2
 'There is cooked meat.'

- (689) *pətsei-gu khəkho-tɛiɐ hɐ-lɛ jən*
 flatland-ILL hole-CL dig-PF EXS2
 'There is a hole dug in the flatland.'

In utterance (690), the speaker talks about the walnuts kept at home. They are seen as the static result of the past activity of bringing them home and storing them.

- (690) *dʒ'iɛnme g'uŋluŋ gɐlhɐ tɕhiu-lɛ jən*
 home walnut quite put-PF EXS2
 'At home a lot of walnuts have been stored.'

In utterances (691) and (692), the static result of the event is deduced from the visible quantitative change of the entity denoted by the nominal complement of the verb.

- (691) *tsiɔdʒ'iɐ dʒ'iɐ-lɛ jən*
 tea.water drink-PF EXS2
 'The tea was drunk.'

In sentence (692), the mother was unsure whether or not her son had eaten the bread. The boy was not at home. She checked the bread basket on the table and found the bread gone. So he must have eaten the bread, the mother infers.

- (692) *zo b'ɔlɔ go-lɛ jən*
 3S bread eat-PF EXS2
 'It turned out that he had eaten the bread.'

In sentence (693), the speaker was initially unsure about whether the wheat had been sold or not. She checked the cellar and found the sack of wheat gone. So it had been sold, the speaker inferred.

- (693) *'jɐŋ ki-lɛ jən*
 wheat sell-PF EXS2
 'It turns out that the wheat has been sold.'

Static results can also be inferred from clues not specified in the sentence, e.g. (694), (695). In utterance (694), when the aunt saw traces of tears on the boy's face, she asked whether the boy had been crying and the boy's mother confirmed this.

- (694) *ε'letsɛi ɣɔ-lɛ jɛn*
 child cry-PF EXS2
 'It is the case that the child had cried.'

In utterance (695), the speaker opened the door in the morning and found wet ground and flowers covered with drops of water. It was not raining at the moment of utterance. It had rained and the rain had made the ground wet.

- (695) *dz'ɛŋ wui-lɛ jɛn*
 rain fall-PF EXS2
 'It had rained.'

In utterances (696) and (697), the event or situation fades into the past with the departure of the agent from the location of the occurrence. In utterance (696), the speaker saw the man sitting on the bench and then leave.

- (696) *zo pɛntəŋ tɛhyo-lɛ jɛn*
 3S bench sit-PF EXS2
 'He was sitting on the bench some time ago.'

In sentence (697), the elders of the village have returned home from their daily walk after lunch. When the activity was talked about in the afternoon, the static perfective is used.

- (697) *dutɛi ɸutɛiv tɛhy-lɛ jɛn*
 3PI road walk-PF EXS2
 'It was the case that they had walked down the road.'

In utterance (698), the speaker found that the door of a neighbour's house had been closed for too long. When she left home early in the morning, she noticed that the door was closed. When she returned late in the afternoon she found the door was still closed.

- (698) *mɛi hɛʃi tɛhiɔ-lɛ jɛn*
 door still close-PF EXS2
 'The door was closed.'

In utterance (699), the static result denoted relates to the local expectation that courtesy demands reciprocity. Nine months after the cousin's family sent a gift on the occasion of grandfather's birthday celebration, grandfather's family will now in return bring a gift to the wedding of the cousin's son.

- (699) *'epu-mε* *səŋ* *bei-gəŋ* *zo*
 grandfather-GEN birthday.celebrations do-CON 3S
bε-le *jən*
 go-PF EXS2
 'When they celebrated grandfather's birthday, a cousin's family joined
 (the occasion and brought some gifts for grandfather).'

The negative static perfective is expressed by the combination of the perfective suffix *-le* with the negative inanimate existential verb *mε*. Use of the negative static perfective assumes that some activity was supposed to be carried out but that people supposed to do so left without doing so. The result which had been anticipated is not likely to occur because conditions for its realisation have been removed.

In utterance (700), the speaker thought that the guest who had just left had drunk the water. She checked the tumbler and found that it untouched. The result is final, static and outwardly perceptible. The water had not been drunk and the person who was supposed to drink the water was already gone.

- (700) *tʂi* *dʒ'iv-le* *mε*
 water drink-PF ngEXS
 'He had not drunk the water.'

In utterance (701), the door should have been closed, but it wasn't. The people who were supposed to close the door have left. The sentence can be used when one finds that the neighbour's whole family have left without closing the door and believes that something unusual must have happened.

- (701) *mεi* *tʂiɔ-le* *mε*
 door close-PF ngEXS
 'The door was not closed.'

Only activity verbs and a small proportion of achievement verbs can take the static perfective form. Stative verbs as well as verbs denoting sensation, perception, interaction and cognition, e.g. *de* 'big', *gui* 'happy', *zibuzu* 'angry', *gu* 'understand', *tʂhegi* 'like', *mεsi* 'know', do not take static perfective forms. This can be clarified by the fact that the stative perfective *-lejen* requires a perceptible static post-occurrence result capable of being removed from the location of the occurrence and implies a separation of the agent/experiencer from the result. A post-occurrence result of a sensation, a perceptual process or a process indicated by a stative verb forms part of the knowledge of the speaker and can hardly be removed in the way a pot of flowers can be moved.

In questions containing the static resultative marker *-lejən*, the questioner expects certain static result produced out of an event or situation and asks for confirmation from the listener. Different interrogative particles may precede or follow the inanimate existential verb *jən*. The sentence-final particle may reveal what the questioner already knew about the situation. With questions ending in the particle *lə*, the speaker usually expects an affirmative reply. By contrast, use of the marker of experienced perceptions *mu* suggests less assurance on the part of the speaker. In utterance (702), the particle *lə* implies that all the teachers of the local school are required to hand in articles, including the addressee. In utterance (703), the experienced perceptions marker *mu* is used, as the questioner feels uncertain about whether she will receive an affirmative answer to the question.

(702) *nuy tɕiɔ-lɛ ɛ-jən lə?*
 you[s] write-PF P-EXS2 P
 'Have you also written something?'

(703) *nuy tɕiɔ-lɛ ɛ-jən mu?*
 you[s] write-PF P-EXS2 EP
 'Have you also written something?'

The speaker in utterance (704) wanted to add some water to the guest's teapot. She asked the question, took the lid off the teapot and found it almost empty. Almost at the same time, the guest uttered his reply.

(704) *tɕiɕɕ'iv dʒ'iv-lɛ ɛ-jən mu?*
 tea.water consume-PF P-EXS2 EP
 'Have you drunk the tea?'

dʒ'iv-lɛ jən
 consume-PF EXS2
 'I have drunk it.'

(705) *phɛ sɛ-lɛ ɛ-jən mu?*
 pig kill-PF P-EXS2 EP
 'Have they slaughtered the pigs?'

sɛ-lɛ jən
 kill-PF EXS2
 'Yes, they have slaughtered them.'

sɛ-lɛ mẽ
 kill-PF ngEXS
 'No, they have not.'

(706) *dɛi phɛ si-lɛ jɛn lɛ?*
 this pig die-PF EXS2 P
 'Is the pig dead?'

phɛ si-lɛ jɛn
 pig die-PF EXS2
 'The pig is dead.'

3.2.6.2.4 *The Dependent Perfective Marker -lɛbu*

When the perfective marker *-lɛ* is followed by the dependent existential verb *bu*, the dependent perfective marker *-lɛbu* is formed to denote a resultative state contained within some locational parameters. The temporal containment relationship basic to all perfective constructions remains unchanged, but is augmented, as it were, by a spatial dimension. Syntactically, the adverbial expression of location precedes the verb and its nominal complement. Only a small number of activity verbs are attested in this construction, e.g. (707), (709), (710).

The question in (707) is posed by an illiterate and solitary mother to her married daughter who had just arrived to see her. Someone had told the old lady that all the ingredients of a medical formula were written down in Chinese characters in the notebook. She has been waiting for her daughter to check this for her. The Chinese characters are the result of an earlier act of writing and are physically kept in the notebook.

(707) *dɛi pɛntsi dʒ'i tɛiɔ-lɛ ə-bu mu?*
 this notebook Chinese.characters write-PF P-EXS3 EP
 'Are there any Chinese characters written in the notebook?'

tɛiɔ-lɛ bu
 write-PF EXS3
 'Yes, there are.'

In a copular sentence, the existence verb *bu* occurs at the end of the sentence, e.g. (708).

- (708) *pətsei-gu khɔkhɔ-tɛiɐ bu*
 flatland-ILL hole-CL EXS3
 ‘There is a hole in the flatland.’

The word order is rigid, whether in a copular sentence or in the dependent perfective, e.g. (708), (709). The same word order is observed in the dynamic and static perfective, e.g. (711), (712).

- (709) *pətsei-gu khɔkhɔ-tɛiɐ hɐ-lɛ bu*
 flatland-ILL hole-CL dig-PF EXS3
 ‘There is a hole dug in the flatland.’

- (710) *dziẽ-gu bɔ zi-lɛ bu*
 field-ILL weed grow-PF EXS3
 ‘There are weeds growing in the field.’

- (711) *dziẽ-gu bɔ zi-lɛ nɐŋ*
 field-ILL weed grow-PF EXS1
 ‘There are weeds growing in the field.’

- (712) *dziẽ-gu bɔ zi-lɛ jɛn*
 field-ILL weed grow-PF EXS2
 ‘There were weeds in the field.’

3.2.6.2.5 *The Perfective Marker -lɛ Used to Express Volition*

The perfective marker *-lɛ* can also be used to convey volition. There is no subjunctive as such in Guìqióng. Even the imperative varies in its verbal forms.

With a first person subject, the perfective suffix *-lɛ* expresses a sense of assurance that the result will be achieved, e.g. (713)–(720). In utterances (719) and (720) the first person subject is implied. The perfective marker makes an offer of help sound more sincere. Directional morphemes may combine with the resultative suffix *-lɛ*, e.g. (714)–(717) to indicate transition. In such usage, the perfective marker does not denote a preterite event.

- (713) *ŋə nuŋ yɔ-lɛ*
 I you[s] provide.for-PF
 ‘I shall provide for you!’

- (714) *ŋə mɛi wu-ki-lɛ*
 I door DIR-open-PF
 ‘I shall open the door!’

- (715) *ŋə tʂi-phə wu-dz'iv-lɛ*
 I water-TOP DIR-drink-PF
 'I shall drink the water.'
- (716) *ŋə dei χuv-phə thu-kɛ-lɛ*
 I this picture-TOP DIR-hang-PF
 'I shall hang up the picture.'
- (717) *ŋə mɛi wu-tʂiɔ-lɛ*
 I door DIR-close-PF
 'I shall close the door.'
- (718) *ŋəgu nuŋ zɔ hɛ-lɛ*
 we[pe] you[s] help come-PF
 'We have come to help!'
- (719) *nuŋ dz'ɛwɛ wu-tʂɛtʂɛ 'nɛ'i wu-jɛ-lɛ*
 you[s] clothing DIR-change tomorrow DIR-wash-PF
 'You change your clothing and I shall wash it (for you) tomorrow.'
- (720) *dei dz'i-thə nuŋ-ə wu-khɛŋ-lɛ*
 this book-CL you[s]-DAT DIR-give-PF
 'I shall give this book to you.'

An imperative construction with a second-person subject does not contain the perfective suffix *-lɛ*, therefore, does not indicate a result, e.g. (721)–(723).

- (721) *nuŋ mɛi wu-tʂiɔ*
 you[s] door DIR-close
 'Close the door!'
- (722) *nuŋ dei χuv-phə thu-kɛ lɛ*
 you[s] this picture-TOP DIR-hang P
 'Would you please hang up the picture?'
- (723) *nuŋ tʂi-phə wu-dz'iv lɛ*
 you[s] water-TOP DIR-drink P
 'Please drink the water.'

In expressing the speaker's wish with respect to a third-person agent, the manipulative causative marker *-ku* is preferred since the intended activity or

event with third person agent will be made to happen via the second-person addressee, e.g. (724), (725). Besides, the manipulative causative marker *-ku* emphasises the implementation of the intended act.

(724) *zo dei χuv-phə thu-kε-ku*
 3S this picture-TOP DIR-hang-CAUS2
 ‘Let him hang up the picture.’

(725) *zo tʂi-phə wu-dz’iv-ku*
 3S water-TOP DIR-drink-CAUS2
 ‘Let her drink the water.’

When a speaker conveys wish concerning a concatenation of events, the perfective suffix *-le* is always allowed to occur after the stem of the verb indicating a beforehand or initial event. In such case, agent of the first imperative clause is not confined to first person subject because post-occurrence result of the first event is seen as basis for the following events. Without the post-occurrence result of the first event, it would be impossible for the ensuing event to happen, whoever the person is. Naturally, event in the ensuing clause are highly flexible in their endings, e.g. (726)–(728).

(726) *nuy mei wu-tchiɔ-le, dz’i teiɔ ji-ne*
 you[s] door DIR-close-PF Chinese.characters write go-IMP
 ‘You close the door, then go to write the Chinese characters.’

(727) *zo mei wu-tchiɔ-ku-tshu-le dz’i*
 3S door DIR-close-CAUS2-COM-PF Chinese.characters
teiɔ ji-ne
 write go-IMP
 ‘Let him close the door, then go to write the Chinese characters.’

(728) *ŋə dz’i-phə teiɔ-tshu-le ji-’wu-lɔ*
 I Chinese.characters-TOP write-COM-PF go-GN-PRS
 ‘Let me write these words and then I shall go.’

(729) *nuy dz’i-phə wu-teiɔ-tshu-le*
 you[s] Chinese.characters-TOP DIR-write-COM-PF
suən ji-ne
 troll go-IMP
 ‘You write these words and then play.’

- (730) *zo dz'i-phə* *wu-teio-tshu-ku*
 3S Chinese.characters-TOP DIR-write-COM-CAUS2
ji ku
 go CAUS2
 'Let him write these words and then play.'

3.2.6.3 The Momentaneous Aspect Marker *-di*

The momentaneous ending *-di* is used after the bare stem of a verb to denote an event that is not meant to last long. Activity and volition verbs may occur in this aspect. Stative verbs and telic verbs have not been attested to occur in the momentaneous aspect. The momentaneous suffix often follows a verb which is preceded by one of the directional prefixes. Such a combination captures the event in a transition.

The momentaneous aspect often occurs in the polite imperative, e.g. (731)–(738).

- (731) *wu-khuitshə-di*
 DIR-stir-MOM
 'Give it a stir (outwardly).'
- (732) *ji-khuitshə-di*
 DIR-stir-MOM
 'Give it a stir (inwardly).'
- (733) *'nɛ'i nuŋ wu-'lu-di*
 tomorrow you[s] DIR-read-MOM
 'Tomorrow you have a read.'
- (734) *wu-χi-di*
 DIR-chant-MOM
 'Read it aloud for a while.'
- (735) *wu-χɛ-di*
 DIR-run-MOM
 'Have some jogging.'
- (736) *wu-tɛhy-di*
 DIR-walk-MOM
 'Take a stroll.'

- (737) *dɛ-wu-ji-di-nɛ*
 DIR-DIR-go-MOM-IMP
 '(You have just come up to me). Go back again!'
- (738) *dɛ-thu-hɛ-di-'wɛ*
 DIR-DIR-come-MOM-IMP
 '(You have just gone down). Go up back again!'

In the indicative mood, the construction of a directional prefix plus the verb root plus the momentaneous suffix *-di* is also used, in combination with a preterite event that lasts for a short while, e.g. (739)–(742). These sentences may have first or third person as subject.

- (739) *ŋə ɣɛmɛtsɛi-lɛ ji-dɛigi-di*
 I careful-PF DIR-think-MOM
 'I have thought carefully for a while.'
- (740) *zɔ ji-go-di*
 3S DIR-eat-MOM
 'She had a taste.'
- (741) *ŋə tɕhiuŋtɕiuŋ wu-dziɔ-di gɛ̃-lɛ*
 I yesterday DIR-look-MOM go-PF
 'Yesterday I went to take a look.'
- (742) *'əgə tɕhiuŋtɕiuŋ wu-dziɔ-di hɛ-lɛ*
 elder.sister yesterday DIR-look-MOM come-PF
 'Yesterday my elder sister came and had a look.'
- (743) *nuy zɛŋ wu-tshɛtshɛ-di*
 you[s] self DIR-try-MOM
 'You have a go.'
- (744) *tʂitʂhəu bu-lə nuŋgu-ken ji-tɕhy-di*
 time EXS3-SJV you[pe] -LAT DIR-walk-MOM
 'If there is time, let's go to your place for a short visit.'

3.2.6.4 Guìqióng *Aktionsart* Auxiliaries

A Guìqióng *Aktionsart* auxiliary (van Driem 1993: 197, 2001: 657) combines with the stem of the main verb in a clause to express a type of lexical aspect of the

verb. A verb capable of compounding with the *Aktionsart* auxiliary is compatible with the specific aspect expressed with the *Aktionsart* auxiliary, though, without the auxiliary, the lexical aspect would be buried among the many other potential aspects at the same lexical level. The *Aktionsart* auxiliary follows the bare stem of the main verb and precedes the markers of grammatical aspect, tense, or other sentence ending particles to mark out and focus on the specific lexical aspect.

Two *Aktionsart* auxiliaries, the completive *tshu* and the telic *ko*, will be studied in 3.2.6.4.1 and 3.2.6.4.2 respectively.

3.2.6.4.1 *The Completive Aktionsart Auxiliary tshu*

The *Aktionsart* auxiliary *tshu* follows the stem of the main verb to indicate the potential completive property of an action or event. The interlinear morpheme gloss for the completive *Aktionsart* auxiliary is COM. Phonetically and semantically, the *Aktionsart* auxiliary *tshu* is probably related to ancient Chinese *tsut* ‘卒’ and latter-day Chinese *tsú* ‘卒’, both of which can denote ‘complete’ in an appropriate context. A combination of the verb stem and the completive *Aktionsart* auxiliary does not automatically warrant completion of the event. It must be followed by the perfective aspect marker *-le* in order to denote attainment of the anticipated completive property, e.g. (745), (746).

(745) *z'ei go-tshu-le*
 food eat-COM-PF
 ‘The food has been eaten up.’ Or: ‘(We) have finished eating our lunch.’

(746) *dz'veŋ wui-tshu-le*
 rain fall-COM-PF
 ‘The rain has stopped.’

Other sentence-final markers occurring after the completive *tshu* include the prospective tense of experienced perceptions marker *-lo bei mu*, e.g. (747), the second causative suffix *-ku*, e.g. (748), and the conjunction *geŋ*, e.g. (749). Examples (745) to (749) also show that the syntactic position of the *Aktionsart* auxiliary is closer to the verb stem than any other type of suffix.

(747) *dz'ieŋ to-tshu-lo-bei-mu*
 house build-COM-PRS-do-EP
 ‘According to what I saw, the building will soon be completed.’

- (748) *ɛzɐ dz'iv-tshu-ku*
 wine drink-COM-CAUS2
 'Let him drink the wine up!'
- (749) *dətsi jən-tshu gɐŋ, gə-lɛ*
 so.much EXS2-COM CON, enough-PF
 'There is so much in here. It is enough.'

The negative allomorph *mə-* of the negative morpheme *mɛ- ~ mɐ- ~ mə-* prefixes the *Aktionsart* auxiliary *tshu*, e.g. (750), according to the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6.

- (750) *dz'ivɐ to-mə-tshu*
 house build-NEG-COM
 'The building of the house has not been completed.'

Other negative forms containing the completive *Aktionsart* auxiliary *tshu* correspond either to the perfective aspect marker, or other *Aktionsart* auxiliary. Interrogative sentences containing the completive *Aktionsart* auxiliary *tshu* are often expressed in conjunction with the perfective aspect, e.g. (751)–(582). While the negative existential verb *mɛ̃* is used for second person interrogative, e.g. (751) and (752), the negative form of animate existential verb *mɐ nɐŋ* is used in questions concerning third person subject, e.g. (753) and (754). When the negative existential verb *mɛ̃* is used in conjunction with the completive *Aktionsart* auxiliary *tshu*, it follows the completive auxiliary and precedes the sentence-ending question particle, e.g. (751) and (752). For most other verbs and verbal phrases, the negative static perfective form also uses the perfective and resultative suffix *-lɛ* before the negative existential verb *mɛ̃*, e.g. *tchiɔləmɛ̃* '(a door) not closed'.

- (751) *nuy go-mə-tshu mɛ̃ lɐ?*
 you[s] eat-NEG-COM ngEXS SJV3
 'Have you finished eating?' Or 'Have you completed eating those things?'

In the static perfective questions (751) and (752), the addressee is not currently engaged in the process of eating as revealed by the use of the semantically bleached inanimate substantive verb *mɛ̃*. The questioner realises that the addressee has left the table and is not eating now. He also knows that the addressee was involved in an eating process some time ago. He thus wonders

if the addressee has finished the eating. For it sometimes happens that people pause in eating to do something else. Difference between questions (751) and (752) is morphological rather than semantical. In sentence (751), the negative form of the completive *Aktionsart* auxiliary *tshu* precedes the negative existential verb. In sentence (752), the positive form of the completive compound precedes the negative existential verb *mě*.

- (752) *nuy go-tshu mē lə?*
 you[s] eat-COM ngEXS P
 'Have you finished eating or not?' Or 'Have you completed eating those things?'

In the dynamic perfective questions concerning the third person, e.g. (753) and (754), the speaker knows that the third person has begun a process of eating by the speaking time as revealed by the perfective aspect marker *-lə*. It is also evident that the third person is around. What he wants to know further from the addressee is if the third person has completed his eating. A polar question can be formed with either negative or positive forms of the animate existential verb.

- (753) *zo go-tshu-lə mē-nəŋ lə?*
 3S eat-COM-PF NEG-EXS1 P
 'Has he finished eating or not?'

- (754) *zo z'ei go-tshu-lə nəŋ lə?*
 3S food eat-COM-PF EXS1 P
 'Has she finished eating?'

In addition to the completive *Aktionsart* auxiliary, *tshu* can be used as a content verb denoting 'complete', e.g. (755).

- (755) *tʂhitʂhəu dzui-'wu dzi-lə tshu-mē-kə*
 time arrive-GN COP-SJV complete-NEG-TEL
 'Even if the deadline arrives, (jobs) cannot be completed.'

3.2.6.4.2 *The Telic Aktionsart Auxiliary kə*

The telic *Aktionsart* auxiliary *kə*, which is glossed in the interlinear morpheme glosses as TEL, follows the verb stem to denote the underlying tendency towards successful attainment of a personal goal, a commonly recognised level or standard. A homophony of the experienced morpheme *guò* 过 in Mandarin

Chinese is at times used to express similar meaning, e.g. *kǎoguòle* ‘have passed the examination’. A verbal compound with the *Aktionsart* auxiliary *kɔ* does not automatically warrant attainment of the goal or standard. The perfective aspect marker *-le* must be applied after the telic *Aktionsart* auxiliary *kɔ* to denote successful attainment of a goal in the world, e.g. (756)–(757).

- (756) *zo-phə də-teiu-kɔ-le*
 3S-TOP DIR-save-TEL-PF
 ‘He has been (successfully) saved.’
- (757) *zo-phə də-susu-kɔ-le*
 3S-TOP DIR-alive-TEL-PF
 ‘He has (successfully) come to.’
- (758) *zo-phə tɛɣə khɛu-kɔ-le*
 3S-TOP college pass.exams-TEL-PF
 ‘He has (successfully) passed the college entrance examinations.’
- (759) *zo-phə pɛ̃ bɛi-kɔ-le*
 3S-TOP public.official do-TEL-PF
 ‘He has (successfully) become a public servant.’
- (760) *zo-phə ligə tɛi-kɔ-le*
 3S-TOP job become.available-TEL-PF
 ‘He has (successfully) found a job.’

The allomorph of the Guìqióng negative prefix *mɛ- ~ mɛ- ~ mə-* used with the telic *Aktionsart* auxiliary *kɔ* is the allomorph *mɛ-*, according to the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6.

- (761) *zo dʒiɔ-le tʃhi tɛiə gɐŋ, zo ɕie -'wu*
 3S look-PF very clear CON 3S say-GN
tɛiə-mɛ-kɔ
 clear-NEG-TEL
 ‘He saw it clearly, but he said he was not able to see it clearly.’
- (762) *ŋə dɐndɐn bɛi-mɛ-kɔ*
 I whatever do-NEG-TEL
 ‘I haven’t succeeded in doing anything (great).’

- (763) *dz'eŋ wui-le ŋetsei ji-me-kɔ-seŋ*
 rain fall-PF we[pi] go-NEG-TEL-utterly
 'It has begun to rain and we can't go (there now).'

Like other stative verbs, the telic *Aktionsart* auxiliary *kɔ* can occur in a dynamic perfective construction, with the animate existential verb *neŋ* following the perfective *-le* to assure that the situation has been obtained and its post-occurrence resultative state begins.

- (764) *mũ-phə də-susu-kɔ-le neŋ*
 man-TOP DIR-regain.consciousness-TEL-PF EXS1
 'The man has successfully come to.'

- (765) *zo-phə ligə tci-kɔ-le neŋ*
 3S-TOP job become.available-TEL-PF EXS1
 'He has successfully found a job.'

Two interrogative sentences are given below in (766) and (767).

- (766) *mũ-phə də-susu ɐ-kɔ?*
 man-TOP DIR-alive P-TEL
 'Will he be able to come to?'

də-ɣuʂu ɐ-kɔ
 DIR-alive P-TEL
 'Yes, he will be able to come to.'

- (767) *zo dəi ɸ'uŋphə pɐ kɔ lə?*
 3S this stone lift TEL P
 'Can he lift the rock?'

The telic *Aktionsart* auxiliary *kɔ* also occurs to denote capability in handling habitual events, where the compound does not bear aspect, mood or tense marker any more. In such cases, *kɔ* acts like a modal verb.

- (768) *zo ɐzɐ ŋi-kuən dʒ'iv-kɔ*
 3S wine NUM-Jin[CL] drink-TEL
 'He is capable of drinking a kilo (two jīn 斤) of wine.'

- (769) *wənβə dɛndɛn tɕiɛ-mɛ-kɔ*
 the.deaf whatever hear-NEG-TEL
 ‘The deaf can’t hear anything.’

When used alone, the homophonous *kɔ* is used as a stative verb denoting ‘able’. It can be followed by the agentive nominaliser *’wu* to denote those people who are able, powerful or bullying, while *mɛ-kɔ ’wu* denotes ‘the weak, the unsuccessful, the unwise and the bullied’.

- (770) *zo dɛŋsəu tʂhi kɔ*
 3S housekeeping very able
 ‘She is good at housekeeping.’

- (771) *ŋə tʂhi-lɛ səŋ mɛ-kɔ*
 I pain[v.]-PF heart NEG-able
 ‘I was ill and the pain I feel is unbearable.’

3.2.7 Modality Markers and Modal Verbs

This section deals with the circumstantial nominaliser and circumstantial mood, the resultative potential mood, constructions expressing inauspicious events, modal verbs, adhortative, imperative and optative.

3.2.7.1 The Circumstantial Marker

In this chapter, the circumstantial nominaliser and circumstantial mood marker *-lu* will be described. Occurring immediately after the verb stem, the circumstantial suffix *-lu* focuses on the circumstance surrounding an event or situation and views the entire event together with the agent at the mercy of circumstances. As a circumstantial mood marker, the circumstantial suffix *-lu* occurs after the stem of a main verb to denote an event or situation arising from circumstantial or extrinsic factors independent of the agent. As a nominaliser, the circumstantial suffix *-lu* derives nominalised nouns denoting entities or conditions arising from the circumstances without resorting to the agent. The circumstantial suffix *-lu* also occurs in the ergative or the absolutive circumstantial potential constructions to denote various possibilities ascribed to the circumstances of the event.

One of the Chinese morphemes that might have some connection with the Guìqióng circumstantial nominaliser might be the Chinese *lù* 路 ‘road, pathways, course’. Another verb *lù* 露 ‘manifest’ in Chinese might also have some distant connections with the circumstantial suffix in Guìqióng, which seems to focus on the current manifestation of the circumstances of the event.

In Guìqióng, the current nominal for alpine road is *φuteiv* ‘road, pathway’ instead of the morpheme *-lu*. However, the denotation of ‘way or road’ is distinct in Guìqióng expressions like *lumẽ* ‘in an impasse’, which can be translated into the Chinese expression *Zǒutóuwúlù* 走投无路 ‘walk into an impasse’, and *tshulu* ‘the way to complete’, which can be translated into the Chinese *Chūlù* 出路 ‘way out’. Despite some similarity in denotation, the grammatical distinction between the agent and the extrinsic circumstantial factors with respect to the same event cannot be established in the Chinese morpheme *lù* 路 ‘road’.

3.2.7.1.1 *The Circumstantial Nominaliser -lu*

The nominal formed with the circumstantial suffix *-lu* indicates an entity or condition arising from the circumstances surrounding an event or situation without resorting to the agent as manifestation of a continuing possibility. Of the two aspects of denotation basic to a nominalised noun in the circumstantial suffix *-lu*, one is the event or situation supposed to occur later; the other is the possibility of the prospective occurrence. In the interlinear glosses, the circumstantial nominaliser and circumstantial mood marker *-lu* is glossed as CIRC.

Though they are less divided in terms of the speaker’s view and generality, the nominals formed with the circumstantial suffix *-lu* contrast sharply with those formed with the gnomic tense marker and agentive nominaliser *-’wu* in terms of agentivity. While the agentive nominaliser *-’wu* forms nominals denoting agent taking charge of and participating in the event (see 3.2.5.1. and sentences 786–791 of this section for the gnomic tense marker), the circumstantial suffix *-lu* forms nominals arising from the circumstances of the event without resorting to the agent in case the agent does exist. The distinction persists when the two suffixes occur after the stems of main verbs. A verb bearing the circumstantial suffix *-lu* ascribes the event to its circumstances while an event bearing the gnomic tense marker *-’wu* attributes the event to the volitionality or inherence of the agent.

Domination of the circumstantial and extrinsic factors is most evident at the stage when circumstantial factors of the event are actively at work before the agent (if any) has the opportunity to participate in and take control of, e.g. sentences (772)–(781). These prospective events at the mercy of circumstances naturally beget possibility, necessity, potentiality or likelihood. Nevertheless, circumstances prior to the occurrence of the event rely on its present manifestation to suggest the possibility into a later occurrence. The present manifestation of the circumstances will evolve into concomitant of the event in due course of time, when the event occurs, e.g. from what the teacher requests the student to do now to what will be done by the student later in sentence

(775). In the example *dz'veŋ wui-lu* 'likely precipitation', the current circumstantial factors of rain-forming are actively at work towards precipitation soon afterwards according to the observation of the speaker. In both examples, the events concerned are viewed as inevitable outcome of circumstantial factors.

In each of the following sentences, the circumstantial or extrinsic factors contributing to the continuing possibility of the event will be analysed to complement the English translation. In sentence (772), the mother thinks it necessary for the child to have something to eat the next morning. She considers what the child needs and thinks that the foodstuff left on the table will be saved as the child's breakfast. Parental arrangement, the necessity to prepare breakfast for the child and the convenient habit of using what is available at hand are circumstantial and extrinsic factors uncontrolled by the agent of the event, the child. In sentence (773), the speaker views it necessary to throw away the garbage because it has become stale. The decaying of the object is a circumstantial process uncontrolled by the volitional agent who will do the throwing. In sentence (774), the speaker thinks it necessary to put aside money for the child to use as tuition. Although it is the child who will use the money, necessity and decision to put aside money are extrinsic factors uncontrolled by the volitional agent, the child. The money gradually saved by now will be used for the child's education later.

(772) *dɛi-phə ɛ'letsei zietsei go-lu*
 this-TOP child morning eat-CIRC
 'It is the circumstance that this will be eaten by the children in the morning.'

(773) *dɛi tɛivtɛiv-phə dʒiɛŋ-lu*
 this rubbish-TOP discard-CIRC
 'It is the circumstance that the waste will be thrown away.'

(774) *dɛi dzɔ-phə ɛ'letsei dʒ'i*
 this money-TOP child Chinese.character
tʂɛn ɣɛŋ tʂu-lu
 learn CON use-CIRC
 'It is the situation that the money will be used as the child's tuition.'

In sentence (775), the speaker views it necessary to write these Chinese characters. The task of writing the Chinese characters is conveyed with respect to the necessity of practising writing these words in accordance with the requirements of the teaching programme. These circumstantial factors are beyond control of the child, the agent of the event.

- (775) *dɛi dʒ'i nʊŋgu tɕhiv'i*
 this Chinese.character you[pe] today
teio-lu dʒi
 write-CIRC COP
 'These characters are what will be written today.'

In sentence (776), the speaker views it necessary to give their guest the wine to drink. The very likely future occurrence of drinking is attributable to circumstantial factors such as the custom to entertain one's guest and the convenient fact that these people have wine at home when the guest arrives. None of these factors are within control of the guest, who is to be entertained with the wine. In sentence (777), the speaker views the computer a necessity. His work and the average way of people working with computer at his office contribute to the necessity of using the computer. These extrinsic factors are not controlled by the speaker and agent of the event. The computer mounted in the office now will be used by the speaker later.

- (776) *dɛi vʒə-phə dʒuɛnbu dʒ'iv-lu dʒi*
 this wine-TOP guest drink-CIRC COP
 'This is what will be drunk by the guests.'

- (777) *dɛi diɛnnə ŋə tɕu-lu dʒi*
 this computer I use-CIRC COP
 'The circumstance is that I will use the computer.'

In (778), the stuff involved is viewed as suitable and necessary to eat at a later time. In (779), the speaker views it inevitable for the teacher to criticise the boy if he violates the rule. The boy will become the object of the teacher's criticism later because of his unruly behavior. The teacher who will do the criticism is not responsible for the current behavior of the boy. In sentence (780), the speaker views it necessary for the man to take away the luggage because it contains necessities for his stay away from home. The usefulness of the suitcase is a circumstantial factor uncontrolled by the agent of the event and it determines that the case will be taken away later.

- (778) *dɛi go-lu-phə nʊŋ bu-lɛ ji-nɛ*
 this eat-CIRC-TOP you[s] carry-PF go-IMP
 'You take away these eatable things.'

- (779) *nuy du³⁵ bei-le ʔopən-mε dzɔ-lu*
 you[s] so do-PF teacher-GEN scold-CIRC
tei
 become.available
 ‘If you behave like that, you will be scolded by your teacher.’

- (780) *dei eiŋeiŋ-phə zo bu-lu dzi*
 this box-TOP 3S carry-CIRC COP
 ‘This case is indeed what will be carried away by him.’

For all nominalised nouns containing the circumstantial suffix *-lu*, the common denotation is the entity or condition arising from the circumstances of an event, where the agent is either in default or ignored. The circumstantial nominaliser *-lu* may be attached to the stem of transitive verbs, as sentences (772)–(780) have demonstrated. It may also be added to the stem of intransitive verbs. In sentence (781), the nominaliser is attached to the suppletive stem *ji* of *ji ~ gē* ‘go’, an intransitive verb which is semantically bleached. The same speaker of both sentences views it necessary for the man to take the luggage away as it contains necessities for his stay away from home. Common circumstantial factors of the two slightly different events such as the usefulness of the suitcase and the necessities people need when they leave home are not controlled by the same agent. In both sentences, the suitcase at hand will be taken away later when one leaves.

- (781) *dei eiŋeiŋ-phə zo bu-le ji-lu*
 this box-TOP 3S carry-PF go-CIRC
 ‘This luggage is what will be carried away by him when he leaves.’

In sentence (782), the circumstantial suffix *-lu* is added after the intransitive verb *zi* ‘grow’ to denote the circumstances of the tree’s growth. One may argue that here in sentence (782) the tree’s inherent quality also contributes to its growth. In addition, unlike the previous examples, the action or event concerned in the nominal compound *zi-lu* has begun. However, the nominalised noun in the circumstantial suffix *-lu* gives prominence to the circumstance of the event and relies on the present manifestation of the circumstance to predict further progress of the tree’s growth irrespective of the agentive contribution in the growth of the tree.

- (782) *dei sɛnpu-mε zi-lu-teiv gε mə*
 this tree-GEN grow-CIRC-CL good EXH
 ‘The tree has shown good prospect of growth.’

In sentence (783), the event contained in the compound *bei-lu* ‘the circumstances of the work’ is also positioned at the stage when the agent has come into play. Nevertheless, the work indicated in the compound is still viewed from a circumstantial perspective where circumstances surrounding the event are preferentially considered. Present manifestation of the circumstance surrounding the work under way is perplexing to the speaker. When the same compound *bei-lu* occurs in sentence (784), the event contained in the nominal compound *bei-lu* ‘the circumstances of the work’ is positioned at an earlier stage when the teacher has given her assignment but the child has not begun to do the homework. In the view of the speaker who is also the teacher in charge of the child’s class, the circumstance contains the very likelihood that the work will be done by the child later. Differences between the circumstances surrounding the events denoted by the same compound *bei-lu* ‘the circumstances of the work’ reflect volatility of the circumstances surrounding an event. A circumstance surrounding the event or situation may have come into being and manifested itself before its occurrence. Then the circumstance may get ready for the agent to participate in. In the ergative potential mood construction to be described in 3.2.7.1.3 of this chapter, the speaker may indicate if the circumstance has become ready for the agent to do something, suggesting that circumstances are preferentially considered in isolation from the agent. Once the speaker chooses the circumstantial view, circumstantial factors of the event are placed at the front stage, obscuring the agent in the backdrop regardless of its function in the occurrence of the event.

(783) *dɛi bei-lu-teiv dzi mɛ-si*
 this do-CIRC-CL see NEG-know
 ‘I don’t know I have ever seen such a case.’

(784) *dɛi liqə ɛ’letsei bei-lu dzi*
 this work child do-CIRC COP
 ‘This is what must/should be done by the child.’

In a nutshell, the nominal formed with the nominaliser *-lu* as shown in sentences (772)–(784) denotes an entity or condition arising from the circumstances as manifestation of a continuing possibility. In Guàqióng, the nominalised nouns formed with the nominaliser *-lu* are seen as inanimate beings, as evidenced by two markers, the first of which is the classifier *-teiv*, e.g. sentence (783) and the second is the inanimate existential verb *jen*, e.g. sentence (785). The classifier *-teiv* is used to enumerate inanimate objects such as clothing, business and bridge, and here, a situation. The inanimate existential verb *jen* occurs in combination with the circumstantial suffix *-lu* to form absolutive circumstantial

potential mood, indicating that the circumstance contains likelihood for an event to occur. Further details will be analysed in Section 4 of this chapter.

- (785) *ŋə dz'ɛwɛ gɛlhɐ jɐ-lu jɛn*
 I clothing quite wash-CIRC EXS2
 'I have much clothing to wash.'

In contrast, nominals derived from the agentive nominaliser and gnomic tense marker *-'wu* are regarded as animate beings, therefore, are followed by the animate existential verb *nɛŋ*, e.g. (786), because the nominal ending in the nominaliser *-'wu* denotes the agent actively participating in the event.

- (786) *dz'ɛwɛ jɐ-'wu gɛlhɐ nɛŋ*
 upper.garment wash-GN quite EXS1
 'Many people are washing clothing.'

When an object of the verb is contained in the nominal formed with the agentive nominaliser *-'wu*, e.g. (787), it is subordinate to the agent of the event in semantic precedence and can only be understood as what the agent of the event is going to handle, dispose of or work on. Syntactic positions of the patient nominal do not make difference to the situation. Agent is the consistent cause or motivator of the event in the nominalised noun comprising of the agent nominaliser *-'wu* whether the derivative implicates effect on inanimate beings or not.

- (787) *dɛi-tɛiɐ dziɛŋ-'wu dzi*
 this-CL discard-GN COP
 'This is what I am going to throw away.' or 'I am going to throw this away.'

Each of the nominals formed with the agentive nominaliser *-'wu* contained in the complex sentences (786), (788), (789) and (790) denotes the agent of the corresponding event implied in the nominal compound or clause in *-'wu*. The animate existential verb *nɛŋ* is used to denote existence of the agent which according to the speaker, determines and dominates the occurrence of the event implied in the compound comprising of the nominaliser *-'wu*. In this respect, the agentive nominaliser *-'wu* coincides with the gnomic marker *-'wu* in the denotation that the addressee is not supposed to know about the situation before the conversation. A patient object in the clause is only seen as what the agent will take charge of, deal with or dispose of once the event is made

to occur, e.g. *dz'ewε* 'uppergarment, clothing' in (786), *'jεŋ* 'wheat' in (788), *liǰə* 'work' in (789), and *tshuŋ* 'barter, trade' in (790). Inferences can be drawn from these examples that the agentivity expressed by the nominaliser *-wu* semantically precedes syntactic position or word order in the clause.

(788) *dz'ienmε 'jεŋ tshɔ-'wu nεŋ lε?*
 home wheat sow-GN EXS1 P
 'Are there wheat-sowing people at home?'

(789) *dei liǰə-tɕhiε bei-'wu nεŋ*
 this work-CL do-GN EXS1
 'There are people in charge of this piece of work.'

(790) *dei tshuŋ bei-'wu-phə guteiv nεŋ-le nεŋ*
 this trade do-GN-TOP Gūzǎn live-PF EXS1
 'This businessman has been living in Gūzǎn.'

Contrast between the two nominalisers *-lu* and *-wu* is also observed in sentences (791) and (792) where only the nominalisers differ. In sentence (791) where the gnomic tense marker and agentive nominaliser *-wu* occurs, the speaker lets her addressee know that she will throw the rubbish away. The agent of the event determines the upcoming event and handles the object involved in it. In sentence (792) where the circumstantial morpheme *-lu* occurs, the speaker views disposal of the rubbish in terms of circumstantial considerations which the doer/agent can not control. The rubbish will be thrown away because it is due time and because it is not useful any more. The entire event is founded on circumstantial factors actively at work currently. In contrast, whoever will do the throwing has not come into view.

(791) *jiki-phə χεʂi dzien-'wu dzi*
 that-TOP also discard-GN COP
 'That is also what I shall throw away.' Or: 'I shall also throw that away.'

(792) *jiki-phə χεʂi dzien-lu dzi*
 this-TOP also discard-CIRC COP
 'That is also what should be thrown away.'

The agent of the event contained in the nominalised noun formed with the nominaliser *-lu* can occur in the same sentence and bear the ergative case marker, e.g. (793). However, the marking and mentioning of the agent do not

change the dominant non-agentive circumstantial view inherent in the clause in the circumstantial suffix *-lu*. The agent occurs as a complement to the event which, according to the speaker, is by no means arranged or determined by the agent but caused and dominated by circumstantial or extrinsic factors. The piece of work in this very situation should be done by the agent, according to the speaker, though it is very likely that the man himself has not paid due attention to it, much less sets his mind to it and does it. By using the circumstantial nominaliser *-lu*, the speaker ascribes the event to circumstantial factors extrinsic to the agent. Here everybody else has been doing their job and so should he, despite the fact that he has not realised this.

- (793) *dɛi-phə zo-nɛŋ bɛi-lu dzi*
 this-TOP 3S-ERG do-CIRC COP
 ‘This is what should be done by him.’

Sentences (794) and (795) are two negative constructions comprising of the circumstantial nominaliser *-lu*. In the negative construction comprising of the negative copula *mɛ-dzi*, e.g. (794), the speaker does not think the entity or condition is what arises from the circumstances of the event. In the negative construction comprising of the negative existential verb *mɛ̃*, e.g. (795), the speaker does not think the entity or condition has arisen from the circumstances.

- (794) *dɛi-phə ɛ'letsei zietsei go-lu mɛ-dzi*
 this-TOP child morning eat-CIRC NEG-COP
 ‘This is not what child will be eating tomorrow morning.’

- (795) *ɛ'letsei zietsei go-lu mɛ̃*
 child morning eat-CIRC ngEXS
 ‘The child will have nothing to eat tomorrow morning.’

3.2.7.1.2 *The Circumstantial Necessitative Mood Marked -lu*

The circumstantial suffix *-lu* can be added to the stem of the verb to indicate the speaker's view that a prospective event or situation is necessary due to circumstantial or extrinsic factors uncontrolled by the agent, hence the circumstantial necessitative mood. The opposition between the circumstance and the agentive control persists in the necessitative mood constructions.

In the necessitative mood constructions, circumstantial or extrinsic factors uncontrolled by the agent are seen as major motivation of or cause for the event or situation according to the speaker. The agent of the event or situation, for various reasons, fails to fulfill the role of the agent at the speaking

time. In (796), the speaker views it necessary to forget such a thing because sad reminiscing hurts. The person who is supposed to forget the thing has too much on his mind at the moment and does not pay attention to the harm grief and sadness may do to his health. In (797), the speaker views it necessary for the addressee to say something on the occasion because the audience needs to know the truth. The man for some reason has not realised the necessity to speak up himself. In (798), the speaker makes it clear that extrinsic and situational factors rather than his inner heart make it necessary for him to say something on the occasion. In (799), the speaker thinks the dirty conditions of the jacket make washing necessary. In (800), the speaker thinks the dirty conditions of the jacket make it necessary for her to wash it. She may want to do something different.

(796) *dɛi sɛɕiu-mɛ sitchiŋ dzə ʃumudɕ-lu*
 this sad-GEN incident indeed forget-CIRC
 ‘Such a sad thing should simply be forgotten.’

(797) *dɛi-tɕiɐ nuŋ ɕiɐ-lu dʒi*
 this-CL you[s] say-CIRC COP
 ‘You should say something about that.’

(798) *dɛi-tɕiɐ ŋə ɕiɐ-lu dʒi*
 this-CL I say-CIRC COP
 ‘I have to say something about that.’

(799) *dɛi dz'ɛ wɛ jɐ-lu*
 this upper.garment wash-CIRC
 ‘This piece of clothing needs washing.’

(800) *dɛi dz'ɛwɛ ŋə jɐ-lu*
 this upper.garment I wash-CIRC
 ‘This piece of clothing should be washed by me.’

In (801), the half bottle of wine mentioned has been kept for too long a time and the hostess thinks it necessary to drink it before it turns bad. The people who would drink the wine are not envisaged as the motivator of the presumable drinking. In (802), the hostess thinks that the pear has been kept for too long and that it may soon turn bad if not eaten in time. The agent of the presumable event in the future, which may be the speaker, the addressee or someone else, does not necessarily want to eat the pear at the moment. In (803),

the speaker suggested it to her elderly mother, who has kept the costume for decades without wearing it, that the garment should be worn. The mother who is supposed to wear the dress does not intend to wear it.

- (801) *dɛi* *ɛzɸ* *dz'iv-lu*
 this wine drink-CIRC
 'The wine should be drunk.'
- (802) *dɛi* *linkhin-phə* *go-lu* *dzi*
 this pear-TOP eat-CIRC COP
 'The pear should be eaten.'
- (803) *dɛi* *dz'ewɛ* *wɛ-lu* *dzi*
 this upper.garment wear-CIRC COP
 'This piece of clothing ought to be worn.'

In (804), the speaker thinks it better for the man to leave so that the rest can make an exclusive decision favorable only to those remaining. The man himself was very much in the dark about this situation, let alone intends to leave. In (805), the speaker thinks it better for the man to come and join, though the man himself has not come. In (806), the speaker thought it better for the girl to return home despite the fact that she has not done so.

- (804) *zo* *ji-lu* *dzi*
 3S go-CIRC COP
 'He ought to go.'
- (805) *zo* *hɛ-lu* *dzi*
 3S come-CIRC COP
 'He should come.'
- (806) *zo* *dz'ivnɛ* *dɛ-ji-lu* *dzi-gɸɸ* *mɛ-ji*
 3S home DIR-go-CIRC COP-CON NEG-go
 'Though she ought to go back home, she does not.'

Guiqióng has a couple of distinguished constructions to express things that should be done in the past, at present or in the future. One of the idiomatic constructions denoting time as a major factor in determining the thing to do has been studied in Chapter four with the inchoative copula, e.g. sentences (807)–(811). Speakers of these sentences consider certain temporal points as

essential for habitually repetitive events and intend the person concerned, usually the addressee, to follow the rule. In these sentences, no other circumstantial or situational factors than time are considered in relation to the event.

- (807) *wε niε ni-lε*
 get.up IND become-PF
 'It is time to get up.'
- (808) *go niε ni-lε*
 eat IND become-PF
 'It is time to eat.'
- (809) *dz'εn-mε dε-ji niε ni-lε*
 home DIR-go IND become-PF
 'It is time to go back home.'
- (810) *'mε go niε ni-lε*
 medicine eat IND become-PF
 'It is time to take medicine.'
- (811) *dz'εŋ wui niε ni-lε*
 rain fall IND become-PF
 'The raining season is here.' Or: 'It is time to rain.'

3.2.7.1.3 *The Ergative Circumstantial Potential Mood in -lutci*

The circumstances of an event can be further viewed in terms of its possibility and suitability either for the participation of volitional agent or for the arising of a non-agentive entity before actual participation of the volitional agent. When the circumstance or situation of an event is viewed as ready for the volitional agent to participate in and take control of, the compound marker *-lutci* 'the circumstance of the event is ready for the agent to join in' is used and the construction is referred to as the ergative potential mood. When the circumstance or situation of an event contains possibility for a non-agentive entity to occur without resorting to the agent, the distinctive marker *-lujen* 'the circumstance of the event exists' is used and the construction is referred to as the absolute potential mood, which will be described in more details in the next section.

In the affirmative ergative circumstantial potential construction in *-lutci* 'the circumstance of the event is ready for the agent to join in', the speaker believes that the course of the event attributable to circumstantial or extrinsic

conditions has become ready for the volitional agent to participate in and make it continue. One common implication in this construction is that at an earlier stage it is impossible for the agent to participate in and exert control over the event because circumstantial, situational and extrinsic factors are not ready. The verbal morpheme *tei* in the compound marker is tentatively explicated as 'become available'. In the interrogative sentence, the speaker asks whether the circumstance is ready for the volitional agent to do something, e.g. (812)–(815), and (818). The negative ergative circumstantial potential mood is formed by adding the negative allomorph *mε-* of the allomorphy *mε- ~ mǝ- ~ mε-* before *tei* 'become available' according to regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6, e.g. (819). The pre-verbal question particle *ε-* of *v- ~ ǝ- ~ ε-* occurring in the interrogative examples (812), (813), (815), (818) and (825) adheres to the same principle of regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6.

Through these sentences, circumstances are viewed as independent of the agent in contributing to the occurrence of the same event. The circumstantial factors also change over time. At one point of the time disposition of the circumstance is adverse for the agent to take control over the event, making it hard for the event to occur and continue. As time goes by, the circumstances may turn favorable for the volitional agent to participate in. In an interrogative ergative potential construction, the questioner asks if the circumstance is possible for the agent to participate in and take control of the event. In (812), the speaker wonders if the cooking material is ready for the addressee to cook. In (813), the speaker wonders if there is a job for the addressee to do. In (814), the speaker wonders if it is possible for the girl to write and study now that she has ended labour in the field.

(812) *nuy z'εi bei-lu ε-tei lǝ?*
 you[s] food do-CIRC P-become.available P
 'Can you do the cooking now?'

(813) *nuy ligǝ bei-lu ε-tei lǝ?*
 you[s] work do-CIRC P-become.available P
 'Can you work now? (You have been looking for jobs. Have you found something to do now?)'

(814) *ε'letsei dʒ'i teiǝ-lu*
 child Chinese.character write-CIRC
tei lǝ?
 become.available P
 'Can the child write the Chinese characters now?'

In (815), the speaker wonders if the man has ended up his work and will be able to come and join the gathering. In (816), the speaker is told that it is impossible for the man to come due to some other engagement. In (817), the speaker is just off work and is possible to go (to the market).

- (815) *zo hε-lu ε-tei?*
 3S come-CIRC P-become.available
 'Can he come here?'

hε-lu tei
 come-CIRC become.available
 'Yes, he can.'

hε-lu mε-tei
 come-CIRC NEG-become.available
 'No, he can't.'

- (816) *zo hε-lu mε-tei tsi*
 3S come-CIRC NEG-available REP
 'He said it had become unlikely for him to come.'

- (817) *ηə ji-lu tei*
 I go-CIRC become.available
 'I can go.'

- (818) *zo 'mε'λε z'ei bei-lu ε-tei la?*
 3S now food do-CIRC P-become.available P
 'Can she cook the food now?'

In utterance (819), the speaker thinks it too late for him to go up the mountains. In (820), the speaker thinks it possible for him to return early now that he has got a bicycle.

- (819) *mεη ji-λε ηə ji-lu mε-tei*
 sky darken-PF I go-CIRC NEG-become.available
 'It has become late. I cannot go.'

- (820) *zo sike-λε dε-hε-lu tei*
 3S early-PF DIR-come-CIRC become.available
 'He can come back early.'

The verb *tei* ‘become available’ is completely compatible with the perfective suffix *-le*, e.g. (821), and partially compatible with the dynamic perfective compound *-lenen* depending on person, e.g. (822) and (824). While the *-luteile* construction denotes that the circumstance has become ready for the agent to participate in and take control over the course of the event, the *-luteilenen* construction is only used to verify and affirm that the circumstances of an event with second or third person agent have become ready for the agent to participate in and take control of, e.g. (822) and (824). In these perfective constructions, it is anticipated by the addressee that the circumstances of the event will finally become likely for the agent to participate in. Contrastingly, a bare stem ergative potential construction merely gives an account of the speaker’s view about the circumstance and does not implicate the addressee’s anticipation.

- (821) *zo ligə bei-lu tei-le*
 3S work do-CIRC become.available-PF
 ‘He has been able to work (now that he has been offered a job).’
 Or: ‘It has become likely for him to work (now that he has been offered a job).’
- (822) *zo ligə bei-lu tei-le nen*
 3S work do-CIRC become.available-PF EXS1
 ‘It is true that he has been able to work (now that he has been offered a job).’
- (823) *ŋə hε-lu tei-le*
 I come-CIRC become.available-PF
 ‘It has become likely for me to come.’
- (824) *zo hε-lu tei-le nen*
 3S come-CIRC become.available-PF EXS1
 ‘It has indeed become possible for him to come back.’
- (825) *nuy tshie’i qo be-le z’ei*
 you[s] today Kāngdìng go-PF food
go-lu ε-tei-le?
 eat-CIRC P-become.available-PF
 ‘You have been to Kāngdìng today. Could you find something to eat there?’

go-lu *tei-le*
 eat-CIRC become.available-PF
 'Yes, we could.'

go-lu *mε-tei*
 eat-CIRC NEG-become.available
 'No, we couldn't.'

- (826) *z'ei* *go-lu* *ε-tei-le?*
 food eat-CIRC P-become.available-PF
 'Is it possible to eat?'

go-lu *tei-le*
 eat-CIRC become.available-PF
 'Yes, it is.'

go-lu *mε-tei*
 eat-CIRC NEG- become.available
 'No, it is not.'

- (827) *nur* *tchiε'i* *zi* *ji-'wu* *z'ei*
 you[s] today mountain go-GN food
go-lu *ε-tei?*
 eat-CIRC P-become.available
 'You are going up the mountains today. Is it possible for you to eat (on the way)?'

go-lu *tei*
 eat-CIRC become.available
 'Yes, it is.'

go-lu *mε-tei*
 eat-CIRC NEG-become.available
 'No, it is not.'

3.2.7.1.4 *The Absolutive Circumstantial Potential Mood in -lujen*

When an entity or condition denoted either by the non-volitional object of a transitive verb, e.g. (828)–(834), or by the non-volitional subject of an intransitive verb, e.g. (840)–(841) arises from a circumstance without participation of the volitional agent, thus indicates possibility of a later occurrence of the

event, the absolutive circumstantial potential mood is formed. The compound marker *-lu jən* ‘the circumstance of the event exists’, a combination of the circumstantial marker *-lu* and the inanimate existence verb *jən*, is used in this construction. The volitional agent of the transitive verb in the construction is subject to the circumstances. In (828), the questioner wonders if circumstantial and extrinsic factors such as society or community have created work for the addressee to do. In (829), the questioner wonders if there is (teacher’s) assignment for the child to write.

- (828) *nuy ligə bei-lu ε-jən lə?*
 you[s] work do-CIRC P-EXS2 P
 ‘Do you have work to do now?’

- (829) *ε’letsei dʒ’i tciɔ-lu ε-jən?*
 child Chinese.character write-CIRC P-EXS2
 ‘Are there Chinese characters for the child to write?’

tciɔ-lu jən
 write-CIRC EXS2
 ‘Yes, there are.’

tciɔ-lu mē-səŋ
 write-CIRC ngEXS-utterly
 ‘No, there are not.’

In (830), there is burning wood available at home and it can be used for later cooking. In (831), the money saved before will be used later. In (832), the additional crop sown will probably turn out to be extra harvest later.

- (830) *dʒ’iənme sən khuən-lu jən*
 home wood burn-CIRC EXS2
 ‘There is firewood in the house.’

- (831) *dzɔ gelhə tʃu-lu jən*
 money quite use-CIRC EXS2
 ‘There is a lot of money to use.’

- (832) *dziē tɔji wu-tshɔ gəŋ lithɔ tɔji*
 field more DIR-sow CON crop more

khəkhə-lu jən
 harvest-CIRC EXS2
 'More land is tilled, more crops will be harvested.'

In (833), the questioner wonders if the latest change happening to the addressee's field has left space for wheat sowing, an event presumably will occur later. In (834), the speaker has got something to say before he has an opportunity to articulate it. In (835), the stuff has become filthy and unfit for keeping at home. The throwing will presumably happen later.

(833) *nuy-mε dziē 'jəŋ tshɔ-lu ε-jən?*
 you[s]-GEN field wheat sow-CIRC P-EXS2
 'Do you have plots of field suitable for sowing the wheat?'

(834) *ŋə dzəŋciε ciε-lu jən*
 I words say-CIRC EXS2
 'I have something to say.'

(835) *dz'ienmε dziəŋ-lu jən*
 home discard-CIRC EXS2
 'There are things to be thrown away in the house.'

The absolutive circumstantial construction predicts occurrence of the event on the basis of the pregnant circumstances of the event at a stage when there is no actual participation of the agent. Starred sentences in (836) b. and (837) b. unacceptable to my informants demonstrate that the event denoted by an intransitive verb with volitional agent cannot occur in the absolutive circumstantial constructions because the occurrence of such an event must depend on the participation and control of the volitional agent. It would be impossible to predict the occurrence of such an event simply on the basis of circumstantial factors without participation of the volitional agent. Contrastingly, such a verb may occur in the ergative circumstantial construction, denoting that the circumstances surrounding the event have become ready for the volitional agent to participate in and take control of, e.g. (836) a. and (837) a.

(836) a *zo hε-lu tci*
 3S come-CIRC become.available
 'It is likely for him to come.'

- (841) *dz'eŋ wui-gəŋ lithɔ dɛ-lu jɛn*
 rain fall-CON crop get.big-CIRC EXS2
 'It rains and there will be a bumper crop.'

Human emotions can be viewed from contrasting angles in Guìqióng. When the gnomic tense suffix *-wu* follows the stem of the emotional verb, the experiencer is actively experiencing inner sensations according to the speaker, e.g. (842). Here the volitional agent overlays with the syntactic subject and active experiencer of the emotion. When the circumstantial suffix *-lu* follows the stem of the emotional verb, the experiencer is seen as passive recipient subject to uncontrollable spells in the extrinsic circumstances, e.g. (843)–(844), and will likely be made to undergo the sensation later. The circumstances subjecting the experiencer to possible sensations become syntactic subject of the sentence, as evidenced by the inanimate existence verb *jɛn* which only agrees with inanimate beings. The passive experiencer is helplessly positioned as complement to the subject of the sentence, e.g. (843)–(844).

- (842) *ŋə gui-'wu*
 I happy-GN
 'I feel happy.' 'I am a happy man.'

- (843) *mũ ɛ'li'wu gui ni hɛsi du-lu jɛn*
 man however happy P still worry-CIRC
 EXS2
 'However happy a man is, he may still suffer from unhappy circumstances.'

- (844) *nur du³⁵ bɛi-lɛ 'ŋi zibuzu-lu jɛn*
 you[s] so do-PF mother angry-CIRC EXS2
 'If you behave like that, mother will (be made to) lose temper.'

The absolutive circumstantial potential constructions are often used to admonish because a circumstance foreseeable to the speaker may go unsuspected to the addressee before it occurs. In (845), the addressee does not foresee the circumstance that may lead to clash. In (846), the addressee does not foresee the circumstance that will result in headaches.

- (845) *nur du³⁵ bɛi-lɛ diditshɛi-lu jɛn*
 you[s] so do-PF quarrel-CIRC EXS2
 'Your behavior may lead to quarrels.'

- (846) *wen'jen tchi-lu jen*
 head pain[v.]-CIRC EXS2
 'Your head will pain (if you stay long outside in the gust of wind).'

In (847), the speaker, a mother, tried to persuade her daughter who did not want to add more layers of clothing before going to an alpine town because the changing weather conditions there may create coldest spells which the young girl did not know and could not forbear.

- (847) *nuy khuøy-lu jen*
 you[s] cold-CIRC EXS2
 'There will be cold times. You will feel cold.'

Sentence (848) shows that the gnomic potential mood markers *-'wudzi* can be used in combination with the absolute potential mood markers *-lujen*. Together the speaker implies that what may be caused by the circumstance remains unknown to the addressee by the time of speaking.

- (848) *wen'jen tchi-lu jen-'wu dzi*
 head pain[v.]-CIRC EXS2-GN COP
 'The fact is it will cause headache (if you stay too long outside).'

The hearsay morpheme *tsi* can be used after the inanimate existence verb *jen*.

- (849) *dz'eŋ wui-geŋ lithɔ də-lu jen tsi*
 rain fall-CON crop get.big-CIRC EXS2 REP
 'It is said that the rain will bring on a bumper crop.'

In sentences (850)–(852), ditransitive verbs *tsen* 'learn/teach/discipline' and *kheŋ* 'give' are followed by the circumstantial suffix *-lu*. In (850), the speaker asks if the addressee's child has an opportunity to be further educated. In (851), the speaker asks if it is possible for the addressee to continue her teaching after a local laid-off. In (852), the speaker expresses her view that her child needs discipline.

- (850) *nunɣu-me ɛ'letsɛi dʒ'i tsen-lu ɛ-jen?*
 you[pe]-GEN child book learn-CIRC P-EXS2
 'Does your child have prospects for further education?'

- (851) *nuy tsən-lu ε-jən?*
 you[s] teach-CIRC P-EXS2
 'Will you continue to teach?'
- (852) *ŋə-mε ε'letsei tsən-lu jən*
 I-GEN child teach-CIRC EXS2
 'My child needs more discipline.'

In the transitive sentences comprising of the absolutive circumstantial potential marker *-lu jən*, circumstantial or extrinsic factors are gaining force and dominating the situation of the event conveyed. The agent has not got the opportunity to participate in and take control over the event. In (853), the child has got a present to give but he has not given it yet.

- (853) *ŋə-mε ε'letsei khəŋ-lu jən*
 I-GEN child give-CIRC EXS2
 'My child has something to give.' Originally: 'My child has givable things.'

In the negative absolutive circumstantial potential construction, the negative existential verb *mē* follows the circumstantial nominaliser *-lu*, e.g. (854). The speaker does not think that there is a possibility for the event to occur because the circumstance does not indicate it so. Sentence (855) is a bare-stem sentence given for the purpose of comparison. In (854), the speaker evaluates the circumstantial factors and believes that they will not lead to rain the day after tomorrow. In (855), the speaker does not think that it will rain tomorrow. He might say this because he hears what the weatherman says. He might say so according to personal knowledge. Anyway there is no special mentioning of source or circumstantial factors in his assertion.

- (854) *tehɪdzɛ dz'əŋ wui-lu mē*
 the.day.after.tomorrow rain fall-CIRC ngEXS
 'It is unlikely to rain the day after tomorrow.'
- (855) *tehɪdzɛ dz'əŋ mē*
 the.day.after.tomorrow rain ngEXS
 'There will be no rain the day after tomorrow.'

In sentence (856), the speaker focuses on the extrinsic factors of the third person's perception about the matter and suggests that circumstances do

not provide adequate basis for the man to form a good understanding about what happens. People around him managed to keep the information secret. As a result, he knows nothing about the matter. In sentence (857), the speaker believes the subject is beyond the understanding of a child. Perception and volition of the agent is subject to circumstances in these sentences.

- (856) *zo 'mesi-lu mẽ*
 3S know-CIRC ngEXS
 'It is impossible for him to know.'
- (857) *dɛi ɛ'letsei gu-lu mẽ*
 this child understand-CIRC ngEXS
 'It is impossible for the child to understand.'

In (858), the speaker does not think that circumstances such as giving him money are of any use in satiating the person concerned. In (859), the speaker does not think that any circumstantial factors can make him a winner. In (860), the speaker believes that none of the circumstantial factors will cause the third person concerned to fear.

- (858) *zo dzɔ khɛŋ-le go-lu mẽ*
 3S money give-PF enough-CIRC ngEXS
 'Even if he is given the money, it is impossible to satisfy him fully.'
- (859) *nuy zo kɔ-lu mẽ*
 you[s] 3S win-CIRC ngEXS
 'It is impossible for you to defeat him.'
- (860) *zo mɛŋgɛitsei wu-tɛhy-gɛŋ ŋɛŋ-lu mẽ*
 3S evening DIR-walk-CON fear-CIRC ngEXS
 'When he goes out in the evening, nothing will make him fear.'

In (861), the teacher does not give assignment to the child so she need not do homework.

- (861) *ɛ'letsei dʒ'i tɛiɔ-lu mẽ*
 child Chinese.character write-CIRC ngEXS
 'No Chinese characters will be written by the child.'

3.2.7.2 The Resultative Potential Mood

Whereas an ergative circumstantial potential mood construction comprising of *-lutci* ‘the circumstance has become ready for the agent to do something’ denotes that the circumstance has become ready for the agent to participate in the event, the resultative potential mood construction comprising of the compound marker *-beijen* ‘a good chance exists of doing something with advantageous results’ denotes that it is worthwhile for the agent to accomplish something because the current circumstances promise advantage and success. The compound marker contains *bei* ‘do’, the auxiliary verb, and *jen*, the inanimate existential verb. The use of this construction implies that an opportunity may arise from the changing circumstances for the event to be accomplished with advantage or success.

In (862), the addressee wanted to meet Jítè, a government official who had been on a business trip lately. He first managed to find the speaker, who worked in the same office with Jítè, and asked if he will succeed in meeting Jítè that day. The speaker told him that it was favorable for him to meet Jítè that day because Jítè was back. Jítè would be in the office that afternoon and would most probably agree to meet him and offer him the help he wanted.

- (862) *tehiə'i ji bei jen*
 today go AUX EXS2
 ‘It is worth going today.’

- (863) *zo-kən ligə bei bei ε-jen mu?*
 3S-LAT job do AUX P-EXS2 EP
 ‘Is it worth working with him?’

bei bei jen
 do AUX EXS2
 ‘It is.’

- (864) *dei ligə bei bei ε-jen mu?*
 this work do AUX P-EXS2 EP
 ‘Is the job worth doing?’

- (865) *dei džiə-phə tshɔ bei ε-jen mu?*
 this field-TOP sow AUX P-EXS2 EP
 ‘Is it worthwhile to sow (wheat) in the land?’

- (866) *dɛi ɛ'letsei dʒ'i tsɛn bɛi ɛ-jɛn mu?*
 this child book learn AUX P-EXS2 EP
 'Does the child have a promising future by going to school?'
- (867) *dɛi dʒ'i-thə dʒiɔ bɛi ɛ-jɛn mu?*
 this book-CL look AUX P-EXS2 EP?
 'Is the book worth reading?'
- (868) *dɛi dʒ'ivɛŋ to bɛi jɛn*
 this house build AUX EXS2
 'It is profitable to build the house.'
- (869) *tchiɛ'i ji bɛi jɛn tsi*
 today go AUX EXS2 REP
 'It is said that it is worth going today.'

3.2.7.3 Constructions Expressing Inauspicious Events with the Compound Marker *-dʒɛŋmɛ* 'Be Inauspicious to do Something'

In expressing inauspicious situations, the bare stem of the verb is followed by the compound marker *-dʒɛŋmɛ* 'be inauspicious to do something', where *dʒɛŋ* is the noun for 'words, speech' and *mɛ* is the negative existence verb. The Guìqióng noun *dʒɛŋ* can be used to denote any articulated words, e.g. (870), or a specific type of articulated words, e.g. (871). When denoting naturally articulated words, a speaker uses the verbal phrase *dʒɛŋɛiɛiɛ* 'say things', where *ɛiɛ* means 'articulate, utter, say'. When denoting artificially invented things, a speaker uses the verbal phrase *dʒɛŋbɛi* 'tell lies', where *bɛi* denotes 'do, artificially make'.

- (870) *ɛ'letsei dɛ-'wu-mɛ dʒɛŋɛiɛ tsi dʒivɛn*
 child big-GN-GEN words listen need
 'Children should listen to their elders.'
- (871) *dʒ'ivɛŋtsei dʒɛŋ-mɛ-bɛi*
 neighbour don't.lie
 'The neighbour doesn't tell lies.'

Literally, the construction comprising of *-dʒɛŋmɛ* means that no auspicious words can be said about a situation. Traditionally, Guìqióng residents seek advice from local shaman for the important events of their life such as the wedding of a son or the building of a new house. The shaman will do divin-

ing by reading signs in relation to the important occasion before announcing the result as an oracle. If the oracle says the sign is not auspicious, the person concerned will receive words from the shaman saying that it is inauspicious to do something. If it is an important decision and the time to start can change, then the person concerned will consider a different time to try again. In (872), according to the divination of the shaman, it would be inauspicious for the addressee to visit a place today.

- (872) *tchiv'i ji dzɛŋ mɛ̃*
 today go auspicious ngEXS
 'It is inauspicious to go today.'

- (873) *tchiv'i hɛ dzɛŋ mɛ̃*
 today come auspicious ngEXS
 'Don't come today. It is inauspicious if you come.'

Guiqióng believes that it is inauspicious for a child to eat pig trotters. It is only auspicious to eat trotters after one is married, hence (874).

- (874) *dei-phə ɛ'letsei go dzɛŋ mɛ̃*
 this-TOP child eat auspicious ngEXS
 'It is inauspicious for children to eat this.'

There is a seat at the fireside kept solely for the most respectful senior in each Guiqióng house. When a traveller attempted to sit there, he received an admonition from his friend who knows the taboo, hence (875).

- (875) *nuy jikə tɕhyo dzɛŋ mɛ̃*
 you[s] that sit auspicious ngEXS
 'Don't sit there!' or. 'It is inauspicious for you to sit there.'

When a situation is deemed as suitable and auspicious to do something, the opposite of *-dzɛŋmɛ̃* 'be inauspicious to do something', *-dzɛŋjen* 'be auspicious to do something' is used, where *dzɛŋ* is the noun for 'words, speech' and *jen* is the inanimate existence verb, e.g. (876).

- (876) *tchiv'i ji dzɛŋ jen*
 today go auspicious EXS2
 'It is auspicious to go today.'

When asking whether a situation is auspicious to do something, one can use a polar question comprising of *-dzɛŋjɛn* ‘be auspicious to do something’ and the sentence-final particle *lɛ*, e.g. (877).

- (877) *tchiɛ'i du³⁵ bɛi dzɛŋ jɛn lɛ?*
 today so do auspicious EXS2 P
 ‘Is it auspicious to do so today?’

3.2.7.4 The Modal Verbs and Modal Constructions

In this chapter, Guìqióng modal constructions will be described. Seven modal verbs, *dzɛŋjɛn* ‘subjectively permissible’, *dzi* ‘objectively permissible’, *dziɛn* ‘need, want, should’, *jyɛŋ* ‘can’, *jy* ‘dare’, *kɛ* ‘obligatory to do’ and *tʂhɛgi* ‘like’ will be explained in this chapter. These modal auxiliaries occur immediately after the main verb stem to indicate modality of various denotations and usually do not flex.

3.2.7.4.1 *dzɛŋjɛn* ‘Subjectively Permissible’ and *mɛdzɛŋjɛn* ‘Subjectively Impermissible’

The modal verb *dzɛŋjɛn* ‘subjectively permissible; acceptable’ can occur after the verb stem to indicate an event which is regarded as subjectively permissible by the speaker or by the person mentioned.

- (878) *dɛi diɛnnə ɛ'letsɛi tʂu dzɛŋjɛn*
 this computer child use permissible
 ‘It is ok for the child to use this computer.’

- (879) *dɛi dzɔ-phə ɛ'letsɛi dʒ'i tsɛn gɛŋ*
 this money-TOP child book learn CON
tʂu dzɛŋjɛn
 use subjectively.permissible
 ‘The money can be used by the child as tuition.’

The verb *dzɛŋjɛn* ‘subjectively permissible; acceptable’ can be used to express approval or assent, in the way OK is used in English. In (880) and (881), *dzɛŋjɛn* ‘subjectively permissible; acceptable’ occurs after the pausal morpheme *ɛ*, which is distinguished from the pre-modal prefix particle *ɛ-* of *ə- ~ v- ~ ɛ-* in accordance with the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6. The pausal morpheme *ɛ* marks a pause after a proposition is complete, whilst the pre-modal *ə- ~ v- ~ ɛ-* occurs in the middle of a proposition before the modality of the sentence is disclosed. It can be seen that the pausal morpheme *ɛ-* is neither bound to the preceding nor to the following morpheme in the sentence.

Besides, different speakers may choose to use ε - or ν - before the modal verb *dzueŋ* ‘subjectively permissible; acceptable’.

- (880) *dɛi ciɛŋciɛŋ-phə zo bu-lɛ ɛ dzueŋ*
 this box-TOP 3S carry-PF P subjectively.permissible
 ‘It is ok for him to bring the luggage with him.’
- (881) *dɛi-phə ɛ’letsɛi zɛtsɛi go-lə ɛ dzueŋ*
 this-TOP child morning eat-SJV P subjectively.permissible
 ‘It is all right if the child eats this tomorrow morning.’

The allomorph of the Guìqióng negative prefix $m\varepsilon$ - ~ $m\nu$ - ~ $mə$ - used with the word *dzueŋ* ‘subjectively permissible; acceptable’ is the allomorph $m\nu$ -, in accordance with the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6, e.g. (882).

- (882) *zo m\varepsilon-bɛi-lɛ m\nu-dzueŋ*
 3S NEG-do-PF NEG- subjectively.permissible
 ‘He must do it.’ Lit. ‘It is not permissible if he doesn’t do it.’

3.2.7.4.2 *dzi* ‘Objectively Permissible’ and *mɛdzi* ‘Objectively Impermissible’

The modal verb *dzi* ‘objectively permissible’ is used after the verb stem to denote an objectively permissible event, e.g. (883)–(884).

- (883) *zo ji dzi*
 3S go objectively.permissible
 ‘He can go.’
- (884) *də-kɛn dz’iɛŋ to dzi*
 here-LAT house build objectively.permissible
 ‘It is possible to build houses here.’
- (885) *də-kɛn dz’iɛŋ to-ku*
 here-LAT house build-CAUS2
 ‘It is allowed to build houses here.’

The allomorph of the Guìqióng pre-modal particle prefix ν - ~ ν - ~ ε - used with the modal verb *dzi* ‘objectively permissible’ is the allomorph ε - in accordance with the vowel harmony explained in 2.6, e.g. (886). The modal verb *dzi* ‘objectively permissible’ is negated by adding the negative prefix $m\varepsilon$ - of $m\varepsilon$ - ~ $m\nu$ - ~ $mə$ -, e.g. (886), in accordance with the vowel harmony explained in 2.6.

- (886) *nuy ji ε-dzi*
 you[s] go P-objectively.permissible
 ‘Can you go?’

ηə ji mε-dzi
 I go NEG-objectively.permissible
 ‘I can’t go.’

3.2.7.4.3 *dziɛn* ‘Need, Must, Want’ and *mɛdziɛn* ‘Mustn’t’

The verb *dziɛn* ‘need, must, want’ can be used as a transitive verb, e.g. (887).

- (887) *dε-bɛi-tsei bɛi gɛŋ tʃhi-tshəu ʎɛŋ-tɕiɛ dziɛn*
 one-CL.human-by do CON time five-CL need
 ‘It takes a man five hours to complete the job.’

As a modal verb, *dziɛn* ‘need, must, want’ occurs after the main verb stem to denote an occurrence that is deemed as necessary by the speaker. A speaker uses the modal verb *dziɛn* ‘need, must, want’ to propose an action, e.g. (888), to predict an occurrence, e.g. (889), to make a request, e.g. (890), to promote an idea, e.g. (891) and (892), to express a wish, e.g.(893)–(895).

- (888) *ηə gutʃhiɛŋ kɛ dzuigə bɛi dziɛn*
 I Guìqióng language reseach do need
 ‘I shall research Guìqióng.’

- (889) *mũ suzizi χɛsi si dziɛn*
 man whoever still die need
 ‘Whoever it is must die.’

- (890) *ligə tɕhiɛ’i bɛi-tshu-ku dziɛn*
 work today do-COM-CAUS2 need
 ‘Today’s work must be done.’

- (891) *ɛ’lɛtsei-wuə wu-bɛi-ku dziɛn*
 child-DAT DIR-do-CAUS2 need
 ‘Children should be made to do (things).’

- (892) *ɛ’lɛtsei dɛ-’wu-mɛ dzɛŋɕiɛ tsi dziɛn*
 child big-GN-GEN words listen need
 ‘Children should listen to the adults.’

- (893) *go-lɛ mɛ-go go dziɛn*
 eat-PF NEG-eat eat need
 'Whether you want to eat or not, you must eat something.'
- (894) *ji-lɛ mɛ-ji ji dziɛn*
 go-PF NEG-go go need
 'Whether you want to go or not, you must go.'
- (895) *nuy hɛ dziɛn mə*
 you[s] come need EXH
 'You definitely must come!'

The allomorph of the Guìqióng negative prefix *mɛ- ~ mɐ- ~ mə-* used with *dziɛn* 'need, must, want' is the allomorph *mɛ-*, in accordance with the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6, e.g. (896).

- (896) *jɛn-'wu kusu bei mɛ-dziɛn*
 EXS2-GN flattery do NEG-need
 'Don't flatter the rich.'

3.2.7.4.4 'nyɛŋ 'Can' and mə'nyɛŋ 'Cannot'

The modal verb 'nyɛŋ is used after a main verb to denote natural capability or acquired skill to make an occurrence happen. The allomorph of the Guìqióng negative prefix *mɛ- ~ mɐ- ~ mə-* used with the modal verb 'nyɛŋ 'can' is the allomorph *mɐ-* in accordance with the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6, e.g. (898)–(900).

- (897) *ŋə bei kɛ ɛiɛ 'nyɛŋ*
 I Tibetan speech speak can
 'I can speak Tibetan.'
- (898) *ŋə tʂiʂi mə-'nyɛŋ*
 I swim NEG-can
 'I cannot swim.'
- (899) *ɛ'letsei tʂhi ni 'mɛ dzɛŋɕiɛ ɛiɛ mə-'nyɛŋ*
 child very small still speech say NEG-can
 'The child is too small to be able to speak.'

- (900) *dɛi ɛ'letsei tɛhy mɛ-'ɣyɛŋ*
 this child walk NEG-can
 'The baby has not learnt to walk.'

When the perfective aspect marker *-lɛ* occurs after the modal verb *'ɣyɛŋ*, the subject has acquired the skill and can use it at any minute, e.g. (901). When the perfective aspect marker *-lɛ* and the animate existential verb *nɛŋ* occurs after the modal verb *'ɣyɛŋ*, the subject has acquired the skill as the addressee has expected and can use it at any later time, e.g. (902).

- (901) *ŋə bɛi kɛ ɛiɛ 'ɣyɛŋ-lɛ*
 I Tibetan speech speak can-PF
 'I can speak Tibetan.'

- (902) *zo bɛi kɛ ɛiɛ 'ɣyɛŋ-lɛ nɛŋ*
 3S Tibetan speech speak can-PF EXS1
 'He used to be able to speak Tibetan.'

When the negative dynamic perfective marker *-lɛ mɛ nɛŋ* occurs after the modal verb *'ɣyɛŋ* 'can', the subject was thought by the addressee to have acquired the skill, which is not the case. The speaker implies that the agent still has the opportunity to acquire the skill because the conditions for learning remain good. In (903), the man lives with the Tibetans, so the addressee thought he was able to speak Tibetan. In fact, he cannot speak the language because he has not learnt it. However, the speaker also implies that there is chance for the man to learn the language because he would not leave the Tibetan area and he has the ability to learn.

- (903) *zo bɛi kɛ ɛiɛ 'ɣyɛŋ-lɛ mɛ-nɛŋ*
 3S Tibetan speech speak can-PF NEG-EXS1
 '(You thought he can speak Tibetan) He cannot speak Tibetan.' 'So far he has not learnt to speak Tibetan.'

When a questioner has no idea whether a man has the skill or not and has little anticipation about the answer, in case the man has the skill, the answer will use the gnomic prospective tense marker *-'wulɔ*, where the gnomic tense marker *-'wu* implies a surprising situation to the addressee, that is, the questioner, and the prospective marker *-lɔ* suggests a prospective opportunity to show the skill, e.g. (904)–(908). It can be seen from these sentences that the gnomic prospective tense marker *-'wulɔ* does not distinguish person-number when the modal verb *'ɣyɛŋ* 'can' is used. However, when a dynamic verb is concerned, the gno-

mic prospective tense marker *-'wulɔ* are mainly used with first singular or first person plural exclusive subject because the impenetrability, unpredictability and uncertainty involved in third person's decision about a prospective action, e.g. (909), where *'nyɛŋ* 'can' is used as the main verb denoting 'buy'. Thus an acquired or natural skill in Guìqióng is seen as a permanently reliable source to predict prospective occurrences, unlike the one-time occurrence invariably dependent on the whimsical volition of the ontological subject.

- (904) *nuŋ bei ke ɕiɛ ɐ-'nyɛŋ mu*
 you[s] Tibetan speech speak P-can EP
 'Can you speak Tibetan?'

ŋə bei ke ɕiɛ 'nyɛŋ-'wu-lɔ
 I Tibetan speech say can-GN-PRS
 '(You thought I can't speak the language) I can speak Tibetan.'

- (905) *ŋəgu bei ke ɕiɛ 'nyɛŋ-'wu-lɔ*
 we[pe] Tibetan speech say can-GN-PRS
 '(You thought we can't speak the language) We can speak Tibetan.'

- (906) *zo bei ke ɕiɛ 'nyɛŋ-'wu-lɔ*
 3S Tibetan speech say can-GN-PRS
 '(You thought he can't speak the language) He can speak Tibetan.'

- (907) *dutsei bei ke ɕiɛ 'nyɛŋ-'wu-lɔ*
 3PI Tibetan speech say can-GN-PRS
 '(You thought they can't speak the language) They can speak Tibetan.'

- (908) *dugu bei ke ɕiɛ 'nyɛŋ-'wu-lɔ*
 3PE Tibetan speech say can-GN-PRS
 '(You thought people of their family can't speak the language) They can speak Tibetan.'

- (909) a *ŋə b'ɔlɔ 'nyɛŋ-'wu-lɔ*
 I bread buy-GN-PRS
 '(You don't know what I am going to do) I am going to buy some bread.'

b **dugu b'ɔlɔ 'nyɛŋ-'wu-lɔ*
 3PE bread buy-GN-PRS

The modal verb *'nyəŋ* 'can, be able to' always occurs to denote the subject's capability to accomplish an action, even if the main verb itself does not usually suggest personal ability in other contexts, e.g. (910)

(910) *zo hε 'nyəŋ*
 3S come can
 'He can find his way here.'

(911) *zo hε 'nyəŋ-le nəŋ*
 3S come can-PF EXS1
 'He has been able to find his way here.'

(912) *zo 'lo 'nyəŋ ʂu-'wu*
 3S read can true-GN
 'It seems he can read.'

3.2.7.4.5 *'ny 'Dare' and mə'ny 'Dare Not'*

The modal verb *'ny* 'dare' occurs after the verb stem to denote an action which the subject dares to accomplish, e.g. (913)–(916). The negative allomorph of the Guìqióng negative prefix *mε-* ~ *mɐ-* ~ *mə-* used with the modal verb *'ny* 'dare' is the allomorph *mə-* in accordance with the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6, e.g. (917), (918).

(913) *ŋə tʂi-gu mi-ji 'ny*
 I water-ILL DIR-go dare
 'I dare go down into the water.'

(914) *nuy ɛzɐ ɡelhɐ dʒ'ie 'ny mə*
 you[s] wine quite drink dare EXH
 'You dare drink so much wine.'

(915) *zo ɛzɐ ɡelhɐ dʒ'ie 'ny mə*
 3S wine quite drink dare EXH
 'He dare drink so much wine.'

(916) *zo dɛpɛitsei zɪ ji 'ny*
 3S alone mountain go dare
 'She dare go to the mountains alone.'

- (917) *zo depitsei zi ji mε-'ny*
 3S alone mountain go NEG-dare
 'She dare not go to the mountains alone.'

- (918) *εiu tēhiphɔ-le go mε-'ny*
 spicy feel.as.if-PF eat NEG-dare
 '(The dish) is too spicy. (I) dare not eat it.'

The dynamic perfective marker *-leney* can be used after the modal verb *'ny* 'dare' to denote compliments on a preterite action. The speaker also implies that the addressee is right in thinking that the person concerned is brave and daring, e.g. (919). The negative dynamic perfective marker *-ε mε ney* used after the modal verb *'ny* 'dare' denotes a situation where the subject is thought by the addressee to be brave enough to accomplish an action, though he actually failed to accomplish it for lack of guts. The speaker also implies that there is still opportunity for the subject to accomplish the courageous action because agentive conditions remain good to implement such an action, e.g. (920) and (921).

- (919) *zo depitsei zi ji 'ny-le ney*
 3S alone mountain go dare-PF EXS1
 'She has been courageous enough to go to the mountains alone.'

- (920) *zo depitsei zi ji 'ny-le mε-ney*
 3S alone mountain go dare-PF NEG-EXS1
 'She has not been brave enough to go to the mountains alone so far.'

- (921) *zo dēdētshēi 'ny-le mε-ney*
 3S fight dare-PF NEG-EXS1
 'He had wanted to fight but he dared not.'

3.2.7.4.6. *ke* 'Should, Ought To' and *mεke* 'Shouldn't, Ought Not To'

The modal auxiliary *ke* 'should, ought to', which is probably a loan from Mandarin *gāi* [该] 'ought to', is used after a verb stem to denote an obligatory situation, e.g. (922).

- (922) *zo nuŋ-wuə zɔ ke*
 3S you[s]-DAT help should
 'She ought to help you (because it is her obligation to do so).'

The Guìqióng circumstantial marker *-lu* is used when the speaker thinks the circumstances of an occurrence make it necessary to occur, e.g. (923), (925). An obligative construction comprising of the modal verb *kε* ‘should, ought to’ denotes obligation, duty and responsibility without mentioning the objective circumstances.

- (923) *zo nuŋ-wuə zɔ-lu*
 3S you[s]-DAT help-CIRC
 ‘The circumstance is that she should help you.’

- (924) *ŋetsei nuŋ-wuə zɔ kε*
 they[pi] you[s]-DAT help should
 ‘It is their responsibility to help you.’

- (925) *ŋetsei zo-wuə zɔ-lu*
 we[pi] 3S-DAT help-CIRC
 ‘We should help him (now that he was in desperate need of help).’

- (926) *ŋə ji kε*
 I go should
 ‘I ought to go (because it is my obligation to).’

The negative allomorph of the Guìqióng negative prefix *mε- ~ mɛ- ~ mə-* used with the obligative modal verb *kε* ‘should, ought to, be obligatory to do’ is the allomorph *mε-* in accordance with the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6, e.g. (927), (929).

- (927) *ŋə ji mε-kε*
 I go NEG-should
 ‘I ought not to go.’

- (928) *zεi bεi kε*
 food do should
 ‘The food should be made.’

- (929) *nuŋ zi ji mε-kε*
 you[s] mountain go NEG-should
 ‘You shouldn’t have gone to the mountain.’ or ‘You shouldn’t go to the mountain.’

The obligative modal verb *ke* 'should, ought to' should not be confused with the stative verb indicating 'good', which can also be used to express assent and affirmation, e.g. (930).

- (930) *ji-lɛ gɛ*
 go-PF good
 'It is good to go.'

3.2.7.4.7 *tʂhɛgi* 'Like, Enjoy' and *tʂhɛ-mɛ-gi* 'Like<NEG>'

The verb *tʂhɛgi* 'like, enjoy' can occur as an intransitive verb, e.g. (931). It can be used as a transitive verb to indicate a specific type of interpersonal interactions, where the interactional object bears one of the dative case markers *-wuələ* ~ *-ələ* ~ *-ləwuə* ~ *-wuə* ~ *-ə*, e.g. (932). The negative allomorph of the Guìqióng negative prefix *mɛ-* ~ *mɛ-* ~ *mə-* used with the verb *tʂhɛgi* 'like, enjoy' is the allomorph *mɛ-* in accordance with the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6, e.g. (931).

- (931) *zo dʒio-gɐŋ, zo mɛntʂhɛn tʂhɛ-mɛ-gi-ʂu-'wu*
 3S look-CON 3S whatsoever like<NEG>-true-GN
 'He looked as if he was not enjoying (this) very much.'

- (932) *ɛ'letsei nuŋ-wuə tʂhɛgi*
 child you-DAT like
 'Children like you.'

The modal verb *tʂhɛgi* 'like, enjoy' can be used after the verb stem to express wishes, desires and hopes, e.g. (933).

- (933) *suzizi-ni tʂasə ji tʂhɛgi*
 whoever-EMP Lhasa go like
 'Whoever it is wishes to go to Lhasa.'

- (934) *ŋə ɣɛ tʂhɛgi dʒuɐi tʂhɛ-mɛ-gi*
 I run like jump like<NEG>
 'I like running, but I don't like jumping.'

- (935) *zo dei sutɕhiu-ə hɛ tʂhɛ-mɛ-gi*
 3S this place-DAT come like<NEG>
 'He doesn't want to come to this place.'

3.2.7.5 Adhortative, Imperative and Optative

This section deals with the Guìqióng first person imperative, the adhortative, the second person imperative, and the third person imperative, the optative, respectively.

3.2.7.5.1 *The Adhortative*

Guìqióng first person imperative constructions, which is summarised under the subtitle adhortative, comprise first person singular and first person plural exclusive imperative ending *-lɛ*; first person plural inclusive imperative ending *-li* and sentence-final particle *lɛ*.

3.2.7.5.1.1 First Person Singular and First Person Plural Exclusive Imperatives

In first person singular and first person plural exclusive imperative constructions, the speaker either represents himself or his family to make a promise to undertake a voluntary action. The perfective aspect marker *-lɛ* is added at the end of the construction to assure that result of the action will be achieved, e.g. (936)–(939). Guìqióng plural pronouns split between exclusive and inclusive forms. The first person plural exclusive *ŋəgu* ‘we[pe]’ literally means more than one person from ‘our family’. The first person plural inclusive *ŋətsei* or *ŋətsei* ‘we[pi]’ is a group of people from different families including the first person singular. The bond of the family is so strong in Guìqióng that a patriarch speaker can promise on behalf of the family that an action will be taken and the promised result be attained, e.g. (936). A non-preterite action in the imperative often contains one of the directional prefixes to indicate transition, e.g. (939).

(936) *ŋəgu nuŋ zɔ hɛ-lɛ*
 we[pe] you[s] help come-PF
 ‘Let us help you!’

(937) *ŋə nuŋ yɔ-lɛ*
 I you[s] provide.for-PF
 ‘Let me look after you.’

(938) *ŋə nuŋ zɔ hɛ-lɛ*
 I you[s] help come-PF
 ‘Let me help you!’

(939) *ŋə mɛi wu-ki bɛ-lɛ*
 I door DIR-open leave-PF
 ‘Let me open the door!’

3.2.7.5.1.2 The First Person Plural Inclusive Imperative Suffix *-li*

The imperative suffix *-li*, which is glossed as 1piIMP in the interlinear morpheme glosses, only occurs in agreement with first person plural inclusive subject, e.g. (940)–(944). The imperative ending *-li* always implies a first person plural inclusive subject, whether the first person plural inclusive subject *ɲetsɛi* ‘we[pi]’ is overtly expressed or not.

(940) *ji-li*
go-1piIMP
‘Let’s go.’

(941) *ɲetsɛi tɛiɔ-li*
we[pi] write-1piIMP
‘Let’s write.’

(942) *ɲetsɛi ji lɛ?*
we[pi] go P
‘Shall we go?’

ɲetsɛi ji-li
we[pi] go-1piIMP
‘Let’s go.’

(943) *ɲetsɛi go-li*
we[pi] eat-1piIMP
‘Let’s eat.’

(944) *go-li*
eat-1piIMP
‘Let’s eat.’

The polar question sentence-final particle *lɛ* is often found following the bare stem of the main verb in the imperative constructions with inclusive first person plural subject, e.g. (945)–(948).

(945) *z’ei go lɛ*
food eat P
‘Let’s eat!’

- (946) *gəŋtʂi'wu z'ei go lə*
 all food eat P
 'Let's all eat!'
- (947) *hɛ-'wɛ gəŋtʂi'wu bei lə*
 come-IMP all do P
 'Come, let's do it.'
- (948) *'ɛmɐ ɲɛtsei ji lə*
 Mom we[pi] go P
 'Mom, let's go!'

3.2.7.5.2 *The Second Person Imperatives*

Second person imperative constructions to be explained in this section include bare stem imperative sentences, causative marker sentences, imperative sentences with basic auxiliary *bei* 'do', second person imperative sentences comprising of the exhortative particle *mə*, second person plural imperative marker *-so*, and imperative sentences comprising of the imperative conjugations of the verb stems *hɛ* 'come' and *ji* of *ji* ~ *gɛ̃* 'go'.

3.2.7.5.2.1 Bare Stem Imperative Sentences

Bare stem sentences often occur in the imperative mood with second person subject, e.g. (949)–(963). In order to identify the imperative denotation contained in these constructions, we may think of these bare stem second person imperatives as having a zero morpheme suffix after the verb stem, which is represented with the symbol \emptyset and glossed as IMP in the interlinear morpheme glosses. The second person pronoun may or may not be overtly addressed in the utterance. In bare stem second person imperatives, one of the directional prefixes often occurs to denote a non-preterite action, e.g. (952)–(956). The bare stem imperative sentences can be mild requests, e.g. (949)–(951), or harsh command, e.g. (952)–(956).

- (949) *go-∅*
 eat-IMP
 'Eat!'
- (950) *nuy go-∅*
 you[s] eat-IMP
 'You eat!'

- (951) *dʒ'iv-Ø*
 drink-IMP
 'Please drink!'
- (952) *bo'mu mi-tsu-Ø*
 knee DIR-erect-IMP
 'Kneel down!'
- (953) *nuy bo'mu mi-tsu-Ø*
 you[s] knee DIR-erect-IMP
 'You[s] kneel down!'
- (954) *nuytsei-niv bo'mu mi-tsu-Ø*
 you[pi]-IND knee DIR-erect-IMP
 'You[pi] get down on your knees!'
- (955) *dɛ-thu-jɔ-Ø!*
 DIR-DIR-stand-IMP
 'Stand up! Don't kneel down!'
- (956) *dɛ-wu-χɛ-Ø!*
 DIR-DIR-spit-IMP
 'Spit it out!'
- (957) *nuy hɔŋninie lɛŋ-Ø*
 you[s] yon wait-IMP
 'You wait yonder!'
- (958) *jĩ-dzy-Ø*
 DIR-enter-IMP
 '(Please) come in.'
- (959) *khɛpɛ niɛntsi-lɛ ji-Ø*
 mouth shut.up-PF go-IMP
 'Shut up and go away!'
- (960) *dɛŋ-lɛ wɛ-Ø*
 late-PF get.up-IMP
 'It's late. Get up!'

(961) *nuytsei-piv thu-jɔ-∅*
 you[pi]-IND DIR-stand-IMP
 'You[pi] stand up!'

(962) *nuy z'ei go-∅*
 you[s] food eat-IMP
 'You eat!'

(963) *nuy z'ei bei-∅*
 you[s] food do-IMP
 'You make food!'

3.2.7.5.2.2 Second Person Imperatives with the Manipulative Causative
 Marker *-ku*

The directive causative marker *-tsi* D and the manipulative causative marker *-ku* are usually widely used in the optative constructions. However, when the intention is to ask the second person subject to handle an object, to accomplish a goal, or to make things done, the manipulative causative marker *-ku* can also be used in second person imperatives, e.g. (964)–(966).

(964) *ɛi-ku wu-then-ku*
 speak-CAUS2 DIR-expose-CAUS2
 'Speak it out and speak it above board.'

(965) *mi-dz'iv-tshu-ku*
 DIR-drink-COM-CAUS2
 'Do drink it up!'

(966) *dɛtɛi-ni mɛ-tɕɛn go-tsu-ku*
 a.bit-EMP NEG-remain eat-COM-CAUS2
 'Don't leave anything! Eat it all up!'

3.2.7.5.2.3 Second Person Imperatives with the Basic Auxiliary *bei* 'Do'

The basic auxiliary *bei* 'do' can occur in the second person imperatives, to express a strong directive calling for immediate attention, e.g. (967) and (968). An equally strong negative imperative uses the negative existential verb *mɛ* at the end of the construction immediately after the basic auxiliary *bei* 'do', e.g. (969), which is also the negative resultative potential construction explicated in 3.2.7.2, denoting that it will do no good for the addressee to listen to the man. This contrasts a general admonition or a declarative clause using the

same auxiliary *bei* 'do', where the negative prefix *mε-* of *mε- ~ mε- ~ mǝ-* occurs in accordance with the regressive vowel harmony explicated in 2.6, e.g. (970).

(967) *thəgəitsəi bei*
quiet do
'Be quiet!'

(968) *ʃu ɕiɛ bei*
true speak do
'Tell the truth!'

(969) *zo-mε dzɛŋɕiɛ tsi bei mǝ̃*
3S-GEN words hear do ngEXS
'Don't listen to him!'

(970) *dzɛŋ<mε>bei*
don't.lie
'Do not lie. No lying.'

3.2.7.5.2.4 Second Person Imperatives Containing the Exhortative Particle *mǝ*
The exhortative particle *mǝ*, which is glossed as EXH in the interlinear morpheme glosses, can occur at the end of a second person imperative construction after a verb stem or the perfective aspect marker *-le* to avidly encourage or strongly urge, e.g. (971)–(974). Utterance (974) is used when one has a guest at home and must go out for a short while, leaving the guest alone at home.

(971) *gɛgɛtsəi bei mǝ*
carefully do EXH
'Do it carefully!'

(972) *nɯŋ ɛ'li'wu bei bei hɛ dziɛn mǝ*
you[s] how do do come should EXH
'You must by all means come!'

(973) *tʃhuɛle thɛ-bei mǝ*
waste ngIMP-do EXH
'Don't waste!'

(974) *nɯŋ tɕhyo mǝ*
you[s] sit EXH
'You sit! (Take it easy and I will be back in a while)'

3.2.7.5.2.5 Second Person Plural Imperative Suffix *-so*

The second person plural imperative suffix *-so*, which is glossed as 2PIMP in the interlinear morpheme glosses, has been found to occur in the imperative sentences with second person plural subject, whether exclusive or inclusive, e.g. (975)–(982).

(975) *nuytsei suɛŋkutsei dʒ'i tsɛn ji-so*
 you[pi] quickly Chinese.character learn go-2PIMP
 'You quickly go to school.'

(976) *nuygu suɛŋkutsei dʒ'i tsɛn ji-so*
 you[pe] quickly Chinese.character learn go-2PIMP
 'You quickly go to school.'

(977) *nuytsei go-so*
 you[pi] eat-2PIMP
 'You eat!'

(978) *nuygu go-so*
 you[pe] eat-2PIMP
 'You eat!'

(979) *nuytsei hɛ-so- 'wɛ*
 you[pi] come-2PIMP-IMP
 'You come!'

(980) *nuygu hɛ-so- 'wɛ*
 you[pe] come-2PIMP-IMP
 'You come!'

(981) *nuytsei ji-so*
 you[pi] go-2PIMP
 'You go.'

(982) *nuygu ji-so*
 you[pe] go-2PIMP
 'You go.'

(983) *nuygu gulubɛi-so*
 you[pe] play-2PIMP
 'You have a good time!'

The second person plural imperative suffix *-so* automatically suggests a second person plural addressee, e.g. (984) and (985). In case the second person plural subject is requested by the speaker to ask a third person to do something, e.g. (986) and (987), the second person plural imperative suffix *-so* are still used.

(984) *z'ei bei-so*
 food make-2PIMP
 'You make food!'

(985) *he so-'we*
 come 2PIMP-IMP
 'You come!'

(986) *zo dz'iv-so*
 3S drink-2PIMP
 '(You people) let him drink!'

(987) *dutsei go-so*
 3PI eat-2PIMP
 '(You people) let them eat!'

3.2.7.5.2.6 The Second Person Imperative Conjugations *he'we* 'Come' and *jine* 'Go'

In second person imperative constructions, two suffixes, *-ne* and *'we*, which are glossed as IMP in the interlinear morpheme glosses, have been found to follow the verb *ji* of *ji ~ gē* 'go' and *he* 'come' respectively in second person imperative sentences, e.g. (988) and (989). As these sentences have indicated, the imperative suffix *-ne* may have second person singular subject and the imperative suffix *'we* may have second person singular and second person plural exclusive subjects.

(988) a *nuy ji-ne*
 you[s] go-IMP
 'You go!'

b **nuygu ji-ne*
 you[pe] go-IMP

c **zo ji-ne*
 3S go-IMP

- d **ɲetsei ji-nɛ*
we[pi] go-IMP
- (989) a *nuy hɛ-'wɛ*
you[s] come-IMP
'(You) all come!'
- b *nunɣu hɛ-so-'wɛ*
you[pe] come-2pIMP-IMP
'(You) all come!'
- c *nunɣu ji-hɛ-'wɛ*
you[pe] DIR-come-IMP
'(You) come by!'
- d **nunɣu hɛ-'wɛ*
you[pe] come-IMP
'You come!' (This example is acceptable only to some speakers.)
- e **zo hɛ-'wɛ*
3S come-IMP
- f **ɲətsei hɛ-'wɛ*
we[pi] come-IMP

Morphologically, the imperative suffix *-wɛ* can occur after a different verb stem than the verb *hɛ* 'come', e.g. all the a sentence in groups (990)–(997). However, denotation of the verb stem *hɛ* 'come' persists in each of the sentences despite its absence. Several reasons may have accounted for the permissible omission of the verb stem *hɛ* 'come' in these simplified versions. First, the imperative ending *-wɛ* and the verb stem *hɛ-* has forged an inseparable semantic bond so that the imperative ending *-wɛ* keeps the denotation of an inflected root when used alone. Second, the verb stem *hɛ-* 'come' has become semantically bleached when it follows another verb stem in the same sentence. Third, the imperative construction comprising of the verb stem *hɛ-* 'come' happens much more frequently than the imperatives comprising of the verb stem *ji* of *ji ~ gɛ̃* 'go'. People tend to order others more to come near rather than go away. Last but not least, the language is ruled by the principle of economy. Nonetheless, the omission of the verb stem *hɛ-* 'come' is not obligatory, as all the second sentences in groups (990)–(997) have shown.

- (990) a *zo bu-ʷε*
 3S take-IMP
 'You take it and come here.'
- b *zo bu-he-ʷε*
 3S take-come-IMP
 'You take it and come here.'
- (991) a *dz'i tɕiɔ-ʷε*
 Chinese.characters write-IMP
 'You[s] come to write.'
- b *dz'i tɕiɔ-he-ʷε*
 Chinese.characters write-come-IMP
 'You[s] come to write.'
- (992) a *z'ei bei-ʷε*
 food do-IMP
 'You[s] come to do the cooking.'
- b *z'ei bei-he-ʷε*
 food do-come-IMP
 'You[s] come to do the cooking.'
- (993) a *'jɛŋ tʂɔ-ʷε*
 wheat sow-IMP
 'You[s] come to sow the wheat.'
- b *'jɛŋ tʂɔ-he-ʷε*
 wheat sow-come-IMP
 'You[s] come to sow the wheat.'
- (994) a *nuy diɛnsi dzɔ-ʷε*
 you[s] television look-IMP
 'You come to watch television.'
- b *nuy diɛnsi dzɔ-he-ʷε*
 you[s] television look-come-IMP
 'You come to watch television.'

(995) a *ŋə-kən ɛzɸ dz'iv-'wɛ*
 I-LAT wine drink-IMP
 'You come and let's drink some beer.'

b *ŋə-kən ɛzɸ dz'iv- hɛ-'wɛ*
 I-LAT wine drink-come-IMP
 'You come and let's drink some beer.'

In case the imperative ending *-'wɛ* of the verb stem *hɛ-* occurs in the same sentence with the second person plural imperative suffix *-so*, the latter precedes the imperative ending *-'wɛ*, e.g. groups (996)–(997).

(996) a *nunɣu ŋə-kən ɛzɸ dz'iv-so-'wɛ*
 you[pe] I-LAT wine drink-2PIMP-IMP
 'You come to drink some beer.'

b *nunɣu ŋə-kən ɛzɸ dz'iv-hɛ-so-'wɛ*
 you[pe] I-LAT wine drink- come-2PIMP-IMP
 'You come to my place to drink some beer.'

(997) a *nunɣu dz'i tɛiɔ-so-'wɛ*
 you[pe] Chinese.characters write-2PIMP-IMP
 'You come to write.'

b *nunɣu dz'i tɛiɔ- hɛ-so-'wɛ*
 you[pe] Chinese.characters write-come-2PIMP-IMP
 'You come to write.'

The imperative endings of 'come' and 'go' rely heavily on the imperative environment of a sentence. As mentioned earlier, the imperative suffix *-nɛ* of the verb *ji* of *ji ~ gɛ* 'go' can only occur in imperative constructions with second person singular subjects, e.g. (998) and (999). The imperative suffix of *-'wɛ* of the verb *hɛ* 'come' can also have second person plural exclusive subjects, e.g. (1000). When occurring in reported speech and hearsay sentences comprising of a well-preserved imperative environment, e.g. (1001), the subject of the imperative sentence is not confined to second person singular or plural exclusive subjects. More instances will be given in 3.2.9.1 where the directive causative marker *-tsi* D will be explained.

(998) *dutsei z'ei go tshu-le ji-ne*
 3PI food eat COM-PF go-IMP
 'You go after they finish eating!'

(999) *nuy suɛŋkutsɛi ji-ne*
 you[s] quickly go-IMP
 'You go quickly!'

(1000) *nunɣu sɛŋ-peɪ hɛ-'wɛ*
 you[pe] three-CL come-IMP
 'You three come here.'

(1001) *zo hɛ-'wɛ-tsi*
 3S come-IMP-D
 'You let him come here.'

The two imperative endings, *-ne* of the verb *ji* of *ji ~ gɛ̃* 'go' and *-'wɛ* of the verb *hɛ* 'come', might be related with the direction denotation in the imperatives. Nevertheless, both come and go verbs have a strong sense of direction either centripetal or centrifugal with respect to the speaker. In requesting or ordering people to do something, a speaker tends to command the addressee into his or her territory. Therefore, an imperative piece of information may well encode message of direction. Sentences (1002)–(1004) are indicative and interrogative examples comprising of the verb stems of *hɛ* 'come', and *ji* of *ji ~ gɛ̃* 'go', where, however, neither *-'wɛ* nor *-ne* has been attested to occur.

(1002) *tshɛtsi wuilhɛ-niɛ hɛ-le dzuɛŋlhɛ-niɛ hɛ*
 vehicle left-side come-PF right-side come
 'The vehicles come from the left and also from the right.'

(1003) *zo 'alə-kɛn-ni hɛ-mɛ jɐ*
 3S where-LAT-ABL come-GEN P
 'Where did he come from?'

(1004) *ŋə 'ninziɔ dɛ-hɛ*
 I seven.o'clock DIR-come
 'I shall come again at 7 o'clock.'

3.2.7.5.2.7 The Negative Imperative Prefix *the-* ~ *thə-* ~ *thɛ-*

The Guìqióng negative imperative or prohibitive prefix *thɛ-* ~ *thə-* ~ *thə-* (from Proto Tibeto-Burman **t*), which is glossed as ngIMP in the interlinear morpheme glosses, exhibits a regular pattern of allomorphy determined by regressive vowel harmony. When prefixed to syllables comprising of an open vowel, the prohibitive prefix exhibits the allomorph *thə-* of *thɛ-* ~ *thə-* ~ *thə-*, e.g. (1005). When prefixed to verbal syllables comprising of a closed back vowel, the prohibitive prefix exhibits the allomorph *thə-* of *thɛ-* ~ *thə-* ~ *thə-*, e.g. (1006). When prefixed to verbal syllable comprising of a closed front vowel, the prohibitive prefix assumes the allomorph *thɛ-* of *thɛ-* ~ *thə-* ~ *thə-*, e.g. (1007).

(1005) *mi-thə-dziɛŋ*

DIR-ngIMP-discard

'Don't throw (it) down!'

(1006) *thə-khə. zo gedɛle ji-'wu dzi*

ngIMP-roast. 3S hard.thing become-GN COP

'Don't roast it, otherwise it will turn hard.'

The imperative endings *-'wɛ* and *-nɛ* in agreement with *hɛ* 'come' and *ji* of *ji* ~ *gɛ̃* 'go' can occur in the constructions comprising of the negative imperative prefix *thɛ-* ~ *thə-* ~ *thə-*, e.g. (1007)–(1009).

(1007) *thɛ-hɛ-'wɛ*

ngIMP-come-IMP

'Don't come!'

(1008) *thɛ-ji-nɛ*

ngIMP-go-IMP

'Don't go!'

(1009) *tʂimu thɛ-ji-nɛ*

outside ngIMP-go-IMP

'Don't go out!'

(1010) *dələ thɛ-hɛ-'wɛ*

here ngIMP-com-IMP

'Don't come here!'

- (1011) *gɛŋtʂi tʰɛ-ɲɛ*
 all ngIMP-yell
 'Don't yell!'

3.2.7.5.3 *The Optative*

An optative situation in Guìqióng involve three parties, the speaker, the listener(s) and the third party concerned who will be made to undertake an action. The third person may or may not be present as an additional listener. The optative constructions contain either the manipulative causative marker *-ku* 'let, allow' or the directive causative marker *-tsi* D after the verb stem. The absence of the third person can be discerned from the use of *ji* or *ji ~ gɛ̃* 'go' before the manipulative causative marker *-ku* and after the main verb stem, e.g. (1012) and (1014), which means the addressee must go to get the third person and make him or her conduct the deed. Directional prefixes often occur in the third person imperative constructions to imply transition and non-preterite situation, e.g. (1012)–(1019). In order to accentuate the third person as the focus of the request or order, the second person addressee usually does not occur, e.g. (1012)–(1018). In sentence (1012), the third person does not occur, either.

- (1012) *z'ɛi wu-go ji-ku*
 food DIR-eat go-CAUS2
 'You go and get her to eat food.'
- (1013) *zo wu-ʎɲɛŋ ji-ku*
 3S DIR-buy go-CAUS2
 'You go and get him to buy (some wine).'
- (1014) *zo dɛmu wu-dz'iv-ku*
 3S one-CL DIR-drink-CAUS2
 'You let him drink a mouthful.'
- (1015) *zo wu-sɛ ji-ku*
 3S DIR-kill go-CAUS2
 'You go and make him kill (the pig)!'.
- (1016) *zo wu-hɛ-ku*
 3S DIR-come-CAUS2
 'You let her come!'

- (1017) *zo wu-dziw-ku*
 3S DIR-look-CAUS2
 ‘Allow her to look!’
- (1018) *zo wu-hɛ-ku*
 3S DIR-dig-CAUS2
 ‘You let him dig (a hole).’
- (1019) *zo wu-hɛ-tsi-’wu*
 3S DIR-dig-D-GN
 ‘I hear that (the teacher made) her dig.’

3.2.8 *The Evidential Constructions*

The Guìqióng evidential constructions to be explained in this chapter contain any of the experienced auditory evidential marker *-tsimu*, the gnomic auditory evidential marker *-tsi’wu*, the visual evidential marker *-ʂu’wu* and the speculative mood marker *-əmu-*.

3.2.8.1 The Experienced Auditory Evidential Marker *-tsimu*

An auditory evidential construction signals that the speaker’s evidence for the truth of his statement is based on what he has heard. The Guìqióng auditory evidential marker *-tsi mu* is a clause-final compound of the verb *tsi* ‘hearsay, listen, say’, which is glossed as REP in the interlinear morpheme glosses, and the present tense marker of experienced perceptions *mu*, which marks an occurrence the speaker has just experienced. It may follow the gnomic tense marker *-’wu*, e.g. (1020), the modal verb *dziɛn* ‘need, must, want’, e.g. (1021), and the perfective marker *-lɛ*, e.g. (1022).

- (1020) *zo gutsch ji-’wu-tsi-mu*
 3S Gūzán go-GN-REP-EP
 ‘I heard that he is going to Gūzán.’
- (1021) *teiv-gɛŋ ji dziɛn-tsi-mu*
 hear-CON go need-REP-EP
 ‘I heard that (someone) is about to go.’
- (1022) *zo ɛiv-gɛŋ tshu-lɛ-tsi-mu*
 3S say-CON COM-PF-REP-EP
 ‘I heard that she has finished (the job).’

(1023) *zo 'ne'i de-wu-ji dziɛn-tsi-mu*
 3S tomorrow DIR-DIR-go need-REP-EP
 'I heard that he is still going out tomorrow.'

(1024) *'nyɛŋ-lɛ-tsi-mu*
 buy-PF-REP-EP
 'I heard that it was bought.'

(1025) *tcie-gɛŋ dzui-'wu dzi-tsi-mu*
 hear-CON arrive-GN COP-REP-EP
 'I heard that (somebody) was arriving.'

The experienced auditory evidential marker *-tsimu* reveals the source of the speaker's information and gives a general idea of what the information is about. It does not warrant the exact content of what the speaker has heard of. A direct speech sentence is given in (1026), where the gnomic tense marker *-'wu* is used to elicit the direct speech. In reported speech sentences, the conjunction *-gɛŋ* 'when' is used to parallel two occurrences at the same time, e.g. (1027) and (1028).

(1026) *zo cie-'wu χɛŋtsei ligə bei-lɛ tʃhi kɔ*
 3S say-GN younger.sister work do-PF very able
 He said: 'my younger sister is very able-handed.'

(1027) *zo cie-gɛŋ jiki dzisɛn-pu*
 3S say-CON that oerst-CL
 'He said that it was an oerst tree.'

(1028) *ji-tcie-gɛŋ zo tshuŋ bei-'wu-pɛi dzi*
 DIR-hear-CON 3S trade do-GN-CL COP
 'I heard that he is a merchant.'

3.2.8.2 The Gnomic Auditory Evidential Marker *-tsi'wu*

The gnomic auditory evidential marker *-tsi'wu* contains the causative directive marker *-tsi*, which is glossed as D in the interlinear morpheme glosses, and the gnomic tense marker *-'wu*. A speaker uses the gnomic auditory evidential marker to disclose what he hears of to the addressee, who is supposed not to know about the situation before. Difficulty in understanding these gnomic auditory evidential constructions is caused by the ambiguous hearsay marker

-tsi, which is also the directive causative marker of the language. Both markers are based on the same stem of the verb *tsi* ‘hear; say; hearsay’, e.g. (1029)–(1031). In (1029), the speaker was asked by a third person to have his dinner. The addressee does not know the third person’s request so far. When the speaker sat at the table to eat, he explained to the addressee that he was asked to have lunch by someone else. The directive causative marker *-tsi* is used to convey requests and orders. Thus the hearsay marker in (1029) is also the directive causative marker. In (1030), the speaker is trying to explain to the addressee that he is requested to communicate to him by the elder brother. The hearsay marker *-tsi* in (1030) is also the directive causative marker *-tsi*. In (1031), the boy is digging a hole before planting the tree. The addressee does not know that the boy was made by the teacher to do so and the speaker was trying to explain to him about the situation. The hearsay marker *-tsi* in (1031) is also the directive causative marker *-tsi*.

Whilst an experienced auditory evidential construction in *-tsi mu* explained in 3.2.8.1 only describes what the speaker hears; a gnomic auditory evidential construction in *-tsi’wu* not only describes what the speaker hears, but also meant it as news to the addressee. Thus the gnomic auditory constructions in *-tsi’wu* often implies previous communications other than the one between the speaker and the addressee. Besides, the beforehand dialogue which the speaker has heard and quoted often implies directive capacity to move the speaker around, thus laying foundation for the forthcoming utterance.

(1029) *ɲə go-tsi-’wu*

I eat-D-GN

‘(I don’t think you know this.) He asks me to eat.’

(1030) *’ətɕio nuŋ-ə*

elder.brother you[s]-DAT

wu-eie-tsi-’wu

DIR-speak-D-GN

‘(I don’t think you know this.) Elder brother let me tell you (about this).’

(1031) *zo wu-hɛ-tsi-’wu*

3S DIR-dig-D-GN

‘(I don’t think you know this. I heard) he was made to dig by the teacher.’

3.2.8.3 The Gnomical Potential Mood and the Compound Mood Marker -*'wudzi*

The Guìqióng morpheme *-'wu* may also be used in combination with equational copula *dzi* to indicate a predictable prospective occurrence, which according to the speaker, is previously unknown to the addressee, a semantic effect by the gnomical suffix *-'wu*. Agent of the prospective event is also seen as fundamental cause, motivation and focus leading to the occurrence of the prospective situation.

- (1032) *ɣeŋ tʃhimu wu-tɕhiu gɛŋ tsuŋ khi-'wu dzi*
iron outside DIR-put CON rust get-GN COP
'A piece of iron will get rusty if it is put outside.'
- (1033) *sɛnpu ji-tʃhɔ-gɛŋ de-'wu dzi*
tree DIR-SOW-CON big-GN COP
'Once a tree is planted, it will grow big.'
- (1034) *dz'eŋ wui gɛŋ tʃi-phə tʃhi 'nu-'wu dzi*
rain fall CON water-TOP very deep-GN COP
'When it rains, the water will become very deep.'
- (1035) *'nɛ'i ɛthunɕeɪ ɛ'letsei-niɛ wɛ-lɛ tʃhi*
tomorrow Children's.Day child-IND wear-PF very
dzɛn-'wu dzi
excellent-GN COP
'Tomorrow is Children's Day. The children will get beautifully dressed.'
- (1036) *dei-phə detɕhi wu-tɕhiu-gɛŋ ɛ'letsei*
this-TOP a.bit DIR-put-CON child
dɛ-dzui-gɛŋ go-'wu dzi
DIR-arrive-CON eat-GN COP
'Put a bit aside. The child will be eating it when he returns home.'
- (1037) *teɪ mũ tʃhi 'mei-'wu dzi*
street man very many-GN COP
'There will be a lot of people on the street.'
- (1038) *dei tɕhiɛtɕhiɛ-phə dziɛŋ-'wu dzi*
this rubbish-TOP discard-GN COP
'This is what I am going to throw away.'

- (1039) *khu'wu wui-'wu dzi tsi-mu*
 snow fall-GN COP REP-EP
 'I heard someone say that there would be snow.'

The difference between sentences (1040) and (1041) is that the former is meant to be a future act to be made to happen by the agent; the latter reveals little about the motivation behind the future occurrence. He might be back because he wants to be back. Or it might have been arranged by someone else.

- (1040) *zo 'ne'i de-he-'wu dzi tsi*
 3S tomorrow DIR-com-GN COP REP
 'It is said that he will be back.'

- (1041) *zo 'ne'i de-he*
 3S tomorrow DIR-com
 'He will be back.'

The difference between sentences (1042) and (1043) is that the former is a hear-say sentence and the latter contains an assurance from the speaker, though both imply that the information is news to the addressee. The difference between sentences (1043) and (1044) is that the former is about a prospective event and the latter is about a current occurrence. Both sentences, however, imply that the occurrences are caused or will be brought about by the agent.

- (1042) *zo tshəŋdu ligə bei-'wu dzi tsi*
 3S Chéngdū work do-GN COP REP
 'He said he would be doing jobs in Chéngdū.'

- (1043) *zo tshəŋdu ligə bei-'wu dzi*
 3S Chéngdū work do-GN COP
 'He would be doing jobs in Chéngdū.'

- (1044) *zo tshəŋdu ligə bei-'wu*
 3S Chéngdū work do-GN
 'The fact is, he is doing job in Chéngdū.'

- (1045) *zo ʂəŋʂəŋtsei bei-le go-tshu ku-'wu dzi*
 3S quickly do-PF eat-COM CAUS2-GN COP
 'He ate quickly and would soon finish eating.'

- (1046) *jiki-gɛŋ thəu-'wu dzi*
 that-CON tall-GN COP
 'He was tall then.'
- (1047) *nuy j'i'ji gu kɔ-'wu dzi*
 you[s] future understand TEL-GN COP
 'You will understand in the future.'
- (1048) *ɛ'letsei χɛmɛtsei-le dɛ 'jyɛŋ-'wu dzi*
 child slowly-PF big can-GN COP
 'The children will become adults.'
- (1049) *zo ŋə jyɛŋmɔ ji-'wu dzi tsi-mu*
 3S I together go-GN COP REP-EP
 'I heard that he would go with me.'
- (1050) *teiv-gɛŋ dzui-'wu dzi tsi-mu*
 listen-CON arrive-GN COP REP-EP
 'I heard that (somebody) was arriving.'

The inferential compound ending *'wu tsɛn dzi* is used to denote an event not witnessed by the speaker. In addition to the gnomic suffix *'wu* and the copula *dzi*, the component *tsɛn* denotes 'teach, learn, calculate'. Constructions comprising of the inferential ending are usually about temporary events, e.g. (1051) and (1052).

- (1051) *zo-nɛŋ du³⁵ dɛ-teiv ɛiɛ gɛŋ, dei-teiv du³⁵*
 3S-ERG so one-CL say CON, this-CL so
mɛ-dzi-'wu tsɛn dzi
 NEG-COP-GN learn COP
 'He said so, but the fact doesn't seem to be like that.'
- (1052) *dz'ien'tsei-gu-mɛ dz'ienmɛ mũ nɛŋ-'wu*
 neighbour-ILL-GEN home man EXS1-GN
tsɛn dzi
 learn COP
 'There seemed to be people living in the neighbouring house.'

3.2.8.4 The Visual Evidential Marker *-su 'wu*

The Guìqióng visual evidential marker *-su 'wu* contains the verb *su* 'true' and the gnomic tense marker *'wu*. It is used when the speaker explains a piece of

personal observation to the addressee who does not witness it. The speaker does not use this marker to guarantee the truth or preciseness of his or her statement, but to disclose a visual impression.

- (1053) *zo dʒio-gɐŋ, zo mɛŋtʃɛn tʃhɛ<mɛ>gi-ʒu-'wu*
 3S see-CON 3S whatsoever like<NEG>-true-GN
 'He looks as if he does not enjoy it.'
- (1054) *zo 'lo-'ŋyɐŋ-ʒu-'wu*
 3S read-can-true-GN
 'It seems that he can read.'
- (1055) *zɪ-'wu jɛn-ʒu-'wu*
 mountain-GN EXS2-true-GN
 '(Something is) as multitudinous as the mountains.'
- (1056) *zo bɛ-tʃhu-ʒu-'wu dʒi*
 3S go-COM-true-GN COP
 'He might have left.'
- (1057) *zo b'u-ʒu-'wu dɛ-tɛiɛ*
 3S fly-true-GN one-CL
 'It looks as if it is a flying thing.'
- (1058) *zo 'ŋyɐŋ-lɔ-bɛi-ʒu-'wu*
 3S buy-PRS-do-true-GN
 'He looks as if he is about to buy (something).'
- (1059) *də-kɛn jijuɛn dʒi-ʒu-'wu*
 here-LAT hospital COP-true-GN
 'There seems to be a hospital here.'
- (1060) *nuy ɣəu-ʒu-'wu*
 you[s] resemble-true-GN
 '(Somebody) looks like you.'
- (1061) *dɛi zɪ mɯ-pei-'wu dʒi-ʒu-'wu*
 this mountain man-CL.human-GN COP-true-GN
 'The mountain looks like a man.'

(1062) *mũ* *dε-pεi-'wu* *dzi-ξu-'wu*
 person one- CL.human-GN COP-ture-GN
 '(Two persons resemble each other so much that they) look like one person.'

(1063) *khu* *tεiεηkei* *γau-ξu-'wu*
 dog wolf resemble-true-GN
 'The dog looks like a wolf.'

(1064) *ηə* *phu-ε-nεη-ξu-'wu*
 I have.a.fever-PF-EXS1-true-GN
 'I seemed to have a fever.'

The Guìqióng visual evidential marker *-ξu 'wu* allows for personal impressions and therefore, is often used to express simile, e.g. (1061), (1063) and (1065). The evidential marker does not have a negative form of its own. (1066) and (1067) contains negative verb stems followed by the visual evidential marker.

(1065) *tshitshəu* *ji-ε* *tshi* *ξεη* *tçi* *ji-ξu-'wu*
 time go-PF very quick water go-true-GN
 'As water flows, time passes quickly.'

(1066) *dz'εη* *mε-wui-ξu-'wu* *dzi*
 rain NEG-fall-true-GN COP
 'It doesn't seem as if it is going to rain.'

(1067) *zo* *mε-ji-ξu-'wu*
 3S NEG-go-true-GN
 'It seems that she didn't leave.'

3.2.8.5 The Speculative Mood Marker *-amu-*

The speculative mood marker *-ə mu-* contains the pre-modal particle *ə-* of *ə- ~ ε- ~ ε-* and the present tense marker of experienced perceptions *-mu*. The pre-modal prefix particle used with the present tense marker of experienced perceptions *-mu* is *ə-* of *ə- ~ ε- ~ ε-* in accordance with the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6. The speculative mood marker *-ə mu-* occurs immediately before the sentence-final verb to indicate the speaker's speculation that an occurrence is possibly true, e.g. (1068)–(1070). When the speculation is about a non-preterite situation, the speculative mood marker *-ə mu-* occurs

immediately before the verb stem, e.g. (1068) and (1069). When the speculation is about a preterite situation, the speculative mood marker *-ə mu-* occurs immediately before the sentence-final copula and after the genitive marker *-mε*, e.g. (1070) and (1071).

(1068) *zo ə-mu-go*
 3S P-EP-eat
 'He may eat.'

(1069) *dεi-phə zo ə-mu-go*
 this-TOP 3S P-EP-eat
 'He may eat this.'

(1070) *zo go-mε ə-mu-dzi*
 3S eat-GEN P-EP-COP
 'He may have eaten it.'

(1071) *dεi-tεiv nuŋ-nεŋ dʒ'uku-mε ə-mu-dzi*
 this-CL you[s]-ERG break-GEN P-EP-COP
 'You may have broken the (glass).'

The evidence implied in a static perfective sentence comprising of the compound marker *-lejen* is reliable and secured, e.g. (1072). Contrastingly, a sentence in the speculative mood marker *-ə mu-* does not contain solid and irrefutable evidence except conjecture, e.g. (1071).

(1072) *zo go-ε jεn*
 3S eat-PF EXS2
 'He has eaten the food.'

(1073) *zo tsi ə-mu-dzi*
 3S listen P-EP-COP
 'He might listen (to you advice).'

For non-preterite events, an indicative sentence, e.g. (1074) and (1075), can be based on verified and definitely made personal plan and decision. When the speculative mood marker *-ə mu-* occurs, the situation is precarious and unreliable, e.g. (1076) and (1077).

- (1074) *'nɛ'i nuŋ ji zɸɸ ɛ-bɛi*
 tomorrow you[s] go plan P-do
 'Have you decided to go tomorrow?'

ŋə ji zɸɸ bɛi
 I go plan do
 'I have decided to go.'

- (1075) a *zo ji zɸɸ bɛi*
 3S go plan do
 'He has decided to go.'

b *zo ji zɸɸ mɛ-bɛi*
 3S go plan NEG-do
 'He hasn't made a decision to go.'

- (1076) *zo hɛ zɸɸ ə-mu-bɛi*
 3S come plan P-EP-do
 'He may plan to come.'

- (1077) *zo ji zɸɸ ə-mu-bɛi*
 3S go plan P-EP-do
 'He may plan to go.'

When an occurrence is inevitable and the speculation is about the exact time when it will occur, the speculative mood marker *-əmu-* occurs before the sentence-final auxiliary *bɛi* 'do' and after the subjunctive marker *-lə*, e.g. (1078) and (1079).

- (1078) *zo hɛ-lə ə-mu-bɛi*
 3S come-SJV P-EP-do
 'He may come at any moment.'

- (1079) *zo ji-lə ə-mu-bɛi*
 3S go-SJV P-EP-do
 'He may go at any moment.'

In addition to the speculative mood marker *-əmu-*, an elderly Guìqióng speaker may just repeat what he is not certain about in a sentence, e.g. (1080).

- (1080) *zo jikə nəŋ jikə̃ nəŋ*
 3S there EXS1 there EXS1
 'He might be there.'

3.2.8.6 The Speculative Particle *pə*

The sentence-final speculative mood particle *pə*, which might be a loan from the Mandarin *ba* 吧, e.g. (1081) and (1082), may occur to indicate speculation and conjecture.

- (1081) *tsei tshiv'i də-dzui pə*
 son today DIR-arrive P
 'The son might be back today.'

- (1082) *zo bei-le dzuəŋ-kə pə*
 3S do-PF acceptable-TEL P
 'She may succeed in doing it.'

3.2.9 The Causative Markers

Guìqióng has two causative markers, the directive causative marker *-tsi* 'listen; say; hearsay', which is glossed as D, and the manipulative causative marker *-ku* 'let, allow, make', which is glossed as CAUS2 in the interlinear morpheme glosses. In addition to periphrasis, ablaut may also have existed to encode causation, though only one pair of verbs stays alive to prove it, *si* for the intransitive 'die' and *sɛ* for the transitive 'kill, make someone die'. The directive causative marker *-tsi* and the manipulative causative marker *-ku* will be explicated in 3.2.9.1 and 3.2.9.2 respectively.

3.2.9.1 The Directive Causative Marker *-tsi*

Both the directive causative marker *-tsi* (cf. Tibeto-Burman directive suffix **-t*) and the hearsay marker *-tsi* are derived from the content verb *tsi*, which denotes 'listen; hear; say; hearsay', e.g. (1083). The original denotation of the verb *tsi* 'listen' is well kept in the directive causative marker *-tsi*. A causer is supposed to request, order or advise orally and the causee is supposed to receive the request, order or advice aurally, at least at the very beginning of the interaction. The verbs followed by the directive causative marker *-tsi* must have agent subject who is supposed to be capable of listening. The retained denotation of the verb *tsi* in the directive causative marker also confines the denotation of the directive causative marker to the initial stage of the occurrence, where the causee is just made to conduct a deed. The directive causative marker *-tsi* does not denote content, result, or outcome of the occurrence or deed.

Case markers are sparingly used in a sentence comprising of the directive causative marker *-tsi* to distinguish the causer from the causee. A causer bears the ergative marker *-nɛŋ* and a causee has any of the dative marker *-wuaɫə ~ -əɫə ~ -ləwua ~ -wua ~ -ə*. The directive causative marker *-tsi* often implies an imperative situation, though the sentence comprising of the marker is not necessarily in the imperative mood. In an imperative construction in the directive causative marker *-tsi* where the causer is omitted, the causee does not need to take the dative marker if it is the only argument occurring in the sentence, e.g. (1084). The imperative conjugations of *hɛ* ‘come’ and *ji* of *ji ~ gɛ̃* ‘go’, *-wɛ* and *-nɛ* can be followed by the directive causative marker *-tsi*, e.g. (1084)–(1086), where the imperative environment required by these imperative conjugations of *hɛ* ‘come’ and *ji* of *ji ~ gɛ̃* ‘go’ is secured by the hearsay marker (see 3.2.7.5.2.6), implying a straightforward directive causation like that between the first person causer and the second person causee. Therefore, a second person causer or third person causee may occur as subject of the sentence comprising of the directive causative marker *-tsi* and either of the imperative conjugations of *hɛ* ‘come’ and *ji* of *ji ~ gɛ̃* ‘go’, e.g. (1084)–(1086). The directive causative *-tsi* is negated by adding the negative prefix *mɛ-* of *mɛ- ~ mɛ- ~ mɛ-*, e.g. (1084) b. in accordance with the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6.

(1083) *ɛ'letsɛi dɛ-'wu-mɛ dʒɛŋɛi tsi dʒiɛn*
 child big-GN-GEN words listen need
 ‘Children should listen to the adults.’

(1084) a *zo hɛ-'wɛ-tsi*
 3S come-IMP-D
 ‘You let him come here.’

b *zo hɛ-'wɛ-mɛ-tsi*
 3S come-IMP-NEG-D
 ‘Don’t let him come.’

(1085) *ɫopɛn-nɛŋ hɛ-'wɛ-tsi*
 teacher-ERG come-IMP-D
 ‘The teacher let us come here.’

(1086) *'ətɛiɔ-nɛŋ puzu ji-nɛ-tsi*
 elder.brother-ERG younger.brother go-IMP-D
 ‘The elder brother makes the younger brother go.’

In disclosing a preterite directive situation which the addressee does not know, the gnomic tense marker *-'wu* is added to the directive causative marker *-tsi*, e.g. (1087)–(1089).

(1087) *ŋə go-tsi-'wu*

I eat-D-GN

‘(I don’t think you know this. Actually he) asked me to eat.’

(1088) *'ətciə nuŋ-ə wu-ciɛ-tsi-'wu*

elder.brother you[S]-DAT DIR-speak-D-GN

‘(I don’t think you know this.) Elder brother let me tell you.’

(1089) *zo wu-hɛ-tsi-'wu*

3S DIR-dig-D-GN

‘(I don’t think you know this.) The teacher made him dig.’

The directive causative marker *-tsi* ‘hearsay[D]’ can be followed by the perfective aspect marker *-lɛ*, denoting the post-occurrence state of a preterite situation where the causer has made the causee to do something.

(1090) *ŋə zo-ləwuwə dəŋdə-ɸuŋ tciə-tsi-lɛ*

I 3S-DAT missive-CL write-D-PF

‘I have made him write a letter.’

(1091) *ŋə zo-ləwuwə jĩphɛ ʎnyɛŋ-tsi-lɛ*

I 3S-DAT tsampa buy-D-PF

‘I have made him buy the roasted barley flour.’

When both the causee and the causer occur in the sentence, either of them should have its case marker, e.g. (1090)–(1092). A case marker could make a directive imperative action self-evident with the help of the imperative conjugations *-'wɛ* and *-nɛ* of *hɛ* ‘come’ and *ji* of *ji ~ gɛ̃* ‘go’ respectively, thus turning the directive causative marker *-tsi* into a redundancy, e.g. (1092), where the directive causative marker does not occur due to the use of the imperative conjugation *jinɛ* and the ergative case marker *-nɛŋ*.

(1092) *'ətciə-nɛŋ puzu ji-nɛ*

elder.brother-ERG younger.brother go-IMP

‘The elder brother makes the younger brother go.’

In sentence (1094), the beneficiary is followed by the genitive marker *-mε*. The causee is followed by the dative marker *ləwuə* of *-wuələ ~ -ələ ~ -ləwuə ~ -wuə ~ -ə*. Mutual parties in interpersonal interactions in Guìqióng are marked in the ergative and the dative markers respectively. Whilst the person initiated the interaction is in the ergative marker *-nəŋ*, the person expected to respond to an interaction is in any of the dative marker *-wuələ ~ -ələ ~ -ləwuə ~ -wuə ~ -ə*. These interpersonal interactions include love, hatred, criticism, order, praise, teaching and learning, present giving and receiving and request, with directive causation among one of them.

(1093) *ŋə dutsei ŋi-pɛi-wuə tʂi pɛ ji-nɛ-tsi-lɛ*
 I 3PI two-CL-DAT water lift go-IMP-D-PF
 'I had the two of them go and get some water.'

(1094) *ŋə 'ətɛiə-ləwuə mɛimɛi-mɛ dʒ'i-thə 'ŋyɛŋ-tsi-lɛ*
 I elder.brother-DAT younger.sister-GEN book-CL buy-D-PF
 'I made (our) elder brother buy a book for younger sister.'

3.2.9.2 The Manipulative Causative Marker *-ku* 'Let, Allow, Make'[CAUS2]
 The manipulative causative marker *-ku* 'let, allow, make' is far more productive than the directive causative marker *-tsi*, which can only occur after a verb stem with agent subject who can order and command. The manipulative causative marker *-ku* can be used to denote the causation of human action, e.g. (1095)–(1102), or the causation of state change in terms of an object, e.g. (1103)–(26).

(1095) *zo ɛiɛ-ku*
 3S say-CAUS2
 'Let him speak.'

(1096) *ŋə dʒ'i 'ŋyɛŋ-ku*
 I book buy-CAUS2
 'I managed to buy the book.'

(1097) *zo-ləwuə wu-'ŋyɛŋ-ji-ku*
 3S-DAT DIR-buy-go-CAUS2
 'You go and get him to buy it.'

(1098) *zo wu-hɛ-ku*
 3S DIR-come-CAUS2
 'You let him come.'

- (1099) *zo dɛ-mu wu-dz'iv-ku*
 3S one-CL DIR-drink-CAUS2
 'You let him drink a mouthful.'
- (1100) *zo wu-sɛ ji-ku*
 3S DIR-kill go-CAUS2
 'You go and get him to kill (the pig)!'.
- (1101) *zo wu-dziɔ-ku*
 3S DIR-look-CAUS2
 'Allow her to look!'
- (1102) *zo wu-hɛ-ku*
 3S DIR-dig-CAUS2
 'You let him dig (a hole).'

The manipulative causative marker *-ku* can also be used to denote the handling of an object, or the accomplishment of a goal, e.g. (1103) to (1106). A basic semantic difference between the directive causative marker *-tsi* and the manipulative causative marker *-ku* is that the former focuses on the implementation of an imperative action, whilst the latter aims at the attainment or securing of the content, the change, and the result of the occurrence. In (1104)–(1106), the manipulative causative marker *-ku* occurs after the stative verb indicating the stable state of a situation produced from the event denoted by the dynamic verb bearing the perfective aspect marker *-lɛ* preceding the stative verb. It is not a fortuitous coincidence that the manipulative causative marker *-ku* does not occur after the dynamic verb in the same sentence. A speaker uses the manipulative causative marker *-ku* to aim at the attainment of the effect and result of the causative event. The aimed state in (1104)–(1106) has not been materialised by the time of reference as indicated by the directional prefixes preceding the stative verbs denoting transition at the initial stage of the event.

- (1103) *ɛzɸ dz'iv-tshu-ku*
 wine drink-COM-CAUS2
 'Drink the wine up!'
- (1104) *'jɛŋ khəkhə-lɛ ji-tɕɛŋ-ku*
 wheat harvest-PF DIR-clean-CAUS2
 'Collect the wheat clean enough.'

- (1105) *tsipə to-lɛ thu-thəu-ku dziɛn*
 wall build-PF DIR-high-CAUS2 need
 '(Someone) wants to build the wall again and make it higher.'

- (1106) *zo guɛn-lɛ wu-χin-ku*
 3S pull-PF DIR-long-CAUS2
 'Pull it and make it long; prolong it.'

The perfective aspect marker *-lɛ* can be used after the manipulative causative marker *-ku* to denote a preterite situation, e.g. (1107) and (1108), where the directional prefixes are not used.

- (1107) *dz'ɛwɛ khɛŋ-lɛ su-ku-lɛ*
 clothing vaporise-PF dry-CAUS2-PF
 'The clothing was dripped dry.'

- (1108) *dz'ɛwɛ ŋɛ-ku-lɛ*
 clothing dirty-CAUS2-PF
 'The clothes were made dirty.'

The interpersonal interaction case markers are applicable to the manipulative causative marker *-ku*. A human causer is in the ergative case marker *-nɛŋ* and a human causee is in the dative case marker *ləwua ~ wua ~ə*, e.g. (1109).

- (1109) *phɛini-nɛŋ ɛ'letsei-wua zi ji-mə-ku*
 father.mother-ERG child-DAT mountain go-NEG-CAUS2
 'Parents don't let the child go to the mountain.'

When the causee is made in a completely passive situation, the essence of interpersonal interactions vanishes. Though the causer still bears the ergative case marker *-nɛŋ*, e.g. (1111), the causee bears the topic marker *-phə*, e.g. (1110) and (1111).

- (1110) *ŋə tʂi-phə dui-ku-lɛ*
 I water-TOP boil-CAUS2-PF
 'I brought the water to a boil.'
- (1111) *ŋə-nɛŋ zo-phə gɛlhɛ lɛŋ-lɛ-ku-lɛ*
 I-ERG 3S-TOP quite wait-PF-CAUS2-PF
 'I kept him waiting for too long.'

The imperative negative prefix used with the manipulative causative marker *-ku* 'let, allow, make' is *thə* of *thə- ~ thv- ~ thə-* in accordance with the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6, e.g. (1112).

- (1112) *ɛ'letsei-wuə jiki-'wu dɛ-tɛiv bɛi-thə-ku*
 child-D that-GN one-CL do-ngIMP-CAUS2
 'Don't let children do such things.'

In constructions of admonitions denoting general rather than an immediate warning against an occurrence, the negative prefix *-mə* of *mɛ- ~ mɛ- ~ mə-* is added to the manipulative causative marker *-ku*, e.g. (1113), (1114), in accordance with the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6.

- (1113) *zidɛ sɛ-mə-ku*
 game kill-NEG-CAUS2
 'No hunting.'

- (1114) *dz'enχɛ dz'iv-mə-ku*
 cigarette consume-NEG-CAUS2
 'No smoking.'

- (1115) *zo hɛ-ku*
 3S come-CAUS2
 'I want you to make him come.'

- (1116) *khukhu-pɛi hɛ-thə-ku*
 other-CL come-ngIMP-CAUS2
 'Don't let others come.'

- (1117) *zo hɛ-mə-ku*
 3S come-NEG-CAUS2
 'I don't allow him to come.'

- (1118) *nuy hɛ-'wɛ zo hɛ-thə-ku*
 you[s] come-IMP 3S come-ngIMP-CAUS2
 'You come. Don't let him come.'

- (1119) *nuy hɛ-ku zo hɛ-thə-ku*
 you[s] come-CAUS2 3S come-ngIMP-CAUS2
 'You're allowed to come. Don't let him come.'

3.2.10 *Negation, Adverbs and Adverbials*

In this chapter, special negative constructions, two negative-specific adverbs and an affirmative-specific adverb, degree adverbs modifying stative verbs, manner adverbs modifying active verbs, time adverbs, focusing adverbs and morphology of manner adverbs will be described.

3.2.10.1 Expressions Emphasising Total Negation and Partial Negation

In Guìqióng, the quantifier of numeral 'one'+ classifier + emphatic marker *-ni* often occurs to emphasise a total negation, e.g. (1120) and (1121).

(1120) *jiki-tciɛ* *ŋə* *detci-ni* *'mɛmɛsi*
 that-CL I a.bit-EMP don't.know
 'I don't know anything about that matter at all.'

(1121) *dɛ-'jɛŋ-ni* *tsɛn-thə-ku*
 one-CL-EMP leave.behind-ngIMP-CAUS2
 'Don't leave any (wheat) behind.'

The adverb *dzə* 'just; at all' can occur to emphasise total negation, e.g. (1122).

(1122) *ŋə* *ɲiɛbu* *dzə* *mɛ-ŋɛŋ*
 I ghost just NEG-fear
 'I don't fear ghosts at all.'

When *tʂhi* 'very' occurs before the negative prefix, a partial negation is formed, e.g. (1123).

(1123) *jiki-peɪ* *tʂhi* *mɛ-dzɤ*
 that-CL.human very NEG-wise
 'That man is not very wise.'

3.2.10.2 Positive Meanings in the Negative Forms

Adjectives and adverbs do not have comparative or superlative forms in Guìqióng. Although a comparative construction is usually used to compare two entities on a single scale, it can also be employed to express a superlative degree of state, e.g. (1124) and (1125):

(1124) *dɛi-wɛn'jɛn* *khueŋ-mu* *mɛ̃*
 this-COMP cold-EP ngEXS
 'It is coldest (today).' Lit. 'No other day is colder than this.'

- (1125) *ʒizɕɐŋ wu-bɐŋ-ʷu mɛ̃*
 this.year DIR-hot-GN NEG
 'It is hottest this year.' Lit. 'No other year is hotter than this year.'

Some expressions in the negative form are indeed meant to affirm, e.g. (1126). Whilst *dzɐŋbɛi* denotes 'to tell lies', its negative form *dzɐŋmɛ bɛi* means 'don't tell lies'.

- (1126) *dʒ'ɪɐŋtɕɛi dzɐŋmɛbɛi*
 neighbour don't.lie
 'The neighbour is honest.'

The quantifier numeral 'one' + classifier + postposition *ʒɐ* 'exception' + negative verb denotes only one entity is involved in the occurrence, e.g. (1127)–(1129).

- (1127) *zo nɐsi dɛ-'jɐŋ-ʒɐ mɔ-go*
 3S egg one-CL-exception NEG-eat
 'He ate only one egg.'
- (1128) *tɕhɪɐntɕhi-mɛ mu dɛ-peɪ-ʒɐ mɛ-dzui*
 qiánxī-GEN man one-CL.human-exception NEG-arrive
 'Only one person arrives from the Qiánxī (前溪) Village.'
- (1129) *zo gutɕɪɛ dɛ-ni-ʒɐ mɛ-nɐŋ*
 3S gūzán one-day[CL]-exception NEG-EXS1
 'He has stayed at Gūzán for only one day.'

The English meaning of 'one must do something' can be expressed in double negative in Guìqióng, e.g. (1130), where the double negation resolves to a positive.

- (1130) *zo mɛ-bɛi-lɛ mɛ-dzɔɐŋ*
 3S NEG-do-PF NEG-acceptable
 'He must do it. It is not acceptable if he doesn't do it.'

3.2.10.3 The Affirmative-specific Adverb *gɛlhɛ* 'Altogether, Quite'

The affirmative-specific adverb *gɛlhɛ* 'altogether, quite' has only been found to occur in affirmative sentences, e.g. (1131)–(1134).

- (1131) *puzu* *'ətəiə-wən'jen* *gəlhə thəu*
 younger.brother elder.brother-COMP quite tall
 'The younger brother is a bit taller than the elder one.'
- (1132) *dugu-mə* *dz'ienmə* *mū* *gəlhə* *nəŋ*
 3PE-GEN home man quite EXS1
 'There are many people in their house.'
- (1133) *dugu-mə* *dziē-gu* *bɔ* *gəlhə* *bu*
 3PE-GEN field-ILL weed quite EXS3
 'There are many weeds in their field.'
- (1134) *zo* *gəlhə* *go-lə*
 3S quite eat-PF
 'He ate a lot.'

3.2.10.4 Degree Adverbs

Five degree adverbs, *dətəi* 'a little', e.g. (1135), *tʂhi* 'very, most', e.g. (1136) to (1139), *tɔji* 'fairly', e.g. (1140), *gəlhə* 'altogether, quite', e.g. (1141), can occur before a stative verb to indicate how intense the state is. Whilst *dətəi* 'a little', e.g. (1142), *gəlhə* 'altogether; many; quite', e.g. (1143), and *tʂhi* 'very', e.g. (1144), can also be used to modify active verbs, *tɔji* 'fairly' mainly occur to modify stative verbs.

- (1135) *puzu* *'ətəiə-wən'jen* *dətəi thəu*
 younger.brother elder.brother-COMP a.bit tall
 'The younger brother is a bit taller than the elder one.'
- (1136) *zo* *tʂhi* *thəu*
 3S very tall
 'He is very tall.'
- (1137) *ŋə* *dz'ɛwɛ* *subu* *tʂhi* *tʂhɛgi*
 I upper.garment new very like
 'I like new dress very much.'
- (1138) *ŋə-mə* *'ətəiə* *simu* *tʂhi* *jen*
 I-GEN elder.brother strength very EXS2
 'My elder brother has a lot of strength.'

- (1139) *ji-tɕiɛ-geŋ zo ɛzɛ tʂhi dʒ'iv-tʂhegi*
 DIR-hear-CON 3S wine very drink-like
 'I heard that he was quite addicted to drinking alcohol.'
- (1140) *zo tɕji gɛ*
 3S fairly good
 'He is relatively good.'
- (1141) *ci-phə phu gɛlhɛ thəu-lɛ-nɛŋ*
 meat-TOP price quite high-PF-EXS1
 'The meat has become very expensive.'
- (1142) *go-lu jɛn-lɛ, ŋə-kɛn dɛtɕi bu-lɛ hɛ-'wɛ*
 eat-CIRC EXS2-PF, I-LAT a.bit[CL] bring-PF come-IMP
 'If there is something to eat, bring a little to me.'
- (1143) *zo gɛlhɛ go-lɛ*
 3S quite eat-PF
 'He ate a lot.'
- (1144) *tʂi-phə khɔ-gu mi-tuŋ-lɛ dɛkhɔ dɛkhɔ*
 water-TOP bowl-ILL DIR-pour-PF one.bowl one.bowl
tʂhi dʒ'iv
 very drink
 'They poured water into the bowls and drunk it bowl after bowl.'

The adverb *tʂhi* can be reduplicated to indicate an extremely high degree. The reduplicated adverb occurs either before or after the adjective or stative verb it modifies, e.g. *tʂhitʂhidɛ* 'very very big' and *dʒuɛnbu tʂhitʂhi* 'extremely polite and hospitable'.

- (1145) *sɛnpu tʂhi ʂu*
 tree very straight
 'The tree is very straight.'

The adverb *dɛtɕi* 'a little' is a combination of the numeral one and the classifier *tɕi* denoting a very small amount and can be used as a pronoun, e.g. (1146), an adjective, e.g. (1147). Quantifiers containing numeral and classifier occur after the noun it modifies. Thus the quantifier of a syntactic object or that of a subject of an intransitive verb also immediately precedes the verb in the SOV word

order, e.g. (1146)–(1149). The ambiguity of these quantifiers in terms of their relative positions to the verb and to the noun may account for their flexibility in modifying verbs and nouns.

(1146) *ŋə detɛi go-le*
 I a.bit eat-PF
 ‘I ate a little.’

(1147) *ŋə b’ɔlɔ detɛi go-le*
 I bread a.bit eat-PF
 ‘I ate a little bread.’

(1148) *dutɛi ŋi-peɪ hɛ-le*
 3PI two-CL come-PF
 ‘The two of them have come.’

(1149) *ŋəgu khu ’ŋeŋ-tɛiəŋ ɲeŋ-’wu-lɔ*
 we[pe] dog five-CL buy-GN-PRS
 ‘We are going to buy five dogs.’

3.2.10.5 Time Adverbs *’mɛ* ‘Still’, *χɛʒi* ‘Still, Also’, and *ɐŋ*³⁵ ‘Again’

The time adverb *’mɛ* occurs after the subject and before the predicate to denote an occurrence in the middle of a state which has lasted for a while, e.g. (1150) to (1153).

(1150) *zo ’mɛ z’ei go-le-nɐŋ*
 3S still food eat-PF-EXS1
 ‘He is still having his meal.’

(1151) *ŋə ’mɛ mɛ-we*
 I still NEG-rise
 ‘I haven’t got up yet.’

(1152) *nur ’mɛ ji-tɛhyo-di*
 you[s] still DIR-sit-MOM
 ‘Please stay a little longer.’

(1153) *’nɐ’i ’mɛ dɛi-wɛn’jɛn khuɐŋ*
 tomorrow still this-COMP cold
 ‘Tomorrow is going to be even colder than this.’

The time adverb *χεσι* ‘still, also’, e.g. (1154) can also be used as a focusing adverb, e.g. (1155) and it might be a loan from the Chinese copular expression *háishì* 还是. A temporal, spatial or other conceptual scope is implied in the construction comprising of the time and focusing adverb *χεσι* ‘still, also’. The subject occurring before the adverb *χεσι* ‘still, also’ remains its original state in the scope concerned at the time of speaking.

(1154) *mɛi χεσι tɛhɔ-lɛ jɛn*
 door still close-PF EXS2
 ‘The door has been closed.’

(1155) *dutsei χεσι gutchiɛŋ*
 3PI also Guìqióng
 ‘They are also Guìqióng.’

The sentence-initial time adverb *ɛŋ*³⁵ ‘again’ implies high frequency of the occurrence, e.g. (1156)–(1158).

(1156) *ɛŋ*³⁵ *dz’ɛŋ wui-lɛ*
 again rain fall-PF
 ‘It rained again.’

(1157) *ɛŋ*³⁵ *z’ɛi go-lɛ*
 again meal eat-PF
 ‘Once again we ate our meals.’

(1158) *ɛŋ*³⁵ *muhi ʂɔ-lɛ*
 again wind blow-PF
 ‘The wind blew again.’

3.2.10.6 Focusing Adverb *dzə* ‘Just, Only’ and *ledzi* ‘Just, Only’

The focusing adverb *dzə* ‘just, only’ is used immediately before the verb, e.g. (1159) and (1160). The focusing adverb *ledzi*, probably a combination of the perfective aspect marker *-lɛ* and the equational copula *dzi*, occurs at the end of the predicate, e.g. (1161) and (1162). In sentences (1159) and (1160) comprising of the focusing adverb *dzə* ‘just, only’, the gnomic tense marker *-’wu* occurs after the verb stem and before the classifier *-tɛiv*, which is used to enumerate occurrences and events (Cf. Chinese *jiàn* 件). A classifier used alone without numeral suggests one entity. The situation is supposed to be surprising to the addressee, as indicated with the gnomic tense marker *-’wu*.

(1159) *zo dzə ɡɔ-ʷu-tɕiɐ*
 3S just cry-GN-CL
 ‘(I think you don’t know this.) He just cried.’

(1160) *ɛʹletsei dzə ɡulubɛi-ʷu-tɕiɐ*
 child just play-GN-CL
 ‘(I think you don’t know this.) The child just played.’

Before the focusing adverb *ledzi*, e.g. (1161), an occurrence in the gnomic tense marker *-ʷu* suggests habitual preoccupation which the addressee does not know. If the occurrence has happened, the genitive form of the verb is used, e.g. (1162).

(1161) *zo ɡulubɛi-tʃhɛgi-ʷu-ledzi*
 3S play-like-GN-only
 ‘(I think you don’t know this.) He only likes playing around.’

(1162) *zo ɡutsiɐ dɛ-ni nɛŋ-mɛ ledzi*
 3S Gūzán one-day[CL] EXS1-GEN only
 ‘He has stayed at Gūzán for only one day.’

3.2.10.7 The Negative-specific Adverbs *mɛŋtʃhɛn* and *sɛŋ*

The two expressions *mɛŋtʃhɛn* and *sɛŋ* only occur in negative constructions. The adverb *mɛŋtʃhɛn* ‘whatsoever; at all’ only occur in partial negative sentences, e.g. (1163)–(1165). It precedes the negative verb in the partially negated sentences.

(1163) *məʹnitɕiɛŋ ʒyɛŋ-mɛ lesiniwũ mɛŋtʃhɛn mɛ-ʹmɛi*
 folk.dance can-GEN youth whatsoever NEG-many
 ‘There are not many youths capable of the folk dance now.’

(1164) *zo dʒiɔ-ɡɛŋ, zo mɛŋtʃhɛn tʃhɛ-mɛ-gi-ʃu-ʷu*
 3S look-CON 3S whatsoever like<NEG>-true-GN
 ‘He looked as if he was not enjoying (this) very much.’

(1165) *də-kɛn mũ mɛŋtʃhɛn mɛ-nɛŋ*
 here-LAT people whatsoever NEG-EXS1
 ‘There are not many people here.’

The negative specific adverb *-səŋ* occurs sentence-finally after the verb stem in a sentence of total negation, e.g. (1166)–(1169).

- (1166) *ŋənbu ŋĩ-lɛ mə-dzuəŋ-səŋ*
 old become-PF NEG-acceptable-utterly
 ‘It is old. It is not useful any longer.’
- (1167) *gɛjisəŋ-di ɐ mə-gɛ-səŋ*
 rest<DIR>-MOM P NEG-tired-utterly
 ‘Have a short rest and you won’t feel tired any longer.’
- (1168) *dz’əŋ wui-lɛ ŋetsei ji-mɛ-kɔ-səŋ*
 rain fall-PF we[pi] go-NEG-TEL-utterly
 ‘It’s raining. We’d better not go.’
- (1169) *nuy dz’i thə-dziɔ-səŋ*
 you[s] book ngIMP-look-utterly
 ‘Don’t read the book!’

3.2.10.8 Morphology of Manner Adverbs

Manner adverbs exhibit some common morphological features with nouns, verbs and adjectives, suggesting that manner adverbs may have been derived either from nominals or verbs. By the same token, the morphological features to be introduced in this section should not be understood as unique to the manner verbs.

3.2.10.8.1 *Manner Adverbs Derived from Reduplication*

In the first group, the manner adverbs have been derived from reduplication, e.g. (1170) and (1171), though the origins of the reduplicants are not quite clear. In (1170), *běbědz’əndz’ən* ‘hastily’ might be reduplicated from *bě* ‘busy and hasty’ and *tshen* ‘stumble, lame, wound’. In (1171), the *thəuthəugəugəu* ‘thoroughly’ might be reduplicated from *thəu*, the stative verb denotes ‘high’ and *gəu* ‘the interior’.

- (1170) *zo bĕbĕdz’əndz’ən tʃshuɛ-lɛ wu-bɐ-lɛ*
 3S hastily get.out-PF DIR-go-PF
 ‘He walked out hastily and left.’
- (1171) *thəuthəugəugəu wu-ciɛ-lɛ*
 thoroughly DIR-say-PF
 ‘(The man) spoke about it thoroughly.’

In the sccond type, the manner adverbs are derived both from reduplication of monosyllabic stative verbs and the use of adverbial suffix *-tsei*, e.g. (1172) and (1173). In (1172), the adverb *gegetsei* ‘well, in a good manner, carefully’ contains the reduplicant *ge* ‘good’. In (1173), the adverb *seηseηtsei* ‘speedily, quickly’ is derived from the stative verb *seη* ‘quick’.

(1172) *gegetsei ji-dεigi-di*
 carefully DIR-think-MOM
 ‘Think carefully.’

(1173) *zo seηseηtsei bei-le go-tshu-ku-le*
 3S quickly do-PF eat-COM-CAUS2-PF
 ‘He ate quickly and would soon finish eating.’

3.2.10.8.2 *Suffixes of Manner Adverbs*

Manner adverbs can have typical endings including suffixes *-tsei*, *-jeηtsei* and the perfective aspect marker *-le*. The productive ending *-tsei* can be directly used after some disyllabic words to form adverbs, e.g. *ξikεtsei* ‘early’, where *ξike* means prior or front. Some adverbs ending in *-tsei* contains unknown root, e.g. *mεη* in *tseηmεηtsei* ‘cleanly’, where *tseη* denotes clean; and *tshuεη* in *seηtshuεηtsei* ‘brightly’, where *seη* denotes ‘brightness’. Some adverbs are formed with reduplication of verb stem and use of the productive suffix *-tsei*, e.g. *niennientsei* ‘relatively less’, where *nien* denotes little or few. Some adverbs contain verbal root and directional morphemes, e.g. *wujujutsei* ‘side-ways; askew’, where *wu* is the directional morpheme and *ju* denotes *lie down*. Thus *wujujutseibeiledzi* means look sideways. In (1174), the adverb *suεηkutsei* ‘quickly’ is a compound of the stative verb *seη* ‘quick’, the manipulative causative marker *-ku* and the adverbial suffix *-tsei*. Compared with *seηseηtsei* ‘quickly’ which indicates a relatively stable state in (1173), *seηkutsei* ‘quickly’ implies an initial state which is not as quickly as it should be.

(1174) *nuy suεηkutsei ji-ne*
 you[s] fast go-IMP
 ‘You go immediately!’

An adverbial clause comprising of the perfective aspect marker *-le* occurs to denote an accompanying state produced from a preterite occurrence, e.g. (1175), (1176).

- (1175) *zo səni-wu-dɛ-ku-lɛ* *gɔ-lɛ*
 3S voice-DIR-big-CAUS2-PF cry-PF
 ‘He cried at the top of his voice.’

- (1176) *ŋə zo wujujutsei-bei-lɛ dʒiɔ*
 I 3S askew-do-PF look
 ‘I look at it sideways.’

In some cases, the perfective aspect marker *-lɛ* is added to adverbs and nominals and thus become an adverbial suffix, e.g. (1178). In (1179), the perfective aspectual marker *-lɛ* is used after *tʂhotʂho-mə-tʂhotʂho* ‘don’t move, have no motion’, the negative form of the reduplicated verb *tʂhotʂho* ‘move, wriggle’. The negation of a reduplicated verb is formed by adding the negative prefix *mɛ- ~ mɐ- ~ mə-* before the second occurrence of a reduplicant syllable, e.g. *bě-mɐ-bě ʂɛŋ-mɐ-ʂɛŋ* ‘leisurely’, which is derived from the reduplication of *bě* ‘busy’ and *ʂɛŋ* ‘quick’.

- (1177) *dz’ɛŋ ɣɛmɛtsei wui-hɛ-lɛ*
 rain slowly fall-come-PF
 ‘The rain fell slowly.’

- (1178) *ɣɛmɛtsei-lɛ ji-dɛigi-di*
 slowly-PF DIR-think-MOM
 ‘Think carefully.’

- (1179) *tʂhotʂho-mə-tʂhotʂho-lɛ jɔ-lɛ-nɛŋ*
 move-NEG-move-PF stand-PF-EXS1
 ‘(Someone) is standing motionlessly.’

The adverbial suffixes *-tsei* and *-jɛŋtsei* often occur to denote relatively stable state and characteristics, which is probably because *-tsei* has long been used as a nominal ending, e.g. *ɛ’letsei* ‘child’. The adverbial suffix *-jɛŋtsei* might be a loan from the Chinese *yàngzi* 样子, which is comparable to the English adverbial suffix *-ly* and *-wise*, e.g. (1180) and (1181). An adverb comprising of the suffix *-jɛŋtsei* may also be used as adjective, e.g. (1182).

- (1180) *khu’wu dʒiɛŋmɛijɛŋtsei wui-mu*
 snow softly fall-EP
 ‘The snow is softly falling.’

(1181) *dei tʃi-khɛ dziɛŋmeijɛŋtsei bei-lɛ-nɛŋ*
 this river-CL mildly do-PF-EXS1
 ‘This river flows peacefully.’

(1182) *dei dzɛnbɛ dziɛŋmeijɛŋtsei*
 this vegetable light.flavoured
 ‘This dish is of slight flavour.’

3.2.11 *The Instrumental and Oblique Nominaliser -’ji*

Unlike the agentive nominaliser *-’wu* and the circumstantial nominaliser *-lu*, nominalised nouns ending in *-’ji* fulfils oblique semantic roles with respect to the event indicated by the verb stem occurring before the nominaliser, which can be the instrument, e.g. (1183)–(1195), the location, e.g. (1196)–(1200), the manner, e.g. (1201)–(1204), or the occasion, e.g. (1206)–(1207). Therefore the nominaliser *-’ji* is described as the oblique nominaliser and glossed as *obNOM* in the interlinear morpheme glosses. Nominalised nouns in examples from (1183) to (1195) denote instruments. A nominalised noun out of contexts denotes any indefinite entry of a category. Its denotation can be specified in the appropriate context.

(1183) *gulubɛi -’ji*
 play-obNOM
 ‘a thing used for playing; a toy, etc.’

(1184) *tʃi tʃshuɛŋ -’ji*
 water contain-obNOM
 ‘a thing used for containing water; a pail, a cup, etc.’

(1185) *dziẽ hɛ -’ji*
 field dig-obNOM
 ‘a thing used for digging earth; a spade, etc.’

(1186) *z’ɛi bei -’ji*
 food do-obNOM
 ‘a thing used for cooking food; any cooking utensil, a cooker, a pot, etc.’

(1187) *dzɛnbɛ tɛhiɔ -’ji*
 vegetable stir.fry-obNOM
 ‘a thing used for stir-frying food; a spatula, etc.’

- (1188) *tʂi tə-ʂi*
 water heat[v.]-obNOM
 ‘a thing used for heating; a tea kettle’
- (1189) *dʒi tciə-ʂi*
 Chinese.characters write-obNOM
 ‘a thing used to write Chinese characters with; a pen, an exercise book, etc.’
- (1190) *dʂi-phə tɕhyo-ʂi*
 this-TOP sit-obNOM
 ‘This is used for sitting on.’
- (1191) *dʂi-phə ɛzɐ dʒ'iv-ʂi*
 this-TOP wine drink-obNOM
 ‘This is used for drinking wine with.’
- (1192) *dʂi-phə guən-ʂi*
 this-TOP pull-obNOM
 ‘This is used to pull things with.’
- (1193) *dʂi-phə kuən-ʂi*
 this-TOP weigh-obNOM
 ‘This is used to weigh things with.’
- (1194) *ɛ'letsei dʒi tciə-ʂi ɛ-jən mu*
 child Chinese.character write-obNOM P-EXS2 EP
 ‘Is there anything for the child to write with?’
- (1195) *ɛ'letsei tciə-ʂi-phə wu-'lu-di*
 child write-obNOM-TOP DIR-search-MOM
 ‘Help me find something for the child to write with.’
- jikə jən 'wu-li*
 there EXS2 GN-1PIIMP
 ‘(You didn’t know?) It has been there!’

The oblique nominaliser *-ʂi* may also be added after the verb stem to denote the location for carrying out an action, e.g. (1196)–(1200). The context is heavily relied on to disambiguate the denotation of a nominalised noun.

- (1196) *gulubei-'ji*
 play-obNOM
 'a place used for playing; a playing room.'
- (1197) *dz'i* *teio-'ji*
 Chinese.characters write-obNOM
 'a place used for writing Chinese characters; a study; a writing desk.'
- (1198) *z'ei* *bei-'ji*
 food do-obNOM
 'a place used for cooking food; a kitchen.'
- (1199) *tʂi* *tə-'ji*
 water heat-obNOM
 'a place used for heating water; a water closet'
- (1200) *jikə-kən* *z'ei* *bei-'ji*
 that-place food do-obNOM
 'The place is used for food making. Or: Here is the kitchen.'

In addition to instrument and location, the nominalised nouns comprising of the nominaliser *-ji* may also denote the manner and resources, e.g. (1201)–(1204). The classifier *nɛŋ* in (1201) is a homophony of the animate existence verb and the ergative marker.

- (1201) *ɛ'letsei-me* *dz'i* *jikə-nɛŋ* *teio-'ji*
 child-GEN Chinese.character that-CL write-obNOM
tʂhi *hɛŋ*
 very hard
 'That Chinese character the child is writing is very hard to write.'
- (1202) *ɛie-'ji* *dziɛn* *bei-'ji* *hɛŋ*
 say-obNOM easy do-obNOM hard
 'It is easier said than done.'; 'The way to say is easier than the way to do.'
- (1203) *dɛi* *lithɔ-phə* *tshɔ-'ji* *tʂhi* *hɛŋ*
 this crop-TOP sow-obNOM very hard
 'The sowing method is very complicated.'

- (1204) *dɛi-phə go-'ji tʂhi hɛŋ*
 this-TOP eat-obNOM very difficult
 'The food is very difficult to eat (because the way to eat it is complex, with lots of small bones in the little meat, etc.)'

Compare:

- (1205) *dɛi-phə go ɳɛi*
 this-TOP eat bad
 'The food does not taste good.'

The nominalised nouns comprising of the nominaliser *-ji* may also denote the occasion on which the action occurs, e.g. (1206)–(1207):

- (1206) *dɛi-phə tʂu-'ji bu*
 this-TOP use-obNOM EXS3
 'There are occasions to use this.'
- (1207) *dɛi dz'ɛwɛ-phə wɛ-'ji bu*
 this upper.garment-TOP wear-obNOM EXS3
 'The costume is worn on special occasions.'

Syntax

This chapter deals with simple clause, complex clauses including coordination; subordination, which consists of adverbial clauses, complement clauses, direct versus indirect speech and relative clauses; serial verbs; basic word order and interrogative constructions.

4.1 Simple Clause

4.1.1 Verbal Clauses

A predicate verb occurs at the end of a simple clause with its single argument preceding it, e.g. (1) and (2).

(1) *zo hε*
 3S come
 'He will come.'

(2) *zo mε-ji*
 3S NEG-go
 'He will not go.'

The subject of a transitive verb normally occurs before the object, e.g. (3) and (4).

(3) *zo dz'vnyen dz'iv*
 3S tobacco consume
 'He smokes and drinks.'

(4) *ε'letsei dz'i teio*
 child Chinese.character write
 'Children will be writing Chinese characters.'

For ditransitive verbs, the three arguments indicating agent, theme and recipient precede the verb, usually in that order, e.g. (5).

- (5) *ŋə dʒ'i-phə puzu wu-khəŋ-lɛ*
 I book-TOP younger.brother DIR-give-PF
 'I gave the book to my younger brother.'

No valence alternation device is found in Guìqióng. The denotation of a ditransitive verb in Guìqióng can be a Janus-like integration of denotations on the receiving and the giving end, e.g. *tsən* 'teach; learn; discipline' in (6)–(11) and *tsi* 'listen; speak; command' in (12) and (13). The concrete denotation expressed can only rely on the markers of aspect, tense or evidentiality heavily related to the context.

- (6) *'əpu-nəŋ ŋə bɔ'mɛ tsən-lɛ*
 grandfather-ERG I herb.medicine teach-PF
 'Grandfather taught me herb medicine.'

- (7) *ɛ'letsei denidetshe dʒ'i tsən*
 child every.day book learn
 'Children go to school every day.'

- (8) *dugəu phei tsei-ələ tsən-lɛ nəŋ*
 they[pe] father son-DAT teach-PF EXS1
 'The father is teaching the son a lesson.'

- (9) *nunɡu-mɛ ɛ'letsei dʒ'i tsən-lu ɛ-jən?*
 you[pe]-GEN child book learn-CIRC P-EXS2
 'Does your child have prospects for further education?'

- (10) *nun tsən-lu ɛ-jən?*
 you[s] teach-CIRC P-EXS2
 'Will you continue to teach?'

- (11) *ŋə-mɛ ɛ'letsei tsən-lu jən*
 I-GEN child teach-CIRC EXS2
 'My child needs more discipline.'

- (12) *zo guctɛɛ ji-'wu-tsi-mu*
 3S Gūzán go-GN-REP-EP
 'I heard that he was going to Gūzán.' or 'It was said that he was going to Gūzán.'

- (13) *teiv-gəŋ ji dziɛn-tsi-mu*
 hear-CON go need-REP-EP
 'I heard someone say that (he) is about to go.'

4.1.2 *Non-verbal Clauses*

Copula *dzi* can be used to express equative and attributive clauses, e.g. (14) and (15).

- (14) *zo bei dzi*
 3S Tibetan COP
 'He is Tibetan.'
- (15) *dz'ewε tseŋməŋtsei dzi*
 upper.garment clean COP
 'The jacket is indeed very clean.'

Both equative and attributive clauses may contain zero copula, where the predicate noun phrase or adjective phrase occur immediately after the subject, e.g. (16)–(19).

- (16) *dɛi sɛnpu tʃhi dɛ*
 this tree very big
 'This tree is very big.'
- (17) *dz'ewε tseŋməŋtsei*
 upper.garment clean
 'The jacket is very clean.'
- (18) *zo-phə qɛtʃhə*
 3S-TOP idiot
 'He is an idiot.'
- (19) *zo tʃhi dzɛ*
 3S very intelligent
 'He is most intelligent.'

The linking verb *dzi* or zero does not denote being or existence. Locative clauses are expressed by existential verbs distinguished from the linking verb, e.g. (20)–(22). Example (22) is also a possessive clause. *Guìqióng* distinguishes

animate versus inanimate existence, see 3.2.2 for more examples of detailed copular sentences.

- (20) *tʂuətʂi-wənʹjən dʒ'i ʹŋɐ-thə jən*
 desk-on.top book five-CL EXS2
 ‘There are five books on the desk.’

- (21) *dugu-mɛ dʒ'ɛnɛ mǔ ɡɛlhɐ nɛŋ*
 3PE-GEN home man quite EXS1
 ‘There are many people in their house.’

- (22) *zo ni dɛ-teiɛŋ nɛŋ*
 3S ox one-CL EXS1
 ‘He has an ox.’

In a locative or possessive clause, the existential verb must occur. Verbless clause in Guìqióng can only be seen as closest in meaning to a copular clause with the linking verb *dʒi* in the predicate.

4.2 Complex Clauses

4.2.1 Coordination

The conjunction *ɛ* ‘and’ is used to form coordinate noun phrases, e.g. (23).

- (23) *ʂi ɛ zɪ'wu*
 louse and flea
 ‘louse and flea’

A coordinate noun phrase can also be formed by juxtaposing two noun phrases, e.g. (24).

- (24) *kɛkɛ puzu*
 elder.brother younger.brother
 ‘elder brother and younger brother’

Coordinate sentences in Guìqióng are usually formed by juxtaposing two independent clauses, with only the second receiving final intonation, e.g. (25) and (26).

- (25) *zo dz'enχen dz'ie ezɸ dz'ie*
 3S tobacco consume wine consume
 'He smokes and drinks.'
- (26) 'əgə dz'enχen dz'ie 'ətciə ezɸ dz'ie
 elder.siste tobacco consume elder.brother wine consume
 'The elder sister smokes and the elder brother drinks wine.'

The coordinate clauses can also be linked by using adverb and conjunction 'me 'and; also' in front of the second clause, e.g. (27).

- (27) *zo dz'enχen dz'ie 'mɛ ezɸ dz'ie*
 3S tobacco consume also wine consume
 'He smokes tobacco and drinks wine.'

4.2.2 Subordination

4.2.2.1 Adverbial Clauses

A most widely found postpositional subordination conjunction is *geŋ*, which can be roughly translated as the English adverb 'when'. The monosyllabic suffix might be related to the common morpheme in the present continuous compound markers *~bigang*; *~migang* or *~wigang* in Dzongkha (van Driem, 1992) both in terms of pronunciation and implications. The Guìqióng conjunction *geŋ* turns the clause where it occurs into a time adverbial and implies approximate synchronicity of the occurrence in the subordinate clause with the occurrence in the main clause. The verb in the main clause bears the marker of tense, aspect or mood. The subject of the time adverbial clause may or may not be the same as that of the main clause, e.g. (28)–(35).

- (28) *ziətsei ʂɛŋpənbei-geŋ ŋə 'mɛ wən'jen tchi-lɛ*
 morning go.to.work-CON I again head pain-PF
 'When I went to work this morning, I had a headache again.'
- (29) *ji-bei-geŋ zo dzui-lɛ*
 DIR-do-CON 3S arrive-PF
 'He arrived when it had begun.'
- (30) *wu-tshu-geŋ zo hɛ-lɛ*
 DIR-complete-CON 3S come-PF
 'He came when it had ended.'

- (31) *ŋəgu z'ei go-gəŋ zo dʒ'i tɕiɔ-lɛ nɐŋ*
 we[pe] meal eat-CON 3S Chinese.characters write-PF EXS1
 'When we ate our meals, he was writing Chinese characters.'
- (32) *ŋəgu ʂɐŋpənbei-gəŋ zo 'mɛ ju-lɛ nɐŋ*
 we[pe] go.to.work-CON 3S still sleep-PF EXS1
 'When we went to work, he was still sleeping.'
- (33) *tɕhiɐ'i mintʂə thu-tɕhyo-gəŋ dʒiɛ̃-gu ligə*
 today sun DIR-sit-CON field-ILL work
bɛi-lu tɕi-lɛ
 do-CIRC become.available-PF
 'When the sun rises we will be able to work in the field today.'
- (34) *ŋəgu z'ei go-gəŋ ɛ'letsei-ŋiɐ gulubɛi-mu*
 we[pe] meal eat-CON child-IND play-EP
 'When we ate our meals, we saw that the children had begun to play.'
- (35) *muhi ʂɔ-gəŋ ŋə wən'jen tɕhi-mu*
 wind blow-CON I head pain-EP
 'When the wind blows, I begin to have a headache.'

The subordinate clause comprising of *gəŋ* may also imply causes and reasons for the occurrence in the main clause, e.g. (36), where the mother went to a temple to pray for the recovery of her son's illness, and (37), where the speaker were busy sowing crop.

- (36) *dugu-mɛ ɛ'letsei tɕhi-gəŋ zo təkhuɐŋ-gu dʒ'yɛi ji-'wu*
 3PE-GEN child pain-CON 3S temple-ILL oil.lamp go-GN
 'Since their child was suffering from illness, she went to light a wish lamp in the temple.'
- (37) *liθɔ tʂɔ-gəŋ bɛ̃*
 crop sow-CON busy
 'We are busy when we sow the crop.'
- (38) *ŋə dugu-kən dzui-gəŋ, dugu-mɛ dʒ'ienmɛ g'uyɬuy*
 I 3PE-LAT arrive-CON 3PE-GEN home walnut
gəlɬɐ tɕhiu-lɛ jən
 quite put-PF EXS2
 'When I went to their house, I found they have many walnuts at home.'

- (39) *zo wu-cie-gɐŋ zibu<wu>zu*
 3S DIR-say-CON lose. temper<DIR>.
 'The more he talked, the angrier he became.'
- (40) *də-mɛ dz'ieŋ wu-to-gɐŋ wu-'mɛi*
 here-GEN house DIR-build-CON DIR-many
 'More and more houses are being built in this area.'

Three other major Guìqióng subordinating conjunctions, *jɛgi* 'if', *ləli* 'if' and *lə* 'if' are also used postpositionally to form subordinate conditional clause. Whilst *gɐŋ* 'when' can be used to connect two concomitant events of past, present or prospective and implicates reasons for the ensuing occurrence, the other two conjunctions *ləli* 'if' and *jɛgi* 'if' can only be used to introduce conditional clauses. The compound conjunction *ləli* combines the subjunctive marker *lə* and the first person plural inclusive imperative marker *li*. The subjunctive marker *lə* is also used in combination with the gnomic prospective tense marker *'wulɔ*, e.g. (41), to denote an event which is supposed to occur right away. It is also used clause-finally either as a question particle, e.g. (42), or as a subordinating conjunction like *ləli* 'if', e.g. (43). Whilst the sentence final *lə* is glossed as P in the interlinear morpheme glosses, e.g. (42) and the verbal suffix *lə* is glossed as SJV in the interlinear morpheme glosses, e.g. (41) and (43). The first person plural inclusive imperative suffix *li* is used to denote an imperative occurrence with first person plural inclusive subject, e.g. (44). The origins of the two morphemes contained in the disyllabic subordinator *jɛgi* remain unclear, e.g. (45). Whilst the word *jɛ* can be used as a sentence-final particle in question word questions, *gi* is the final syllable of the verb *tʂhɛgi* 'like' and *dɛigi* 'think'.

- (41) *'ɐpu dz'ɛŋχɛn dz'ie-lə-bɛi-'wu-lɔ*
 grandfather tobacco smoke-SJV-do-GN-PRS
 'I know that grandfather will be smoking right away.'
- (42) *ɛ'letsei-ɲiɐ ɲə tʂhɛgi lə?*
 child-IND I like P
 'Do the children like me?'
- (43) *gɐ'li mintshə tə-lə 'nɛ'i mɛŋ də-zui*
 crow sun shine-SJV tomorrow weather DIR-fine
 'It will be a promising day (again) tomorrow if there is evening glow today.'

- (44) *ɲetsɛi tɛiɔ-li*
 we[pi] write-1PIIMP
 'Let's write.'
- (45) *ɲə dzɛnbɛ ʔɲyɛɲ ji-jɛgi, ɲə si dɛ-ʂɔ bɛ-lɛ*
 I vegetable buy go-CON I early one-while go-PF
 'If I go to buy vegetables, I shall leave a bit earlier than usual.'

Group examples are given from (46)–(51) to compare the four conjunctions, where the first complex sentence in each group contains the conjunction *gɛɲ* 'when', the second contains the compound conjunction *lɔli* 'if', the third contains the conjunction *lə* 'if' and the fourth contains the conjunction *jɛgi* 'if'.

- (46) a *nuy dzɛnbɛ ʔɲyɛɲ ji-gɛɲ,*
 you[s] vegetable buy go-CON
ɲə-mɛ dɛtɛi ʔɲyɛɲ-lɛ hɛ-'wɛ
 I-GEN a.little buy-PF come-IMP
 'When you go to buy vegetables, buy some for me, too.'
- b *nuy dzɛnbɛ ʔɲyɛɲ ji-lɔli,*
 you[s] vegetable buy go-CON
ɲə-mɛ dɛtɛi ʔɲyɛɲ-lɛ hɛ-'wɛ
 I-GEN a.little buy-PF come-IMP
 'If you go to buy vegetables, buy some for me, too.'
- c *nuy dzɛnbɛ ʔɲyɛɲ ji-lə,*
 you[s] vegetable buy go-SJV
ɲə-mɛ dɛtɛi ʔɲyɛɲ-lɛ hɛ-'wɛ
 I-GEN a.little buy-PF come-IMP
 'If you go to buy vegetables, buy some for me, too.'
- d *nuy dzɛnbɛ ʔɲyɛɲ ji-jɛgi,*
 you[s] vegetable buy go-CON
ɲə-mɛ dɛtɛi ʔɲyɛɲ-lɛ hɛ-'wɛ
 I-GEN a.little buy-PF come-IMP
 'If you go to buy vegetables, buy some for me, too.'
- (47) a *ɛ'letsɛi gulubɛi-gɛɲ, gulubɛi-'ji-ɲiɛ ji-tɛyɛn*
 child play-CON, play-obNOM-IND DIR-take
 'When the child plays, take out the toys.'

- b *ε'letsɛi gulubei-ləli, gulubei-'ji-niə ji-tɛyən*
 child play-CON, play-obNOM-IND DIR-take
 'If the child plays, take out the toys.'
- c *ε'letsɛi gulubei-lə, gulubei-'ji-niə ji-tɛyən*
 child play-SJV, play-obNOM-IND DIR-take
 'If the child plays, take out the toys.'
- d *ε'letsɛi gulubei-jɛgi, gulubei-'ji-niə ji-tɛyən*
 child play-CON, play-obNOM-IND DIR-take
 'If the child plays, take out the toys.'
- (48) a *nuy χɛntɕhiə ji-gɛŋ, ŋə-mɛ wu-bu*
 you[s] feast go-CON I-GEN DIR-carry
 'When you go to the party, bring my gift to them.'
- b *nuy χɛntɕhiə ji-ləli, ŋə-mɛ wu-bu*
 you[s] feast go-CON I-GEN DIR-carry
 'If you go to the party, bring my gift to them.'
- c *nuy χɛntɕhiə ji-lə, ŋə-mɛ wu-bu*
 you[s] feast go-SJV I-GEN DIR-carry
 'If you go to the party, bring my gift to them.'
- d *nuy χɛntɕhiə ji-jɛgi, ŋə-mɛ wu-bu*
 you[s] feast go-CON I-GEN DIR-carry
 'If you go to the party, bring my gift to them.'
- (49) a *zo χɛntɕhiə ji-gɛŋ, ŋə-mɛ wu-phən*
 3S feast go-CON I-GEN DIR-pass.on
 'When he goes to the party, (let him) pass on my gift.'
- b *zo χɛntɕhiə ji-ləli, ŋə-mɛ wu-phən*
 3S feast go-CON I-GEN DIR-pass.on
 'If he goes to the party, (let him) pass on my gift.'
- c *zo χɛntɕhiə ji-lə, ŋə-mɛ wu-phən*
 3S feast go-SJV I-GEN DIR-pass.on
 'If he goes to the party, (let him) pass on my gift.'

- d zo *χentchie ji-jegi ηə-mε wu-phen*
 3S feast go-CON I-GEN DIR-pass.on
 'If he goes to the party, (let him) pass on my gift.'
- (50) a *ηetsɛi zi ji-geŋ, dei-niɛ ji-bu*
 we[pi] mountain go-CON this-IND DIR-carry
 'When we go to the mountains, we shall carry these things.'
- b *ηetsɛi zi ji-ləli, dei-niɛ ji-bu*
 we[pi] mountain go-CON this-IND DIR-carry
 'If we go to the mountains, we shall carry these things.'
- c *ηetsɛi zi ji-lə, dei-niɛ ji-bu*
 we[pi] mountain go-SJV this-IND DIR-carry
 'If we go to the mountains, we shall carry these things.'
- d *ηetsɛi zi ji-jegi, dei-niɛ ji-bu*
 we[pi] mountain go-CON this-IND DIR-carry
 'If we go to the mountains, we shall carry these things.'
- (51) a *ηə qo ji-geŋ, nuŋ-mε dei-phə ji-bu*
 I Kāngdìng go-CON you[s]-GEN this-TOP DIR-carry
 'When I go to Kāngdìng, I shall carry this for you.'
- b *ηə qo ji-ləli, nuŋ-mε dei-phə ji-bu*
 I Kāngdìng go-CON you[s]-GEN this-TOP DIR-carry
 'If I go to Kāngdìng, I shall carry this for you.'
- c *ηə qo ji-lə, nuŋ-mε dei-phə ji-bu*
 I Kāngdìng go-SJV you[s]-GEN this-TOP DIR-carry
 'If I go to Kāngdìng, I shall carry this for you.'
- d *ηə qo ji-jegi, nuŋ-mε dei-phə ji-bu*
 I Kāngdìng go-CON you[s]-GEN this-TOP DIR-carry
 'If I go to Kāngdìng, I shall carry this for you.'

There is a tendency to add the clause-final particle *ni* after the conjunction *geŋ*, e.g. (52), thus makes another compound subordinating conjunction *geŋni*. The clause-final particle *ni* might be a loan from the Chinese *呢* 呢, which is often used to pause between clauses. It is very important to distinguish this

particle *ni* from the emphatic *ni*, which emphasises the focus of the statement, e.g. (53).

- (52) *ŋə jikə ji dziən-gəŋ ni ŋetsei ɲyɛŋmə ji-li*
 I there go need-CON P we[pi] together go-1PIIMP
 'If I go there, let's go together.'

- (53) *mintshə mi-bo-tshu-gəŋ-ni mə<mə>si*
 sun DIR-set-COM-CON-EMP know<NEG>
 'He did not realise that the sun had set.'

In expressing regrets about a preterit event, the compound conjunction word *ʂulə* is used at the end of the preceding conditional clause, where *ʂu* denotes true, e.g. (54) and (55).

- (54) *mɛŋ'ŋɛ ŋə dzɛŋmɛŋ-tɕi wu-tshə*
 last.year I Chinese.prickly.ash-bit[CL] DIR-sow
ʂu-lə tʂhizɛŋ dzɔ jɛn
 true-SJV this.year money EXS2
 'If I had planted some Chinese prickly ash last year, I would have earned money this year.'

- (55) *zo dɕ'i 'mɛ ŋi-'ŋɛŋ wu-tsɛn ʂu-lə pɛ tɕhyo*
 3S book more two-year DIR-learn true-SJV official sit
 'If he had stayed at school for two years longer, he would have become a government official.'

The denotations of adversative conjunctions are mainly expressed by compounds comprising of major conjunction *gəŋ*, the subjunctive marker *lə* and the perfective marker *lɛ*, e.g. *dɛigəŋ* 'but' in utterance (56), which is the combination of the demonstrative *dɛi* 'this' and the conjunction *gəŋ*; and *tsilə*, which is the combination of the hearsay marker *tsi* 'listen, hear; command' and the subjunctive conjunction *lə*, e.g. (57) and (58).

- (56) *dziə-gəŋ zo dzɔ ʂu-'wu dɛigəŋ*
 look-CON 3S scold true-GN but
zo-wuələwuə gɛ-'wu ɕiɛ-lɛ nɛŋ
 3S-DAT good-GN say-PF EXS1
 'At first it seems that he was scolding. In fact he was speaking helpful things.'

- (57) *χε̣ν̣τ̣σει* *dzi* *tsi-lə* *liǰə* *bɛi-lɛ* *tʃhi* *kɔ*
 younger.sister COP REP-SJV work do-PF very able
 ‘Though she is said to be the younger sister, she was very able at doing things.’
- (58) *zo-mɛ* *phitɛhi* *gɛ* *tsi-lə* *zibuzu-lɛ* *zɤ* *jɛn*
 3S-GEN temper good REP-SJV get.angry-PF time EXS2
 ‘Though he is said to be good-tempered, sometimes he may also lose temper.’

The compound of the perfective marker *ɛ* and the copula *dzi* emphasises the fact that something has happened, e.g. (59). However, it is often used as an adversative conjunction, e.g. (60), (61).

- (59) *z'ɛi* *mə-go-gɛŋ*, *zo* *go-lɛ-dzi* *ɛiɛ-mu*
 food NEG-eat-CON 3S eat-PF-COP say-EP
 ‘He did not eat. However, he said that he has eaten.’
- (60) *khepɤ-gu* *ɛiɛ-wu* *lɛ-dzi*, *dɛŋ'jɛŋ-gu* *zosi-phɔ-lɛ*
 mouth-ILL say-GN PF-COP hear-ILL worried-feel-PF
 ‘Though he said so, he worried a lot.’
- (61) *zo-phə* *dzu-wu* *lɛ-dzi*, *mɛ-kuɛn-lɛ* *mɛ-kɔ*
 3S-TOP cruel-GN PF-COP NEG-care-PF NEG-TEL
 ‘Though he is detestably cruel, one cannot leave him alone (and overlook him).’

Two events following each other closely can be expressed with two clauses comprising of three major components, the use of a directional morpheme immediately before the main verb and the conjunction word *gɛŋ* immediately after it at the end of the conditional clause, and the use of the perfective marker *ɛ* at the end of the consequence clause, e.g. (62) and (63).

- (62) *dz'ivɛhu-gu* *tʃiphu* *ji-tə-gɛŋ* *dɛʃɔ* *dui-lɛ*
 kettle-ILL hot.water DIR-roast-CON a.while boil-PF
 ‘Soon after the kettle is put on the stove, the water boils.’
- (63) *dɛntə* *ji-dzui-gɛŋ* *bɛŋ-lɛ*
 summer DIR-arrive-CON hot-PF
 ‘As soon as summer arrives, it becomes hot.’

The denotation of ‘not only . . . but also’ can be expressed with the compound conjunction *metshe* at the end of the prior event, e.g. (64), which is probably the negative form of the verb *tshε* ‘calculate and do devining’.

- (64) *diditshvei-le metshe ε mũ sε-le*
 quarrel-PF not.only P man kill-PF
 ‘There was not only quarrelling but also killing.’

4.2.2.2 Complement Clauses

In Guìqióng, complement clauses may precede predicate verb of the matrix clause, e.g. (65)–(68). The subject of the matrix clause may occur before the complement clause, e.g. (65) and (66). The complement clause may also occur sentence-initially, preceding the subject of the matrix clause, if any, e.g. (67) and (68).

- (65) *zo tchi de-tei-mε-kɔ-dzi-'wu tsitshɛgi*
 3S sheep DIR-find-NEG-TEL-COP-GN believe
 ‘He believes that the sheep couldn’t be found.’

- (66) *ɲə ε'letsɛi-niε dz'i tɛiɔ-mə tsi-le ɛiε-le*
 I child-IND Chinese.character write-EXH hear-PF speak-PF
 ‘I told the children to write the Chinese characters.’

- (67) *zo qo be-le dz'ienmε-mε-mũ mε<mε>si*
 3S Kāngdìng leave-PF home-GEN-man know<NEG>
 ‘Nobody at home knew that he has gone to Kāngdìng.’

- (68) *zo qo be-ni dz'ienmε-mε-mũ mε<mε>si*
 3S Kāngdìng leave-P home-GEN-man know<NEG>
 ‘Nobody at home knew that he would be going to Kāngdìng city.’

The subject of a matrix clause may be omitted because it is understood, e.g. (69).

- (69) *phɛi tchitɕə qo ji-'wu tsi-mu*
 father the.day.after.tomorrow Kāngdìng go-GN REP-EP
 ‘I heard father say that he would go to Kāngdìng two days later.’

Normally, no complementiser is used when the complement clause is sentence initial, e.g. (70)–(72).

(70) *zo den ʎnyɛŋ bɛ-le ɲə mɛsi*
 3S thing buy leave-PF I know
 ‘I knew that he had gone shopping.’

(71) *zo tɛiu ʂɛ ɲə mɛ<mɛ>si*
 3S what boil I know<NEG>
 ‘I don’t know what he is boiling.’

(72) *ji lɛ mɛ-ji zɛŋ dʒiɔ*
 go or NEG-go self decide
 ‘One decides whether one will go or not by oneself.’

4.2.2.3 Direct versus Indirect Speech

There are two different ways of reporting the words of another person in Guìqióng, direct quotation and indirect quotation. In both cases, quotes may occur at the end of the clause, e.g. (73) and (74).

(73) *zo ɛiɛ-ʋu ɲɛŋtɛi ligə bɛi-le tʂhi kɔ*
 3S say-GN younger.sister work do-PF very able
 He said: ‘my younger sister is very able-handed.’

(74) *dz’imeɪ ɲə ɛiɛ-gɛŋ, ’ɛŋku-gu-kɛn dɛ-phɔ ʒi-dziɛn*
 daughter I say-CON uncle-ILL-LAT one-once[CL] go-need
 ‘My daughter told me that she wanted to go to her uncle’s place.’

In reporting what other people have said, Guìqióng speakers can combine words denoting speak, e.g. *ɛiɛ* ‘say’, hear, e.g. *tɛiɛ* ‘hear’ with aspect or tense markers with evidential implications, e.g. the experienced auditory marker *tsimu* in (75)–(77), the gnomic auditory evidential marker *-tsi’wu* in (78)–(79). The hearsay and directive root *tsi* can mean both ‘say’ and ‘hear’ according to my informants. Sentences are found to end with the evidential markers of experienced auditory or gnomic auditory, e.g. (75)–(79). In case other verbs like *ɛiɛ* ‘say’ or *tɛiɛ* ‘hear’, the reported speech can occur at the end of the sentence, e.g. (80), or before the predicate verb, e.g. (81)

- (75) *tcie-gɛŋ ji dziɛn-tsi-mu*
 hear-CON go need-REP-EP
 'I heard that (someone) is about to go.'
- (76) *zo cie-gɛŋ tshu-le-tsi-mu*
 3S say-CON COM-PF-REP-EP
 'I heard that she has finished (the job).'
- (77) *zo 'nɛ'i dɛ-wu-ji dziɛn-tsi-mu*
 3S tomorrow DIR-DIR-go need-REP-EP
 'I heard that he is still going out tomorrow.'
- (78) *'ətciɔ nuŋ-ə wu-cie-tsi-'wu*
 elder.brother you[s]-DAT DIR-speak-D-GN
 '(I don't think you know this.) Elder brother let me tell you (about this).'
- (79) *zo wu-hɛ-tsi-'wu*
 3S DIR-dig-D-GN
 '(I don't think you know this. I heard) the teacher made him dig.'
- (80) *zo cie-'wu χɛŋtsei ligə bei-le tʃhi kɔ*
 3S say-GN younger.sister work do-PF very able
 He said: 'my younger sister is very able-handed.'
- (81) *ŋə ɛ'letsei-niɛ dʒ'i tciɔ-mə tsi-le cie-le*
 I child-IND Chinese.character write-EXH hear-PF speak-PF
 'I told the children to write the Chinese characters.'

Given that Guìqióng is mostly a verb-final language, complement clauses represented by example (80) is fairly unusual in terms of the embedded position. One interpretation favoured by my informant Gāo is that the verb *tsi* denoting both 'say' and 'hear' is omitted. It can arise, for it is more or less indispensable when a third party's speech is reported as it was heard, e.g. (82) a.

When the complement clause occurs after the finite verb denoting saying, asking or knowing, the use of the gnomic tense marker *-'wu* to end the verb expressing saying or asking normally signals direct speech, e.g. all the following examples in (82)–(85). The b sentences in (82)–(85) use the perfective aspect marker *-le* after *cie* 'say' to report indirect speech. The change of person can also be seen in these b examples of indirect speech in (82)–(85). The first

person singular pronoun *ηə* 'I' can be changed into *'wu* 'self' in the report of indirect speech, e.g. (82) b, (84) b.

(82) a *zo thu-jɔ-le ciε-'wu ηə bε-le tsi*
 3S DIR-stand-PF say-GN I leave-PF hear
 I tell you, he stood up and said, "I shall leave."

b *zo thu-jɔ-le ciε-le 'wu bε-le*
 He DIR-stand-PF say-PF self leave-PF
 'He stood up and said that he should go.'

(83) a *mεimeɪ ciε-'wu nuŋ ηə zɔ ɐ-kɔ*
 younger.sister say-GN you[s] I help P-TEL
 The younger sister asked (me), "Will you be able to help me?"

b *mεimeɪ ηə-ləwuə ciε-le ηə zo-wuə zɔ ɐ-kɔ*
 younger.sister I-DAT say-PF I 3S-DAT help P-TEL
 'The younger sister asked if I could help her.'

(84) a *ɐmε ciε-'wu su ηə-mε ε'letsei dẽ-le*
 mother say-GN who I-GEN child hit-PF
 Mother asked, "Who bullied my child?"

b *ɐmε ciε-le su 'wu-mε ε'letsei dẽ-le*
 mother say-PF who self-GEN child hit-PF
 'Mother asked who bullied her child.'

(85) a *phɛi ε'letsei ciε-'wu pɛitsi-phə dz'iu-thə-ku*
 father child say-GN cup-TOP break-ngIMP-CAUS2
 Father said to his child, "Don't break the cup!"

b *phɛi ε'letsei ciε-le pɛitsi-phə dz'iu-thə-ku tsi*
 father child say-PF cup-TOP break-ngIMP-CAUS2 hear
 'I tell you, the father told his child not to break the cup.'

The conjunction *gɛŋ* can also be used to connect a complement clause to the matrix clause, e.g. (86).

(86) *zo ciε-gɛŋ dz'ɛwε jɐ-lu*
 3S say-CON upper.garment wash-CIRC
 'He said the jacket needs washing.'

For the verb denoting think, there seems little difference in using the conjunction *-geŋ* ‘when’ or the gnomic tense marker *-’wu* after the verb *deigi* ‘think’ to introduce the content of thinking. Nevertheless, one can hardly argue what the originally coded thought is. Grammatically, however, the language can still distinguish first-person or third-person thinking, thus using direct versus indirect reportative rules, including the change of person, e.g. (87). When the subject is first person, however, verbs indicating ‘think’ or ‘say’ do not take the gnomic tense marker *-’wu* perhaps because it implies disclosure of an unknown fact and a speaker would certainly not wish himself or herself to become the source of concealment.

(87) a *ŋə deigi-geŋ ŋə ji-’wu-lə*
 I think-CON I go-GN-PRS
 ‘I think I shall go.’

b *zo deigi-’wu ’wu ji-’wu-lə*
 3S think-GN self go-GN-PRS
 ‘He thinks that he will go.’

4.2.2.4 Relative Clauses

Of the four nominalisers in Guìqióng, the genitive case marker *mε* is the most widely used relativiser immediately preceding the head noun, e.g. (88)–(90). The head noun *mũ* ‘person’ in (88) acts as object of the modifying clause and partial subject of the main clause.

(88) *zo lε geŋdzi-ni tʂhε<mε>gi-mε-mũ ɲyɛŋmu nɛŋ-lε*
 3S and all-EMP like<NEG>-GEN-person together live-PF
 ‘She lived with a man that everybody dislikes.’

The head noun *dzɛnbɛ* ‘vegetable’ in (89) functions as object of the modifying clause and object of the main clause.

(89) *’ɛtsi tʂɔ-mε dzɛnbɛ zɛŋsu go*
 grandma sow-GEN vegetable self eat
 ‘Grandmother eats vegetables she plants herself.’

The head noun *dʒ’iu* ‘tea’ in (90) functions as the object of the modifying clause and the secondary object of the matrix clause.

- (90) *χεντζαυ-νι bu he-me dz'iu ηə de-tsuəŋ wu-kheŋ-le*
 Hángzhōu-ABL bring come-GEN tea I one-CL DIR-give-PF
 'I give (you) a bag of tea which was brought from Hángzhōu.'

Lack of proper contexts, the gnomic tense marker and agentive nominaliser -'wu may cause ambiguity when combining with verbs, e.g. (91).

- (91) *ge-'wu*
 good-GN
 'good people; good stuff; good qualities; having something good'

In clause examples (92) and (93), however, the meaning of either of the clauses were not ambiguous.

- (92) *ge-'wu-me e'letsei-pei*
 good-GN-GEN child-CL.human
 'A child of kind people'

- (93) *e'letsei ge-'wu-pei*
 child good-GN-CL.human
 'A good child'

The agentive nominaliser -'wu can occur in a modifying clause after a head noun, e.g. (94). The head noun *e'letsei* 'child' acts as the subject of the modifying clause. Together with the modifying clause, it also functions as the subject of the main clause.

- (94) *e'letsei ge-'wu-pei denidetshe dz'i tsen ji*
 child good-GN-CL.human everyday book learn go
 'A good child goes to school every day.'

The following sentence comprising of the relativiser *me* expresses what my informants think of as indistinguishable in meaning from the previous example, example (94).

- (95) *ge-me e'letsei-pei denidetshe dz'i tsen ji*
 good-GN child-CL.human everyday book learn go
 'A good child goes to school every day.'

In example (96), the head noun *βu* 'horse' functions as subjects of the two modifying clauses with the nominaliser *-wu* as a relativiser and the object of the main clause.

- (96) *ηə βu tʂhi-χεη-wu tʂhi kə-wu-teieŋ neŋ*
 I horse very-hard-GN very fierce-GN-CL EXS1
 'I have a bad-tempered horse quite hard to tame.'

The denotation of the gnomic tense marker *-wu* does not vanish when it occurs in modifying clauses, where the speaker tends to express message new to the hearer. Thus a modifying clause where the verb ends with the gnomic tense marker and agentive nominaliser *-wu* tends to express discourse-new information, especially when the modifying clause occurs immediately after the head noun, contrasting with the prenominal clause linked to the head noun with the relativiser *-mε*, e.g. (95). However, the agentive nominaliser *-wu* can also be used to express discourse-old information when it occurs in a prenominal clause linked to the head noun with the relativiser *-mε*, e.g. (97).

- (97) *zo-neŋ ηə 'ne'i go-wu-dzi-dzi-mε phiŋko-phə go-le*
 3S-ERG I tomorrow eat-GN-COP-COP-GEN apple-TOP eat-PF
 'He ate the apple I would eat the next day.'

Subject of the main clause in (97) more often than not also occur after the head noun, e.g. (98). Thus discourse-old information in the topic as marked with the topic marker *-phə* precedes comment expressed by the matrix clause.

- (98) *ηə 'ne'i go-wu-dzi-dzi-mε*
 I tomorrow eat-GN-COP-COP-GEN
phiŋko-phə zo-neŋ go-le
 apple-TOP 3S-ERG eat-PF
 'He ate the apple I would eat the next day.'

Predicates with and without the gnomic tense marker *wu* in a prenominal clause linked to the head noun with the relativiser *mε* differ in denotations, e.g. (99)–(102). For dynamic verbs, the modifying clause where the verb ends with the relativiser *mε* denotes a preterite event, e.g. (101), whereas the modifying clause with predicate verbal ending with the gnomic tense marker *-wu* denotes a subjunctive or prospective event e.g. (102).

- (99) *gɛ-mɛ ɛ'letsɛi-peɪ denidɛtʃsɛ dʒ'i tsɛn ji*
 good-GEN child-CL.human everyday book learn go
 'A good child goes to school every day.'
- (100) *gɛ-'wu-mɛ ɛ'letsɛi-peɪ denidɛtʃsɛ dʒ'i tsɛn ji*
 good-GN-GEN child-CL.human everyday book learn go
 'A child from a good family goes to school every day.'
- (101) *zo-nɛŋ ŋə tʃhiuŋtɛiuŋ go-mɛ phiŋko-phə go-lɛ*
 3S-ERG I yesterday eat-GEN apple-TOP eat-PF
 'He ate the apple I had bitten yesterday.'
- (102) *zo-nɛŋ ŋə 'nɛ'i go-'wu-dʒi-dʒi-mɛ*
 3S-ERG I tomorrow eat-GN-COP-COP-GEN
phiŋko-phə go-lɛ
 apple-TOP eat-PF
 'He ate the apple I would eat the next day.'

The agentive nominaliser *-'wu*, the circumstantial nominaliser *-lu*, the oblique nominaliser *-ji* can occur in free relative clauses, e.g. (103)–(105).

- (103) *dɛ-'wu-phə nɪ-'wu wɛn'jɛn dʒuɛŋ*
 big-GN-TOP small-GN COMP acceptable
 'The bigger is better than the smaller.'
- (104) *dɛi go-lu-phə nuŋ bu-lɛ ji-nɛ*
 this eat-CIRC-TOP you[s] carry-PF go-IMP
 'You take away these eatable things.'
- (105) *ɛ'letsɛi tɛiɔ-'ji-phə wu-'lu-di*
 child write-obNOM-TOP DIR-search-MOM
 'Find something for the child to write with.'

Remarkably, an attributive clause ending with the relativiser *mɛ* preceding the head noun does not require a particular type of verbal reflections, e.g. (106), verbs in the attributive clause preceding the relativiser *mɛ* can occur in a variety of finite and non-finite forms, if there is such a distinction in Guìqióng. As explained in 3.1.2.5.3, attributives preceding the genitive case marker and relativiser *mɛ* can also be nominals.

- (106) *zo-nɛŋ 'nɛ'i go-lu-mɛ phiŋko-phə go-lɛ*
 3S-ERG tomorrow eat-CIRC-GEN apple-TOP eat-PF
 'He ate the apple that should be eaten the next day.'

4.2.3 Serial Verbs

In Guìqióng, a sole predicate of a subject can be a string of two or more verbs with no single verb subordinating to the other, e.g. (107). The subject *ʃi* 'louse' bears the topic marker and the three verbal phrases *gətshu* 'get enough', *bu* 'carry on back' and *dʒ'y* 'walk' are serialised in the predicate.

- (107) *ɐ'li ʃi-phə senputɕei gə-tshu-lɛ*
 then louse-TOP firewood enough-COM-PF
bu-lɛ dʒ'y-'wu-dzi
 carry-PF walk-GN-COP
 'Then the louse collected enough firewood, carried it on his back and went away.'

Verbs in a serial verb construction express immediately consecutive actions. It is fairly common for the foregoing verb or verbs of a serial verb construction to end in the perfective marker *-lɛ*, e.g. (108)–(112). The perfective marker may, e.g. (110), or may not, e.g. (108), be the final ending of the last verb in the serial verb construction. Either way, the perfective marker should not be understood as a conjunctive, but it relates the result of the action to accompany the immediately following sequential event. It is certainly possible for the first verb to bear the same ending of grammatical categories as the last one, e.g. (113).

- (108) *zɪ'wu z'uŋpu-phə-nɛŋ ʃi pɐ-lɛ ʃi wu-dɛ̃-ku*
 flea pestle-TOP-INS louse raise-PF louse DIR-hit-CAUS2
 'The flea held the louse and hit it with the pestle.'
- (109) *nuy mɛi wu-tɕhiɔ-lɛ, dʒ'i tɕiɔ ji-nɛ*
 you[s] door DIR-close-PF Chinese.characters write go-IMP
 'You close the door, then go to write the Chinese characters.'
- (110) *ŋə mɛi wu-tɕhiɔ-lɛ, dʒ'i tɕiɔ ji-lɛ*
 I door DIR-close-PF Chinese.characters write go-IMP
 'I closed the door and went to write the Chinese characters.'

- (111) *ŋə dʒ'i-phə* *tɕio-tshu-lɛ* *ji-'wu-lɔ*
 I Chinese.characters-TOP write-COM-PF go-GN-PRS
 'Let me write these words and then I shall go.'
- (112) *nuy dʒ'i-phə* *wu-tɕio-tshu-lɛ*
 you[s] Chinese.characters-TOP DIR-write-COM-PF
suən ji-nɛ
 stroll go-IMP
 'You write these words and then play.'
- (113) *zo dʒ'i-phə*
 3S Chinese.characters-TOP
wu-tɕio-tshu-ku *ji-ku*
 DIR-write-COM-CAUS2 go-CAUS2
 'Let him write these words and then play.'

In 3.2.4, the compounding of dynamic verbs with the semantically bleached verbs generally denoting come and go were studied. Though the verb indicating 'come' or 'go' at the end of the compound has lost most of its original denotation, it continues to take the same marking as the main verb before it, e.g. (114)–(116). In case the main verb occurs in its stem, the semantically bleached verb bears the appropriate markings of certain grammatical categories, e.g. (117). Modal verbs compound with the main verb and bear markers of aspect, tense or evidentiality of the clause, e.g. (118)–(120).

- (114) *ɛ'letsei sɛnpu-ni dɐ-mi-pɐ-lɛ* *hɛ-lɛ*
 child tree-ABL DIR-DIR-hold-PF come-PF
 'Bring the child down from the tree.'
- (115) *ɛ'letsei vɛɛ-kuən* *ŋyɛŋ-lɛ dʒui-lɛ*
 child wine-jīn[CL] buy-PF arrive-PF
 'My son has just bought me half a kilogramme of wine.'
- (116) *ŋə-nɛŋ ɪ'uŋphə mi-tɛ-lɛ* *bɐ-lɛ*
 I-ERG stone DIR-disengage-PF go-PF
 'I rolled the stone down.'
- (117) *dʒɛnbɐ* *ŋyɛŋ* *ji-'wu*
 vegetable buy go-GN
 'It is the case that I am on my way to buy vegetable.'

- (118) *'epɛ ʒɛŋpɛn bɛi dʒiɛn-'wu lɔ,*
 father go.to.work do need-GN PRS
z'ɛi bɛi-lɛ ji ʒɛŋ-ku
 food do-PF go quick-CAUS2
 'Father is about to go to work. Make food quickly.'
- (119) *zo 'lo ʒyɛŋ ʒu-'wu*
 3S read can true-GN
 'It seems he can read.'
- (120) *nuy ɛzɛ ɡɛlhɛ dʒ'iv ʒy mə*
 you[s] wine quite drink dare EXH
 'You dare drink so much wine.'

4.3 Basic Word Order

Word order in Guìqióng is rigid. In a declarative sentence with verbal predicate, the finite form of the predicate verb always occurs at the end of the sentence, e.g. (121)–(124). In copular sentence, copula occur at the end of the sentence, e.g. (125).

- (121) *zo ɛzɛ ɡɛlhɛ dʒ'iv-'wu*
 3S wine quite drink-GN
 'He actually drinks lots of wine.'
- (122) *ɛmɛ zo dʒ'i teio-'wu tsɛn*
 mother 3S Chinese.character write-GN teach
 'Mother was teaching him to write Chinese characters.'
- (123) *ɛmɛ zo-ləwua dʒi wɛ-'wu tsɛn*
 mother 3S-DAT shoe wear-GN teach
 'Mother was teaching her to wear shoes.'
- (124) *mũ dʒɛ-'wu-ŋiv mingui-mɛ bɛi-lu məsi-lɛ*
 man wise-GN-IND savage-GEN do-CIRC know-PF
 'Some wise people became aware of the savage's habit.'
- (125) *dʒ'ɛwɛ tɛŋmɛŋtɛi dʒi*
 upper.garment clean COP
 'The jacket is indeed very clean.'

(126) *dɛi sɛnpu tʃhi dɛ*
 this tree very big
 'This tree is very big.'

(127) *zo tʃhi dzɐ*
 3S very intelligent
 'He is most intelligent.'

Topics tend to occur sentence-initially, e.g. (128), (129). Subjects tend to occur before the object, e.g. (129), (130).

(128) *dɛi 'əgə-phə kho gɛ*
 this elder.sister-TOP heart good
 'The elder sister is kind-hearted.'

(129) *ŋə dʒ'i-phə puzu-ə wu-khɛŋ-lɛ*
 I book-TOP younger.brother-DAT DIR-give-PF
 'I gave a book to (my) brother.'

(130) *ŋə zo-wuə zɛi-ju khɛŋ-lɛ*
 I 3S-DAT cloth-CL give-PF
 'I gave him a piece of cloth.'

The subject can be omitted when it is understood, e.g. (131).

(131) *dɛi dʒ'i-thə nuŋ-wuə wu-khɛŋ-lɛ*
 this book-CL you[s]-DAT DIR-give-PF
 'Let me give you a book.'

4.4 Interrogative Constructions

Polar questions, question word questions and rhetorical questions will be described in this chapter.

4.4.1 Polar Questions

Guìqióng positive polar questions have the same word order with an affirmative indicative statement, e.g. (132)–(135), before the sentence-final question particle *lɛ*, which is glossed as P in the interlinear morpheme glosses. Other sentence-final question particles include homonym of the subjunctive marker

lə, e.g. (136), and the tense marker of experienced perceptions *mu*, e.g. (137). In copular sentences with a zero copula, the originally omitted copula *dzi* must occur before the question particle *lə*, e.g. (132)–(134).

- (132) *nuy gutchiəŋ dzi lə*
 you[s] Guìqióng COP P
 ‘Are you Guìqióng?’
- (133) *zo gutchiəŋ dzi lə*
 3S Guìqióng COP P
 ‘Is he Guìqióng?’
- (134) *nuygu χeʃi gutchiəŋ dzi lə*
 you[pe] also Guìqióng COP P
 ‘Are you Guìqióng as well?’
- (135) *nuy tshəŋdu gě-niən lə?*
 you[s] Chéngdū go-EXP P
 ‘Have you been to Chéngdū?’
- (136) *ɛ'letsɛi-niə ŋə tʃhəŋgi lə?*
 child-IND I like P
 ‘Do the children like me?’
- (137) *phu detɛi thəu-lɛ v-nəŋ-mu?*
 price a.bit high-PF P-EXS1-EP
 ‘Isn’t the price a bit too high, don’t you think?’
- (138) *jiki dz'i-thə dziɔ-niən lə*
 that book-CL look-EXP P
 ‘Have you read that book?’

When the second person singular pronoun *nuy* ‘you’ [s] is followed by the weakest dative marker schwa, the compound is pronounced as *nə* rather than *nuyə*, e.g. (139).

- (139) *ŋə nə vɛv-mu tuŋ dziən lə*
 I you[s]+DAT wine-CL pour need P
 ‘Will you let me pour you a little wine?’

Negative polar questions have the same word order with a negative indicative statement before the sentence-final particle *lɛ*, e.g. (140)–(141).

- (140) *ŋə gutchiɛŋ mɛ-dzi lɛ*
 I Guìqióng NEG-COP P
 ‘Am I not Guìqióng?’

- (141) *jiki ci go-tshu mɛ̃ lɛ*
 that meat eat-COM ngEXS P
 ‘Hasn’t the meat been eaten up?’

The pre-modal prefix particle *ə- ~ ɐ- ~ ɛ-* can also be used in polar questions. It occurs just before the modality of the sentence is determined, usually before the sentence-final verb or auxiliaries in questions in accordance with the regressive vowel harmony explained in 2.6, e.g. (142)–(145).

- (142) *zo gutchiɛŋ ɛ dzi*
 3S Guìqióng P COP
 ‘Is he a Guìqióng person?’

- (143) *nuy gutchiɛŋ ɛ dzi*
 you[s] Guìqióng P COP:
 ‘Are you a Guìqióng person?’

- (144) *nuy dz’ɛŋχɛn ɐ-dz’iɐ*
 you[s] cigarette P-smoke
 ‘Do you smoke?’

- (145) *zo dz’iɛnɛ ji hɛ-mɛ ɛ-dzi*
 3S home go come-GEN P-COP
 ‘She has come home, hasn’t she?’

Alternative questions present two opposing answers and presuppose that only one of the alternatives is true. The polar question particle *lɛ* usually occurs at the end of the first alternative, e.g. (146)–(149).

- (146) *nuy dz’ɛŋχɛn dz’iɐ lɛ mɐ-dz’iɐ*
 you[s] cigarette smoke P NEG-smoke
 ‘Do you smoke or not?’ or ‘Will you smoke or not?’

- (147) *zo gutshien dzi le mε-dzi*
 3S Guiqióng COP P NEG-COP
 'Is she Guiqióng or not?'

- (148) *'nε'i ηə ji dzien le the-ji dzien*
 tomorrow I go need P ngIMP-go need
 'Am I (allowed) to go tomorrow or not?'

- (149) *'nε'i ηə ji dzien le ji mε-dzien*
 tomorrow I go need P go NEG-need
 'Shall I go tomorrow or not?'

In the response to a polar question, Guiqióng either agrees or disagrees with the proposition contained in the polar question. The positive equational copula *dzi* is used to affirm the proposition, e.g. (150), and the negative equational copula *mε-dzi* is used to deny it, e.g. (151).

- (150) *nuy ji tshε-mε-gi le*
 you[s] go like<NEG> P
 'Don't you want to go?'

dzi ηə ji tshε-mε-gi
 COP I go like<NEG>
 'No, I don't want to go.' (Lit. Yes, I don't want to go)

- (151) *nuy ji mε-dzien le*
 you[s] go NEG-need P
 'Don't you want to go?'

mε-dzi ηə χεsi ji
 NEG-yes I still go
 'Yes, I want to go.' (Lit. No, I still want to go)

- (152) *nuy go-tshu-mē le*
 you[s] eat-COM-ngEXS P
 'Have you already eaten?'

dzi ηə go-tshu-le
 yes I eat-COM-PF
 'Yes, I have (eaten).'

mε-dzi ηə 'mε mə-go
 NEG-yes I still NEG-eat
 'No, I haven't eaten yet.'

A polar question may be used to express a polite request, e.g. (153)–(156), which is more polite and friendly than an imperative construction.

(153) *təku detci wu-ki lə*
 window a.bit DIR-open P
 'Could you open the window a bit?'

(154) *təku detci wu-ki-lə v-dzueŋ*
 window a.bit DIR-open-PF P-acceptable
 'Could you open the window a bit?'

(155) *ηə ji zɔ-lə təku wu-ki lə*
 I go help-PF window DIR-open P
 'Would you please help me open the window?'

(156) *ηə zɔ-lə təku-phə wu-ki-di lə*
 I help-PF window-TOP DIR-open-MOM P
 'Would you please help me open the window?'

4.4.2 Question-word Questions

Question-word questions are formed by substituting a question word for the questioned constituent in the statement before the sentence-final particle *jo* or *je*, either of which is glossed as P in the interlinear morpheme glosses.

(157) *ηətsei tsiu-tsiə bei ji dziən jo*
 we[pɪ] what-CL do go need P
 'What are we going to do?'

The genitive marker *-mε* occurs in a question word question to denote a preterite situation, e.g. (158), (162), (164) and (167). Guòqióng question word questions provide environment invalid for the perfective aspect marker *-lə*, which denotes a definitely positive post-occurrence resultant state. Preterite situations are distinguished from non-preterite ones in question word questions by using the genitive marker *-mε* and gnomic tense marker *'wu* respectively. Occasionally, a non-preterite situation can also be indicated with bare stem

of the verb, e.g. (165) and (168). The gnomic tense marker *-'wu* is used in the question word questions to elicit new information which only the addressee is presupposed to know, e.g. (159)–(161). A preterite situation is meant to have happened and if an occurrence is known to have happened, it could not be said that the questioner knows nothing about the situation, which violates the basic denotation of the gnomic tense marker *-'wu*.

- (158) *zo 'alə-kən-ni he-mε jɔ*
 3S where-LAT-ABL come-GEN P
 'Where did he come from?'
- (159) *zo 'alə-kən-ni he-'wu jɔ*
 3S where-LAT-ABL come-GN P
 'Where will he come from?'
- (160) *su-nεŋ dei-tɕuətsei 'ŋyεŋ-'wu jɔ*
 who-ERG this-table buy-GN P
 'Who is going to buy the table?'
- (161) *dei-tɕuətsei su-nεŋ 'ŋyεŋ-'wu jɔ*
 this-table who-ERG buy-GN P
 'Who is going to buy the table?'
- (162) *su-nεŋ 'ŋyεŋ-mε tɕuətsei jɔ*
 who-ERG buy-GEN table P
 'Who bought the table?'
- (163) *dei 'ŋyŋku su-nεŋ khεŋ-'wu jɔ*
 this pen who-ERG give-GN P
 'Who is going to give this pen (to someone else)?'
- (164) *dei 'ŋyŋku su-nεŋ khεŋ-mε jɔ*
 this pen who-ERG give-GEN P
 'Who gave (you) this pen?'
- (165) *nuy 'alə ji jɔ*
 you[s] where go P
 'Where are you going?'

- (166) *nuy 'ələ ji-'wu jɔ*
 you[s] where go-GN P
 'Where are you going?'

 (167) *nuy 'ələ gɛ̃-mɛ jɔ*
 you[s] where go-GEN P
 'Where were you?' or. 'Where have you been?'

The genitive marker is also used after a beneficiary, e.g. (168)–(170).

- (168) *dɛi tʂuətsei su-mɛ 'ɲyɛŋ jɔ*
 this table who-GEN buy P
 'For whom are (you) going to buy the table?'

 (169) *dɛi tʂuətsei su-mɛ 'ɲyɛŋ-'wu jɔ*
 this table who-GEN buy P
 'For whom are (you) going to buy the table?'

 (170) *dɛi tʂuətsei su-mɛ 'ɲyɛŋ-mɛ jɔ*
 this table who-GEN buy-GEN P
 'For whom did (you) buy the table?'

 (171) *sugu-mɛ dʒ'ieŋ-phə lə-lə bei-mu tsi*
 whose.family-GEN house-TOP fall-SJV do-EP REP
 'According to what you have heard whose house is falling down?'

 (172) *sugu-mɛ dʒ'ieŋ-phə lə-mɛ jɔ*
 whose.family-GEN house-TOP fall-GEN P
 'Whose house has collapsed?'

 (173) *nuygu dʒ'ieŋ-phə ɛ'li'wu bei*
 you[pe] house-TOP how do
 'What will you do to the house?'

 (174) *nuy dʒ'ieŋ-phə ɛ'li'wu bei-mɛ jɔ*
 you[s] house-TOP how do-GEN P
 'What did you do to the house?'

4.4.3 *Rhetorical Questions*

A rhetorical question may assume the form of a question word question, e.g. (175)–(177), or a polar question, e.g. (178). The second person is often the subject of a rhetorical question. The gnomic tense marker *-'wu* frequently occurs in the rhetorical questions to denote a prospective occurrence which baffles the questioner. The addressee is asked to consider the situation rather than give a reply to it.

(175) *nuy z'ei mə-go-le ji-'wu teibə*
 you[s] food NEG-eat-PF go-GN why
 'Why are you leaving without eating anything?'

(176) *nuy z'ei mə-go-le ji-'wu teiutsi ə*
 you[s] food NEG-eat-PF go-GN why P
 'Why are you leaving without eating anything?'

(177) *tchiəŋsi ɣɔ-gəŋ, suən*
 often free-CON stroll
mɛ-he-'wu-li teibə
 NEG-come-GN-1PIIMP why
 'Since you have so much free time, why haven't you come for a visit?'

(178) *nuy z'ei-ni mə-go-le ji lɛ*
 you[s] food-EMP NEG-eat-PF go P
 'You haven't even eaten anything. Are you leaving?'

Pragmatics

This chapter deals with new versus old information, topic-comment constructions and focus-presupposition construction.

5.1 New versus Old Information

Multiple ways can be used to present discourse-old information. In the following examples (1)–(4), the initial clauses of sentences (2) and (4) is simple repetition of the occurrences mentioned in the immediately previous sentences (1) and (3) respectively. Thus focus of the sentence comprising of new information comes toward the end of the sentence.

- (1) *ʂi lɛ zɿ'wu phiŋhuytɛ-'wu-dzi mə*
 louse and flea go.Dutch-GN-COP EXH
 'The louse and the flea were cooking together.'

- (2) *v phiŋhuytɛ-geɲni ŋi-peɪ ləkɛn ɕi*
 P go.Dutch-CON two-CL.human peer meat
ʂəkueŋtsi theikua thu-tə-le tɕhiu-'wu-dzi
 casserole fireplace DIR-roast-PF put-GN-COP
 'Since they were cooking together, the two of them put the meat casserole over the fire to roast.'

- (3) *v ŋi-peɪ sɛn nyŋ-'wu-dzi mə*
 P two-CL.human wood cut-GN-COP EXH
 'Then they both went to collect wood.'

- (4) *sɛn nyŋ ji-geɲni e'li zɿ'wu tʂhi*
 wood collect go-CON then flea very
ʂɛŋ-'wu-dzi mə
 quick-GN-COP EXH
 'They went to collect wood and the flea was very quick indeed.'

Some Guìqióng tense, aspectual and evidential markers are coded with new information at the end of the clause, contrastive with the familiar information

such as topic occurring sentence initially. The tense marker of experienced perceptions relates to hearer-new information experienced by the speaker, e.g. (5) and (6).

- (5) *dz'eŋ wui-mu*
rain fall-EP
'I see it is raining now.'

- (6) *jiki ε'letsei dzəŋbei-mu*
that child lie-EP
'(We have been listening to him and have come to realise that) the child was lying.'

The gnomic tense marker *-'wu* relates new information unexpected by the hearer, e.g. (7) and (8).

- (7) *dutsei gəŋtɕi j'eŋ tshɔ-'wu*
3pi all wheat sow-GN
'(I don't think you know this.) They are all wheat growers.'

- (8) *ŋə dɔ ji-'wu*
I Kāngdìng go-GN
'The fact is I am going to Kāngdìng. (I met you on my way to Kāngdìng. You wonder why I was there.)'

The circumstantial marker *-lu* relates new information arising from circumstances, e.g. (9) and (10).

- (9) *dəi-phə ε'letsei zietsei go-lu*
this-TOP child morning eat-CIRC
'It is the circumstance that this will be eaten by the children in the morning.'

- (10) *dəi tɛitɛiv-phə dziəŋ-lu*
this rubbish-TOP discard-CIRC
'It is the circumstance that the waste will be thrown away.'

The perfective marker *-le* can be said to relate old information, or at least partially old information, which can be interpreted as 'you have known something about this', e.g. (11). Whereas the focus of an affirmative perfective clause is to

affirm the hearer's expectation, the focus of a negative perfective construction denies it. In either case, the focus or new information is given at the end of the clause, e.g. (11) and (12).

- (11) *ŋə bɛi kɛ ɕiɛ ʔŋyɛŋ-lɛ*
 I Tibetan speech speak can-PF
 '(You know that) I can speak Tibetan.'

- (12) *zo bɛi kɛ ɕiɛ ʔŋyɛŋ-lɛ mɐ-nɐŋ*
 3S Tibetan speech speak can-PF NEG-EXS1
 '(You thought he can speak Tibetan) He cannot speak Tibetan.' Or: 'So far he has not learnt to speak Tibetan.'

5.2 Topic-comment Constructions

Guiqióng tends to have its topics at the initial position of the sentence, e.g. (13)–(16).

- (13) *dɛi ʔəŋə-phə kɔ ɡɛ*
 this elder.sister-TOP heart good
 'The elder sister is kind-hearted.'

- (14) *sutɕhiu-ləwua ʃi'mjɛ'mɛ tshɛithə dɛ-χui bɐ-tshu-lɛ*
 countryside-DAT fleetingly lifetime one-half go-COM-PF
 'Quickly half of (my) life has passed in the country.'

- (15) *dɛ-ʔyɛŋ-ləwua kuɛntə zi-tɕiɛ ʃɛn*
 one-year-DAT season four-CL EXS2
 'There are four seasons in a year.'

- (16) *dɛi-phə ɛ'letsei ziɕtsei tɕiɔ-lu*
 this-TOP child morning eat-CIRC
 'It is the circumstance that this will be written by the children in the morning.'

Guiqióng has multiple ways to accentuate its varieties of topic. The nominal topic marker *-phə* is often found immediately following nominal topics, e.g. (13) and (16). The dative case marker *-wua* *ə* ~ *-ə* *ə* ~ *-ləwua* ~ *-wua* ~ *-ə* can be used after temporal, locative, or other adjunct topics, e.g. (14) and (15).

5.2.1 *Topic Marker*

Guiqióng topic marker *-phə* can be used to mark something already mentioned in preceding discourse, e.g. (17). It can also be used to mark some kind of shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer, e.g. (18) and (19). In (18), the big rock spot is a common resting place on the mountains. In (19), the speaker and the hearer were talking about the recently unwell girl next-door.

- (17) *ɛ'letsɛi dɐ-'wu-mɛ tsi dʒien dɛi-phə tʃhi dʒi*
 child big-GN-GEN hear need this-TOP very COP
 'It is very important that a child should listen to his elders.'

- (18) *tchi-le-lu-mɛ-gɐŋ dʒ'y-le phɐŋwɐŋ*
 pain-PF-CIRC-ngEXS-CON walk-PF rock
dɛdɛ-phə kɛ dʒ'y-le-nɐŋ
 big-TOP place walk-PF-EXS1
 'He felt so painful that he walked to the place with a big rock.'

- (19) *mɛimɛi-phə tʃhɪdɛ-le ɐmɐ tʃhi ʃɐɕiu*
 younger.sister-TOP get.ill-PF mother very sad
 'Younger sister was ill, which made mother very sad.'

The agentive subjects of the contrastive sentences in (20) are both marked with the topic marker *-phə*.

- (20) *phɛi-phə yumɛ tʃhɔ-le nɐŋ tɛi-phə jɐŋ*
 father-TOP corn sow-PF EXS1 son-TOP wheat
kɐ-le nɐŋ
 harvest-PF EXS1
 'The father was sowing corn and the son was harvesting wheat.'

The topic marker *-phə* is used after a demonstrative, e.g. (17), (21), a noun, e.g. (20), (23), or a pronoun, e.g. (37), to mark the topic of a sentence. The nominal bearing the topic marker *-phə* can be the subject of an intransitive verb, e.g. (21) and (22), or the object of a transitive verb, e.g. (16), (27).

- (21) *dɛi-phə jɐŋtʃɛtɛi ni-le*
 this-TOP light[weight] become-PF
 'This has become lighter.'

- (22) *hɔŋni-phə dziʒətsei dzi tɛhiphɔ-le*
 yon-TOP thin COP feel.as.if-PF
 ‘That material feels too flimsy.’
- (23) *tʂi-phə su-le*
 water-TOP dry-PF
 ‘The spring has dried up.’
- (24) *tʂhɛ-mɛ-gi-’wu-phə gɛ-’wu wɛn’jɛn dzuɛŋ*
 like<NEG>-GN-TOP good-GN COMP acceptable
 ‘The ugly is better than the pretty.’
- (25) *ɛi-phə phu gɛlhɛ thəu-le-nɛŋ*
 meat-TOP price quite big-PF-EXS1
 ‘The meat is getting very expensive.’
- (26) *ŋə dʒi-phə puzu wu-khɛŋ-le*
 I book-TOP younger.brother DIR-give-PF
 ‘I gave the book to my younger brother.’
- (27) *dzɔ-phə tʂhuɛnbu-nɛŋ mĩ-le*
 money-TOP thief-ERG steal-PF
 ‘The money was stolen by thief.’
- (28) *zi ŋi-tɛiɛ-mɛ zɔŋgu ɲyɛŋtʂi-phə jɛn*
 mountain two-CL-GEN middle Dàdù.River-TOP EXS2
 ‘Between the two mountains there is the Dàdù River.’
- (29) *lhɛ-’wu-phə tʂhɛtʂhɛ-le*
 lazy-GN-TOP change-PF
 ‘(He) has given up his laziness.’
- (30) *gɛ-phə tɛiɛ-le*
 foot-TOP break-PF
 ‘The foot is broken.’
- (31) *dʒi-’ɛŋ-phə lɔ-le*
 house-TOP collapse-PF
 ‘The house collapsed.’

- (32) *dz'ieŋ-phə tʂhɔ-lɛ wu-lɔ-ku-lɛ*
 house-TOP push-PF DIR-collapse-CAUS2-PF
 'The house was given a push to make it fall down.'
- (33) *dɛi linkhin-phə dɛ-wu-χɐ*
 this pear-TOP DIR-DIR-spit
 'Spit the pear out!'
- (34) *ŋə tʂi-phə dui-ku-lɛ*
 I water-TOP boil-CAUS2-PF
 'I brought the water to a boil.'

The topic marker *-phə* is also used after a relative clause, e.g. (35).

- (35) *zo ʂɐ-wu-dzi-dzi-wu-phə ŋə mə-go*
 3S boil-GN-COP-COP-GN-TOP I NEG-eat
 'I won't eat what he will be cooking.'

Nominals in the topic marker *-phə* have been found to indicate either inanimate entities without volition or animate entities with least intention or minimum volition over the situation. An inanimate entity without volition can occur in the topic marker *-phə* either as the subject of an intransitive verb, e.g. (21) or as the object of a transitive verb, e.g. (33). An animate entity in the topic marker *-phə* is subject to situations over which he has no volitional control, e.g. (36). The subject of a stative verb sentence or a linking verb sentence, whether inanimate, (22), (23), e.g. or animate, e.g. (37), (40), cannot exercise volitional control over the comment made on it.

- (36) *ŋə-nɛŋ zo-phə ʂɛlhɐ lɛŋ-lɛ-ku-lɛ*
 I-ERG 3S-TOP quite wait-PF-CAUS2-PF
 'I made him wait for too long.'
- (37) *zo-phə qɛtʂhɔ*
 3S-TOP idiot
 'He is an idiot.'
- (38) *zo qɛtʂhɔ-phə*
 3S idiot-TOP
 'He is an idiot.'

- (39) *ʔi-phə* *gui-lə*
 mother-TOP happy-PF
 'The mother was pleased.'

Topics are not always marked, e.g. (40) and (41). Whether marked or not, the topic tends to occupy the sentence-initial position. So far the only exception found in my corpus was given in (38), which is an equative clause. In (40) and (41), the unmarked topics are both contrastive in discourse. They differ in terms of the topic set from which the new topic is chosen. In (40), the topic set is the set of rooms of the same building, whereas in (41), the topic set is the set of temporal distinctions between daytime and nighttime.

- (40) *dʒ'iɛŋ* *jikə* *kɛ̃* *mulu* *dʒə* *nigɔzɔ*
 building that room daytime just dark
 'That room is pretty dark in the daytime. (The sentence implies that the other rooms are bright in the daytime.)'

- (41) *mulu* *dʒ'iɛŋ* *jikə* *kɛ̃* *dʒə* *nigɔzɔ*
 daytime building that room just dark
 'In the daytime that room is pretty dark. (It implies that the room is bright at night, which is weird.)'

5.3 Focus-presupposition Constructions

In Guìqióng, focus can be marked with higher pitch or stress, e.g. *phɛi* 'father' in (42) and *tshɛwɛ* 'upper garment' in (43).

- (42) *z'ɛi* *go* *dziɛn* *tsi-'wu* *pei*
 food eat want hear-GN CL.human
phɛi *ətɛiɔ* *mɛ-dʒi*
 father elder.brother NEG-COP
 'It is father, not elder brother, that wants to have his meal.'

- (43) *ŋə* *zo-mɛ* *ʔyɛŋ-'wu* *tshɛwɛ* *χiguɛ* *mɛ-dʒi*
 I 3S-GEN buy-GN upper.garment trousers NEG-COP
 'What I bought him is an upper garment, not a pair of trousers.'

Some case markers seem to be optional in Guìqióng. However, when the seemingly optional ergative marker *-nɛŋ* occurs, e.g. (44)–(46), the speaker normally chooses the marked nominal as a focus of the sentence.

- (44) *phei-nəŋ yumε tshɔ-lε nəŋ*
 father-ERG corn sow-PF EXS1
 ‘It was father who was sowing corn, (which was a bit unusual, according to the speaker, for normally the elder brother would sow the corn.)’
- (45) *ətɛiɔ-nəŋ jəŋ kɛ-lε nəŋ*
 elder.brother-ERG wheat harvest-PF EXS1
 ‘It was the elder brother who was harvesting wheat, (which was an unusual situation, according to the speaker, for normally other people would harvest the wheat instead of the elder brother.)’
- (46) *ətɛiɔ-nəŋ jəŋ kɛ-’wu*
 elder.brother-ERG wheat harvest-GN
 ‘The elder brother will harvest the wheat, I hope you know this.’

The same is true for the seemingly optional dative and locative case marker *-wua* ~ *-alə* ~ *-ləwua* ~ *-wua* ~ *-ə*, e.g. (47).

- (47) *jikə kɛ-ləwua ɡɛŋtʂi ji tʂhɛgi*
 that place-DAT all go like
 ‘Everybody likes going there.’

5.3.1 *Emphatic Marker*

A particular piece of new information can be marked with the emphatic marker *-ni*, which is glossed as EMP in the interlinear morpheme glosses. The emphatic marker *-ni* might have been derived from the ablative marker *-ni*, which will be explicated in 3.1.2.1. The focus marker *-ni* mainly follows nouns, e.g. (47), pronouns, e.g. (48), and quantifiers, e.g. (54). It can also follow a conjunction at the end of a clause, e.g. (59). The phrase or clause marked with the focus marker *-ni* contains discourse-new information contrasting with the background message. In (47), the fighting of children is given as old information in the adjunct clause. Subsequent behavior of the elders is given as new information in the main clause, where the subject bears the focus marker *-ni*.

- (47) *ɛ’letsɛi-ŋiɐ dɛdɛtʂhɛi-ɡɛŋ, dɛ-’wu-ni ji-tɛhy-lɛ*
 child-IND fight-CON big-GN-EMP DIR-walk-PF
 ‘While the children were fighting, their elders came out.’
- (48) *zɔ dʒ’ɛnɛ tɛiuzizi-ni zɛŋsu bei dziɛn*
 3S home whatever-EMP self do need
 ‘Everything must be done by herself at home.’

- (49) *zo-mε ε'letsei gεηtʂi-ni zi-ni ji-tchy-mε*
 3S-GEN child all-EMP mountain-ABL DIR-walk-GEN
 'Each of her children has walked out of the mountains (to live somewhere else).'
- (50) *zo-ni βɔphu də-phə*
 3S-EMP lunatic one-CL
 'He is a thorough lunatic.'
- (51) *zo suziʒi-ni zɛ̃-mε-kɔ*
 3S whoever-EMP associate-NEG-TEL
 'He keeps no company.'
- (52) *bēbēdz'endz'en-wu-tʂhue-gεη khukhu-ni ηεη-le*
 abruptly-DIR-get.out-CON other-EMP scare-PF
 '(The man) suddenly turned up and other people were scared.'
- (53) *nuy-ni 'mε-mε-si-gεη, ηə tɕiu 'mɛsi ni*
 you[s]-EMP don't.know-CON I what know P
 'Even you didn't know, how can I know (anything at all)?'
- (54) *dε-peɪ də-tsuɪ-ni*
 one-CL.human one-pair[CL]-EMP
sεηmudi-ku dziɛn-lə tʂhi ηɛi
 satisfy-CAUS2 want-SJV very difficult
 'It is very hard to make everybody satisfied.'
- (55) *jiki-tɕiɛ ηə dɛtɕi-ni 'mɛmɛsi*
 that-CL I a.bit-EMP don't.know
 'I don't know anything about that matter at all.'
- (56) *dε-jεη-ni tsɛn-thə-ku*
 one-CL-EMP leave.behind-ngIMP-CAUS2
 'Don't leave any wheat (and collect every bit).'
- (57) *dɛtɕi-ni mε-tsɛn go-tʂhu-ku*
 a.bit-EMP NEG-leave eat-COM-CAUS2
 'Don't leave anything! Eat it all up!'

The focus marked with the emphatic marker *-ni* can be new information contained in the old information expressed by a previous topic, e.g. (58) and (59). Here the specific temporal point of sunset is discourse new information arising from the topic of the previous clause, *nəŋthə* ‘time’.

(58) *nəŋthə-phə sʊmudɕe-lɛ bɛ-lɛ*
 time-TOP forget-PF go-PF
 ‘He forgot the time.’

(59) *mintshə mi-bo-tshu-gɛŋ-ni mɛ<mɛ>si*
 sun DIR-set-COM-CON-EMP know<NEG>
 ‘He did not realise that the sun had set.’

Question word, e.g. (60)–(64), except denoting subject, e.g. (65) and (66), do not occur at the initial of the sentence, which usually bears pragmatic focus.

(60) *dɛi ʎŋŋku su-nɛŋ khɛŋ-mɛ ʝɔ*
 this pen who-ERG give-GEN P
 ‘Who gave (you) this pen?’

(61) *zo ʼələ-kɛn-ni hɛ-mɛ ʝɔ*
 3S where-LAT-ABL come-GEN P
 ‘Where did he come from?’

(62) *nʊŋ ʼələ ʝi-ʼwu ʝɔ*
 you[s] where go-GN P
 ‘Where are you going?’

(63) *dɛi tɕuətsei su-mɛ ʎŋɛŋ ʝɔ*
 this table who-GEN buy P
 ‘For whom are (you) going to buy the table?’

(64) *nʊŋgu dʒʼiɛŋ-phə ɛʼliʼwu bɛi*
 you[pe] house-TOP how do
 ‘What will you do to the house?’

(65) *sugu-mɛ dʒʼiɛŋ-phə lɔ-mɛ ʝɔ*
 whose.family-GEN house-TOP fall-GEN P
 ‘Whose house has collapsed?’

- (66) *su-nəŋ ʔyɛŋ-mɛ tʂuətsei jɔ*
 who-ERG buy-GEN table P
 'Who bought the table?'

In raising questions about something partially known, e.g. (67) and (68), the commonly known characteristic is coded as old information at the beginning of the sentence, the focus is given toward the end of the clause. Information contained in adjunct clause occurring before the main clause tends to be discourse and hearer-old, e.g. (68).

- (67) *g'uændzig'uændzitsei χinχin-phə, jiki tɕiu jɔ*
 thin long-TOP that what P
 'What is that very long and thin object?'

- (68) *phu detɕiɛ-'wu dʒi gɛŋ*
 price the.same[one.CL]-GN COP CON
hɔŋni-phə mɛ-ʔyɛŋ tɕhibə
 yon-TOP NEG-buy why
 'Now that the price is the same, why don't you buy that one?'

It is fairly common for the demonstrative to take the topic marker, e.g. (69)–(73), thus coded as old information to contrast the focus occurring at the end of the clause.

- (69) *dɛi-phə tʂhi 'liŋ*
 this-TOP very strong
 'This one is much stronger.'
- (70) *dɛi-phə tʂhi gɛ-mɛ 'mɛ dʒi*
 this-TOP very good-GEN medicine COP
 'This is very good medicine.'
- (71) *dɛi-phə jɛŋtʂɛtsei ʒi-le*
 this-TOP light[weight] become-PF
 'This has become lighter.'
- (72) *hɔŋni-phə dʒiʂɛtsei dʒi tɕhiphɔ-le*
 that-TOP thin COP feel.as.if-PF
 'That material feels too flimsy.'

- (73) *dɛi-phə the-bei*
 this-TOP ngIMP-do
 'Don't touch it!'

So demonstratives tend to form background information. In (74), the question word codes the focus of the sentence at the end.

- (74) *jiki khə'wu tɛiu jɔ*
 that thing what P
 'What is that?'

In (75), the businessman is the topic of the sentence and the affirmation of his residence is the focus that occurs at the end of the sentence.

- (75) *dɛi tshuŋ bei-'wu-phə gutɕiɛ nɛŋ-lɛ nɛŋ*
 this trade do-GN-TOP Gūzǎn live-PF EXS1
 'This businessman has been living in Gūzǎn.'

People were talking about meat in (76) and the speaker agrees with the hearer that it's getting more and more expensive. The affirmation of a commonly suspected phenomenon at the end of the sentence forms the focus of the sentence.

- (76) *ɛi-phə phu gɛlhɛ thəu-lɛ-nɛŋ*
 meat-TOP price quite high-PF-EXS1
 'The meat has become very expensive.'

A focusing adverb can occur before, e.g. (77) and (78), or after, e.g. (79), focus of the sentence toward the end of the sentence. When it occurs before the focus, e.g. (78), a monosyllabic adverb is prolonged in its vowel and raised in pitch. The topic goes before it is given in a relatively low pitch and the focus goes after it receives the stress of the sentence. When the focusing adverb is multisyllabic, e.g. (77). The beginning syllable is prolonged and stressed. The focus of the sentence after the adverb will be given in a raised pitch, thus creating a high-falling ending syllable.

- (77) *dutsei χɛsi gutɕiɛŋ*
 ʒpi also Guìqióng
 'They are also Guìqióng.'

- (78) *ε'letsei dzə gulubei-ʷu-tɛiɐ*
 child just play-GN-CL
 '(I think you don't know this.) The child just played.'

Before the focusing adverb *ledzi*, an occurrence in the gnomic tense marker *-ʷu* suggests habitual preoccupation which the addressee does not know and becomes focus of the sentence, which should be raised in pitch, e.g. (79).

- (79) *zo gulubei-tʂhɛgi-ʷu-ledzi*
 3S play-like-GN-only
 '(I think you don't know this) He only likes playing around.'

Appendices



Sayings, Stories and Recollections

Text 1 Sayings

heŋ'wu *ŋeŋ* *mɛ-dzien*, *mɛ'wu* *tʃhibeidziɔ* *mɛ-dzien*,
 fierce-GN fear NEG-need ngEXS-GN look.down NEG-need
jeŋ'wu *kusu-bei* *mɛ-dzien*, *pɛbu*
 EXS2-GN *flatter-do* NEG-need, government.official
tchiɛbei *mɛ-dzien*
 kowtow NEG-need

‘Don’t fear the troublesome. Don’t look down upon the poor. Don’t flatter the rich. Don’t bend one’s knees to the bigwigs.’

zɛŋ *bei* *tʃhe-mɛ-gi-'wu* *khukhu-peɪ-wuə*
 self do like<NEG>-GN other-CL.human-DAT
bei-ku-lə *mɛ-dzuɛŋ*
 do-CAUS2-SJV NEG-acceptable

‘Don’t let people do what you don’t like.’

z'ɔtuŋ *pɛ-geŋ* *dz'ɛwɛ* *hɛsi* *thenthen* *ŋi-lɛ*
 umbrella hold-CON upper.garment still wet become-PF
thenthen *ŋi-geŋ* *ŋə* *hɛsi* *dɛ-ji-wɛ-lɛ*
 wet become-CON I still DIR-DIR-wear-PF

‘Though I took the umbrella, my garment was still bedraggled. Though the garment was bedraggled, I still put it on.’

ɛiɛ-ji *dzien* *bei-ji* *heŋ*
 say-obNOM easy do-obNOM hard

‘It is easier said than done.’ Lit. ‘The way to say is easier than the way to do.’

ɛiɛ-tshu *geŋ* *bei-tshu-ku* *dzien*
 say-COM CON do-COM-CAUS2 want

‘You must keep your promise.’

zo-me ketchie zɛŋbu χɔpei tʃi-bɛ-le
 3S-GEN speech bridge under water-go-PF
 tʃi mə-ju-'wu tsi-le ni tʃi tʃhɛ-mɛ-gi
 water NEG-flow-GN hear-PF P water like.not

'Water flows under the bridge. Once the water hears his words, the water stops because it does not like listening to his words.' 'You don't believe what he says.'

zo-me ko-gu tʃi-ni mə-ju-'wu
 3S-GEN hand-ILL water-EMP NEG-flow-GN

'He (is so mean) that even water will not leak through his hands.'

phə tɔ bu-wuə jɛn,
 ancestor Dào sons.of.ancestor-DAT EXS2
 bu tɔ tʃhə-ə jɛn
 sons.of.ancestor Dào grandsons.of.ancestor-DAT EXS2

'The experience and knowledge pass down through generations.'

ɛ'li'wu bei-le minkhɛŋ-gɛŋ zo dɛn mɛ-ɛiɛ
 however do-PF ask-CON 3S thing NEG-say

'However I asked, he said nothing.'

lhě-'wu-phə zɔ-tʃhɛgi-'wu mɛ-nɛŋ
 lazy-GN-TOP help-like-GN NEG-EXS1

'No one wants to help lazy people.'

tʃhitʃhəu ji-le tʃhi ɛɛŋ tʃi ji-ʃu-'wu
 time go-PF very quick water go-true-GN

'As water flows, time passes quickly.'

'jukhu dzui-gɛŋ mintɔ phɛ-le
 spring arrive-CON flower open-PF

'As spring arrives, the flowers open.'

mɛ-dzi-'wu-mɛ like mɛ-bei
 NEG-permissible-GN-GEN work NEG-do

'Don't do unrighteous things.'

mɛ-dzueŋ-'wu-mɛ bei-lu 'inə bei thə-ku
 NEG-acceptable-GN-GEN do-CIRC others do ngIMP-CAUS2

'Don't let others do unacceptable things.'

gibətəchiε *ε'li'wu* *dzui-'wu-li,* *səŋsəŋmu* *tɛlɔ* *mε-bei*
 disaster however arrive-GN-1plIMP in.the.heart fall NEG-do
 'Whatever disaster falls, don't lose heart.'

denidətshe *bei-le* *gəsəŋ-lu* *ni* *mē*
 everyday do-PF rest-CIRC EMP ngEXS
 'It is impossible to take a rest every day.'

tshəŋlheykhu *'nə'i* *hε* *lɛ*
 relative tomorrow come P
 'Will the relative come tomorrow?'

beiziməŋgeitsəi *dz'ienmε* *nəŋ* *lɛ*
 tonight home EXS1 P
 'will you be at home tonight?'

nə *teiu* *teiv* *kheŋ-lε* *gε* *ni*
 you[s]+DAT what CL give-PF good P
 'What is suitable for me to give you as a gift?'

Text II A Story of Savages

ləməŋ *gəŋ* *bei* *mingui* *bei*
 Shělián how do savage do
 The Savages Do What Shělián People Do

ləməŋ *gəŋ* *bei* *mingui* *bei-mε* *dzu-teiv* *jen*
 Shělián how do savage do-GEN tale-CL EXS2
 'There is a tale entitled Savages Do as Shělián People Do.'

ʂike *ləji-mε* *gebu* *gemu-niv* *ciε-nien*
 past old-GEN old.man old.woman-IND say-EXP
ləməŋ-mε *zi* *ji-gəŋ* *sənpu* *ziezie*
 Shělián-GEN mountain go-CON tree dense
 'Old people of the past once said, trees grew densely on the mountains of Shělián village.'

senpu zi-lɛ sutchiu ji-tɛn-mɛ
 tree grow-PF village DIR-close-GEN
dziẽ kuɛnpɰɛ dzy-lɛ nɛŋ
 field side arrive-PF EXS1

‘Trees grew near the village and invaded the sides of the field.’

zi-mɛ senpu-gu mingui gelɰe nɛŋ
 mountain-GEN forest-ILL savage many EXS1
mingui-niɛ tʂhi kɔ
 savage-IND very fierce

‘There were many very fierce savages in the woods.’

mu’lu senpu-gu nɛŋ
 daytime tree-ILL EXS1

‘During the daytime, the savages stayed in the forest.’

mintshə mi-bo-geŋ zi-ni mi-he
 sun DIR-set-when mountain-ABL DIR-come

‘When the sun set, the savages would get down the mountains.’

dɛ’ŋɛŋdɛisi ŋɪpu sɛŋpu’li mũ-niɛ yumɛ dziẽ-gu mi-tshɔ
 every.year February March person-IND corn field-ILL DIR-sow

‘Every year during February and March, people would sow corn.’

mintshə mi-bo-geŋ mingui-niɛ zi-ni
 sun DIR-set-when savage-IND mountain-ABL
dziẽ-gu mi-he-le lithɔ-phə dɛŋɰɛŋ-bei
 field-ILL DIR-come-PF crop-TOP damage-do

‘When the sun set, the savages would get down into the field from the mountains and destroy the crops.’

mũ-niɛ dɛ-tẽ mi-tshɔ zo sɛnpugɛŋtɛiv-nɛŋ dɛ-tẽ b’utɛ
 man-IND one-CL DIR-sow 3S tree.branch-INS one-CL excavate

‘The first time people sowed (the corn), he would excavate (the crops sown) with tree branches.’

ŋĩ-tẽ mi-tshɔ ŋĩ-tẽ p’utɛ
 two-CL DIR-sow two-CL excavate

‘When people sowed the second time, he would dig out a second time.’

dziē tshɔ beime detei zi kɔ-lani
 field sow though a.bit grow able-CON
mingui-nɛŋ denhɛŋ bei hɛ hɛsi khakhə-lu mɛ-tɛi
 savage-ERG damage do come still harvest-CIRC NEG-available
 ‘Although the people sowed the field, there would be no harvest possible because the
 savage would damage the bit of crop grown.’

ɛiɛ-wu mingui-mɛ ŋiēlə mǔ-mɛ dɛzɛŋ mɛ-dzi
 say-GN savage-GEN eye man-GEN same NEG-COP
 ‘It was said that the savage had different eyesight from humans.’

mintshə dzɛn-gɛŋ zo dziɔ-lɛ tɛiɛ mɛ-kɔ
 sun strong-when 3S see-PF clearly NEG-TEL
 ‘When the sun was strong, he could not see clearly.’

mintshə mɛ-gɛŋ zo dziɔ-lɛ tʃhi tɛiɛ-kɔ
 sun ngEXS-CON 3S see-PF very clear-TEL
 ‘When there was no sunshine, he could see very clearly.’

mintshə wu-bo-gɛŋ mingui ɛŋ zi-ni mi-hɛ
 sun DIR-set-CON savage again mountain-ABL DIR-come
 ‘After the sunset, the savage would get down from the mountains again.’

mǔ-ŋiɛ ɛŋ tɛhiumu dʒy mɛ-gi-sɛŋ
 man-IND again outside get.out NEG-think-utterly
 ‘Then people dared not get out again.’

tɛhiumu dʒy-jɛgi mingui-nɛŋ zɛŋsu-phə
 outside get.out-CON savage-ERG self-TOP
go ji-ŋɛŋ dʒiɛn
 eat DIR-fear need
 ‘If they went out, they would have to worry if they would be eaten up the savage.’

dɛtɛ-tɛiɛ mǔ-pei sɛn nyŋ bɛ-lɛ
 once-CL man-CL.human wood collect leave-PF
 ‘Once, a man went out to collect wood.’

gɛ tɛhiphɔ-lɛ gɛ<ji>sɛŋ-dɪ-lɛ
 tired feel.as.if-PF rest<DIR>-MOM-PF
 ‘He felt tired and took a rest.’

nɛŋthə-phə ʒumɔɖɛ-lɛ bɐ-lɛ
 time-TOP forget-PF go-PF
 ‘He forgot the time.’

mintshə mi-bo-tshu-gɛŋ-ni mɐ<mɛ>si
 sun DIR-set-COM-CON-EMP know<NEG>
 ‘He did not realise that the sun had set.’

ɐ mɪŋɡui-phə ʒi-to-lɛ
 then savage-TOP DIR-meet-PF
 ‘Then he met the savage.’

mɪŋɡui-nɛŋ zo-mɛ ko ʒi-tɛŋ-ku-lɛ
 savage-ERG 3S-GEN hand DIR-tight-CAUS2-PF
 ‘The savage then tightly grabbed the man’s hand.’

ɡuɛn-lɛ ʒi thu-bɐ-lɛ
 pull-PF mountain DIR-go-PF
 ‘Then dragged him up to the mountains.’

si zo-phə tɛŋ-ku-lɛ wu-si-ku
 first 3S-TOP tight-CAUS2-PF DIR-die-CAUS2
 ‘The savage first clutched him, then killed him.’

lɛŋ-lɛ mɛŋ ʒi-gɛŋ zo-phə wu-go-lɛ
 wait-PF sky darken-CON 3S-TOP DIR-eat-PF
 ‘When it got dark, the savage ate the man.’

ɖʒiɛnɛ mĩ-ʒiɛ ɛlu bɛi-lɛ lɛŋ lɛŋ
 home man-IND however do-PF wait wait
zo-phə ɖɐ-dzui-lɛ mɐ-nɛŋ
 3S-TOP DIR-arrive-PF NEG-EXS1
 ‘However long did his family wait for him, he didn’t return home.’

du-mɛ sitɕiŋ tɕhiɛŋsi ɖʒi-mu
 that-GEN thing often occur-EP
 ‘Such things often happened.’

jji mǔ-jüē mingui kǎ-mē dēnēn jēn-lē
 later man-IND savage outwit-GEN scheme EXS2-PF
 ‘Later, people had a way to outwit the savage.’

ni pepē gedelē-nēy ji-wē-gey
 ox leather hard-INS DIR-wear-CON
dziē-gu ji-gey khudzē ji-wē
 field-ILL DIR-CON outside DIR-wear
 ‘They would wear hard oxhide on themselves when they went to the field.’

mingui ji-tēy-ku-gey tshewē-phā
 savage DIR-tight-CAUS2-CON upper.clothing-TOP
tē-lē wu-dziēy thegeitsei bei-lē dē-hē
 disrobe-PF DIR-discard stealthily do-PF DIR-come
 ‘If the savage grabbed them, they would get rid of the oxhide and stealthily went back.’

mēnyitsei mingui mǔ go-gey ēlu dzi-’wu dzi mēsi-lē
 evening savage man eat-CON how COP-GN COP know-PF
 ‘In the evening, the savage saw through the trick when he attempted to eat the *man*.’

tshi zibuzu mingui-phā tshi dzē-lē-nēy
 very angry savage-TOP very wise-PF-EXS1
 ‘The savage was very angry. But they (also) turned very clever.’

mǔ-jüē hēsi mingui-nēy go-mē lē-phā lē mē-kǎ
 man-IND still savage-ERG eat-GEN PF-TOP flee NEG-able
 ‘People still could not escape the fate of being eaten by savages.’

mǔ dzē-’wu-jüē mingui-mē bei-lu mēsi-lē
 man wise-GN-IND savage-GEN do-CIRC know-PF
 ‘Some wise people became aware of the savage’s habit (of imitating villagers of Shělián).’

lemēy gey bei mingui bei
 Shělián how do savage do
 ‘Savages do as Shělián do.’

dutsei mingui elu bei-le kɔ-mɛ toji
 3PI savage how do-PF outwit-GEN fairly
dzueŋ-mɛ denɛn jɛn-le
 good-GEN solution EXS2-PF
 ‘They knew how to outwit the savages.’

dutsei sutchiu-mɛ mĩ-jɪɛ geŋdzi lu-le
 3PI village-GEN man-IND all seek-PF
 ‘They called up every person of the village.’

mɛŋtsei dɛsi-jɛŋ lu-le hɛ-le
 jar ten.odd-CL seek-PF come-PF
 ‘They found over ten jars.’

ɕiugu ɛlɛ dzɛn-’wu tɛhyɛŋ-le tʂhi tɕi-ku
 inside wine strong-GN hold-PF very full-CAUS2
 ‘They filled the jars with strong liquor.’

dɛdz’iɛŋ dɔdzɔŋ sɛŋ-mɛ tʂɛi-phə si-le tʂhi wu-tɛhiɛŋ
 a.family a.pair iron-GEN knife-to sharpen-PF very DIR-sharp
 ‘Each and every family sharpen an iron knife.’

ɛŋ khɔ dzia tɛ lu-le hɛ-le
 again bowl hundred odd seek-PF come-PF
 ‘They then found more than a hundred bowls.’

ɛŋ ɛlɛ mɛŋtsi dzia khɔ-phə ɕi-le
 again wine jar hundred bowl-TOP deliver-PF
 ‘Then they collected more than a hundred bowls.’

ɛlɛ mɛŋtsi tʂɛi khɔ-phə ɕi-le
 wine container knife bowl-TOP deliver-PF
 ‘They collected wine containers, knives and bowls.’

sɛnpu thu-ten-’wu kɛ-mɛ dziẽ-gu tɛhiu-le wu-gɛ-ku
 woods DIR-near-G place-GEN field-ILL put-PF DIR-good-CAUS2
 ‘And put them near the upper field close to the woods.’

eŋ məŋtʂi dɛsi-tɕiɛ lu-lɛ hɛ-lɛ
 then jar about.ten-CL seek-PF come-PF
 ‘Then they sent for about ten jars.’

ɕiɛ-ku dzuŋpɛ tɕhyeŋ-lɛ thu-tɕi-ku
 say-CAUS2 drinkable.water contain-PF DIR-full-CAUS2
 ‘And spread the words that the jars contain drinkable water.’

dɛdz’iɛŋ dɛdzuŋ guhɐ tʂhɛi-phə
 a.household a.pair wooden.chip knife-TOP
tsɔ-lɛ wu-gɛ-ku
 slice-PF DIR-good-CAUS2
 ‘Every family sliced a wooden knife.’

khɔ ɡɛlhɛ lu-lɛ hɛ-lɛ
 bowl many seek-PF come-PF
 ‘They got out many bowls.’

dɛi dɕiɔkhu-niɛ sutchiu kuenpɛ-mɛ dɕiɛ̃-gu wu-tɕhiu
 this stuff-IND village side-GEN field-ILL DIR-put
 ‘They put all the paraphernalia at the field near the village.’

mintʂə mi-bo-ɡeŋ mingui senpu-gu-ni ji-dz’ɣ-lɛ
 sun DIR-set-CON savage woods-ILL-ABL DIR-walk-PF
 ‘After the sunset, the savages got out of the woods.’

sutchiu dɛ-tɕiɛ-mɛ mū dɕiɔtsi nɛŋ
 village one-CL-GEN man about.a.hundred EXS1
 ‘There were about 100 people from the village.’

zɪnɛ-mɛ dɕiɛ̃-gu məŋtʂi-phə wu-ki-lɛ
 mountain.foot-GEN field-ILL jar-TOP DIR-open-PF
 ‘These village people opened the jars at the foot of the mountain.’

tʂi-phə khɔ-gu mi-tuŋ-lɛ dɛkhɔ dɛkhɔ tʂhi dɕ’iɛ
 water-TOP bowl-ILL DIR-pour-PF one.bowl one.bowl very drink
 ‘They poured water into the bowls and drank it bowl after bowl.’

mingui-dziə-tə-nəŋ *zi* *wu-tən-mə* *dziě-gu*
 savage-hundred-odd-ERG mountain DIR-near-GEN field-ILL
ɛlə *məŋtsi-phə* *wu-ki*
 wine jar-TOP DIR-open

‘Up on the mountains at the field, over a hundred savages opened the liquor jar.’

ɛlə-phə *khə-gu* *mi-tuŋ-lə* *dəkhə* *dəkhə* *tʃhi* *dz’iə*
 wine-TOP bowl-ILL DIR-pour-PF one.bowl one.bowl very drink
 ‘They poured liquor into the bowls and drank it bowl after bowl.’

dz’iə-lə *gelhə* *dzən-gəŋ* *mũ-niə* *guhə* *tshɛi*
 drink-PF much strong-CON man-IND wooden.chip knife
ji-pə *nun* *ŋə* *dzuə* *ŋə* *nun* *dzuə*
 DIR-draw you[s] I hack I you[s] hack
 ‘After they had drunk much water, the village people got out wooden knives and fought against each other.’

mingui-niə *tʃhi* *tchiəŋ-mə* *səŋ-mə* *tshɛi-phə* *ji-pə*
 savage-IND very sharp-GEN iron-GEN knife-TOP DIR-draw
nun *ŋə* *dzuə* *ŋə* *nun* *dzuə*
 you[s] I hack I you[s] hack

‘(Likewise), the savages got out very sharp iron knives and fought against each other.’

ziŋə *zuŋgu-ni* *tshɛ-lə* *tʃhi* *dzən*
 mountain.foot mountain.top-ABL fight-PF very strong

‘With the village people at the mountain foot and savages at the mountain top, they were fighting (among themselves) very fiercely.’

mũ-niə *wu-dziə-gəŋ* *mingui* *dziě* *lə-lə*
 man-IND DIR-see-CON savage field fall-PF
dzəŋbɛi-lə *hɛsi* *wu-lə*
 pretend-PF still DIR-fall

‘Some village men saw that a few savages had fallen onto the field, they made a feint of falling.’

jo-mə *mũ-niə* *dzuə-lə* *tukutsi* *dzən-lə*
 stand-GEN man-IND fight-PF more strong-PF

‘The standing people were fighting more fiercely.’

mingui-niə dzuə-lə həʃi tukutsi dzən-lə
 savage-IND fight-PF still more strong-PF
 ‘The savages were then fighting more fiercely as well.’

zi elike dzi-nəŋ mi-dz’ien-lə
 mountain anywhere blood-INS DIR-flow-PF
tʃi-khə wu-ni-lə
 water-CL DIR-become-PF
 ‘The mountain turned into a river of blood everywhere.’

dzi zi-ni mi-dz’ien hə-lə sutchiu
 blood mountain-ABL DIR-flow come-PF village
mi-tən-lə sutchiu-də-təiv-wu nihi
 DIR-near-PF village-one-CL-GN red
 ‘The blood flowing from the mountain top turned the nearby village totally red.’

jo-mə mǔ-niə-nəŋ wu-l-mə mǔ-niə
 stand-GEN man-IND-ERG DIR-fall-GEN man-IND
dəpei dəpei guiguəŋ ji-bə guən-lə
 one.CL.human one.CL.human back DIR-carry pull-PF
pəŋtʃhə tʃə guəŋphə
 name.of. a.cliff cliff nearby
 ‘The standing men carried the fallen people on their backs to the cliff named Bāngchā.’

dzui-gəŋ həmetseile wu-nəŋ-ku dutsei-ləwua
 arrive-CON slowly DIR-EXS1-CAUS2 3PI-DAT
thəgeitsei bei-lə ɸutəiv ni-wu-khə dz’ienmə də-ji-ku
 stealthily do-PF road small-GN-CL home DIR-DIR-CAUS2
 ‘When they arrived at the cliff, they carefully handled people on their back down to the ground and made them go home by a side path.’

ə tʃə-ni zəŋguluŋpu-gu k’uŋphə mi-tə
 then cliff-ABL name.of.a.gully-ILL stone DIR-disengage
 ‘Then the people (remaining behind) rolled stones at the gully of zəŋguluŋpu.’

mingui-niè hesi mǔ dǎiè lǒ-wu-niè dèpèi
 savage-IND also man field fall-GN-IND one.CL.human
dèpèi guiguèŋ jǐ-bà guèn-lè
 one.CL.human back DIR-carry pull-PF
pèŋtʂhè tʂè guèŋpʰè dzui-gèŋ tʂè-ni
 name.of.a.cliff cliff nearby arrive-CON cliff-ABL
zèŋguluŋpu-gu mi-tè
 name.of.a.gully-ILL DIR -disengage

‘The savages also carried the killed savages off the field on their backs to the cliff of Bāngchā. When they arrived, they dumped them into the same gully of zèŋguluŋpu.’

mǔ-niè hesi dzuŋpè dǎiè
 man-IND also water drink
 ‘The villagers were still drinking water.’

den dècǐ mē-tsen-mē mingui-niè hesi èlè dǎiè
 thing a.bit NEG-leave-GEN savage-IND also wine drink
 ‘(Likewise), the few savages left were drinking wine.’

mǔ-niè hesi guhè tshèi-nèŋ dzuədzuəbèi
 man-IND also wooden.chip knife-INS fight.against.each.other
 ‘The people continued to fight against each other with wooden chip knives.’

mingui-niè hesi tʂhi tchièŋ-mē sèŋ
 savage-IND still very sharp-GEN iron
tshèi-nèŋ dzuədzuəbèi
 knife-INS fight.against.each.other
 ‘The savages also fought against each other, only with iron knives.’

zǎiji tʂhi kǒ-mē mingui-pèi ʂè mē-tsen sèŋ
 finally very able-GEN savage-CL.human only NEG-remain utterly
 ‘In the end, only one very able savage was left.’

zǒ wu-lǒ-lè wu-dzy-lè bè-lè
 3S DIR -fall-PF DIR-sleep-PF go-PF
 ‘He fell down and fell asleep.’

wu-ge-'wu *wu-phɔ'wu<wu>ɲyŋ-'wu*
 DIR-tired-GN DIR-feel.hungry<DIR>-'wu
mɛ-si-mɛ *mingui-phə də-wu-dɔ-geŋ*
 NEG-die-GEN savage-TOP DIR-DIR-wake-CON
hɛ-le *ŋəɖziɔgu-mɛ* *mɛi* *dɛ̃* *hɛ*
 come-PF family.name-GEN door knock come
 'When the living savage awoke, he was tired and hungry. He came to knock on the door of ŋəɖziɔ.'

zo *ciɛ-'wu* *nunɣu* *ŋə* *go-lu* *mɛ-khɛŋ-le*
 3S say-GN you[pe] I eat-CIRC NEG-give-PF
ŋə *nunɣu-ɲiɛ* *go-'wu-lɔ*
 I you[pe]-IND eat-GN-PRS
 He said: "If you don't give me something to eat, I will eat you."

ŋəɖziɔ-gu *mingui* *tchi-teiŋ* *wu-khɛŋ*
 family.name-ILL savage goat-CL DIR-give
 'The family of ŋəɖziɔ gave him a goat.'

zo-mɛ *tʂhɛko* *geŋgeŋ* *ji-kɛ-ku*
 3S-GEN shoulder sideways DIR -hang-CAUS2
 'They hung the sheep sideways on his shoulders.'

mɛŋ *ɲi-lɛ* *zo* *hutciɛ-tɕhuə* *wu-khɛŋ*
 sky darken-PF 3S torch-CL DIR -give
 'It was getting dark and the family gave him a torch.'

zɛpu-nɛŋ *tshɛʂutshɛbɔ*
 rope-INS tie.again.and.again
 'They tightened the torch again and again. (A torch was made of bamboo slices connected with ropes)'

ko *mi-tshɛ-lɛ* *tʂhi* *ji-tɛŋ-ku*
 hand DIR-tie-PF very DIR-tight-CAUS2
 'They fastened the torch very tightly to the savage's hand.'

hutciɛ-phə *ɲi-tso* *mingui-phə* *zi* *dɛ-bɛ-lɛ*
 torch-TOP DIR-kindle savage-TOP mountain DIR-DIR-PF
 'They lit the torch and the savage went on his road to the mountains.'

dz'y-le *puteiv* *dedeηley* *dzγ-geη* *mingui* *dzic-geη*
 walk-PF road halfway arrive-CON savage see-CON
huteiv-phə *lə-le* *ko* *wu-tən-le*
 torch-TOP scorch-PF hand DIR-near-PF

'When he got halfway, the savage saw that the torch almost burned his hand.'

wu-dziēη *dziēη* *deiγi*
 DIR-discard discard think
 'He just wanted to discard it.'

εlu *bei* *bei* *dziēη* *mε-kə*
 however do do discard NEG-TEL
milə-neη *lipu-phə* *pəη*
 flame-INS body-TOP burn

'However he tried, he could not get rid of the fire, which continued to burn his body.'

tchi-le-lumē-geη *dz'y-le* *phəηweη* *dede-phə*
 pain-PF-CIRC-ngEXS-CON walk-PF rock big-TOP
ke *dz'y-le-neη*
 place walk-PF-EXS1

'He felt so painful that he walked to a place with a big rock.'

zo *deiγi* *zəηsu* *dei* *sutehiu-mε* *mū-mε* *dzeηdz' iə-le*
 3S think self this village-GEN man-GEN cheat-PF
zo-mε *lipu-neη* *phəηweη* *wu-dzua*
 3S-GEN body-GEN rock DIR-smack

'He thought to himself that people of this village fooled him and he had to smack against the rock with his body.'

phəηweη *wu-khi-le* *mεleη* *tchiu-le*
 rock DIR-face-PF curse put-PF
 'He faced the rock and articulated his curse.'

dei *sutehiu-mε* *mū* *ηə* *du* *bei*
 this village-GEN man I so do
 'People of this village treated me like this.'

dei *sutehiu-mε* *mū* *phē* *mε-kə*
 this village-GEN man prosper NEG-TEL
 'Let them not prosper.'

dei sutchiu-mε mũ sinin dz'ieŋ
 this village-GEN man seventeen family
sije dz'ieŋ wenjen dzə phě-lu mě
 eighteen family top just prosper-CIRC ngEXS
 'People of this village stayed at 17 or 18 families and never became more numerous.'

jiki sutchiu zo-mε melen tehui-'wu be-le
 that village 3S-GEN curse put-GN confirm-PF
 'That village lived up to his curse.'

jiki geŋtɕieŋ-ni mũdz'ieŋ dei wenjen
 that time-ABL household this top
wu-phě-le-mε-nεŋ
 DIR-prosper-PF-NEG-EXS1
 'Since then, households of that village never exceeded this number.'

Text III The Story of A Louse and A Flea

ʂi le zi'wu-mε
 louse and flea-GEN
 Louse and flea

ʂi le zi'wu-mε dzu-tɕie wu-cie-le
 louse and flea-GEN story-CL DIR-say-PF
 'I will tell you a story of louse and flea.'

nunŋu ji-tsi-so
 you[pe] DIR-listen-2PIMP
 'You listen.'

ʂi le zi'wu phihhuytε-'wu-dzi mə
 louse and flea go.Dutch-GN-COP EXH
 'The louse and the flea were cooking together.'

e phihhuytε-geŋni ŋi-pei ləken ci ʂekuentɕi
 P go.Dutch-CON two-CL.human peer meat casserole
theikuə thu-tə-le tchui-'wu-dzi.
 fireplace DIR-roast-PF put-GN-COP
 'Since they were cooking together, the two of them put the meat casserole onto the fire to roast.'

e *ŋi-peɪ* *sən* *'nyŋ-'wu-dzi* *mə*
 P two-CL.human wood collect-GN-COP EXH
 'Then they both (went out and) collected wood.'

sən *'nyŋ* *ji-gəŋni* *e'li* *zi'wu* *tʂhi* *ʂəŋ-'wu-dzi* *mə*
 wood collect go-CON then flea very quick-GN-COP EXH
 'They went to collect wood and the flea was very quick indeed.'

ʂi *tʂhi* *d'o-'wu-dzi* *mə*
 louse very slow-GN-COP EXH
 'The louse was very slow indeed.'

e'li *zi'wu* *dei* *sənputsei* *gə-'wu-dzi*
 then flea this wood.bundle enough-GN-COP
 'Then the flea said the firewood bundle was enough.'

sənputsei *gə-gəŋni*
 wood.bundle enough-CONP
ʂi-ləwuə *ʂəpu* *ʂəpu* *nun* *ji-lu* *ɛ* *tei-lə* *tsi*
 louse-DAT pal pal you[s] go-CIRC P available-SJV hear
 The firewood bundle was enough, so he said to the louse: "Pal, pal, could you go now?"

en *ʂi* *ciɛ-'wu-li* *ŋə* *'mɛ* *ji-lu* *mɛ-tei*
 then louse say-GN-1PIIMP I still go-CIRC NEG-available
nun *gə* *tʂu-lɛ* *tsi*
 you[s] enough COM-PF hear
 Then the louse said: "I couldn't go. You have collected enough?"

en *zi'wu* *ciɛ-'wu* *ŋə* *gə-tʂu-lɛ* *mə*
 then flea say-GN I enough-COM-PF EXH
 Then the flea said: "I have collected enough indeed."

ŋə *si* *dɛ-'ŋɛŋ* *dz'y-lɛ* *mə* *tsi*
 I early one-step walk-PF P hear
 "Then I shall go back first."

enli *zi'wu* *bu-lɛ* *ji-'wu-dzi*
 then flea carry-PF go-GN-COP
 'Then the flea carried his firewood and left.'

bu-lɛ ji-ləli zɪ'wu-phə də-thɔ-di-'wu-dzi
 carry-PF go-CON flea-TOP DIR-bounce-MOM-GN-COP

'When the flea carried the bundle of firewood on his back and walked away, he bounced once.'

ɛn sɛn-phə g'uə-lɛ ji-'wu-dzi
 then wood-TOP loosen-PF go-GN-COP

'So the bundle of firewood loosened.'

ɛn də-tɔ-'wu-dzi mə
 then DIR-build-GN-COP EXH

'Then he did it up again.'

də-tɔ-lɛ ɛn bu-lɛ-ji-'wu-dzi
 DIR-build-PF then carry-PF-go-GN-COP

'After he did it up, he carried it on his back and went again.'

bu-lɛ ji-gɛŋ də-thɔ-di
 carry-PF go-CON DIR-bounce-MOM
sɛnpu-phə ɛŋ g'uə-lɛ-ji-'wu-dzi mə
 wood-TOP again loosen-PF-go-GN-COP EXH

'When he carried on going, he bounced again and the bundle of wood again loosened.'

ɛ'li ʃi-phə ɛ'li sɛnputsei gə-tshu-lɛ
 then louse-TOP then firewood enough-COM-PF

bu-lɛ dʒ'y-'wu-dzi
 carry-PF walk-GN-COP

'Then the louse collected enough firewood and carried it on his back and went away.'

dʒ'y-gɛŋ ɛn zɪ'wu-phə sɛn-phə
 walk-CON then flea-TOP wood-TOP
də-tɔ-lɛ-nɛŋ-'wu-dzi mə
 DIR-build-PF-EXSI-GN-COP EXH

'When the louse walked, the flea rebound his wood.'

də-tɔ-lɛ ɛn zɪ'wu tʃhi ʃɛŋ ɛŋ
 DIR-build-PF then flea very quick again
sɛnputsei tɔ-tshu bu-lɛ
 firewood build-COM carry-PF

'Then the flea very quickly bound his firewood again and did it up.'

ji-geŋ de-tho-di-geŋ senpu g'uə-le
 go-CON DIR-bounce-MOM-CON tree loosen-PF
ji-'wu-dzi mə
 go-GN-COP EXH

'When he walked, he bounced and the wood loosened again.'

en ši-nəŋ dz'ienmɛ de-ji-dzy-'wu-dzi mə
 then louse-ERG home DIR-DIR-arrive-GN-COP EXH
 'Then the louse went back home.'

ši de-ji-dzy-geŋ theikuə-gu-mɛ
 louse DIR-DIR-arrive-CON fireplace-ILL-GEN
ci ʂekuentɕi ši-nəŋ mi-go-'wu-dzi mə
 meat casserole louse-ERG DIR-DIR-GN-COP EXH
 'The louse went back and ate up the meat in the casserole.'

mi-go-le jiki bei-geŋ z'i'wu-de-dzy-geŋ
 DIR-DIR-PF in.that.way do-CON flea-DIR-arrive-CON
lewua ci ʂekuen jiqi ši-nəŋ
 DAT meat casserole completely louse-ERG
bɛ-tshu-le-nəŋ-'wu-dzi mə
 finish-COM-PF-EXS1-GN-COP EXH
 'Just like that the louse ate up the meat in the casserole by the time the flea got back.'

en z'i'wu-nəŋ z'uŋpu-phə ji-tshi-ləli
 then flea-ERG stone.pestle-TOP DIR-take-CON
 'Then the flea picked up a pestle.'

z'uŋpu-phə-nəŋ ši pɛ-le ši wu-dě-ku
 pestle-TOP-INS louse raise-PF louse DIR-hit-CAUS2
 'The flea held the louse and hit it with the pestle.'

ši wu-dě-ku-geŋ ši-phə li bobo tchia-ləli
 louse DIR-hit-CAUS2-CON louse-top P bottom beat-CON
 'When the louse was attacked, he was hit in the bottom.'

en ši-phə si-le bɛ-'wu-dzi mə
 then louse-TOP die-PF go-GN-COP EXH
 'Then the louse died.'

en *ʒi-phə* *mɛ-nɛŋ-sɛŋ*
 then louse-TOP NEG-EXS1-utterly
 ‘Thus the louse was no longer alive.’

en *dɛi-lə* *dʒi*
 then this-P COP
 ‘And this is it.’

ʒi'wu *dɛpɛitsei* *nɛŋ* *sɛŋ-'wu-lɛ* *dʒi*
 flea one EXS1 utterly-GN-PF COP
 ‘The flea was left alone.’

Text IV *Gāo's Recollection 1*

ŋəgu *nĩ-gɛŋtɛiɛŋ* *liɛi* *bɛi-'wu-phə*
 we[pe] young-time Spring.Festival do-GN-TOP
tʂhi *lɛŋ-lɛ* *nɛŋ-'wu-dʒi*
 very wait-PF EXS1-GN-COP
 ‘When we were small, we were very eager for the Spring Festival.’

nɛŋtuɣɛnb'u *ziɛtsi* *dɛ-'wu-nɛŋ* *ŋəgu*
 December.30 morning adult-ERG we[pe]
wɛ *tsi-lɛ* *sɛtɕhyɛn* *mɛ-dʒiɛn*
 get.up hear-PF awaken NEG-need
 ‘There was no need for the adults to awaken us.’

si *ŋɛnpu* *ni* *dz'ɛwɛ* *supu-phə* *hɛŋ'mɛ*
 early old day upper.garment new-TOP pillow.side
gɛɛnpɕhɛ *wu-tɕhiu*
 nearby DIR-put
 ‘The day before, we had put the new garment beside the pillow.’

ziɛtsi *supu* *ʒi-wɛ*
 morning new DIR-wear
 ‘In the morning we would put on our new dress.’

gɛiɣuitsei *bɛi-lɛ* *sutɕhiu-ə* *ɛlike* *dɛsuɛn* *wu-tɛ*
 joyfully do-PF village-DAT everywhere a.circle DIR-stroll
 ‘We joyfully wandered about the village.’

'inə-nəŋ nuŋ tʂhi dzĩ tsi-gəŋ
 others-ERG you very pretty hear-CON
dəŋjəŋ-gu guisi wu-phɔ-lə
 heart-ILLL happy.to.death DIR-feel-PF

If we heard someone say to us: "You are very pretty!" We would be dying for the joy.

jiki gəŋtəiəŋ ciə-ku dz'əwe supu tʂhi ciə-'wu-lə
 that time say-CAUS2 upper.garment new very say-GN-SJV
dz'əwe le χiguə-ni də-'wu-niə-nəŋ
 upper.garment and trousers-EMP big-GN-IND-ERG
zəi dzĩ-'wu-sɔ wu-lu zəŋgə-lə ji-zəŋ-ku
 cloth pretty-GN-CL DIR-find self-cut-PF DIR-fit-CAUS2
də-tsɔ də-tsɔ kui-lə tchuə-mə
 one.stitch one.stitch sew-PF out-GEN

'What was said to be new clothes then was no more than a piece of pretty cloth chosen at home, cut into upper garments and trousers and sewed stitch by stitch by the adults.'

dz'ienmə detci dzuəŋ mü-niə-mə tciəuχei
 home a.bit good man-IND-GEN rubber-soled.shoes
təŋ wə-lu jən
 pair wear-CIRC EXS2

'People from good families might have rubber-soled shoes to wear.'

dz'ienmə mə-dzuəŋ-'wu-niə tshəuχei ʂə wə-lu mə
 home NEG-well-GN-IND straw.shoes only wear-CIRC ngEXS
 'People from poor families could only wear straw shoes.'

Text v Gāo's Recollection 2

nəgu nĩ-gəŋ lisei bei-gəŋ
 we[pe] young-time Spring.Festival do-GN
nəŋtuŋənb'u-mə məŋnitsei
 December.30-GEN evening
də-'wu-niə-nəŋ ɛŋtəyogwə məgu
 big-GN-IND-ERG ground.fireplace log.firewood
ji-g'uən wuŋ-gu jəŋtchiən ji-ʂə
 DIR-lay.up.and.burn wok-ILLL whole.wheat.food DIR-cook

'When we were small, on the Eve of Spring Festival, the elders would put stumps in the ground fireplace and boil whole wheat in the wok over the fire.'

dz'yguiniε sɔpu-pu-tsei thu-tsu jɔpunie
 shrine incense-CL-DIM DIR-erect right
khulunie khiepenie tshɛŋlensi wu-huŋ
 front left straw.mattress DIR-spread

'The family burned incense in front of the shrine. On the other three sides, straw mattress would be laid out.'

dɛdz'ieŋ-'wu mū tɛikuə dɛsuɛn ju
 whole.family-GN man fireplace a.circle sleep
 'The whole family would sleep at the fireside.'

dɛdzuɛŋŋɛnb'u nɛ ji-wū-gɛŋ
 first.day.of.a.month chicken DIR-crow-CON
dɛ-'wu-niɛ-nɛŋ ŋəgu ʒuɛŋkutsei-lɛ kuvi-lɛ wudɔ-ku
 big-GN-IND-ERG we[pe] quickly-PF rush-PF awaken-CAUS2
 'On the morning of the lunar New Year's Day, the adults would quickly rush us to get up when the roosters crow.'

ŋəgu dutsei nɛŋŋmu dzumukɛ tʂi dz'i ji-ku
 we[pe] 3S[pi] together well water fetch go-CAUS2
ɛiɛ-'wu su si dz'i-lu-tɛi-'wu-dzi toji dzuɛŋ
 say-GN who early fetch-CIRC-available-COP relatively good
 'They made us go and fetch water with them, saying that it was auspicious to be the first in getting water.'

dzumu dzy-gɛŋ dɛ-'wu-niɛ-nɛŋ pi-sɛŋ-tɛiɛ ji-tso
 well arrive-CON big-GN-IND-ERG incense-three-CL DIR-light
 'Once we arrived at the waterplace, the adults would burn three pieces of incense.'

nɛŋbu-gu tʂhizɛŋ zogu go-lu jɛn
 mouth-ILL this.year we[pe] eat-CIRC EXS2
dz'ie-lu jɛn-ku-mə dzi-lɛ dɛ-tshie wu-ɛiɛ
 consume-CIRC EXS2-CAUS2-EXH COP-PF one-CL DIR-say
 They would say: "Pray that this year we will have food and drink."

ɛ dz'ienmɛ-ni bu-lɛ hɛ-mɛ jɛŋ-kue-phə
 then home-ABL carry-PF come-GEN wheat-CL-TOP
dzumu-gu thu-g'uə
 well-ILL DIR-scatter
 'They would also scatter into the well the handful of wheat they had brought from home.'

g'uə-si jɛŋsuə jɛŋsuə jɛŋsuə tsi-lɛ ɕiɛ-si
 scatter-SIM wheat.come wheat.come wheat.come hear-PF say-SIM
 As they scattered, they would say: “Let wheat come! Let wheat come! Let wheat come!”

v dzuyɲmu guɛnphɛ-ni ɸ'uŋphə-ɛnɛntsei
 then well nearby-ABL stone-DIM
sɛŋ-jɛŋ ji-khəkhə ɕə-gu mi-tɛiɛ-ku
 three-CL DIR-collect water.carrier-ILL DIR-add-CAUS2
 ‘Then we would find three small stones near the waterplace and threw them into the water.’

ɕə-gu tɕi thu-dzi-ku-lɛ bu-lɛ dɛ-ji-'wu
 water.carrier-ILL water DIR-fill-CAUS2-PF carry-PF DIR-go-GN
 ‘Then we would fill the carrier with water and go back home.’

ɕiɛ-'wu du bɛi-gɛŋ tɕhiɕɛŋ dɛ-ŋɛŋ lithɔ toji gɛ
 say-GN that do-CON this.year one-year crop relatively good
 ‘They say that it was good for the crop by doing so.’

Text VI *Gāo's Recollection 3*

ŋəgu nĩ-gɛŋ ŋəgu kɛ-mɛ dz'imeɪ-tsei-ɲiɛ
 we[pe] small-CON we[pe] place-GEN girl-DIM-IND
tɕhi bətɛiɛ dɕi
 very pathetic COP
 ‘When we were small, girls at our place were very pathetic.’

dɛ-'wu-ɲiɛ-nɛŋ tsei-ə dɕ'i tsɛn-ku
 big-GN-IND-ERG son-DAT book learn-CAUS2
dz'imeɪ-ə dɕ'i tsɛn mə-ku
 girl-DAT book learn NEG-CAUS2
 ‘The parents would send the boys to school and would not let the girls go.’

ɕiɛ-'wu dz'imeɪ dɛ-lɛ 'inə-mɛ mũ
 say-GN girl big-PF other-GEN person
 ‘They said that girls would become people of other families when they grew up.’

dz'i tsən-lɛ teiu bei
 book learn-PF what do
 'What is the use of letting them go to school?'

zogu phei zogu 'əgə-dɛ-'wu-pɛi
 we[pe] father we[pe] elder.sister-big-CL.human
dz'i tsən-ku-gɛŋ ŋəgu sutchiu ɛyəciɔ mə-bu
 book learn-CAUS2-CON we[pe] village school NEG-EXS3
zi-teiɛ dʒiu-le z'eido dz'i tsən ji
 mountain-CL surmount-PF name.of.a.village book learn go
 'When our father wanted our elder sister to go to school, there was no school in our village and one had to climb a high mountain to go to school at Chūzán 初咱.'

zogu 'əgə dzu mə-nɛŋ-gɛŋ
 we[pe] elder.sister companion NEG-EXS1-CON
zogu phei dz'ɛŋlɛŋkhu-niɛ kɛ ciɛ ji
 we[pe] father relative-IND place say go
 'Since our elder sister has no company (of girls), our father went to talk over our relatives.'

dogu-mɛ dz'imeɪ dz'i tsən-ku-'wu-dzɪ-gɛŋ
 they[pe]-GEN girl book learn-CAUS2-GN-COP-CON
gɛŋtsi-nɛŋ tsən-ku mə-dzɛvɛŋ
 all-ERG learn-CAUS2 NEG-good
 'When father asked them to let their girls go to school, none of them agreed.'

zogu 'əgə dzɛŋtshudɛ-mɛ dz'imeɪ-niɛ
 we[pe] elder.sister peer-GEN girl-IND
gɛŋtsi dz'i tsən mə-niɛn
 all book learn NEG-EXP
 'Thus none of the peers of our elder sister went to school.'

Guìqióng-English Glossary

The following parts of speech are used in this lexicon. This is not intended to be an exhaustive list of lexical and/or grammatical categories found in Guìqióng. For a single word with two pronunciations, the first was given by my informant from Qiánxī and the other was given by my informant from Chǎngmǎ unless otherwise specified.

<i>adj.</i>	adjective	<i>name.</i>	proper name
<i>adv.</i>	adverb	<i>num.</i>	numeral
<i>art.</i>	article	<i>pcl.</i>	particle
<i>clfr.</i>	classifier root	<i>pder.</i>	predicate derivation
<i>conj.</i>	conjunction	<i>pder nzs.</i>	nominalising predicate derivation
<i>cop.</i>	copula		
<i>dem.</i>	demonstrative	<i>pos.</i>	postposition
<i>int.</i>	interjection	<i>pro.</i>	pronoun
<i>mod.</i>	modal verb	<i>pros.</i>	pronominal suffix
<i>n.</i>	common noun	<i>pro.int.</i>	interrogative pronoun
<i>n:kin.</i>	kinship term	<i>v.</i>	verb root
<i>npr.</i>	noun phrase	<i>vpr.</i>	verbal phrase
<i>n:qual.</i>	qualifying noun	<i>vpinfl.</i>	predicate inflection

The alphabetical order of the glossary is as follows:

'e e b b' β d d' dz dz' dz_ɿ dz'_ɿ dz dz' d ʼε ε ʼə ə g
 g' h 'i i 'j j k kh 'l l lh ł 'm m 'n n 'ɲ ɲ
 'ŋ ŋ 'o o 'ɔ ɔ p ph φ ɸ ɸ' s s̥ t th ts tsh tʂ tʂh
 tɕ tɕh t̥ t̥h 'u u 'w w χ 'y y z z' z_ɿ z'_ɿ z z'

'e

- 'eigəu *name*. a family name in Chǎngmǎ village which is very prosperous.
 'eligəu *name*. a family name in Chǎngmǎ village.
 -'en'entsei the diminutive suffix
 'enku *n:kin*. uncle
 'entsi *n*. cumin
 'entchy *n*. a lama's non-religious assistant whose main work is to chant scriptures in religious ceremony.
 'ejtshogəu *name*. a family name in Chǎngmǎ village.
 'epɛi *n:kin*. uncle elder than one's father.
 'etɛ *n:kin*. father
 'etsi *n:kin*. grandmother
 'etsinɔ'wu *n*. black fungus; tree's mushroom
 'etchiegui *n*. skirt; dress
 'epɛ *n:kin*. father
 'epu *n:kin*. grandfather
 e'wugəu *name*. a family name in Chǎngmǎ village.

e

- e *adv*. then
 ebugəu *name*. a family name in Chǎngmǎ village.
 egogo *v*. move by squatting down.
 e'məzɪkə *n*. America
 engui *n*. bear
 enthe *v*. arrange
 epu *n:kin*. grandfather
 e 'igəu *name*. a family name of Chǎngmǎ village where no offspring live there.
 e'i *n:kin*. aunt
 e'li *adv*. then
 elhe *n*. alcohol
 eŋ³⁵ *adv*. again
 e'ŋɛ'ŋɛ *n*. Chinese yam

- esi; χɛsi *adv*. still; also
 ethuŋtɛiɛ *n*. the Children's Day
 [cf. Chinese 儿童节 *értóngjié*]
 ezɛ *n*. alcohol
 ezɛdzɛi *vpr*. get drunk
 ezɛmu *npr*. a mouthful of alcohol
 ezɛtuŋ *vpr*. pour alcohol
 ezɛməzɛbeileɛɔ *vpr*. weep aloud
 ezɪzi *n*. loud noise; uproar

b

- bɛ *v*. develop; occur
 bɛ *v*. leave; go
 bɛ *v*. be in agreement with
 bɛ̃ *v*. busy
 bɛbɛ *adj*. of the same age
 bɛ̃bɛ̃dz'endz'en *adj*. hasty; panic-stricken *adv*. hastily
 bɛ̃mɛbɛ̃ ʃɛŋmɛʃɛŋ *adj*. quiet, composed
 bɛŋ *v*. be hot *adj*. hot
 bɛŋ *n*. cupboard
 bɛŋmɛbɛŋ khuɛŋmɛkhuɛŋ *adj*. neither hot nor cold
 bɛŋthəu *v*. put something into the cupboard; store up
 bɛŋtsɔɛ'letsei *npr*. baby
 bɛŋzɛtsei *adj*. hot
 bɛ *n*. wool
 bɛ *n*. penis
 bɛi *n*. Tibetan
 bɛi *v*. do; make; celebrate; prepare
 bɛi verbal auxiliary
 bɛibu *n*. frog; toad
 bɛibuməŋgəu *name*. a family name in Chǎngmǎ village.
 bɛidzuətsi *n*. tadpole
 -bɛijɛn the resultative potential mood marker
 bɛike *n*. the Tibetan language
 bɛike'wu *n*. duty, responsibility

- beikud'en** *v.* manage to do
bei'lisei *n.* December; the Tibetan New Year; the Tibetan Spring Festival
bei'libəzi *n.* things; objects; possessions
beime *conj.* though
-beimu the experienced prospective marker
beiʃibeithe *n.* frog or toad spawn
beiten *n.* felt
beitəŋ *n.* small intestine, gut
beitəŋ'neŋzi *n.* viscera
beithe *n.* frog or toad spawn
beizi *n. adv.* tonight
beizi meŋgeitse; **beizi meŋnitsei** *npr. adv.* this evening (said when the day has turned into night)
beitshu *vpr.* complete doing
beitshuku *vpr.* have something done
bə *adj.* hard; solid
bəbə *n.* buttocks
bəbəju *vpr.* lie prone
bəbəʃi *vpr.* crawl
bəbəmibe; *vpr.* topple over
bəbətsei *adv.* in a waist-bending position
bəbuzi *n.* children; sons and daughters
bədzəitse; *adv.* reluctantly
bəlibətə *n.* waist of a mountain; hillside
bə'litsei *npr.* the mediocre *adj.* mediocre
bə'mu *n.* cow
bəneŋ *n.* sky; overhead *adv.* mid-air; overhead; in the sky
bətsə *n.* second floor of a Guiqiong building used as sleeping room or storage place for precious things
bətchiə *n.* disaster
bətchiətəijən *vpr.* have some signs of disaster; ominous
bətuŋ *n.* hole; pit
bətuŋtsei *adj.* empty; hollow
bəzi *n.* odd things; possessions; objects
bo *v.* pass; exceed; set
bo'mu *n.* knee
bo'mu mitsu *vpr.* kneel down
bə *n.* weed
bə *v.* drill (a well)
bə *v.* disclose; reveal
bəbə *n.* buttocks
bəbəkuti *n.* anus
bədqəu *v.* (of weeds) grow exuberantly
bələŋ'wu *n.* small pox immunisation giver
bədo *n.* earring
bəbəmitʃhyo *vpr.* sit down.
bə'jəbeiwu *n.* midwife *v.* deliver a child
bə'mə *n.* herb medicine
bu *v.* move; carry
bu *v.* dependent existential verb
bu *clfr.* classifier for backpacks
bu *n.* sons of a common ancestor
bu *v.* (of wood) rot
bubu *n.* bubble foam
bubulelə *adj.* upset; disturbing
bubutshə; **bubutshəi** *v.* have sex
buduzu *n.* turtledove
bu'lun *n.* calf of the leg
butsei *n.* seedlings of cereal crops
butshə *n.* the offspring of an ancestor; grandchild
buzu *n.* younger brother
buzi *n.* child; offspring; son and daughter
buzide'wupəi *n.* the eldest child
buzo *n.* the outside part of the underground floor of a Guiqióng building

b'
b'e *v.* burst; explode; blast; split
b'eŋ *v.* lose (battle; contest etc.)
b'ə *v.* rip
b'ei *adv.* below

b'ɔ̃lɔ *n.* bread
b'ɔ̃lɔ *dətɕhiɛ npr.* a loaf of bread
b'u *v.* fly
b'ũ *n.* thick corn paste boiled in water to be eaten with sourcraut soup; corn flour paste cooked in boiling water, and then removed to sauerkraut soup
b'utɛ *v.* dig out; excavate
b'udziɛŋdziɛŋ *adj.* monstrous; nonsensical
b'u'wu *n.* birds; flying things
b'utɕhiɛŋtɛ 'wu *n.* fireworks, pyrotechnics

β

βɛ *n.* sticky paste used as glue
βɛ̃ *n.* target
βɛ̃di *v.* shoot at the target
βɛgui *n.* stump
βɛijɛ *adj.* steep
βəmuciɛnsɔ *n.* beast, animals
βɔphu *n.* lunatic
βu *n.* horse; draught animals horse, mule and donkey
βu *v.* pile; stack
βudɛnɛŋgəu *name.* a family name in Chǎngmǎ village
βudɛi *n.* earthworm
βudzī *v.* ride a horse
βukɛi *n.* caterpillar
βugɛi *n.* grasshopper
βukhuei'jimeɕuteiɛ *n.* horse-ride road
βu'jɛŋ *n.* fly
βu'jɛŋtɛiɛŋ *npr.* a fly
βu'ne *n.* pest
βu'neŋ *n.* horse dung
βuphəjitʂhɛ *vpr.* fasten the horse
βusi *n.* mosquito
βutsei *n.* little horse

βuz'ɛi *n.* horse food
βudziɛ *n.* centipede
βuxɛ *n.* ant
βuxɛ dzuɛŋ'mə *npr.* big yellow ant
βuzi *n.* poplar
βuzidə *adj.* numb; so hot and spicy it feels numb
βuzu *n.* insect
βuzubɛi *vpr.* maggot arises; get grubby

β'

β'u *v.* puff

d

dɛ *adj.* big *v.* get big
dɛ- directional morpheme 'back on the same course'
dɛ̃ *v.* beat, strike
dɛ̃dɛ̃tʂhɛi *pder.* fight
dɛbɛ *vpinfl.* go back
dɛdɛ *adj.* big
dɛdɛŋzɛŋ *n.* the state of being incomplete *adv.* midway; halfway
dɛdzɛŋ *npr.* the first day of a month
dɛdz'ɛŋdɛdzɛŋ *npr.* every family
dɛdz'ɛŋmũ *npr.* people of the same family
dɛhɛ *vpinfl.* come again; come back
dɛibə *n.* respect, good will, hospitality, kindness
dɛibədɛtɕhi *v.* return the respect, good will, hospitality, kindness, etc.
dɛjɛ *adv.* just now; a recent period
dɛ'jɛŋ *npr.* a (grain of wheat, apple, pear, gun)
dɛ'jɛŋjike *vpr.* pick an apple, a pear, etc.
dɛji *vpinfl.* return
dɛjiɛ *vpinfl.* come in along the same course (after one has gone out)
dɛjikhui *vpinfl.* mend by sewing

dəjseite *vpinfl.* mend, repair (dress, shoes etc.)
dəkhə'wu *n.* one thing; the same thing
dəkhəj *vpinfl.* pay back; return
dəkhə *num.* ten thousand
dəkhə *npr.* a bowl of
dələwu'lə *vpr.* knock down
dəluhəj *adj.* (of price) very high
dəlujən *vpr.* show a prospect of good harvest
dəmu *npr.* a mouthful
də'mumintə *n.* rhododendrons
dəmunəjmidz'ie *vpr.* guzzle; pull at
dəmihe *vpinfl.* come downwards along the same course (after one has gone upwards); come downstairs
dəmiŋjən *vpinfl.* shrink; lessen
də(mi)ŋui *vpinfl.* (of swelling) reduce; get alleviated; lower
dən *n.* pron. affair, object, entity, achievement
dən *num.* seven
dənəj *n.* a sentence; a word; a Chinese character
dənbu *n.* July
dəndən *pron.* whatever
dəndə; **dəndə** *n.* letter; missive
dəŋdəbei *n.* write a letter, put down a message
dəŋdəphən *v.* send the letter; pass the message
dəndziə *num.* seven hundred
dəndə *n.* business; commitments
dənkhu *n.* summer, hot days
dənien *vpinfl.* reduce, lessen
dənmethəsej *vpr. adv.* before long
dənmu *adj.* silly; petrified
dən'pin'ŋəjmetshie *n.qual.* not many steps away; close
dən'nyəj *vpr.* purchase

dəphu *n.* whip
dənciu *n.* housekeeping; housework; house management
dənthə *v.* decide
dəntə *n.* summer
dəntəməməŋgeitsei *npr.* summer nights
dəntəkule *adv.* carefully
dəntshi *n.* a time span of seven days
dəntshidətchiə *npr.* a temporal unit of seven days
dəntsi *clfr.* for beating or striking [cf. Chinese *Dùn* 頓]
dəntsi *num.* seventy
dəntsizədzi *num.* seventy-one
dəntsizənɿ *num.* seventy-two
dəntsizəden *num.* seventy-seven
dəntsizədzu *num.* seventy-six
dəntsizədzie *num.* seventy-eight
dəntsizəgei *num.* seventy-nine
dəntsizə'ŋə *num.* seventy-five
dəntsizəsəj *num.* seventy-three
dəntsizəzi *num.* seventy-four
dəŋ *adv.* late
dəŋəj *n.* the distance of a pace
dəŋbu *n.* January
dəŋbu'li *n.* January
dəŋbusei'ŋə *n.* January 15
dəŋhəjbei *vpr.* plot against; play tricks on; damage
dəŋ'jəj *n.* heart; courage
dəŋ'jəŋguseŋmumədi *vpr.* feel upset in the heart
dəŋ'jəŋgudz'iu *v.* have retention of food in the stomach
dəŋ'jəŋni *adj.* cowardly
dəŋ'jəŋnikhudzəj *adj.* so frightened that one's heart becomes cold; shudder
dəŋ'jəŋtchi *v.* have a heart attack
də'ŋəj *npr.* a year
də'ŋəjdeisi *adv.* every year

dəŋeŋ *n.* a pace
dəŋŋə; dəŋɣə *n.* pot cover
dənŋen; dənən *n.* experience; solution
dəŋthə *n.* dish cabinet
dəŋtəymintə *n.* monthly rose
dəpə *n.* one Yuán (Chinese Currency)
dəpəudə *n.* a piece of equal size with others
dəphə *n. adv.* once, a period of time
dək'əŋ *n.* an armful; an arm span
dəʂə *n. adv. n:qual* a while; a share; a portion
dəʂətsei *adv.* in a while
dəciə *vpinfl.* answer, reply; answer back
dəthuhə *vpinfl.* come upwards along the same course (after one has gone downwards)
dətsəŋdi *n.* a bite
dətshi *n.* upper back
dətchiə *n.* a whole mass
dətcie'wu *n.* the same type of things; objects within the same category
dətchyo *n.* a statue
də'wə *npr.* a bundle of firewood
də'wu *n.* the adult; the biggest; the bigger; the big
dəwuhə *vpinfl.* come out along the same course (after one has gone in)
dəwuthəŋ *vpinfl.* make room for
dəwuxui *adv.* almost, nearly
dəzəŋ *adj.* the same; alike
dəi *dem.* this
dəigi *v.* think
dəigilumə'wu *vpr.* haven't expected *adv.* unexpectedly
dəigəŋ *conj.* but
dəiləlgəu *adv.* within this vicinity
dəi'mu *v.* paw
dəiŋiə *pron. n:qual.* these
dəiniə *adv.* here

dəithen *n:qual.* this time
dəitʂi *n.* sandbag
dəkuen *n:qual.* one Jin 斤, 500 grams.
dəhen *n:qual.* one Qián 钱, about 3.72 grams in ancient times and 3.125 grams now.
də'li *n:qual.* a month
də'ləbei *v.* despair
də'luŋ *n.* testis
dənidetshe *adv.* everyday
dəni *adv. n:qual.* every day; a day
dəniə *num. n:qual.* a half
dəpei *n:qual.* one person
dəpeideniə *n:qual.* equal division between two people
dəpəitsei *adv.* alone; by oneself
dəsi *num.* about ten
dəthen; dəthē *n:qual.* once
dəthē dē *v.* teach somebody a lesson by hitting
dətʂi *num.* a hand span
dətʂhə *adv.* together
dətci *adj. adv.* a bit; a little
dətcimədziən *adj.* somewhat uncomfortable
dəxui *n:qual. num.* a half
də *adv.* here
dəbu *n.* a backpack
dəkən *adv.* here
də'lə *n.* folk song; song
də'lə'lo *v.* sing a song
dələ *adv.* here
dədz'iuzu *v.* roll into a mass by kneading
dətʂi; dətʂi *pron.* so much; these
dətsuŋ *n:qual.* a pair
dətciədi *v.* give sb a kick
də'wə *n:qual.* month
dəxə *n:qual.* a bucket of
dəzu *n:qual.* a quarter
dəzuŋdi *v.* punch sb with a fist

di *v.* sting; pierce
-di momentaneous aspect marker
dī *v.* dent
diənsi *n.* television set; television programme [cf. Chinese *diànshì* 电视]
diənnə *n.* computer [cf. Chinese *diànnǎo* 电脑]
diditshei *v.* fight
didzidziə *v.* address, lecture
do *v.* cut
doso *n.* tomb, crematory
də *v.* meet; *adj.* narrow
dədəbei *v.* meet with
dədzitsei *adj.* narrow *adv.* narrowly
dəkhə; dəkhu *n.* colour
du *v.* worry; feel depressed
du³⁵ *adv. pron.* so, such
du *v.* get in the way
dudzj'wu *n.* something taken for granted
dugu *pron.* they [plural third person exclusive pronoun]; their family
dui *v.* boil
dulə *adv.* repeatedly
duləwuciegeŋ *adv.* generally speaking
du³⁵lə *adv.* so
dulu *n.* sources of unhappiness; misgivings
duŋbe *n.* leg wrappings
duŋpheiduŋtəhy *n.* tunes and melodies
duŋzəŋ *n.* tree trunk
duŋtʂhi *num.* a hundred million
dutsei *pron.* they [plural third person inclusive pronoun]
du'wu *adv.* like this
diŋtəhien *n.* holiday; festival; feast day
ditshi *n.* temporal order
duzəbuzj *n.* orphan
duzəkə *v.* become an orphan

d'
d'əgeitsei *adv.* secretly; quietly *n.* secret quarters
d'əxin *adj.* distant; *n.* a distant place
d'əŋ *v.* have a stuffy nose
d'əŋ *n.* sugar [cf. Chinese *Táng* 糖]
d'ə'wu *n.* hammer
d'en *v.* bask
d'end'enbei *v.* cross legs (in the old times only old people or people of some importance can do this)
d'ə *v.* delay, slow down; *adj.* time-consuming; slow

dz
dze *n.* drop
dzetʂhi *n.* water dripping from the eaves
dzen *adj.* (of external force) strong; serious; laudable
dzen *n.* drum
dzenbe *n.* vegetable
dzenbe bei *v.* cook dishes
dzenbegəli *n.* vegetable garden
dzenbemido *v.* cut the vegetable
dzenbepheŋtsei *n.* vegetable basin
dzenbeside *v.* trim vegetables for cooking
dzenbetsi *n.* sauerkraut soup
dzenbetəhio'ji *n. pder nZR.* any instrument used for stirring and frying food
dzentsi *n.* chisel
dzəndzə *adj.* careful; thoughtful
dzəŋ *adj.* sour
dzəŋb'ələ *n.* bun with vegetable stuffing
dzəŋb'ələkhu *vpr.* steam buns with vegetable stuffing
dzəŋbei'wu *v.* lie; boast; *n.* liar

dzɛŋdz'ia *v.* get cheated
dzɛŋluŋ; dzɛnlhuŋ *n.* curved stone or iron leg of the tripod props beneath a wok
dzɛŋmɛŋ *n.* Chinese prickly ash
dzɛŋmɛ *adj.* inauspicious
dzɛŋmu *n.* copper
dzɛŋsɛn *n.* *Picea brachytyla* (Franch.) pritz.
dzɛŋɕiɛ *n.* speech; words
dzɛŋɕiɛbei *v.* talk; do chatting
dzɛŋɕiɛkuthɛnku *vpr.* talk about something openly
dzɛŋɕiɛnientseileɕiɛ *vpr.* speak concisely
dzɛŋɕiɛɕiɛ *v.* speak out
dzɛŋ'wu *adj.* sour
dzɛitɕhi *v.* suffer from chronic cough or tuberculosis
dzɛitɕŋ *n.* acne
dzəthɛŋ *n.* fortune; stature
dzəthɛŋdɛ *adj.* prominent in social status
dzəthɛŋgɛ *adj.* with considerable stature
dzi *n.* blood; supper
dzi *v.* itch
dzi *n.* one
dzi *v.* become objectively permissible
dzige *n.* thorn
dzi'luŋ *n.* mane
dzisɛn *n.* Cyclobalanopsis glauca (Thunb.) Oerst
dzitɕhuɛ *v.* bleed
dziwui *n.* hedgehog [cf. Chinese *Cìwèi* 刺猬; *Wèizi* 猬子]
dzizidə *adj.* numb
dzī; dzong *v.* ride
dzətɛ *n.* leftovers, garbage
dzəku *n.* food steamer

dzə *adv.* only; just
dzə *v.* mince; chop over and over
dzi *adj.* good-looking
dziguŋ'luŋ *n.* vole, a field mouse
dzī'wu *adj.* beautiful *n.* beauty
dzīdzītsei *adj.n:qual* fine-looking
dzɔ *n.* dzo (offspring of a bull and a female yak), yak
dzɔ *n.* money; currency
dzɔjɛn'wu *n.* the rich
dzɔki'wu *n.* the seller
dzɔlu *v.* make a fortune
dzɔmɛ'wu *n.* the poor, those without money
dzɔ'ni *v.* borrow/lend money
dzɔ'niɛŋ'wu *n.* the buyer; the customer
dzɔjɛn'wu *n.* rich people
dzɔ'wu *n.* bucket
dzu *n.* pal, friend
dzunɔdzunɔtsei *n.* friends

dz'
dz'eikue *n.* gourd, melon [Sichuān Chinese *càiguā* 菜瓜]
dz'ɛnɕɛn *n.* tobacco
dz'ɛnɕɛntsɔ *v.* light a cigarette
dz'ɛŋ *n.* rain
dz'ɛŋdɛzɛ *npr.* a drop of rain
dz'ɛŋnɛ *vpr.* take shelter from the rain
dz'ɛŋsisitsei *n.* drizzle
dz'ɛŋwuimezɛ *npr.* rainy seasons
dz'ɛwɛ *n.* upper garment; clothes
dz'ɛwɛdɛjiseitɛ *vpr.* mend one's dress
dz'ɛwɛdɛtɛiɛ *npr.* a suit of clothing
dz'ɛwɛguɛnɛnbei *vpr.* tear each other's clothes
dz'ɛwɛkhuŋɛŋ *n.* case used to hold clothing
dz'ɛwɛkhu'i'wu; dz'ɛwɛg'ui'wu *n.* tailor

dz'ewehesɛŋ *n.* case used to hold clothing

dz'ewepɛtɛ *n.* rags

dz'ewewutɛ *vpr.* take off upper garment

dz'i *v.* fetch

dz'imɛi *n.* girl; daughter; woman

dz'imɛidɛpei *npr.* one girl; one woman; one daughter; only daughter

dz'imɛikhɛŋ *v.* promise to marry one's daughter

dz'imɛijnɛ *npr.* girls; women; daughters

dz'isi; dz'isi *n.* peach

dz'isidɛ'jɛŋ *npr.* a peach

dz'u *n.* vinegar [cf. Chinese Cù 醋]

dz'ɪ *v.* win

dzɿ

dzɛ *adj.* clever, intelligent

dzɛbɔ *n.* cave; nostril; hole; opening

dzɛbu *n.* moss

dzɛdzɛ *n.* Chinese juniper

dzɛmu'wu *pron.* everybody, all

dzɛnku *name.* Lúhuò 炉霍

dzɛpɛ *n.* bare mountain; grassless and treeless mountain

dzɛtɕhi *n.* waterfall

dzɛtɕhidzɛmu *v.* rain pours; rain cats and dogs

dzɛtɕhiɛ *v.* landslide

dzɛi *n.* breakfast

dzɛi *n.* sword

dzɛidzɛi *adj.* well-arranged; in good order

dzɛiɕi *n.* bug

dzɛmɛdɛmɛ *adj.* tasteless

dzɛmindzɛ *adj.* intricate

dzɛmindzɛmɛ *adj.* colourful

dzɛpɛn *n.* button hole

dzɛ̃thəuzɛ̃thəu *n.* insight

dzəu *v.* imprint; leave a print

dzəulu *n.* reason, cause

dzə'wu *n.* button

dzɿ *n.* mill; millstone; shoe; tongue

dzɿ *n.* supper [chǎngmǎ]

dzɿ *v.* succeed; *cop.* be

dzɿ *n.* ten

dzɿ *adj.* spongy

dzɿdɛphɛ *npr.* one shoe

dzɿdɛtsuŋ *npr.* a pair of shoes

dzɿdzɿlɛŋ *v.* lend money for interest

dzɿdzɿtɕhiɛ *v.* ask for payment of debt

dzɿdzɿuɛŋ *v.* see

dzɿdzɿuɛŋkɔ *v.* able to see

dzɿgəu *n.* the large intestine

dzɿkhuŋ *n.* shade

dzɿko *n.* the wood enclosure on a lower millstone

dzɿlɔ *n.* the north side of the mountain

dzɿlumɛ *adj.* unreliable; sloppy; careless

dzɿmu'jɛŋ *n.* dark-flour wheat

dzɿ'ne *n.* dark clouds foreboding rain

dzɿŋpɛi *n.* bad body odour

dzɿpu *n.* bell

dzɿtsɛŋ *n.* fragrance; scent

dzɿtɕetsei *adj.* thin

dzɿtɕei *n.* small shoes

dzɿtɕei *n.* yeast

dzɿtɕi *v.* agree; obey; promise

dzɿtɕie'wu *n.* shoe mender

dzɿtu *n.* (ox, horse, yak) hoof

dzɿ'wutsi *v.* agree

dzɿ'wutsilɛlu *v.* be forced to promise

dzɿzɔ *n.* (valuable things) valuables

dzɿzɿ *n.* coral

dzɔ *v.* scold; criticise

dzɔ *v.* reach

dzɔdzɔpɛi *v.* curse each other; abuse each other

dzɔŋgɛ *v.* reach

dzɔgɔzɔ *n.* spider

dzɔ̃mɛgɛ *vpinfl.* can't reach
dzɔ̃məkɔ *vpinfl.* can't reach
dzɔ̃sudzɔ̃bɔ *v.* curse back and forth
dzɔ̃'wu *n.* necklace
dzɔ̃'jɛ *n.* cattle
dzɔ̃'jɛ ɪ'ɛ'wu *n.* shepherd; people tending cattle
dzɔlu *n.* cause and effect; the ins and outs
dzɔ *n.* dragon (lit.)
dzɔ *adj.* cruel
dzɔ *v.* make mistakes; regret *n.* mistake
dzɔ *num.* six
dzɔ *n.* story, riddle
dzɔɛde *n:qual. adj.* aggressive; outgoing
dzɔɛi *v.* jump; dance
dzɔɛidzɔɛibeɪ *pder.* dance; jump
dzɔɛn *n.* feast; hospitality; kindness
dzɔɛnbu *n.* guest; hospitality; kindness
dzɔɛnbubeɪ *vpr.* stand on ceremony
dzɔɛnbudzien *vpr.* owe debt of gratitude
dzɔɛnbume'jɛɛɛ *vpr.* cannot appreciate kindness, act ungratefully
dzɔɛnbu'jɛɛɛ *vpr.* understand the traditional code of conduct
dzɔɛnbuʃhitʃhi *adj.* (of people) standing on ceremony
dzɔɛnmɛ *vpr.* (used to reply to people's thanks) 'it is my pleasure; you're welcome'
dzɔɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ *vpr.adj.* intelligent; wise
dzɔɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ *vpr.adj.* imprudent; rash
dzɔɛɛɛ *adj.* acceptable; OK; palatable
dzɔɛɛbu *n.* *Arctonyx collaris*
dzɔɛɛ'li *n.* days from December 11th to 13th of a lunar year
dzɔɛɛɛɛɛ *adv.* on the right hand
dzɔɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ *adv.* on the right
n. rightside
dzɔɛɛɛmɔ *n.* village

dzɔbu *n.* June
dzɔ̃dzɔ̃ *adj.* equal *adv.* equally *n.* things of the same quality
dzɔdzɔɛ *num.* six hundred
dzɔdzɔɛ *n.* bitter buckwheat; *F.tataricum(L.)Gaertn*
dzɔɛ *v.* stop
dzɔɛɛ *n.* the third floor of a Guìqióng building with half balcony and half offering place to serve god; upstairs
dzɔɛ *v.* hack
dzɔɛgulu *n.* *Moschus moschiferus*; hillass
dzɔɛi *v.* arrive; reach
dzɔɛi *n.* snake (lit.)
dzɔɛibutɛielhe *n.* all the furniture and utensils
dzɔɛigə *n.* research; consult
dzɔɛikhɛn *n.* room
dzɔɛɛɛɛɛ *n.* famine; disaster
dzɔɛɛɛ *v.* tell stories
dzɔɛɛɛ *n.* sixty
dzɔɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ *num.* sixty-one
dzɔɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ *num.* sixty-two
dzɔɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ *num.* sixty-seven
dzɔɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ *num.* sixty-six
dzɔɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ *num.* sixty-eight
dzɔɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ *num.* sixty-nine
dzɔɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ *num.* sixty-five
dzɔɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ *num.* sixty-three
dzɔɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛɛ *num.* sixty-four
dzɔɛɛɛɛɛku *v.* solve a riddle
dzɔ'wu *n.* the brutal people

dz'
dz'ɛikueɛn *n.* the two sides of the land
dz'ɛikɔ *n.* the tripod leg used to prop up a wok
dz'ɛiɛɛɛ *n.* tail (the lower end) of a field
dz'ɛgɔ *n.* swallow

dz'əgɔɛ'letsei *npr.* unfilial sons or daughters
dz'i *n.* ash
dz'i; **dz'i** *v.* fetch
dz'i *adv.* how much; how many
dz'i *v.* wring dry
dz'imukhele *n.* twin (whom are generally regarded by Guìqióng people as being unfortunate)
dz'inqɔ *adv.* at what time
dz'isi *n.* [Chǎngmǎ] a peach
dz'iciu *v.* go mouldy

dz

dzi *adj.* filled; full
dzi *v.* separate, divide
dzie *v.* get drunk
dzie *v.* press
dzieɔɔietsei *adj.* flat
dziē *n.* arable field, land
dziēɔɔu *v.* till the land
dziēhe'ji *n.* any instrument used to dig land
dziēlibei'wu *n.* peasant; people working in the field
dzieɔɔi *n.* zongzi [cf. Chinese *zòngzi* 粽子]
dziē'wui *v.* weed the land
dziēwuə *n.* within the land
dziētehiə *npr.* a plot of land
dziegegəu *n.* a family name in Chǎngmǎ village
dzien *adj.* convenient; real; important
dzien *v.* need, should, want
dzienne *n.* a flying squirrel
dzientshogəu *name.* a family name in Chǎngmǎ village
dzieŋ *n.* north
dzieŋ *v.* discard
dzieŋbeigəu *num.* a family name in Chǎngmǎ village

dzieŋdzieŋsenpu *n.* willow
dzieŋmeijeŋtsei *adj.* calm; soft; mild
dzieŋnie *n.* the north side or direction
dzieŋtshikheŋ *n.* the direction of water; north
dzieŋjin *name.* Hànyuán 汉源
dzieŋ'mētsei *adj.* very slippery
dzieŋmeijeŋtsei *adj.* unpalatable, soft, mild *adv.* softly; mildly
dzieŋtsho *n.* sea, ocean
dzieŋthuŋ *n.* butter tea barrel
dzieŋzu *adv.* immediately; right away
dziezeŋkhə *name.* Lúding 泸定
dziendz'ie *vpr.* predict one's future; tell one's fortune by gəmə at the birth of a child
dziɔɔibei *v.* infect; be contagious
dziɔɔ *n.* eight
dziɔɔ *v.* slip
dziɔɔ *adj.* slippery
dziɔɔbu *n.* August
dziē; **ndzien** *n.* Hàn Chinese
dziēɔɔɔubei *v.* speak Chinese
dziē'ne *n.* the great plains inhabited by Hàn Chinese
dziē'netshidziɔɔbu *n.* Chinese emperor sitting in bed reigning the entire country
dziɔɔtɔɔi *n.* eighty
dziɔɔtɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ *num.* eighty-one
dziɔɔtɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ *num.* eighty-two
dziɔɔtɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ *num.* eighty-seven
dziɔɔtɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ *num.* eighty-six
dziɔɔtɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ *num.* eighty-eight
dziɔɔtɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ *num.* eight-nine
dziɔɔtɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ *num.* eighty-five
dziɔɔtɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ *num.* eighty-three
dziɔɔtɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ *num.* eighty-four
dziɔɔɔɔɔɔ *num.* eight hundred
dziə *num.* a hundred

- dzio** *n.* chicken (lit.)
dziətsi *num.* about a hundred
dziəłe *num.* more than a hundred
dziəciomu *v.* there is a rainbow
dzilujen *adj.* contagious
dzihedze *n.* *Phasianus colchicus*, long-tailed crowned bird
dzio *v.* look; see
dzio *n.* the sliding weight of a steelyard
dziogə *n.* India
dziogəmə *n.* Hindus
dziogətchydzi**dziobu** *n.* the supreme leader of Buddhism in India
dziogui *n.* vulture
dziokhu *n.* backpack
dziokhuengəu *name.* a family name in Chǎngmǎ village
dziokhujitsu *v.* adjust the backpack
dziokhukhu'wu *n.* porter
dziol'əu *n.* sweet potato
dziol'əuphe *n.* sweet potato flour
dziopu *n.* chieftain
dziopugəu *n.* the clan of the chieftain
dziotəŋ *n.* chicken coop
dziəthə; dziəthə *n.* the top of a kitchen range
dziəwəŋ *n.* Tibetan eared pheasant; crane, Gruidae
dziu *v.* metamorphose
dziubu *n.* sauerkraut
dziubutsei *n.* mung bean
dziuden *num.* seventeen
dziudzi *num.* eleven
dziudzu *num.* sixteen
dziudzie *num.* eighteen
dziugei *num.* nineteen
dziu'mi *n.* glutinous rice
dziu'mudziəkai *n.* Tragopan temminckii
dziuŋi *num.* twelve
dziu'ŋə *num.* fifteen
dziuseŋ *num.* thirteen
dziuwuə *n.* mouse (lit.)
dziuzi *num.* fourteen
dziuzo *n.* the underground floor of a Guiqióng building containing pens for keeping cattle
dzɣ *v.* feel depressed; feel disheartened [cf. Chinese 沮]
- dz'**
dz'i *n.* Chinese characters; books
dz'i *v.* get (food, etc.) burnt; burn to carbon
dz'i *n.* flag [cf. Chinese 旗]
- dz'itsen** *v.* learn from books; read a book; go to school
dz'itsen'jiken *n.* school
dz'ideneŋ *n.* a Chinese character
dz'ithə *npr.* a book
dz'ixi *vpr.* chant words; read a book aloud
dz'ie *v.* consume; drink; smoke
dz'iehu *n.* kettle
dz'ieledzie *v.* get drunk
dz'ien *v.* flow
dz'ienme *n.* living room; home; the ground floor of a Guiqióng building
dz'ienxəŋ *n.* notopterygium root [compare the Chinese loan *Qiānghuó* 羌活]
- dz'ieŋ** *n.* a building; house
dz'ieŋβuzu *n.* cockroach
dz'ieŋdemū; dz'ieŋnemū *n.* daughter-in-law; housewife
dz'ieŋdetsie *npr.* a house
dz'ieŋdziə *n.* janitor; guard
dz'ieŋdziəmekhu *n.* watchdog
dz'ieŋmū *n.* people and families
dz'ieŋŋe'li *adv.* the back of the house
dz'ieŋsuŋ *n.* janitor

dz'ieŋsike *adv.* before the house
dz'ieŋtsei *n.* neighbour
dz'ieŋtseiəu *n.* the neighbouring house
dz'ieŋtchiə *v.* do cleaning at home;
 sweep the floor
dz'ieŋtsei *n.* floor board
dz'ieŋsudz'iebəbei *v.* do chainsmoking
dz'ietsei *n.* drinks
dz'ie *v.* do fortune-telling; divine; count
dz'ilimē *adj.* indistinct
dz'iu *n.* tea (before it is served with
 water)
dz'iu'u *n.* lard
dz'y *v.* walk; occur
dz'yjihəŋ *adj.* (of road) difficult to walk
dz'ydz'ymu *v.* creep, crawl
dz'ymei; dz'yimi *n.* oil lamp; butter lamp

q

qə *adj.* stupid; bad; unfortunate
qətsɬə *n.* idiot
qə̃mu *n.* chump; foolish; awkward;
 slow-witted; blunt
qəŋ *adj.* scarce, sparse, few and far
 between
qə *v.* shake
qə *n.* arrow
qə̃d̃ə̃ *v.* wave
qəu *adj.* lush; exuberant; flourishing
qə'wu *name.* Dàofú 道孚
qə'wumū *npr.* people from Dàofú
qə *name.* Kāngdìng
qəomū *name.* people from Kāngdìng
 康定
qəʋoniə *n.* three days ago

'ε

'ε̃si *n.* urine
'ε̃si *bə vpr.* urinate

ε

ε'letsei *n.* child
ε'letsei bu *vpr.* be pregnant
ε'letsei dəpei *npr.* one child
ε'letsei dzio *vpr.* take care of children
ε'letsei nəŋ *vpr.* give birth to a child
ε'letsei niə *npr.* some children
ε'letsei niə dətəchiə *npr.* a group of
 children
ε'letsei bəməpei *npr.* second son
ε'letsei də'wupəi *npr.* the elder child
ε'letsei'wudəpei *npr.* a childish/childlike
 man
ε'like *adv.* everywhere
ε'linie *pron.* which direction; where
ε'lipəi *pron.* which person
ε'litse *pron.* which storey
ε'li'wu *adv.* how
ε'li'wubəbei *adv.* by all means
ε'liwuəjə *pron.* when
ε'lu *adv.* however
ε'mə'metsei *n.* walnut bloom
ε'nien'nien *n.* cicada

'ə

'əgə *n.kin.* elder sister
'ələ *adv.* where
'ələdzidzi *adv.* wherever; everywhere
'əsogəu *n.* a family name in Chǎngmǎ
 village
'ətsəŋ *n.* beard
'ətsəŋg'uəi *v.* shave
'ətəiə *n.kin.* elder brother
'ətəiəgəu *name.* a family name in
 Chǎngmǎ village

ə

-ə of -wuələ ~ -ələ ~-ləwuə ~ -wuə ~ -ə
 dative marker

ə'lū *n.* loop of a cow rope
 -əmu- the speculative mood marker
 ə'məgəu *name.* a family name in
 Chǎngmǎ village
 əʂui *n.* cleft lip

g

gə; ɲə *n.* foot
 gə *v.* feel tired
 gədəle *adj.* hard; solid
 gədzuei'wu *v.* stamp one's feet; stomp
 gəipu; gəpu *n.* old man
 gəi'mu; gəmu *n.* old woman
 gəi *v.* saw
 gəjiseɲdi *vpinfl.* have a rest
 gəlhe *adv.* altogether, quite; much *adj.*
 many, much
 gəlhedzi; gəlhedzi *v.* thank
 gəlheləɲ *vpr.* wait a long time
 gə'li *n.* crow
 gə'litseitsei *n.* little crow
 gə'ligugusi *n.* a toxic red berry
 gə'limintshə *n.* sunset glow; sunset
 clouds
 gəlɯntsei *n.* whistle
 gən'jəntsei *n.* wheat plant with long
 pointed awn
 genseɲ *n.* old people
 gəɲ *conj.* when; how
 gəɲgəɲ *adj.* horizontal thwartwise
 gəɲgəɲkhutseiju *v.* lie on the side
 gəɲməgəu *name.* a family name in
 Chǎngmǎ village
 gəɲ'mu *n.* coffin
 gəɲtsei *name.* Gānzī 甘孜
 gəɲtsubei *v.* start working
 gəɲtʂi *pron.* all; every
 gəɲtʂi'wu *n. pron.* all, everybody
 gəse *n.* magpie

gəsetseitsei *n.* little magpie
 gəseɲ *v.* rest
 gə *adj.* good
 gəibu *n.* September
 gə *v.* the root of 'go' in preterite forms
 gədzie *n.* road side
 gəgetsei *adv.* in a good manner; carefully
 gəidziə *num.* nine hundred
 gəigeitshəi *v.* butt
 gəigo *n.* bend; turn
 gəigu *n.* butler
 gəiken *n.* teacher
 gəi'jəɲ *adj.* diligent
 gəi'litseiphə'wu *v.* tickle
 gəithe *n.* spiral marrow
 gəitshə *n.* messenger, emissary; an envoy
 gəitʂi *num.* ninety
 gəitʂizədzi *num.* ninety-one
 gəitʂizenəi *num.* ninety-two
 gəitʂizəden *num.* ninety-seven
 gəitʂizədzu *num.* ninety-six
 gəitʂizədzie *num.* ninety-eight
 gəitʂizəgei *num.* ninety-nine
 gəitʂizə'ɲə *num.* ninety-five
 gəitʂizəsəɲ *num.* ninety-three
 gəitʂizəzɿ *num.* ninety-four
 gəiteiəlhə *adj.* bare
 gəizu *n.* spine
 gəti *n.* middle of the road
 gə'wu *n.* nice things; nice people
 gəməhə *adv.* terribly
 gə *adj.* quantitatively enough;
 gə *v.* trim, cut
 gə *v.* pick up food with chopsticks
 gəbə *adv.* past; previously
 gəduɲ *n.* Tibetan alpine horns
 resembling the Alphorn
 gədzɿphəɲ'wəɲ *n.* bat
 gədzueɲ *n.* plough rope

- gəgətsʰei** *v.* push and squeeze
gə'luŋtsei *n.* flute
gəmə *n.* shaman, priest, Guìqióng
 Gōngba 公吧
gəməməndzɹu *n.* planets of the earth
 visible in the morning
gəny; **ŋəny** *n.* any of the four small toes
gənydɛ'wu'ny *npr.* big toe
gəpɛi *n.* sorghum
gəpɛiphɛ *n.* sorghum flour
gəpɛitɕhiɛ'mu *n.* broom made of
 sorghum straw
gəphi; **ŋəphi** *n.* sole, under-surface of
 the foot
gəciɛn *n.* toenail
gətɛi *n.* temperament
gətɛidɛ *adj.* bad-tempered
gətu *n.* scissors
gəzə *n.* blacksmith
-gəu; **-gu** the illative case marker
gəujɛtsei *n.* quietly
gəutsi *n.* cliff
gəutsi *n.* brine; bittern
gəutsipɛ *n.* dandelion **ŋədziə** *n.* instep
gəciɛn; **ŋəciɛn** *n.* toenail
gəzɔ *n.* bend; turn
gəzɔku *v.* bend
gəsulə *adv.* just a bit, slight
gi *n.* buckwheat; *Fagopyrum esculentum*
gibətɕhiɛ *n.* disaster
gib'ɔl *n.* buckwheat bread
gidɛ *n.* big wooden fork
gidzɛŋb'ɔl *n.* buckwheat bread
gigiju *v.* lie on one's back
gigɔ *n.* bend
gipɛ *n.* buckwheat flour
giu *n.* nine
giudɛn *n.* the seventeenth day of a
 month
giudzɹu *num.* the sixteenth day of a
 month
giudziɛ *num.* the eighteenth day of a
 month
giugei *num.* the nineteenth day of a
 month
go *v.* eat
gole'mɛitɕhiphɔ *vpr.* eat too much
gome'pɹɛŋ *vpr.* don't know how to eat
gome'pɹy *vpr.* dare not eat
goməgə *vpr.adj.* not enough to eat
gotsei *n.* foodstuff; snack
gɔ *v.* cry
gɔdzɹu *n.* very bad person, wicked man
gɔdzɹudzɹu *n.* extremely bad person
gɔli; **gɔzɛi** *n.* garden; yard; land around
 the house
gɔtsei *adv.* about the time
gu *v.* understand
gu *v.* melt; thaw
gu *v.* wither
gu *n.* blue veins
gu *n.* a Tibetan door
guɛi *v.* (obsolete) open the door
gudziɔ *v.* (obsolete) close the door
guɛn *v.* pull
guɛnpɛ *n.* ridge
guɛntə *n.* winter
guɛndzɹɛŋ *n.* persimmon
guɛnkhu *n.* cold season; winter
guɛnpie *n.* a small cicada
guɛsɛ; **gɛsɛ** *n.* magpie
guɛnsi *n.* dew
guɛntɕɛtsei *adj.* clear
gudzɛŋlite *n.* a complete suite of dress
 including upper garments, trousers,
 under garments and headwear
gudzubei *v.* make a great effort to do
 something; try all out to do

gudzui *adj.* complete
gudz'y *n.* wife
gugusi *n.* strawberry
guhε *n.* thin slice of wood; slice
guhεdz'ieŋ *n.* buildings covered with thin slices of wood
gui *adj.* happy; cunning
gui *num.* seven
guituŋ *n.* major bone
guidzueŋ *num.* the ninth day of a month
guidz'i; gudz'y; guig'i *n.* wife
guigo *n.* back
guigoʔen *v.* lean against
guigoʔuten *v.* rest on one's back
gui'li *num.* seven months
guiluhεŋheŋbei *v.* delight
guipe *num.* nine Yuán (Chinese currency)
guizuŋ *name.* the name of a mountain peak and its God in the Guiqióng area
gükhen *n.* leather smith
gukienβuzu *n.* silkworm
gulubei; guzubei *v.* play; have fun; idle away
gulubei'wu *v.* play; idle away *n.* playing; idler
gulubei'ji *n.* toy
gulunthen *adj.* sagacious, competent
guluŋ *n.* collar, corner of clothes, ends of clothes
gunyjen *adj.* (of infant) having learnt to distinguish one taste from another
guzubei *v.* play jokes
guzuceie *v.* joke
guthεŋdzioʔu *n.* (Formal) Guiqióng chieftain
gutsεŋlite *n.* a whole set of clothing *adj.* complete; comprehensive
gutshi *n.* bald hairless head

gutcie *n.* the town of Güzǎn
gutcieŋtʂiʃpe *n.* silken costume, splendid attire; rich dress
gutchieŋ *n.* Guiqióng
gutchieŋdzioʔu *n.* Guiqióng chieftain
gutchieŋke *n.* the Guiqióng language
gutchieŋmetchieŋluŋ *n.* Guiqióng customs and rules
gutʂhi *n.* the watchdog
gutʂubei *v.* endeavour

g'

g'eme *n.* charcoal
g'emεpeŋ *v.* coal; char; make charcoal
g'εiphεsi *n.* grape
g'εłheŋko *n.* moth
g'i *n.* highland barley; hull-less barley
g'ide'jeŋ *n.* a gain of barley
g'ib'ɔɔ *n.* barley bread
g'inige *n.* black barley
g'iphε *n.* barley flour
g'isɔ'mε *n.* white barley
g'iu *v.* break; snap
g'ɔpu *n.* mortar
g'uei *v.* shave, remove the hair
g'uendzıtsei *adj.* thin; slim
g'uendzıg'uendzıtsei *adj.* very thin
g'u *adv. pos.* above; overhead
g'ua *v.* loosen
g'uni *adv.* from above
g'uŋluŋ *n.* walnut
g'uŋluŋdε *v.* remove the walnut from the tree
g'uŋluŋ'en'entsei *n.* small premature walnut
g'utsə *n.* chilli pepper
g'utseiphεphetsei *n.* common cold
g'utseiphεphetseitechimu *vpr.* catch a cold

h

he *v.* dig

he'li me nyey *v.* don't feel shameful *adj.*
shameless

hemetsei *adv.* slowly

hemehemetsei *adv.* very slowly

hen *n.* Qián 钱, a measurement unit of
weight smaller than Liǎng 两, 10 Qián
make a Liǎng 两.

heŋko *n.* nest

heŋni *adv.* yonder

heŋsi *adv.* still

hə *v.* rub

he *v.* come

hezimēsəŋ *vpr.* break off relations

he'we *pder.* Come here!

həŋni; heŋni *adv.* yonder; yon [distal
demonstrative]

həŋninie *adv.* yonder

hu *adj.* mutually intelligible

huŋtshu *n.* countryside, village

huopaotsei *n.* firecracker [cf. Chinese
Huǒpàozi 火炮子]

i

'ine *pron.* other people; others

'inzugəu *name.* a family name in
Chǎngmǎ village

i

inphe *n.* tsampa

'j

'je *n.* jak; wild ox

'jen *n.* neck

'jenguen *n.* loop around the neck of
draught animals

'jeŋ *n.* wheat

'jeŋb'ɔɔ *npr.* wheat flour bread

'jeŋde'jeŋ *npr.* a grain of wheat

'jeŋdziŋkhu *adj.* full of life

'jeŋ'jeŋ *n.* grains

'jeŋke *v.* reap the wheat

'jeŋniēkɔ *n.* blighted wheat

'jeŋphe *n.* wheat flour

'jeŋpheb'ɔɔ *npr.* wheat flour bread

'jeŋciɛn *n.* awn-less wheat

'jeŋsi *n.* a red edible berry

'jeŋzeŋb'ɔɔ *n.* wheat flour bread

jeŋzuj *n.* the name of a mountain peak
and its God located between Bǎoxìng
宝兴, Jīntāng 金汤 and èrlángshān
二郎山 Mountain

'je *n.* eight

'jedzueŋ *n.* the eighth day of a month

'je'li *num.* eight months

'jepɛ *num.* eight Yuán (Chinese
Currency)

'jə *n.* tent, camp

'ji *n.* emerald

'ji the oblique nominaliser

'ji'ji *adv.* in the future; later

'ji'ji'li *adv.* next month

'jinχin *adj.* n. red

'jũ *v.* ooze

'jukhu *n.* warm and hot season; spring

'jukhumemintɔ *npr.* spring flowers

'jutə *n.* spring

j

je *v.* wash

je *adj.* (of objects not round) thick

jedz'y *n.* husband

-jegi *conj.* if

jejebei *v.* bathe

jekɪ *n.* parrot

je'men *n.* Yamen; government office
in feudal China [cf. Chinese *Yámen*
衙门]

jeŋ *adj.* light

- jɛŋmu** *v.* feel light
jɛŋtʂɛitsei *adj.* light[weight]
jekuendodo *adj.* very heavy
jɛn *v.* exist (said of inanimate beings)
jɛnbu *name.* Istanbul
jɛn'meiteiɛŋ *adv.* suddenly
jɛnmubei'wu *v.* dillydally; loaf on the job, dawdle over one's work
jɛŋdɛ *n.* host; hostess
jɛŋdzɛŋ *n.* the god of Màibēng mountain; the summit of Màibēng mountain
jɛŋkiphɔ *n.* dried turnip in slices for sale
jɛŋy *n.* potato [cf. Chinese *Yángyù* 洋芋]
jɛtʂimejigəku *v.* clip something in the armpit
jɛtʂu *name.* Yǎ'ān 雅安
jɛxui *n.* molar
ji *v.* to go
ji *adj.* thirsty
ji- directional morpheme denoting an inward direction
jibeɪ *n.* rabbit (lit.)
jibeigeŋ *vpr. adv.* at the beginning
jibu *pder.* bring it on the back
jigəku *pder.* adjust to make it look better
jigzɔ *pder.* bend down
jiguen *pder.* take it here; pull towards oneself
jiguenwūxī *n.* slovenly person *adj.* slovenly
jihe *pder.* come in
jiju *pder.* slant, tilt, tip
jijuen *n.* hospital [cf. Chinese *Yīyuàn* 医院]
jikə *adv.* there
jiki *dem.* that
jikigeŋtɛiɛŋ *adv.* then, at that time
jikiphə *pron.* that thing; such matter
jiki'wu *adv.* like that *pron.* people or objects like that
jiki'wumesutɛhiu *n.* places like that
jiku *adv.* so; *pron.* such
jīkuen *v.* weigh
jikhywukhybei'wu *n.* people bustling about
jiluhəlu *n.* cause; source
jilumɛtɛi *pder.* can't go
jiməku *v.* don't allow to go
ji'mije'mɛ *adv.* fleetingly
jimu *v.* feel heavy
jine *pder.* Go there!
ji'niwu'nibei *v.* borrow back and forth
ji'ni *v.* borrow
jipe *v.* conceal; hide up
jīphe; inb'ɛ *n.* tsampa 糌粑; roasted barley flour
jīsiŋi *v.* tie up
jiteŋku *v.* strengthen; fasten
jitʂhe<mɛ>gi *v.* don't want to go
jithuŋwuthuŋ *n.* crossing; traffic hub
jizugeŋwutshugeŋ *adv.* from beginning till end
jo *pcl.*
jo *v.* stand
jo *v.* twisting threads into rope
jobu *n.* cook
joɸunie *n.* the right side of the fireplace when one faces the family shrine
joɸhə *n.* part of a plough
joɸə *n.* autumn
joɸshə'wu *n.* pitfall *v.* set a pitfall
jo *adj.* warm
ju *v.* tilt, slant; lie down; sleep
ju *clfr.* for cloth
jīdeigidi *v.* have a think
jīky; jītey *v.* come in; enter
jīdigi *v.* think of
jīdigi'wuwucie *v.* speak out one's mind

jilulu *v.* wind; bind up; apply dressing;
roll

jixuyxuydi *v.* smell

k

kə *v.* reap; pluck; pick; remove from;
gather in the crops

-**kən** the lative case marker

kənkəntəu *n.* kidney beans [cf. Chinese
Gāngāndòu 杆杆豆]

kəntsipəpəmədəkə'wu *n.* the colour of
orange

kəŋ *n.* steel

kəŋpəi *n.* fire-tongs

ki *v.* sell

ki *v.* open

kitshukə *v.* sold out; sell up

ki'wu *n.* seller; goods; *v.* sell

kə'igəu *n.* a family name in Chǎngmǎ
village

kələn *v.* bruise by squeezing

kətʂhi *n.* law; rules

khətʂhinətʂhi *adj.* making one's mouth
water; drooling

kəutijə *n.* Matrimony vine [cf. Chinese
gǒuqǐzi 枸杞子]

kə *mod.* ought to

kə *v.* hang up

kəiməŋgəu *name.* a family name in
Chǎngmǎ village

kəizikueŋzəŋ *n.* swan

kəkə; kiki *n.* elder brother [cf. Chinese
gēgē 哥哥]

kəkəpuzə *n.* brothers

kəkəŋiəŋiə *adj.* dirty

kənken'məzi *n.* roots; details

kətəhiə *n.* language; dialect

kətəhiəməhu *vpr.* (of languages) not
mutually intelligible.

kə *n.* hand

kodē *v.* clap one's hands

kodəphə'wu *n.* the whole hand

kəŋe'li *n.* back of the hand

kəŋiphənəŋjijue *v.* hold with two hands

kə'ny *n.* digit; finger

kə'nyde'wu'ny *n.* thumb

kə'nyneŋjitəŋku *v.* clench one's fist

kə'nywəŋ'jəntsei *n.* the tip of the fingers

kəʂike *n.* palm

kəthupə *v.* raise hands

kəwuhəhə *v.* rub one's hands

kəwutse *v.* reach one's hand

kəxəxəbei *v.* shake hands

kə *telic Aktionsart* auxiliary

kə *adj.* able; fierce; powerful; *v.* win

kə'ji *n.* flail

kə'mən *n.* fine-dried noodles; ready-
made noodles [cf. Chinese *Guàmiàn*
挂面]

kətsəmətsə *adj.* wrinkled

kə'wu *n.* bad people; domineering
people

kuicien *n.* finger nail

-**ku** causative marker; make, let, allow

kuə *n.* thigh

kuə'jə *n.* a lame person *adj.* lame,
crippled

kuən *v.* weigh *n.* scale; steelyard

kuən *v.* be responsible for; take charge
of, take care of, supply for [cf. Chinese
guǎn 管]

kuən *n. cfr.* jīn [cf. Chinese *jīn* 斤]

kuenniē *n.* gradations marked on the
beam of a steelyard

kuənphe *n.* half jīn

kuənməgə *adj.* (of entity) insufficient
in weight; (of purchaser) given short
weight

kuentə *n.* season
kuentsi *n.* dove
kuete *n.* knot [cf. Chinese *gēda* 疙瘩]
kuku *n.* cuckoo
ku'lu'lutsei *adj.* round
kuŋ *v.* fold
kusubei *v.* flatter

kh

khə *clfr.* for rivers
khətətə *v.* trim; prune away
khən; g'ən *v.* increase
khənmu; khəŋβu; khənbu *n.* mighty person; the most learned; the supreme leader of Buddhism; a living Buddha
khəntəiŋ *n.* ethos
khəpə *n.* mouth
khəpənientsile *v.* cut the cackle
khəpə *n.* arm [cf. Chinese *Gēbó* 胳膊]
khəŋ *v.* give
khəŋlu *n.* gift
khəŋtsidziə'wu *v.* go to court
khəu *v.* sit exams [cf. Chinese *kǎo* 考]
khə'wu *n.* thing; object
khə'wuyəu *npr.* shape
khə *v.* roast; bake
khə *n.* needle
khədi'wu *n.* acupuncturist *v.* do acupuncture
khəcidziə *v.* wash one's face and rinse the mouth; clean up
khəcilhəci *n.* pilfering, appropriating such things as come within one's reach, as one goes about one's way
khəputʂə *n.* elbow [cf. Chinese *gēbózhǒu* 胳膊肘]
khəputʂəŋətəhiuŋ *v.* strike with elbow
khəkhə *v.* collect

khəkhə *n.* lid; cover
khəkhəwuhə *v.* open the lid
khələ *n.* moth, butterfly
khəpəi *n.* proverbs; sayings
khəpu *n.* wooden bowl
khəʂi *n.* needle and thread
khi *adj.* bitter; salty
khi *n.* sack, bag
khi *v.* develop
khi *v.* face; confront
khie *n.* city; town; open market
khiebei *v.* kowtow
khiekhieku *v.* bustle about
khiehlə *n.* streets; public place
khieʂə *n.* street; open market
khiməwūpu *n.* the opening of the bag
khimu *v.* taste bitter
khimu *n.* kidney
khītseitʂhi *adj.* showy
kho *n.* nature; heart
khogə *adj.* kind-hearted; patient
kho'wu *v.* splash
khə *n.* bowl
khə *n.* six
khə *n.* ten thousand
khəbu *n.* figure and build of a person
khəbu'ən'əntsei *n.* a person of small height; dwarf
khəbudə *adj.* tall
khəbudə'wu *n.* tall people
khəbuni *adj.* short
khəbuni'wu *npr.* short people
khədzueŋ *num.* the sixth day of a month
khəkhə *n.* concave, hollow, cave, pit, hole
khəkhə *n.* cocoon; peel of groundnut
khəkhəzi *n.* a crack in the bowl
khə'li *npr.* six months
khələ *n.* face-washing basin
khəŋiə *n.* six o'clock

- khəpə** *npr.* six Yuán (Chinese currency)
khəpu *n.* mortar
khəseŋ *npr.* burning wood made up of
 dry branches and twigs
khəsolətsei *adj.* crisp
khu *n.* dog
khu *v.* steam
khue *adj.* sweet
khuei *v.* press; urge; hasten
khuelhewen *n.* diablo
khuen *v.* make fire; burn wood
khueŋ *adj.* cold
khueŋzi'ne *name.* a white-stone
 mountain peak and its God in Kōngyù
khue'wu *n.* sweet food *v.* taste sweet
khui *v.* sew
khumei *n.* half a penny; the least
 amount of money
khuitšhe *v.* stir; mix
khukhu *adj.* other *pron.* others
khukhupēi *pron.* other people
khu'lu *n.* part of a plough
khu'lutsei *n.* whipping top
khu'ŋi *n.* bitch
khupi *n.* male dog
khuseŋ *n.* chest or case used to hold
 clothing or grains
khutsei *n.* dog
khutsigəu *adv.* above
khuteieŋ *n.* a dog
khu'wu *n.* snow
khu'wudemigule *v.* the snow melted
khu'wokhuei *v.* marry; set up a family
khu'wokhueilemeneŋ *adj.* unmarried
khu'wugəuzienziēbei'wu *v.* ski
khu'wugəu'mətshei'wu *v.* have a
 snowball fight
khu'wukhətənbei *v.* snow the whole
 day on
khu'wuneybey *n.* frostbite
khuŋi *n.* jute
khycə *v.* close
khyme'wu *n.* silly; thoughtless; innocent;
 young and ignorant
khysukhybəbei *v.* cough again and
 again
 1
'ləŋ *n.* ox (lit.)
'ləŋpu *n.* steam
'ləŋzən *n.* bull kept for covering
'lēχəŋ *adj.* steep *n.* cliff
'ləji' wupie *n.* the elderly people
'lə'liŋkhumu *adj.* afraid of height; dizzy
'lədzəŋphu *adj.* highly intelligent; with
 green fingers
'lətsəŋbei'wu *v.* do serious prayers
'li *n. cfr.* for the number of month
'lipu *n.* traveler
'lipukhueŋ *n.* hotel inn
'liŋ *adj.* wear-resisting
'liŋlühəŋ *adj.* strong; wear-resisting
'lizeikə *v.* (of parents) able to marry one's
 daughter
'lo *v.* sing, chant
'lomu *n.* lama
'lo'wu *n.* wild goat; argali
'lotsuen *n.* strategy
'lotsuenjen *adj.* quick-witted
'lə *v.* round up; wind
'lə'lə *v.* wrap; round up; wind
'ləmutchi *n.* elephant
'ləŋthə *n.* wild wind; fierce gale
 1
lə *v.* slash; chop
lə *v.* escape; flee; run
lə pcl.
lēhəŋ *adj.* steep, precipitous
ləitsi *n.* leper [cf. Chinese *Làizi* 癩子]

- leitsisuemu** *v.* brazen out; act shamelessly
- lētshihəŋ** *adj.* precipitous
- letsʰo** *n.* wrist, palm
- letsɕ** *n.* bracelet
- len** *v.* rot
- lenbeidzien** *v.* avenge
- lenkhəŋ** *n.* questions and answer
- ləŋ** *v.* wait
- ləŋ** *adj.* wide
- ləŋdenχi'wu** *v.* go on an errand; travel on official business
- lɛto** *n.* artisan; craftsman
- lɛ** *n.* fate; destiny
- lə** the perfective aspect marker
- ləjen** static perfective marker
- ləneŋ** dynamic perfective marker
- ləde** *adj.* fortunate; with exceptional good luck in life and social status
- ləde** *adj.* unfortunate; unlucky
- ləge** *adj.* fortunate, lucky
- ləi'məŋ** *n.* moon
- ləisi** *n.* apple; Chinese pear-leaved crab apple
- ləisimintɔ** *n.* crab apple flower
- ləiʂu** *name.* the village of Lèshù 勒树
- ləiʂumũ** *name.* people from the village of Lèshù 勒树
- ləiɦu** *adj.* easy
- lə'ŋejisui** *vpr.* fence up
- ləsĩ'nĩ'wu** *npr.* young man or woman
- ləsĩ'nĩgeŋ** *npr. adv.* when one was younger
- lədzi** *conj.* indeed; only
- lə** *conj.* and; if
- lə** *v.* singe; scorch
- ləji** *adj.* old
- ləji'wu** *n.* old people
- ləku** *v.* burn
- ləli** *conj.* if
- ləmutsei** *n.* Minyakonka
- ləwuə** dative case marker
- li** *n.* bell-metal
- li** *n.* work
- li** the second person plural inclusive imperative marker
- libu** *n.* build; health; body
- libudətəhyntsei** *adj.* (of clothing) fit
- libujitəŋmɛ** *adj.* (of clothing) close-fitting; skin-tight
- libuŋɛ** *v.* menstruate
- libumɛdzien** *v.* be under the weather
- ligə** *n.* work; labour
- ligəlu** *v.* stir up trouble
- liki; lɛiki** *n.* soybean curd; tofu [Ancient Sichuan Chinese *Líqí* 黎祁]
- lin** *n.* a red edible mushroom growing on spruce
- linkhin** *n.* pear
- liŋuen'wu** *n.* toast song
- lisei** *n.* spring festival; December
- liseibei** *vpr.* celebrate the Spring Festival
- licien** *n.* crop expertise
- lithəŋ** *n.* Litáng 理塘
- lithɔ** *n.* crop
- lithɔŋjien** *vpr.* the crop harvest decrease
- lithɔtshəgeŋ** *npr.* the sowing season
- lithɔtshɔ'wu** *npr.* crop-grower, farmer
- litei** *n.* duty, tax
- lɔ** *v.* collapse; fall
- lɔ** the prospective aspect marker
- lɔkɛn** *n.* peer
- lɔlɔ** *adj.* round
- lɔlɔkue** *n.* round gourd
- lɔlɔmũ** *name.* a Yi person
- lɔlɔmũke** *name.* the Yi language
- lɔlɔmũkətəhie** *name.* the Yi language
- lɔlɔpɛimekətəhie** *name.* Yi language
- lɔlɔtsei** *adj.* round

lɔʂei *n.* basket sieve [cf. Chinese *Luóshāi*
箩筛]

lo *n.* age

lo *n.* goat (lit.)

lobe *adj.* advanced in age; old

lodɐ *adj.* old (said of age)

lodziə *npr.* a hundred years

lōkhutciuni *n.* zodiac animal sign

lo'mindz'ie *vpr.* predict if two people are
good match in marriage according to
their birth dates by gəmə

loni *adj.* young; younger

loŋidziə *n.* two hundred years

losi; losei *n.* the end of a year

lotshɔ *n.* the beginning of a year

lotuŋtshudziɛŋ *npr.* a thousand years

lo'wu *n.* lung

luhɛŋ *adv.* exceedingly

lu *v.* accustom

lu *v.* search for; look for

-**lu** the circumstantial suffix

lulubei'wu *v.* play the seeking in
hide-and-peek

lumɛsɛŋ *adv.* at the end of one's rope;
when there is no other choice

lū'mindzī *n.* cross talks in public places

lū'mindzīpe *v.* tell stories to many
people [cf. Chinese *Bǎilóngménzhèn*
摆龙门阵]

luŋpu *n.* dell, valley

luŋtə *n.* branch

lusumɛ *adj.* confused

luʂulubɔ *v.* look about for

-**lutei** potential mood marker

lh

lhe *v.* lick

lhě *adj.* lazy

lhěkhu *n.* Gig prayer wheels

lhě'wū *n.* lazy people

lheki *n.* beast hide raincoat

lhekhū *n.* prayer wheel

lhelhesi *n.* lard obtained from the soft
caul fat

lhey *n.* *clfr.* Liǎng 两; an ancient Chinese
measurement units of weight,¹⁶ Liǎng
make a Jīn 斤

lhey *n.* Jiǎ Líng 甲铃; a wind instrument

lhezəu *n.* bacon [cf. Chinese *Làròu* 腊肉]

lhesui *n.* whistle

lhitsei *n.* plum; fruit of *Prunus*

lhi'wu *n.* (mileage)

lhi'wusiteie *npr.* ten Chinese *li* 里; about
five kilometres

lhudzi *n.* musk

lhuotsi *n.* donkey; mule [cf. Chinese
Luózi 骡子]

ɬ

ɬe *num.* odd

ɬɛɬe *v.* wag

ɬɛŋ *v.* lay across; lay between two objects

ɬɛpe *n.* buffalo

ɬə *n.* god

ɬədetɛhyo *n.* an idol statue

ɬəkhueŋ *n.* temple

ɬə'mu *n.* fairy

ɬəsə *n.* Lhasa

ɬəciɛn *n.* white pepper

ɬəzɔŋ *n.* school; study

ɬəɬotsei *adj.* loose *adv.* loosely

ɬəpɛn *n.* teacher

'm

'me *n.* war; battle

'mei *n.* bamboo

'meiχɔ *n.* bamboo strips

'meizi *n.* bamboo shoots

'mekɔ *v.* win a battle

'meleməkɔ *v.* lose a battle

'**memi** *n.* army, soldier
 'memibeɪ *v.* join the army
 'memimepē *n.* commissioned army officer
 'menu *n.* horn, trumpet
 'menumintɔ *n.* morning glory; trumpet flower
 'memesi; memesi *v.* don't know
 'memesimemū *npr.* stranger
 'mej *n.* corpse
 'mejko *n.* bladder
 'mej'muheŋtsei *n.* brothers and sisters
 'mesi *v.* know
 'metshei *v.* fight in the battle
 'mejteiubei *v.* despair
 'meu *n.* hat [cf. Chinese *mào* 帽]
 'mu *adj.* low; short
 'mudzɪtsei *adj.* very short
 'me'le *adv.* now
 'me'letsikien *adv.* just now
 'me *adv.* still
 'me *n.* medicine
 'mēbeɪ'wu *n.* physician *v.* become a doctor
 'mēbu *n.* doctor
 'medegu *v.* inject
 'medzi'e *v.* drink medicine
 'mego *v.* eat medicine
 'mēhen *n.* rice steamed with corn flour
 'mei *adj.* many; much; well-cooked; ready to serve
 'mei; 'min *adj.* well-cooked; ready to serve; ripe
 'meitshu *v.* accumulate
 'mei'wu *adj.* many; much *pron.* multitudinous people or objects
 'mēvezē *n.* medicinal liquor; medicinal wine
 'mēkheŋ'wu *n.* medicine-giver; physician
 'mēkhuēŋ *n.* hospital

'memidegu *v.* give or have an injection
 'memisi *v.* make topical application of drug
 'meʂe *v.* boil medicine
 'metɔ *adj.* just now
 'məzi *n.* hairs on the roots
 'məsəmə'lɔ *adj.* bleeding, sanguinary
 'miŋthəu *n.* fame
 'miŋthudzienʂe *adj.* well-known; very famous
 'miŋthu jən; 'miŋthəujən *vpr.* become famous
 'miŋthutchi *v.* become well-known
 'miŋtshɔ *n.* name

m

me- negative prefix
 medzədʒe *adj.* stupid; unwise
 mēdzueŋ *adj.* not good to eat; bad
 medzueŋ'wu *n.* shortcomings; wrong doings
 meko'wu *n.* the weak, the bullied
 melhi *n.* wooden ladle
 mēleŋ *adj.* incomplete
 mendzɪdzɪni *adj.* proud, haughty
 meŋ³⁵ *n.* jar; earthenware
 meŋ *n.* the alternation of day and night; weather
 meŋ; məŋ *v.* dream
 meŋ *num.* a hundred thousand
 meŋheŋ *adj.* (of weather) bad
 meŋlə *n.* lightning
 meŋlə'wu *n.* lightning
 meŋ'nigəu *name.* a family name in Chāngmǎ village
 meŋgeitsei; meŋpitsei *n.* evening time *adv.* at dusk, in the evening
 meŋpikhətchə *n.* planet Venus in the evening
 meŋpile *adj.* late in the evening; at night

- mɛŋŋi'wɛtsɬei** *adv.* in the evening
mɛŋ'ŋɛ *adv.* last year
mɛŋpɛ *n.* shank; calf
mɛŋɬɛ'wu *n.* thunder
mɛŋsɛŋkhətɬə *n.* planet Venus in the morning
mɛŋsɛŋsɛŋ *adv.* all through the night; round the clock
mɛŋsu *v.* suffer from drought
mɛtsi *n.* pockmark, pockmarked face [cf. Chinese *Mázi* 麻子]
mɛŋtshɛn *adv.* whatsoever; at all
mɛŋtsei *n.* little jug; small earthenware
mɛŋtseitɛiɛ *num.* a hundred thousand
mɛŋtɬɬɛtsei *n.* ring
mɛtɬiɛŋ *adj.* blunt; not sharp
mɛ'wɛŋ *adj.* (of kernels) hollow
mɛχɛ *n.* cotton [cf. Chinese *miánhuā* 棉花]
mɛχɛtɬɬɛ *n.* cotton coat
mɛχɛŋ *n.* leech [cf. Chinese *mǎhuáng* 蚂蟥]
mɛ genitive case marker
mɛ̃ *v.* negative existential verb
mɛbu; mɛibu *name.* the village of Mài bēng 麦崩
mɛdzɪ'wumɛligə *n.* inappropriate things
mɛi; mɛn *n.* door
mɛi *n.* coal [cf. Chinese *Méi* 煤]
mɛijo *n.* kerosene [cf. Chinese *Méiyóu* 煤油]
mɛimeɪ *n.* younger sister
mɛiphu *n.* salary
mɛiphukhɛn *v.* raise the salary
mɛitɬiə *adv.* at the doorway; in front of the house
mɛtsɬɛ *conj.* not only; more than
mɛizətɛiɛŋ *n.* the whole lifetime
mɛizɪmuzu *adj.* unclear
mɛlɛŋ *n.* curse
mɛnwukhyə/tɬhə *vpr.* close the door
mɛ'mɛi *adj.* not many, not much
mɛ̃nɛŋgəu *name.* a family name in Chángmǎ village
mɛ̃sɛŋ *v.* pass away
mɛ̃'wu *n.* those who have little, the poor
mɛzɪsu'wu *v.* pretend not to be
mə the exhortative particle
mə- negative prefix
mədzɪə *n.* peacock
məgə *adj.* insufficient
məji *n.* sweater
məji *n. adj.* purple
mə'nɛ; mɛ'nɛ *n.* vegetable oil
mə'nɛtɛiɛ *v.* extract oil; refine oil
mə'nɪ'lo *v.* patter; recite the scriptures said to be imported from India
mə'nɪtɬiɛŋ *n.* folk dances said to be imported from India
mə'nɪtɬiɛŋ'wu *v.* do singing and dancing
məpu *n.* dark brown and blue
məʒsɛŋ *pder.* there is no time for; there's not enough time for; it is late for sth.
mətɬitɬi *adj.* scarlet
mi *n.* butter
mi- directional morpheme denoting a downward action
mɪdzɪɛ *pder.* slip down
migogo *v.* chew
migogomidzɪku *v.* chew into fine particles
miguɪ *n.* ape
miɬɛ *v.* come downward
miju *v.* lie down
mikɛ *pder.* take down; pull down
mikɛ *v.* drop

mikotsə *v.* squat
mikue *n.* tail
mikuɛtɛtɛ *v.* wag the tail
milə *n.* fire as disaster; conflagration
milə *n.* flame
mi'mu *v.* lower
mi'muku *v.* put in a lower position; lower
mindɛ *n.* fire
mindɛbɛ *v.* set fire
mindɛntsei *adj.* easy-tempered
mindz'iu *n.* butter tea
mindz'iudɛkhə *npr.* a bowl of butter tea
mini *pder.* younger
min'jemū *name.* a Mùyǎ person
minkhɛŋ *v.* ask; consult
minkhɛŋsuminkhɛŋbəbɛi *v.* ask repeatedly
min'mɛŋ *n.* mass; people
min'mɛŋtshə *v.* assemble
min'mɛŋtshə'ji *n.* rendezvous; a gathering place
min'nu *n.* mirror
min'nu *v.* bury
minthə *n.* fireplace
mintə *n.* flower
mintəgu *v.* flower wither
mintsheiteiɛŋ; mintsहितɛiɛŋ *n.* a lifetime
mintshə *n.* sun
mintshədzui *vpr.* the sun is out
mintshəgɛ *n.* sunshine [lit. the foot of the sun]
mintshəgɛtə *v.* the sun shines
mintshətə *v.* the sun shines
mintshu *n.* flint; kindling material
misisi *v.* make topical application of medicine
mitchyə *pder.* sit down
mitɛiətɛiə *v.* trample

mituŋ *v.* pour into
miχəu *pder.* sow down
mizə *n.* generation
mizəseŋtɕɛŋ *npr.* the third generation
mo *v.* play wind instruments
məsu *n.* toilet, lavatory
mu *n.* classifier for a mouthful of liquid food
-mu the present tense marker of experienced perceptions
mū *n.* man
mū *v.* steal
mūdɛpɛi *n.* a man; a person
mūminmɛŋ *n.* a crowd
muhɪ; muju *n.* wind
muhikhu'lu *n.* kite
muhɪ'luŋthə *n.* wild wind; fierce gale
muhimɛ *adj.* windless
muho *n.* smoke; fume
muhociumu *vpr.* (of smoke, fume, etc.) roll up *n.* choking smoke; fume
mu'lu *n.* day
mūmindəɖəu *adj.* having a large family with many children
mūpɛi *n.* a man; a person
mūci *n.* human flesh
mutchie *v.* go mouldy
mutuŋ *n.* unmarried daughter; single woman
mūbə *n.* cloud

'n

'nɛdzo *n.* black ink
'nɛ'i *n.* adv. tomorrow
'nɛ'iziətsei *n.* tomorrow morning
'nɛŋ *n.* solid waste from the body
'nɛŋbə *v.* get rid of solid waste from the body
'nɛŋbə'ji *n.* anus

'**nɛŋbɔjɪnɛ** *int.* Go to release yourself.

'**nɛŋ'ɛʃi** *v.* urinate

'**nɛŋgu** *n.* a Guiqióng interior toilet, which is connected to the outside buzo section at the underground floor.

'**nɛŋku** *v.* break wind

'**nɛŋtseitchy** *n.* sisters

'**nɛŋzɔsɪzɔ** *adj.* wayward, perverted

'**nɛtsiniɔ** *n.* goose grass; Eleusine

'**nətʃhi** *n.* handkerchief

'**ni** *n.* gold

'**ni** *v.* lend, rent, borrow, loan

'**nike** *n.* forehead

'**niketchi** *v.* miss

'**nin** *num.* seven

'**nindzueŋ** *npr.* the seventh day of a month

'**nin'li** *npr.* seven months

'**ninzɔ** *npr.* seven o'clock

'**ninpe** *npr.* seven Yuán (Chinese currency)

'**nu** *adj.* deep

n

nɛ *n.* chicken; poultry; hide

nɛ *v.* duck; hide

nɛgi *v.* hide

nɛmɛnyɪbu *n.* the mouth of birds; beak

nɛnɛgigibɛi *v.* hide in different places

nɛnɛbɛi'wu *v.* play the hiding in hide-and-seek

nɛnki *n.* chin, jaw

nɛŋ *v.* exist (said of animate beings); live

nɛŋ *clfr.* for Chinese characters

-nɛŋ the ergative and the instrumental marker

nɛŋdzũ *n.* cohabitant; son-in-law

nɛŋgəu *n. adj. adv.* (in the) open country; wild; outdoors

nɛŋgəumɛsətchiɛ *n.* wild beast

nɛŋgui *n.* pants; underpants; undergarments

nɛŋphɛ *adj. adv.* nearby, close

nɛŋphɛjitɛ *v.* put two things close together

nɛŋthə *n.* span of time; weather

nɛŋtsei *n.* [Chǎngmǎ] younger sister

nɛŋtseitchy *n.* sisters; daughters of a family

nɛŋtʃhigədɛn *n.* the big dipper

nɛŋtɛiɛ *n.* side; rib

nɛŋtɛiɛci *n.* steaks

nɛŋtu *npr.* the thirtieth day of a month; the first day of the Spring Festival; the date of New Year's Eve celebration

nɛŋzɔgɛ *n.* peaceful times

nɛŋzɔxɛŋ *n.* difficult, trouble times

nɛsi; nɛʃi *n.* chicken egg; egg

nɛside'jɛŋ *npr.* an egg

nɛsítɛiɛ *n.* wild apricot, plum

nɛtsei *n.* little chicken, ducks or geese

nɛ'wuŋ; nɛ'wũ *n.* muntjac

nɛ'wuŋ; nɛ'wũ *n.* birds; fowl

nɛzi'wu *n.* chicken keeper

nɛ *n.* root

nɛ'wu *n.* roots

nɛ'wukɛ *v.* remove the root

-nɛ the imperative ending of ji 'to go'

nɛgi *n.* chin

nɛzɛ *n.* elephant trunk

ni *n.* ox; cattle

ni *adj.* small

ni *adj.* grimy; dirty

ni *pos.* from

ni *pcl.*

-ni the ablative case marker

-ni the emphatic marker; even

niɛ *n.* eye

niɛkɔ *adj. n.* blind

niēlo *n.* eyeball
niēmi *vpr.* close one's eyes
niēšike *adv.* before one's eyes
niēciē *n.* wall-eye or cross-eye
niētshəŋ *n.* eyebrow
niētšigə *v.* blink one's eyes
niēwuki *v.* open one's eyes
nien *adj.* not much; not many; few;
 insufficient
 -**nien** experiential marker
nienbuχəŋ *adj.* slender, slim
niendziəbei *v.* take care of
nienlɔ *n.* the south side of the mountain
niennientsei *adv.* less; fewer; plainly;
 simply
niennientseidemudz'ie *vpr.* sip
nientəŋ *n.* big in diameter; thick;
 well-rounded
nientŋi *n.* middle-sized river
nienthe *n.* thick loop bridge ties the
 two sides of a river for ferrying or the
 delivey of goods.
nientshəŋ *n.* eyebrow
nien'wu *pron. adj.* little; few
nienɟdzɔdzɔ *n.* nuisance
nienɟshəi *n.* offense, insult
nienɟsi *adv.* often
nienɟ'meile *adv.* right away
niē *pron.* area; location
niē *adj.* round; large in diameter
niēbu *n.* ghost
niēdzui'wu *n.* ghostlike
nietchiuŋ; nietshuŋ *n.* blunderbuss; gun
 [cf. Chinese *Chòng* 銃]
nietshu *n.* bastard; bad children
nigə *adj. n.* black
nigɔzɔ *adj.* dark
nigɔzɔməməŋgeitsei *n.* dark nights
nih *adv.* next year
nikətchi *v.* miss

nilhuŋphɔ *n.* punch a hole through the
 nose
ni'nəŋ *n.* ox shit
ni'nəŋdɔdzɔ *npr.* a lump of ox shit
niɔ *n.* grass; fodder
niɔci *vpr.* pull up grass; pull up weeds
niɔtshəbɔ *n.* *Herba Houttuyniae*
nipepe *n.* ox skin
niə'e'wu *n.* shepherd of cattle
nise'wu; nisei'wu *n.* ox killer
nisi *n.* day and night
nisisə *vpr.* (of day and night) alternate
nici *n.* beef
nītsei *n.* calf
nītshəŋ *n.* fine hair on the human body
ni'tshəkəi *n.* black and white ox
nī'tchiətsitsi *n.* evening
ni'wu *n.* the younger, the smaller; the
 small
niwuəŋ *v.* (of families) become in-laws;
 have each other's children get
 engaged
niz'ei *n.* ox food
nizi'wu *n.* ox keeper; cattle keeper
nɔ *n.* ear
nɔgu *n.* in the ear; with ear
nɔphəte *v.* (of some animal) fan its ears
nɔphɔ *n.* earhole
nɔtsho *n.* cheek
nɔ'wu *n.* earwax
no *n.* west
noniē *n.* the west side or direction
notəiəŋkheŋ *n.* the direction of metal
nuŋ *pron.* you [the singular second
 person pronoun]
nuŋgu *pron.* you [the exclusive plural
 second person pronoun]
nuŋtsei *pron.* you [the inclusive plural
 second person pronoun]
nyəŋ'mɔ; nyəŋmu *adv.* together; with

nyeŋ'məhɛ *vpr.* keep company; associate with

nyeŋtʂi *n.* the Dàdù River

nyəŋu; niəŋu *n.* nose

nyəŋü'd'ɛŋ *v.* have a stuffy nose

nyŋbu; nyŋpu *n.* the lower part of the face; mouth

nyŋbudzɿ *adj.* docile; obedient

nyŋbusu *v.* feel thirsty

nyŋbuz' əzɛi *n.* abstinence from meat

'ŋ

'ŋiə *n.* nasal mucus

'ŋiŋtʂə *n.* beak

'ŋy *v.* dare

'ŋyeŋ *v.* can

'ŋyeŋ *v.* buy

'ŋyeŋzɛŋbɛi *v.* plan to buy

'ŋyŋ *v.* cut and collect wood

'ŋyŋku *n.* pen made of bamboo strips

ŋ

ŋendeŋ; nienteŋ *adj.* thick; big in diameter

ŋeŋ *v.* drown

ŋi *v.* become; *v.* darken

ŋiɛ *art.* some

ŋiɛntʂi *n.* apron

ŋiɛ *n.* vicinity

ŋiə *n.* soybean; bean

ŋiə *n.* monkey

ŋiəb'əɔ *n.* soybean bread

ŋiədzɿgwi *npr.* golden monkey, snub-nosed monkey

ŋiəniŋɛ *npr.* black soybean

ŋiə'ŋintʂi *npr.* green pea; green soybean

ŋiəpɛ *npr.* the skin of soybeans

ŋiəpɛhɛ *npr.* soybean flour

ŋiəpɛŋlhɛŋ *n.* pea

ŋiəzə'mɛ *n.* white soybean

ŋy; 'ny *n.* digit; finger

'ŋ

'ŋɛ *num.* five

'ŋendzueŋ *npr.* the fifth day of a month

'ŋɛn *num.* five

'ŋɛn'li *npr.* five months

'ŋɛ'ŋɛŋ *npr.* five years

'ŋɛnpɛ *npr.* five Yuán (Chinese currency)

'ŋɛŋzəŋəudɛzə *num.* one fifth

'ŋɛnthɛŋəu *n.* the fifth time

'ŋɛŋ *num.* five

'ŋɛŋ *n.* year

'ŋə *num.* five

'ŋəbu *n.* May

'ŋətɛi *num.* fifty

'ŋətʂi *num.* fifty

'ŋətʂizədzi *num.* fifty-one

'ŋətʂizədɛn *num.* fifty-seven

'ŋətʂizədzu *num.* fifty-six

'ŋətʂizədziɛ *num.* fifty-eight

'ŋətʂizəŋɛi *num.* fifty-nine

'ŋətʂizə'ŋə *num.* fifty-five

'ŋətʂizɛŋi *num.* fifty-two

'ŋətʂizəsɛŋ *num.* fifty-three

'ŋətʂizəzɿ *num.* fifty-four

'ŋədziə *num.* five hundred

ŋ

ŋɛ *v.* (of light) get dark; (of sound) diminish; (of disaster, bad luck) befall

ŋɛ *v.* upturn

ŋɛ *n.* foot

ŋɛ *n.* gift; present

ŋɛgədzɛŋ *adj.* bare footed

ŋɛ'li *n. adv. pos.* behind

ŋɛ'licie'wu *v.* backbite

ŋɛnbu *adj.* old

ŋɛnbuŋɛn'nɛ *n.* antique; curio

ηen'li; ηenbu *n.* the first day of the twelfth month of a lunar year; the first day of the Spring Festival

ηenłə; zənłə *n.* addiction; obsession

ηendzueηbe *v.* become accustomed

ηeη *v.* fear

ηeη *clfr.* for pacing; a pace

ηeη *v.* feel afraid

ηetsi *n.* mole, spot

ηe'wū; ηeη'wu *n.* cat

ηə *pron.* I

ηəgu *pron.* we [the exclusive first person plural pronoun]

ηəgukən *n.* our home; our hometown

ηədzə *n.* instep

ηəny *n.* any of the four small toes

ηənyde'wu'ny *n.* big toe

ηəphi *n.* sole, under-surface of the foot

ηəciən *n.* toenail

ηətsei *pron.* we [the inclusive first person plural pronoun]

ηue *v.* catch with hands; clutch

ηue *v.* lose one's voice; have a sore throat

ηuenpu *n.* hunter

ηuentʂhi *n.* hunting dog

ηui *v.* prick

ηui *v.* shrink; lower

ηu'lə *n.* backside of head

'η

'ηi *n.* mother *adj.* female

'ηintsi *n.* green

'ηi'ηi *n.* breast; milk

'ηəpe *n.* soil, clay

'ηəpethenθeη *npr.* mud

η

ηe *v.* get ill

ηeηthə *name.* the God of a mountain peak in Guiqióng area

ηe *adj.* dirty

ηeku *v.* make dirty

ηei *adj.* bad

ηi *num.* two

ηiendziə *v.* look after

ηiengi *v.* regret; feel sorry for

ηientsi *n.* duck

ηi'bu *n.* February

ηi'bu'li *n.* February

ηidzueη *npr.* the second day of a month

ηidziə *num.* two hundred

ηi'li *npr.* two months

ηi'mi *n.* milled glutinous broomcorn millet; Proso millet

ηini *npr.* two days

ηi'ηeη *npr.* two years

ηiηeη *npr.* two paces

ηipe *npr.* two Yuán (Chinese Currency)

ηipei *npr.* two people; that man

ηiə'əη *npr.* two armfuls

ηiseηni *n. adv.* previous two or three days

ηiʂi *num.* twenty; the twentieth day of a month

ηiʂiden *num.* twenty-seven, the twenty-seventh day of a month

ηiʂidzi; ηiʂidzi *num.* twenty-one; the twenty-first day of a month

ηiʂidzu *num.* twenty-six; the twenty-sixth day of a month

ηiʂidziə *num.* twenty-eight; the twenty-eighth day of a month

ηiʂigəi *num.* twenty-nine; the twenty-ninth day of a month

ηiʂi'ηə *num.* twenty-five; the twenty-fifth day of a month

ηiʂiηi *num.* twenty-two; the twenty-second day of a month

ηiʂiseη *num.* twenty-three; the twenty-third day of a month

ŋiʂizi *num.* twenty-four; the twenty-fourth day of a month

ŋithen *npr.* twice

ŋithengəu *npr.* the second time

ŋitʂeŋ *npr.* second generation

'o

'oe *n.* nit

o

o'je *int.* yes; certainly

oə *n.* fox

p

pə *v.* carry; fetch; grab; raise

pə *pcl.*

pə *n.* belly, stomach

pə *n.* government official; officer

pə'jimū *npr.* Nepalese

pə'teħyo *vpr.* serve as a government official

pə'ku *v.* eat one's fill

pəmu *v.* cool

pəntəŋ *n.* wooden bench or stool
[cf. Chinese *Bǎndèng* 板凳]

pəntəŋjitʂə *v.* stand on top of the bench

pəntʂo *n.* the name of a God and that of a mountain peak in the Guìqióng area

pəŋ; pɔ̄ *v.* heat; cook by directly putting raw food in fire

pəŋli *n.* mirror

pəŋteŋsi *n.* Nippon Hawthorn Fruit

pəŋteie *n.* grass land; untilled land

pəŋteiedziəŋtheŋ *n.* a big area of flat grassland

pəpi *n.* ice, glacier

pəpe *n.* skin, bark, peel, leather

pəpedzi *npr.* leather shoes

pəpəmiʂi *vpr.* to tear off the peel downwards

pəpəniə *n.* Chrysosplenium macrophyllum Oliv

pəpəwuʂi *vpr.* to remove the peel

pəei *v.* suffer from diarrhoea; have loose bowels

pətʂhiləŋ *adj.* broad-minded

pətsei *n.* flatland in the valley [cf. Chinese *Bàzi* 坝子]

pətchi *v.* have a stomachache

pəteie; pəteie *n.* patch

pəteieteie *vpr.* patch up; mend

pəteieku *v.* fry

pətu *n.* cecum, blind gut

pəzəi *n.* turban; head towel

pə *v.* hide

pəi *clfr.* for people

pəipeitsei *n.* cup, glass

pəite *n.* noodle

pəitshei *n.* axe

pəitʂəu *n.* fishnet

pəitəŋ *n.* blowpipe

pəntsi *n.* notebook [cf. Chinese *běnzi* 本子]

pəteie *n.* portrait

pi *adj.* male

pəpə *n.* bag [cf. Chinese *Bāobāo* 包包]

pətə *n.* region; area

pə *clfr.* for trees

pə *v.* get stale

pətʂo *n.* window-like opening in the wall which cannot be opened

pə'wu *n.* wild dog, *Cuon alpinus*

ph

phe *n.* pig

phe *clfr.* for either one of the objects that occurs in a pair

phě *v.* recover

phedz'iu'wu *n.* lard

phei *v.* recover
phei *n.* Qiangic card
phēgui *n.* wild boar
phēhe *n.* navel
phelo'ŋeŋ *n.* the year of pig
phen *v.* bring; pass on; send
phen *v.* entertain
phēŋe *n.* pig trotters
phē'ŋu *n.* pig trough
phēŋ'wēŋ *n.* big rock; rocky mountain
phēsē'wu; phēsēi'wu *n.* pig killer
phēsifūzu *n.* a pest on Chinese prickly ash
phēsū *n.* the innermost of the underground floor of a Guìqióng building
phēte *v.* fan
phēci *n.* pork
phēciməgo'wu *n.* Muslim
phetsei *n.* piglet
phēz'ei *n.* food for pig; pig wash
phēz'eikhēŋ *v.* feed the pig
phēzi'wu *v.* rear pig *n.* pig keeper
phē *v.* tear; open
phē *n.* powder; flour
phê *v.* flourish; prosper
phei *n.* father
phēilhen *n.* dowry [cf. Chinese *péilián* 陪奩]
phēini *n.* parents
phēi'wu *n.* oats
phēsui *v.* grind the kernel
phə *n.* the earliest ancestor
-phə the topic marker
phə'i *n.* the home village
phə'jideteiememü *adj.* (of travellers) from the same village; fellow-villager
phijə *n.* leather clothing
phijhujtə *n.* (of people from different families) cooking and eating together

phiseiphusu *n.* whisper
phişiphēle *adj.* verbose
phitehi *n.* temper; disposition
phə *v.* feel; suffer; undergo
phə *v.* punch a hole
phə *n.* cannon [cf. Chinese *Pào* 炮]
-phə *clfr.* for the times of doing something
phədi *n.* fete ceremony by three-gun salute
phəŋŋ *adj.* hungry
phu *n.* price
phu *v.* have a fever
phudə'wu *adj.* expensive *n.* the expensive
phudzuəŋ *n.* Yamen (cf. *yámen*), government offices
phutšhide *adj.* very expensive
phuj *adj.* poor
phujletəŋlheŋlheŋkə'wu *adj.* extremely poor *v.* become extremely poor
phu'wu *n.* liver

φ

φu *n.* flood
φujtə *n.* autumn
φutšj *n.* sweat
φutciə *n.* road; country road; path
φutciəgəzə *n.* bend of the road
φutciəmijən *n.* uphill of the road
φutciəphe *npr.* a road
φutciəŋi *v.* show the way.
φutciətsu *vpr.* build a road
φutuj *n.* single man; unmarried son; bachelor

κ

κə *v.* yell; sound; shout
κəkə *n.* sifter; sieve
κən *n.* semen; leucorrhoea

ɤɛn *v.* ejaculate
ɤɛŋ *v.* swell
ɤɛisi *n.* blackberry, *Rubus parvifolius*
 (cf. 筴 lè)
ɤɛitʃi *n.* star
ɤi *v.* laugh
ɤi *v.* daub the colour, paint
ɤiɤiɤei *v.* laugh and laugh
ɤisibubu *v.* can't help laughing
ɤokotsei *n.* shady location; *adj.* cool
ɤokotseiɤhə *n.* leafy, shady places
ɤoniɛ *n.* the day before yesterday

ɤ'
ɤ'ɛ *v.* act as shepherd; watch over
ɤ'ɛ *v.* spit out; throw up
ɤ'en *n.* compost, manure
ɤ'ɛŋgɛŋ *n.* arm span
ɤ'ɛbubumu *v.* keck
ɤ'ɛɛ *v.* vomited
ɤ'emu *vpinfl.* have thrown up
ɤ'ɛgibeimu *v.* want to burp
ɤ'ɛtʃhibeimu *v.* sneeze
ɤ'ɛɔubu *adj.* honest; in good faith;
 reliable
ɤ'ɛŋpɤə *n.* stone
ɤ'ɛŋpɤəpɤpɤtsei *n.* small stones;
 gravel; sandy stone
ɤ'ɛŋpɤədɛ'wu *n.* stonemason
ɤ'ɛŋpɤəgo'wu *n.* stonemason
ɤ'ɛŋtu *n.* basket used to carry objects on
 the back
ɤ'u'wu *adj.* tingling *n.* tingling things

s
sɛ *n.* voice, sound
sɛ *v.* tie; connect
sɛdɛ *n.* landlord
sɛitsi *n.* dice (cf. Mandarin shǎizi; tóuzǐ
 骰子)

sɛitsiŋuɛ *v.* throw dices; gamble
sɛitsiŋuɛ'wu *n.* gambler; the one who
 throws dice
sɛn *n.* wood
sɛngo'wu *n.* carpenter
sɛnhɛŋ *n.* balcony, platform, ground
sɛnhɛŋdɤ *n.* earthquake
sɛni *n.* voice
sɛn'lɔku *v.* burn the firewood, ignite the
 firewood
sɛnmɛkɔ *adj.* unbearable
sɛnnidɛ *adj.* bad-hearted
sɛnnigɔdzu *adj.* bad-hearted; wicked
sɛnnihɛŋ *adj.* cruel, beastly
sɛnnitʃhiʃu *adj.* honest
sɛn'nyŋ *v.* cut and collect firewood
sɛnpu *n.* tree
sɛnpu 'ɛn'ɛntsei *n.* little tree
sɛnpudɛtɤhiɛ *n.* a forest
sɛnpudɤpu *n.* a tree
sɛnpugɛŋtɛiɛ *n.* tree branch
sɛnpunimidzɤɛi *v.* jump from the tree
sɛnpumɛnɛ *n.* root of a tree
sɛnpunɛ *n.* tree root
sɛnpupɛpɛ *n.* tree leaf, bark
sɛnputhɔthɔ *n.* woodpecker
sɛnputsei *n.* small tree
sɛnputseiɛtsei *n.* tree seedling
sɛnthɛŋgəu *n.* the third time
sɛntshuɤ'ɤ'mu *name.* the Guìqióng name
 of Gāo Zhèngxiù 高正秀 given by
 gəmə
sɛntʃhigɛ 'wu *adj.* kind-hearted
sɛntɛiɛ *v.* be brave; work harder; cheer on
sɛntʃi *n.* November
sɛntʃuɛŋ *n.* the tripod props with an iron
 circle beneath a wok
sɛntɛiɛmɛitsu *vpr.* erect a club; set up a
 stick
sɛŋ *v.* take aim; aim at, shoot at

- sɛŋ** *adj.* bright
sɛŋ *n.* three
sɛŋ sentence-final negative polar item
sɛŋbu *n.* March
sɛŋdzi *n.* immortals
sɛŋɣue *adj.* suffering from a sore throat
sɛŋdzɔɛŋ *npr.* the third day of a month
sɛŋdzi *num.* thirty
sɛŋdziə *num.* three hundred
sɛŋ'li *npr.* three months
sɛŋluŋ *n.* plan; thought
sɛŋmugu *n. adv.* inner heart
sɛŋmudi *v.* feel relieved; set one's mind at rest
sɛŋmumədi *vpr.* feel upset
sɛŋni *npr.* three days
sɛŋpi *n.* Buddha
sɛŋɣue *v.* have a sore throat; lose one's voice
sɛŋpɛ *n.* otter hide
sɛŋpenbei *v.* go to work regularly [cf. Chinese *Shàngbān* 上班]
sɛŋpɛ *npr.* three Yuán (Chinese currency)
sɛŋpeigəu *npr. adv.* of the three people
sɛŋɣ'ɛŋ *num.* three armfuls
sɛŋɣotsidɛɣə *num.* one third
sɛŋɣotsi'ŋiɣə *num.* two thirds
sɛŋthə *npr.* three books
sɛŋtʃhi *num.* thirty
sɛŋtʃhizəsɛŋ *num.* thirty-three
sɛŋtʃhizədɛn *num.* thirty-seven
sɛŋtʃhizədzi *num.* thirty-one
sɛŋtʃhizədzu *num.* thirty-six
sɛŋtʃhizədziɛ *num.* thirty-eight
sɛŋtʃhizəgei *num.* thirty-nine
sɛŋtchiuŋ; sɛŋdz'iuŋ *v.* strike iron
sɛŋtʃhizə'ŋə *num.* thirty-five
sɛŋtʃhi zɛŋi *num.* thirty-two
sɛŋtʃhizəzi *num.* thirty-four
sɛŋtʃshuɛŋtsei; sɛŋtʃhɔŋtsei *adj.* bright
sɛŋtɛhyɛ *n.* light
sɛŋzɔŋ *n.* hunch; preconception
sɛŋzɔŋbei *v.* preconceive
sɛɛiu *adj.* sad [cf. Chinese *Shāngxīn* 伤心]
sɛtʃhi *n.* the fourth floor of a Guiqióng building used to store raw and unprocessed harvest
sɛtɛi *v.* hear the voice
sɛtɛhyɛn *v.* call; cry to; shout
sɛtɛhyɛnlɛwudəku *vpr.* awake sb. by loud cry; wake sb. up
sɛ; sei *v.* kill
sɛide *v.* sort out
sɛide'li *n.* eleven months
sɛigɛi *num.* the eleventh day of a month
sɛi'ŋɛ *num.* the fifteenth day of a month
sɛiŋi *num.* the twelfth day of a month
sɛipu *n.* the orange colour
sɛisɛŋ *num.* the thirteenth day of a month
sədədude *n.* grand grandparents
sə'jə *n.* ten million
səjidepu *n.* male ancestors
səjide'mu *n.* female ancestors
sənɛŋdətɛchi *name.* the Guiqióng name of Yáng Fán 杨凡 given by gəmə
sənɛŋlə'mu *name.* the Guiqióng name of Yáng Yi 杨艺 given by gəmə
sənheŋ *n.* balcony; ground
sənheŋdə *npr. vpr.* earthquake
səŋ *n.* birthday
səŋ *n.* characteristics
səŋbei *v.* celebrate birthday
səŋdɛ *adj.* bad-tempered; irritable
səŋmɛkə *adj.* unbearable; uncomfortable; unsettled
səŋməkə *vpr.* feel uncomfortable; feel unsettled

- səŋsəŋmu** *npr.* in the heart
səŋzɛ *v.* feel satisfied; feel at ease
səŋzɔ̃tʰephɔ̃lɛɛ *v.* take it easy to say
səz'ɔ̃'wu *v.* save money or property
səʃsũtɛiɛ'wu *v.* pick up and glean
leftovers in the field to exchange or
sale for mad money
si *v.* die
si *v.* chaff
si *v.* know; recognise
si *v.* apply (drugs; gilding, etc.) on the
surface
si *v.* sharpen
sĩbɔ *n.* smallpox
sidzueŋ *npr.* the tenth day of a month
silhɛ *n.* lead
si'ŋɛ *n.* the fifteenth day of a month
silhɛlhɛbɔ *n.* cactus
si'li *npr.* ten months
si'lu *n.* night
simu; ʃimu *n.* strength
simubeilɛw'udɛ *v.* strike with an effort
simukɔ̃dzɛn *v.* very strong; brawny;
might
si'nidz'ieŋ *n.pr.* seventeen households
si'ni *n.* lion
sĩŋ'li *npr.* twelve months
siŋisɛŋni *adv.* previous two or three days
sipɛ *npr.* ten Yuán (Chinese Currency)
sipɛlu *adv.* everywhere
sĩthɛ *n.* web
sithɛŋəu *npr.* the tenth time
sijɛdz'ieŋ *n.pr.* eighteen families
sizi *npr.* the fourteenth day of a month
sĩzɛ *v.* believe
sizɛŋmɛŋgeitsei *n. adv.* last night
sitɔ *n.* fruit; fruit tree
sɔ *v.* do needlework, do embroidery
sɔ *n.* life
sɔli *n.* sickle
- sɔpu** *n.* the state of Mongolia
sɔpumũ *name.* Mongolian
sɔsɔ *adj.* thick (liquid), viscous
sɔtɛhiɛ *n.* livestock including donkey,
mule, horse, goat, sheep, pig,
excluding dog and chicken; farm
animals
sɔtɛhiɛpiɛ *n.* livestock; farm animals
-sɔ second person plural imperative
suffix
so'mə *n.* student; apprentice
su *adj. v.* dry
su *pron.* who [Ancient Chinese *Shú* 孰;
Latter-day Chinese *Shuí* 谁]
su- ~ <su> progressive aspect marker
suen *v.* stroll; rotate; idle; play
subu *adj.* new
sudzɛŋni *v.* (of porridge) dry out
sugu *pron.* whose family
sui *v.* grind
sui *v.* block
sujɔ *int.* who is it?
sunsun *n.* grandson
susu *v.* alive
sũtsɛŋ *adj.* thorough and perfect
sutehiu *n.* town; country
sutehiudɛtɛiɛ *n.* the same place *adj.* (of
travellers) of the same town; fellow
townsman
suzizɛ *pron.* whoever
- ʃ**
ʃɛ *v.* boil food in water
ʃɛ *n.* exception
ʃɛkuɛntsi *n.* casserole
ʃɛkɛi *n.* dragonfly
ʃɛŋsɛntsei *adj.* slender; slim
ʃɛŋ *n.* iron
ʃɛŋ *adj.* quick
ʃɛŋdzɛn *n.* iron or steel chain

c

ci *n.* meat
ci *v.* send; deliver
ci *n.* drama [cf. Chinese *Xì* 戏]
ci *v.* pluck
ciɛn *v.* support sb. with one's hand or arm; hold (objects) in the arms
ciɛn'luŋ *n.* pomegranate
ciɛn'mɛilho *n.* turtle
ciɛn'nɛnŋɛnbu *n.* the year before last
ciɛŋŋo *n.* sausage
ciɛnsɔ *n.* saw
ciɛŋciɛŋ *n.* box [cf. Chinese *Xiāng* 箱]
ciɛntsu *n.* carpenter
ciɛ *v.* say
ciɛdzjɛbdzj *adj.* prolix
ciɛciɛbei *v.* dispute
ciɛlumɛsi *v.* don't know
ciɛsɛuciɛbɔbei *v.* talk about something over and over
ciɛ'wu *n.* speech; words
cihi *n.* the third year from this year
ciɛkhe *n.* a whole piece of bacon about half a pig
ciɔ *n.* east
ciɔ *v.* protrude; stick out
ciɔbei *n.* the roots of Chinese angelica
ciɔmətshə *adj.* unfilial
ciɔniɛ *n.* the east side
ciɔsəŋkheŋ *n.* direction of wood
ciɔtshə *adj.* filial [cf. Chinese *Xiàoshùn* 孝顺]
ciɔtchiɛŋbei *v.* hold a wedding ceremony; engage; betroth
ciɔtchiɛŋbeimezɛ *n.* the date of wedding
ciɛphɛ *n.* fat pork; lard rendered from fatback, fatback
ciɛɛn *n.* broth
ciɛiɛbei *v.* tear each other's clothing

ciɛtə *n.* spring
ciɛtəsɛŋ *n.* springtime
ciɛu *v.* sense the fragrance, scent or odour of [cf. Chinese *xiù* 嗅]
ciɛu *adj.* hot and spicy like wine or chili pepper; pungent
ciɛu *v.* (smoke) choke; (of fume) let out
ciɛugu *n.* inside
ciɛu'mu *n.* lean meat
ciɛu'wu *n.* hot things
ciɛu'wu *n.* deer
ciɛzə *n.* the Guìqióng name of a young girl named Gāoyún 高云
ciɛtɛtsutsi *n.* *Marmota himalayensis* [cf. Chinese *Xuězhūzi* 雪猪子]
ciɛyɛciɔ *n.* school [cf. Chinese *Xuéxiào* 学校]

t

tɛ *n.* tiger
tɛku *n.* window
tɛn *v.* rely; rest; prop
tɛndə *n.* earrings
tɛniɔ *n.* a grass which can be used as the fodder of livestock
tɛŋ *adj.* fast; tight
tɛŋlɛŋlɛŋ *n.* clanking
tɛcyə *n.* college [cf. Chinese *Dàxué* 大学]
tɛntɛŋ *n.* vine
tɛtɛ *n.* pimple, small raised spots on the body
tɛtshi *n.* upper back; back
tɛtɛiɛ *n.* lamp
tɛtɛiɛ'ŋɛntɛiɛ *n.* five lamps
tɔ *n.* rice; Dào
tɔji *adv.* relatively; fairly
tɔkɛn *n.* rice porridge
tə *v.* shine; heat [*v.*]
təŋluŋ *n.* lantern
tɛ *v.* disrobe; disengage

tɛ *v.* stroll; turn
tě *v.* approach; get close to
titsi *n.* bottom; background; sole for footwear [cf. Chinese *dǐzi* 底子]
to *v.* build
topɛŋɣɛŋ *n.* adobe making; mud brick
totsu *n.* bricklayer
tu *n.* poison
tubu *adj.* poisonous
tugo *v.* destroy oneself by taking poison
tuipei *v.* compare [cf. Chinese *duìbǐ* 对比]
tukutsi *adj.* more *adv.* still, even
tulhə; tuzə *n.* tobacco pouch attached to a pipe
tuj *n.* wild cat
tujpu *n.* hollow; empty; without
tujxui *n.* incisor
tujtʂhetʂhitshe *num.* thousands
tujtʂhudziɛŋ *num.* a thousand
tujtʂhuguidziɛŋ *num.* nine thousand
tujtʂshu'jedziɛŋ *num.* eight thousand
tujtʂshukhədziɛŋ *num.* six thousand
tujtʂshu'nindziɛŋ *num.* seven thousand
tujtʂshu'ŋɛŋdziɛŋ *num.* five thousand
tujtʂshuŋidziɛŋ *num.* two thousand
tujtʂshusɛŋdziɛŋ *num.* three thousand
tujtʂshuzidziɛŋ *num.* four thousand

th

thɛ the prohibitive suffix
thě *v.* knit, weave
thɛhɛhɛ *vpinfl.* don't provoke
then *v.* expose; *adj.* open; exposed
thɛŋ *adj.* wet
thɛŋpɛtsi *n.* steamed corn-flour pancake [cf. Chinese *Tāngbāzi* 汤巴子]
thɛŋgəu *n.* Bubble fir
thɛŋkɛlə *n.* pine; pine cone
thɛŋkei *n.* thangka

thɛŋmu *name.* Jīntāng 金汤
thɛŋ'ne *n.* hemlock
thɛŋthɛŋ *adj.* wet; muddy; washy; soak
thɛŋthɛŋtsei *adj.* wet; muddy; washy; soak *adv.* softly; muddily
thɛŋ'wɛŋ *n.* flat grassland
thɛtʂo *n.* end table
thɛ- the prohibitive marker
thɛikuə *n.* fireplace
thɛipu *n.* hair whorl
thɛiti *n.* dust
thɛ'jine *int.* Don't go!
tětsei *clfr.* for an episode
tětseidě *v.* teach someone a lesson by hitting
thə *clfr.* for books
thə- the prohibitive marker
thə'lə *n.* thin maize pancake
thəkɛi *n.* wooden meal scoop
thəu; t̥həu *adj. v.* tall; high
thəuthəugəu(gəu) *adv.* definitely completely
thəŋtɛie *name.* Bǎoxīng 宝兴
thi *n.* aluminium
tho *n.* thunder
tho *v.* bounce
thohothɛn *n.* the first time
thozo *n.* part of the underground floor of a Guìqióng building
thu- directional morpheme denoting an upward action
thūbɛilɛtchiu *v.* stack up; pile up
thuɛ *v.* come upward
thujə *pder.* stand up
thukɛ *v.* hang
thuj *v.* get through; open up
thunguɛn *n.* kettle
thuthəuku *v.* heighten; raise
thutsu *adj.* perpendicular; upright
thutʂɛ *v.* climb upwards

thutʂhue *v.* bring out, pull out from a lower place
thuwe *v.* get up

ts

tsən *v.* learn, teach
tsən *v.* remain
tsəŋ *n.* lunch
tsəŋ *adj.* clean
tsəŋdi *v.* bite, sting *clfr.* for bite; a bite
tsəŋdzueŋ *n.* sting
tsəŋmɛŋtsei *adj. pos. adv.* clean
tsəŋtɕie *adv.* at noon
tsei *n.* son
-tsei diminutive suffix
tseiko *n.* wing
tseidepei *npr.* one man; the only son
tseiguili *n.* Dusky Thrush; *Turdus naumanni*
tseij'ie *n.* sons; men
tsə *v.* chop
tsətsə *v.* chop into pieces
tsi *v.* hearsay; listen to
tsidz'ie *n.* tea and drinks
tsidz'iedz'ie *v.* drink water; drink tea
tsilə *conj.* though
-tsimu experienced auditory evidential marker
-tsi'wu the gnomic auditory evidential marker
tsizəŋmɛgi *vpr.* don't want to obey
tsizi *n.* public place
tsipə *n.* wall
tsipəkhəzi *n.* a crack in the wall
tsipəpɕɕie *vpr.* mend in the wall
tsɔ *v.* kindle
tsɔ *clfr.* classifier for needlework
tsɔ'jibɕi *v.* make a bow with hands folded in front [cf. Chinese *Zuòyī* 作揖]
tsu *v.* erect; do up; adjust

tsui *n.* seed
tsuŋ *n.* rust
tsuŋgo *v.* erode by rust
tsuŋki *v.* get rusty

tsh

tshɛ *v.* filter
tshɛi *n.* knife
tshɛi *v.* fight
tshɛilhɛŋtsi *n.* corridor
tshɛisi *v.* sharpen a knife
tshɛitshɛibɕi *v.* use sparingly; estimate; try; grope
tshɛitsei *n.* kitchen knife
tshɛitsei *n.* rapeseed [cf. Chinese *Càizi* 菜籽]; rape
tshɛitchiɛŋ *npr.* sheath of the knife
tshɛlhwu *n.* people doing castration
tshen *n.* wound
tshentəhɛŋ *adj.* ugly
tshentəhɛŋ'wu *n.* ugly people
tshentsi *n.* colours
tshɛŋ *n.* body hair, fur, wool; feather
tshɛŋkhuei *v.* remove hair from pigs, etc.
tshɛŋeile wutsɛŋku *v.* to pluck the feather and make it clean
tshɛŋlhɛŋkhu; tshɛŋzɛŋkhu *n.* relatives
tshɛuɕɕi *n.* straw shoes [sichuān 四川 Chinese *cǎoxié* 草鞋]
tshɛi *n.* salt
tshɛithə *n.* lifetime; life
tshɛtshɛbɕi *v.* quarrel
tshɛithəɕɕɛŋ *v.* free captive animals
tshɛtshɛbɕi *v.* try
tshɛtsi *n.* vehicle [cf. Chinese *Chēzi* 车子]
tshɛzɔŋ *n.* midnight
tshə *n.* offspring of a common ancestor
tshə *v.* mix
tshələ'mələ *n.* mess
tshəmu *n.* neice

- tshə'wu** *n.* nephew
tshəŋ *n.* storey [cf. Chinese *Céng* 层]
tshi *v.* select, choose
tshi *v.* pick up
tshidzəu *n.* leaf lard
tshinədzigə *n.* the fruits of *Hippophae rhamnoides*, seabuckthorn fruit
tshitə *n.* ankle
tshitshi *n.* sparrow; small birds
tshitshitsei *n.* a tiny little bird
tshī *adj.* cheap
tshī'wu *adj.* cheap *n.* cheap things
tshidzəu *n.* caul fat
tsho *n.* lake; pond; knuckle; joint
tsho *n.* pulse
tsho *n.* whorl (fingerprint)
tsholu *n.* fasttrack; way out
tshotsei *n.* knuckle, joint
tshə; dz'ə *v.* sow, dibble (e.g. maize, cabbage, etc.)
tshəbeitshəzə *adj.* messy; at sixes and sevens
tshui *n.* rat; mouse
tshuŋ *n.* trade
tshuŋbei'wu *n.* trader; businessman
tshuŋtsei *n.* Green Chinese Onion; *Allium fistulosum* L. var. *giganteum* Makino [cf. Chinese *Cōngzǐ* 葱子]
tshuitshuitsei *n.* mouse; little mouse
- tʂ**
tʂə *v.* receive
tʂei *n.* chaff blower
tʂei *n.* monkey (lit.)
tʂheikeitʂhəkəitsei *adj.* very colourful
tʂi *n.* water
tʂibə *v.* water springs up (e.g. when drilling a well)
tʂibu *n.* October
tʂidei *n.* waterfall
- tʂijimu** *adj.* feel thirsty
tʂiju *v.* water flows
tʂifeŋ *v.* irrigate
tʂikhe *n.* small river
tʂikhetsei *npr.* a small stream
tʂikhiəji *vpr.* go carry some water on the back; fetch water
tʂi'metsi *n.* sesame [cf. Chinese *Zhīmázi* 芝麻子]
tʂimudz'ie *v.* drink a mouthful of water
tʂini *n.* fish, shrimp, water-bound animals
tʂiŋə *n.* water vat
tʂitsei *n.* millet
tʂiphu *n.* hot water
tʂiphutə *v.* boil some water
tʂiφu *n.* aqueduct; water pipe
tʂitheŋtheŋ *adj.* muddy water; unclear water
tʂītʂi *v.* swim
tʂiwu'heŋ *v.* turn on the tap
tʂə *v.* peck
tʂu *n.* snake
tʂu *v.* comb *n.* comb [cf. Chinese *Shū* 梳]
tʂu *v.* use
tʂuətətə *n.* swelling on the skin [cf. Chinese *Gēdá* 疙瘩]
tʂui'wu *n.* beggar
tʂū'mu *n.* wellspring; waterhole
tʂuŋtehie *n.* chopsticks [cf. Chinese *zhù* 箸]
tʂuŋtehiedətəie *npr.* a set of chopsticks
tʂuŋtehiephətʂə *npr.* chopsticks' cage
tʂutshu *n.* use up
tʂutsi *n.* comb [cf. Chinese *Shūzi* 梳子]
tʂueŋ *n.* cup; glass; *clfr.* for cups of drinks
tʂuətsei *n.* desk, table
tʂuətseitəhiu'wu *n.* an episode of the Guiqióng wedding; laying out the table to receive the bride

t̚sɯŋpɛ *n.* cool water

t̚sɯŋt̚sɯŋ *n.* wooden cup

t̚ʂh

t̚ʂhɛ *v.* bind; tie; truss up

t̚ʂhɛ *v.* change; give change to

t̚ʂhɛ *v.* stand on top of; step on

t̚ʂhɛ *v.* filter, strain, leach

t̚ʂhɛgi *v.* like; enjoy; love

t̚ʂhɛkɰo *n.* shoulder

t̚ʂhɛkɰɔpɛ *v.* carry on the shoulder

t̚ʂhɛlɛmɔgɔ *v.* under-change

t̚ʂɛnt̚ʂhi *n.* a piece of cloth winding around the head [cf. Chinese *Chánzi* 缠子]

t̚ʂhɛt̚ʂhɛ *v.* exchange; change

t̚ʂhɛt̚ʂhɛʂut̚ʂhɛt̚ʂhɛbɔbɛi *v.* change back and forth

t̚ʂhɛŋkɔbɛi *v.* sing [cf. Chinese *Chànggē* 唱歌]

t̚ʂhɛi *n.* aluminium

t̚ʂhɛikɛit̚ʂhɛkɛit̚ʂɛi *adj.* of intricate colour

t̚ʂhɛikɛ *n.* head of a field

t̚ʂhɛkɛi *adj.* black and white; of different colours

t̚ʂhɛkɛit̚ʂɛi *adj.* colourful

t̚ʂhɛŋt̚ʂɔugɔt̚ʂɛi; **t̚ʂhɛt̚ʂɔugut̚ʂɛi** *n.* late afternoon *adv.* in the afternoon

t̚ʂhi *n.* sparrow

t̚ʂhi *adv.* very

t̚ʂhi *n.* dog (lit.)

t̚ʂhī *n.* bed

t̚ʂhibɛŋ *n.* riverside; reservoir; banks of waterside fields

t̚ʂhibɛidzɔ *vpr.* look down

t̚ʂhidɛ'wu *n.* the worst; *n.* the worst

t̚ʂhidɛ *n.* wave

t̚ʂhidzɔ *n.* waterside; land in the valley near water

t̚ʂhidzɔʂu'wudɛt̚ʂɛi *n:qual* very much like a real one

t̚ʂhīdzɔŋɛŋ *adj.* delicious

t̚ʂhidzɔzɔ *n.* egret; water bird

t̚ʂhigɛ'wu *n.* the best

t̚ʂhīkɰu *n.* whirlpool

t̚ʂhīkhut̚ʂɛi *n.* ten thousand

t̚ʂhimegɛ'wu *n.* the worst

t̚ʂhimitchiuŋ *vpr.* break into fine particles

t̚ʂhimu; **t̚ʂhimu**; **t̚ʂhiumu** *n.* outside

t̚ʂhimu *sisime* *adj.* gilded

t̚ʂhitɛ *n.* blisters

t̚ʂhitɛb'ɛb'ɛtsi *n.* measles

t̚ʂhisɛŋ *n.* otter

t̚ʂhisidzɛsi *n.* monster

t̚ʂhit̚ʂɛi *n.* birdie

t̚ʂhit̚ʂhɛn *adj.* too plentiful; too much

t̚ʂhit̚ʂhɔu; **t̚ʂhit̚ʂhɔu** *n.* time; a temporal measure of two hours [cf. Chinese *Shíchén* 时辰]

t̚ʂhit̚ʂhɔudɛt̚ʂhɛi *npr.* a two-hour period

t̚ʂhit̚ʂhɔukhulu *npr.* o'clock

t̚ʂhit̚ʂhɔuŋɛnbu *n.* old ways of recording time

t̚ʂhit̚ʂhɔu'ŋɛŋt̚ʂɛi *n.* five hours

t̚ʂhitsupɰɔ *adj.* waterlogging

t̚ʂīt̚ʂhiu *n.* wanderer

t̚ʂhit̚ʂhiupɰɔ'wu *v.* wander, loaf *n.* sufferer of wanderlust; idler; loafer

t̚ʂhixui *n.* tusk

t̚ʂhizɛn *n.* flat riverside field

t̚ʂhizɛŋ *n.* this year

t̚ʂhɔgɔ *n.* swallow

t̚ʂhɔŋdu *name.* Chéngdū 成都

t̚ʂhot̚ʂhomu *v.* move; wriggle; squirm

t̚ʂhot̚ʂhomɔt̚ʂhot̚ʂhɔlɛ *adv.* motionlessly

t̚ʂhot̚ʂhomɛkɔ *adj.* unable to move; suffering from stroke

t̚shuəi; t̚shue *v.* get out; ooze; surface
t̚shuelebei *v.* waste; squander
t̚shuentsei *n.* trowel; spade; scoop [cf. Chinese *Chǎnzi* 铲子]
t̚shulu; t̚shuzu *n.* headman (lower than chieftain, who in charge of 4–5 headmen)
t̚shulugəu *n.* the clan of the headman
t̚shuen *v.* exhaust
t̚shuensepu *n.* Toona sinensis [cf. Chinese *Chūn* 椿]
t̚shuen'wu; t̚shuen'wen *n.* rosary
t̚shuenbu; t̚shueŋbu *n.* thief
t̚shueŋ *v.* hold; contain; add [cf. Chinese *Zhuāng* 装]
t̚shueʂitehi *v.* suffer from diarrhoea
t̚shuipu *n.* Betula
t̚shuipu *n.* Zanthoxylum bungeanum
t̚shuŋ *n.* plough [cf. Chinese *Chán* 犂]
t̚shuŋŋedzie *n.* part of a plough
t̚shuzu *n.* headman (lower than chieftain, who in charge of 4–5 headmen)
t̚shyo *v.* sit
t̚shɔ *n.* ladle made from dried gourd
t̚shɔ *v.* push; give birth to
t̚shɔt̚shomu *v.* feel itchy

te

tei *v.* become available
tei *v.* fry
teie *v.* break; snap
teie *v.* hear
teie *v.* nestle up to
teie *v.* sow in drill
teie *v.* mend
teie *adj.* (of meat) greasy; fat; oily
-teie *clfr.* for buildings; mountains; clothing; affairs, etc.
teiekhueŋ *n.* toilet, latrine

teielhe *n.* furniture and utensils
teieʂi *n.* instruments
teieʂitē *v.* play the instrument
teieʂhen *n.* swaddling clothes
teieteiepepe *n.* waste, garbage
teieŋ *clfr.* for animals
teieŋkei *n.* wolf
teieŋthuŋ *n.* mortar
teieŋtəu *n.* kidney bean; cowpea; bean [cf. Chinese *Jiāngdòu* 豇豆]
teieŋtəuphe *npr.* cowpea flour
teieŋtehio *v.* catch up
teieteie *n.* rubbish
teieu *v.* fry [cf. Chinese *Chǎo* 炒]
teieʂtsei *n.* a sedan chair (cf. Chinese *Jiàozǐ* 轿子)
teibə *adv.* why
teie *adj.* clear; distinct
teie *v.* extend; reach out
teia *n.* plate; dish
tehia *v.* hit the target
teikhəu *n.* interest
teiko *v.* pick up
teio *v.* write
teiodi *v.* kick
teioʂuteioʂobei *v.* write again and again
teiku *n.* fill
teiteiebəbə *adj.* overfilled; overflowing
teiu *v.* save [cf. Chinese *Jiù* 救]
teiu *pron.* what
teiuʂtse *pron. adv.* why
teiuʂziʂi *pron.* whatever
teiuʂtse *pron.* why
tei'wuo *num.* a million
teuətəuətsei *n.* pimple
teyenmē *adj. adv.* all right
teyətəyə *adj.* full (said of container of solid entities)
teyətəyədətseiə *n.* an overfilled plate
teyətəyədəkhe *n.* an overfilled bowl

tch**tchi** *n.* goat**tchi** *v.* pain**tchiē** *v.* sweep; clean up**tchiē'i** *adv.* today**tchienēnphe** *name.* Lúchéng 炉城**tche'i mengeitsei** *npr. adv.* this evening**tchiē'mu** *n.* broom**tchiē'mu detchio** *n.* a sweep**tchien** *n.* the plant of round radish, turnip**tchiengue** *n.* dried turnip in slices**tchienluŋpu** *n.* turnip, round radish**tchienlhe** *n.* cymbals**tchienpeŋ** *v.* roast a turnip**tchientho** *n.* fist**tchientŝhu** *n.* raw turnip**tchientŝi** *name.* the village and town of

Qiánxī 前溪

tchienŋ *v.* do singing and dancing; sing**tchienŋ** *adj.* sharp**tchienŋ** *n.* Tibetan chang**tchienŋ** *n.* sheep**tchienŋmei** *n.* the Guìqióng name of Yáng

Míngqīng 杨明清 given by gəmə

tchien'nu *n. adv.* yesterday**tchien'numēŋpitsei** *npr. adv.* last night**tchiēŋsi** *adv.* often**tchiēŋci** *n.* meat of sheep**tchiēŋtēiŋgəu** *name.* a family name in

Chǎngmǎ village

tchiēu'lutsi *n.* bridge [cf. Chinese

Qiáolùzǐ 桥路子]

tchiēdi *v.* clap**tēidi** *v.* pinch**tchidzə** *n. adv.* the day after tomorrow**tchiəŋui** *n.* raincoat**tchilijən** *adj.* distinct**tchilimě** *adj.* indistinct**tchilideteimě** *adj.* not clear at all**tchime'ŋi'ŋi** *n.* goat milk; the udder of a goat**tchimu** *vpinfl.* feel painful**tchi'neŋ** *n.* goat shit**tchiŋe** *n.* foot of goat**tchiŋe** *v.* fall ill**tchiŋemē'e'letsei** *n.* the sick child**tchio** *clfr.* for a piece of land or a group of people**tchio** *v.* hit; bump**tchio** *v.* stir fry**tchio** *v.* shrivel (by frost, snow)**tchio** *v.* push**tchipepe** *npr.* goatskin**tchiphē** *v.* recover from illness**tchiphə** *v.* feel as if**tchici** *n.* meat of goat**tchitsei** *n.* lamb**tchitŝhi** *n.* rainfall; precipitation**tchiu** *v.* take; fetch; put; pause**tchiumu; tshimu** *adv.* outside**tchiuŋ; tŝhuŋ** *v.* pound; crush; strike into pieces with pestle; smash**tchiuŋtchiuŋtŝhei** *v.* bump together**tchiuŋtēiuŋ** *adv.* yesterday**tchiuŋtŝiuŋdēni** *n.* the whole day yesterday**tchyten** *n.* pagoda**tchydzi dziəbu** *n.* the supreme leader of Buddhism**tchye** *v.* put aside; get out; go out**tchyo; tŝho** *v.* sit**tchyo** *clfr.* for statue**tchyoziŝheŋtēie** *n.* location; orientation**tchyo'wuteie** *n.* sitting and idling away**t****tə** *n.* horse (lit.)**təu** *n.* south

thəuniɛ *n.* the south direction
thəuminkhɛŋ *n.* the direction of fire
thəutɕhyo *n.* direction; situation

th

thɛ *v.* surpass, transcend
thəŋki *n.* cook, chef

'w

'wɛn *v.* thread a needle
'wɛŋ *adj.* (of kernels) plump; full;
 plump-eared
'wɛŋtɕɛ *n.* chest
'wɛŋtɕɛkɛmu *vpr.* pant for breath
'wə'mudɔ *adj.* well-rounded and healthy
'wə'mulebə *n.* Ginseng
'wə'mutɕɛ *n.* the whole body
-'wu the gnomic tense marker and the
 agentive nominaliser
-'wudzi the gnomic potential mood
 marker
-'wuli the gnomic perfective tense
 marker
-'wulɔ the gnomic future tense marker
'wui *n.* horn
'wuj *n.* silver
'wupugəu *n.* a family name of Qiánxī
 village
'wuʂɛ *n. adj.* yellow
'wutʂhɔ *n.* throat
'wɛ *v.* gore
'wɛ the imperative ending of hɛ 'come'
'wɛ *int.* impolite Hello
'wutsidzi'wũ *v.* seesaw
'wu'wu *adv.* automatically

w

wɛ *v.* scratch
wɛdi *v.* scratch; clutch

wɛn'jɛn *n.* head; top
wɛn'jɛn *pos.* than
wɛn'jɛŋ'uei *v.* have one's hair cut
wɛn'jɛŋjɛi *v.* drop one's head
wɛn'jɛnmɿŋui *v.* look down
wɛn'jɛnthupe *v.* look up
wɛn'jɛntɕhimu *v.* have a headache
wɛn'jɛnsuenmu *v.* have a daze
wɛn'jɛntʂu *v.* comb the hair
wɛn'jɛnwũŋɛ *v.* look up; upturn one's
 face
wɛnβə *n.* the deaf
wɛkə *n.* tile
wɔ *v.* bar; rear animals in pens
wɔ *n.* goose [cf. Chinese 鵞]
wopɛ *n.* *Quercus griffithii* Hook
wɛ *v.* wear
wɛ *v.* get up
wu- directional suffix denoting an
 outward direction
wubɛtʂumɛzɛ *npr.* past days
wubuku *v.* take out
wudziku *v.* tear apart, separate
wũdzɿ *v.* fall asleep
wũdzɿtʂu *v.* have fallen asleep
wũʂɛibɛi *v.* do a night's sleep
wudɔdɔ *vpinfl.* shake
wuə the dative case marker
wuəlwuə the dative case marker
wugeku *v.* improve; better
wuhɛku *v.* let somebody come
wui *n.* centre; hoe; honey
wuisəkhɛŋ *n.* the direction of earth
wuiduŋ *n.* wasp
wuidzi *n.* weasel, *Mustela sibirica*
wuilhɛ *n.* left side
wuilhɛpɛ *adv.* on the left
wuitsei *n.* bee
wuitseiχədzɿŋ *n.* a beehive

- wuitseixədzuŋɨdzɪə** *n.* two hundred beehives
- wuitsi** *n.* hedgehog [cf. Chinese *Cìwèi* 刺猬; *Wèizi* 猬子] also see *dziwui*
- wu'je** *n.* Dragon Boat Festival [cf. Chinese *wǔyuè* 五月]
- wukhuitʂhe** *vpinfl.* turn over
- wukhəkhə** *vpinfl.* collect, pick up
- wuludi** *vpinfl.* look around
- wu'lo** *n.* back of the head
- wuɬeŋ** *v.* release
- wuɬeŋɬeŋ** *vpinfl.* recline
- wuməŋgugetchiəciə** *vpr.* speak in dreams
- wuməŋgəuəɬtʂhue** *vpr.* have nocturnal emission
- wunə** *v.* dodge; hide
- wu'ni** *vpinfl.* lend
- wunie** *n.* face
- wuŋ** *n.* wok
- wuŋe** *v.* douse the glim
- wuŋen** *n.* breath
- wuŋenjen** *vpr.* have breath; have signs of life; be still alive
- wuŋeɬeŋ** *v.* exhale; breathe out
- wūpeipeitsei** *n.* shadow
- wūpə** *n.* clouds
- wūpədzi** *vpr.* the cloud lifts
- wūpənəŋtsebei** *vpr.* (of the day at the same time) at some altitude, it is fine and at other altitude, it is cloudy
- wupu** *n.* owl
- wuɬəku** *v.* make noise
- wuɬitsei** *adj.* smiling *adv.* smilingly
- wuʂido** *v.* wake up
- wuten** *v.* rest on; prop against
- wutheitheibe** *v.* tremble; shudder
- wuthen** *v.* dry in the sun; scatter
- wutho** *n.* Adam's apple
- wuto** *n.* slingshot, catapult
- wutseŋku** *vpinfl.* clean up
- wutshoku** *vpinfl.* devastate; destroy
- wutshugeŋ** *adv.* at the end
- wutʂhetʂhe** *v.* exchange
- wutʂhibei** *vpinfl.* wipe
- wutʂho** *vpinfl.* push it off oneself
- wutʂhotʂho** *vpinfl.* interlock
- wutʂhotʂho** *vpinfl.* move
- wutʂhutʂhu** *vpinfl.* undo
- wutʂuŋ** *vpinfl.* suffuse; pervade
- wutehiudi** *vpinfl.* lay aside, shelf
- wuju** *vpinfl.* go to bed
- wujujutsei** *adv.* sideways; askew
- wujujutseibeileɬziə** *v.* look sideways
- wuzuzu** *v.* stir; save
- wuzuzu** *v.* make a lot of loud noise
- wuz'ɔ** *v.* put aside; save
- χ
- χe** *n.* eagle
- χe** *v.* spit
- χe** *adj.* shy
- χedz'en** *n.* frost
- χemetsəi** *adv.* slowly
- χen** *n.* chang; self-made barley beer
- χendz'ie** *n.* feast
- χeŋ** *adj.* complicated; difficult; tough
- χeŋkhi** *n.* pillow
- χeŋtsei; nəŋtsei** *n.* younger sister
- χeʂi** *adv.* also, still
- χi** *v.* read aloud
- χi** *n.* trousers
- χe** *v.* run
- χei** *n.* roe; Chinese water deer
- χeimigəu** *n.* a family name in Chǎngmǎ village
- χeletʂhiʂeŋ** *vpr.* run fast
- χeχəbei** *v.* do running; race
- χə** *n.* water bucket; beehive

χədzɯŋ *n.* beehives
 χənsən *n.* sumac tree; Toxicodendron vernicifluum (Stokes) F.A. Barkl.
 χəu; ʻəu *v.* broadcast, sow (e.g. wheat, barley, soybean, etc.)
 χi *v.* read aloud; chant
 χĩ; χin *adj.* long
 χigɯɛ *n.* trousers
 χi'ləŋ *n.* boundary of a field
 χitʂhɔ *n.* a boundary stone
 χoxiɛŋ *n.* star anise [cf. Chinese *húxiāng* 茴香]
 χɔ *v.* catch; chase
 χəpɛi *adv. pos.* under
 χuɛ *n.* paintings [cf. Chinese *Huà* 画]
 χuəsəŋ *n.* groundnut [cf. Chinese *Huāshēng* 花生]
 χui *n.* tooth
 χuiβuzunɛŋgo *vpr.* have decayed teeth
 χuikɛ *v.* pull out teeth
 χuisi *n.* wild mulberry
 χuisi *n.* gingiva
 χuŋ *v.* sense the smell of
 χu'wu *adj.* tongue-numb and spicy

'y

'yo *v.* rob
 'yo 'wu *v.* robber *n.* robbery

y

yo *v.* leak
 yəu *v.* resemble
 yəulɛhɛhɛ *v.* very much resemble
 yɔ *v.* provide for
 yɔlədəku *vpr.* provide for the children to grow
 yu'mɛ *n.* corn [c.f. Chinese *yùmǐ* 玉米]
 yu'mɛb'ɔlɔ *n.* corn bread
 yu'mɛmintɔ *n.* sunflower
 yu'mɛniɛkɔ *n.* blighted corn

yu'mɛpɔpɔ *n.* corn cob [c.f. Chinese *Yùmǐ Bàngbàng* 玉米棒棒]
 yu'mɛphɛ *n.* maize flour
 yu'mɛ wuteiɛku *vpr.* grow corn in drill

z

zɛŋbu *n.* bridge
 zɛŋbugəu; dziezɛŋkhə *name.* Lúding 泸定
 zɛŋbugu *v.* pass the bridge
 zɛitɯŋ *n.* freckle
 zɛzɛ *n.* point, tip
 zəŋgu *n.* temple
 zəgutɕhi *v.* have temple ache; have nerve-wracking problems
 zəfɛijɛn *v.* (of rice) rises well
 zi *num.* four
 zibucio *v.* lead a leisurely life *adj.* leisurely; free from worries; happy
 zibuzu *v.* get angry, take offense
 zibu<thə>zu *vprinfl.* don't take offense
 zidzɛŋ *npr.* the fourth day of a month
 zi'li *n.* four months
 zi'lheŋ *npr.* four liǎng 两, 125 grams
 zi'ne *n.* leopard
 zi' ηɛpɛi *npr.* four or five people
 zipɛ *npr.* four Yuán
 zisɔgəudeɕɔ *num.* one fourth
 zithɛŋəu *n.* the fourth time
 zo *pron.* he, she, it
 zogəu *pron.* our family; we [the exclusive first person plural pronoun]
 zome *pron.* her, his, its
 zubugukɔ *v.* strong
 zukhɛ *n.* corner
 zutsei *n.* mushroom
 zunjtshei *n.* coin; penny
 zuzi *n.* square or triangle pouch; small bag for carrying money, odds and ends
 zuzu *v.* gather up; conserve; deposit

z'
 z'ei *n.* food
 z'eibeiwuken *n.* kitchen
 z'eikhə *n.* bowl
 z'eiki'wu *n.* people who sell food;
 restaurant owner
 z'ə *n.* pin money; secret purse; mad
 money
 z'ətciə *adj.* miserly
 z'ətciəbei *v.* save pin money by gleaning
 wheat
 z'ətciəmədzi *adj.* generous
 z'əzəi *n.* abstinence from meat
 z'əzeibei *v.* practice abstinence from
 meat
 z'iliko *n.* Hwamei; Garrulax canorus
 z'uŋpu *n.* pestle
 z'ɔ *v.* save bit by bit

z
 zē; zən *v.* fit, feel just right, be suitable
 zē *adj.* right; suitable
 zəŋ *pron.* self
 zəŋ *n.* plan
 zəŋkue *adj.* raw
 zəŋsu *pron.* self
 zə *n.* moments; days; an appointed date
 zəkə'wu *v.* dawdle
 zə *n.* bronze ritual metal
 zədziə *vpr.* decide on a date for a special
 occasion by the shaman
 zən *v.* fit; suit
 zənkhe *n.* string; a small piece of rope
 zəntsubei'wu *v.* rent the land *n.* lessor;
 renter
 zəŋ *n.* gallbladder
 zəpu *n.* rope
 zəsubei *v.* stop working
 zəwuzi *n.* a long time
 zē *v.* associate with

zəi *n.* cloth
 zəidəju *n.* a piece of cloth [either 10.67m
 or 9.33m]
 zəidzi *n.* cloth shoes
 zəigentshei *n.* black cloth; dark cloth
 zəijinχindəju *n.* a piece of red cloth
 zəithē *v.* weave cloth
 zəitʃhəkəitsəi *adj.* colorful cloth
 zɪ *n.* mountain
 zɪ *n.* loop or arch (fingerprint)
 zɪgui *n.* pseudois nayaur
 zɪguməkhu'wu *n.* snow on the mountain
 top
 zɪ'mu *n.* fingerprint
 zɪ *n.* four
 zɪbu *n.* April
 zɪde *n.* game; prey
 zɪdzɪə *n.* four hundred
 zɪkəi *n.* mountain side
 zɪgu *n.* top of the mountain; peak;
 summit
 zɪkuŋ *n.* hare; rabbit
 zɪnə *n.* foot of a mountain
 zɪ'ni *n.* Gastrodia; rhizoma gastrodiae
 zɪŋeli *n.* the back of a mountain
 zɪpu *n.* hair; *n.* son-in-law
 zɪputshəŋ *n.* hair
 zɪtʃi *num.* forty
 zɪtʃizədzi *num.* forty-one
 zɪtʃizəŋi *num.* forty-two
 zɪtʃizədən *num.* forty-seven
 zɪtʃizədzu *num.* forty-six
 zɪtʃizədziə *num.* forty-eight
 zɪtʃizəgei *num.* forty-nine
 zɪtʃizə'ŋə *num.* forty-five
 zɪtʃizəsəŋ *num.* forty-three
 zɪtʃizəzi *num.* forty-four
 zɪʃike *n.* the front of a mountain
 zɪthəu *n.* foot of mountain
 zɪtʃhi *n.* assistant of official

zĩtɛiɛ *adj.* physique; constitution
zĩχɔpei *adv.* at the foot of the mountain
zĩ'wu *n.* flea
zɔ *v.* help
zɔku *n.* waistband; girdle
zɔpu *n.* acquaintances; companion
zɔ'wu *n.* help; helper
zɔzɔbei *v.* help each other
zɔgɔzɔ *n.* humpback
zɔŋkuɛn *n.* cloud
zui *adj.* fine; sunny
zui *v.* wring
zu'mei *name.* Dānbā 丹巴; places where
 Jiāróng 嘉绒 people live
zu'meimɛdz'imɛijnɛ *npr.* Jiāróng 嘉绒
 girls
zu'meimũ *npr.* people from Dānbā
 丹巴
zumɛi *n.* A collective name for Hàn
 Chinese immigrated to the Village of
 chǎngmǎ
zuy *n.* middle
zuygəu *adv.* in the middle
zuyguny *n.* middle finger
zuybu *n.* dough basin

z'
z'ɛpei *n.* saliva, phlegm
z'u *v.* hit the target
z'ɔtuŋ *n.* umbrella

z
zi *v.* keep; farm; rear; grow
ziezie *adj.* dense
zienŋɛjɛn *adj.* difficult to handle
zienziɛbei *v.* ski
zie *adj.* early
zietsei *n.* morning *adv.* in the morning
zilu *n.* appearance
ziɔ *adj.* early in the morning
zo *adj.* wayward; perverted; stubborn
zosi *n.* worry; misgivings
zosiphɔ *v.* feel upset
zɔsi *adj.* anxious; worried

z'
z'ientsi *n.* thread, filament, wire, string
 [cf. Chinese *Xiànzǐ* 线]
z'iomu *n.* mushroom; glossy ganoderma
z'iomudɛ'nie *npr.* a mushroom
z'iomudɛzɛj *npr.* a kind of mushroom

English-Guìqióng Glossary

- ablative case marker -ni
 able *adj.* kɔ; bad people *n.* kɔ'wu
 able to see *v.* dzɪdzuɛŋkɔ
 above *adv. pos.* g'u
 abstinence from meat *n.* nyŋbuz'əzɛi;
 n. z'əzɛi
 abuse each other *vpr.* dzɔdzɔbɛi
 acceptable *adj.* dzuɛŋ
 accumulate *v.* 'mɛitshu
 accustom *v.* lu
 achievement *n. pron.* dɛn
 acne *n.* dzɛituŋ
 acquaintances *n.* zɔpu
 acupuncturist *n.* khədi'wu
 Adam's apple *n.* wuthɔ
 add *v.* tʃhuɛŋ [cf. Chinese *Zhuāng* 装]
 addiction *n.* ŋɛnʔə; zɛnʔə
 address *v.* didzidziɔ
 adjust the backpack *v.* dzɔɪkhujitsu
 adjust to look better *pder.* jigɛku
 adjust to make an object stand erect *v.*
 tsu
 adobe making *n.* topeŋyeŋ
 advanced in age *adj.* lobɛ
 affair *n. pron.* dɛn
 afraid of height, acrophobia; dizzy,
 vertigo *adj.* 'lə'liŋkhumu
 again *adv.* ɛŋ³⁵
 age *n.* lo
 aggressive *n:qual. adj.* dzuɛdɛ
 agree *v.* dzi'wutsi; *v.* dzɪtsi
 aim at *v.* sɛŋ
 alcohol *n.* ɛzɛ; ɛlhɛ (by some Guìqióng
 speakers living in Jīntāng. My
 informants use ɛzɛ.)
- a mouthful of alcohol *npr.* ɛzɛmu
 alike *adj.* dɛzɛŋ
 alive *v.* susu; *v.* wuŋɛnɛn
 all *n. pron.* ɣɛŋtʃi'wu; dzɛmu'wu; *pron.*
 ɣɛŋtʃi
 all right *adj. adv.* tɛyɛnmɛ̃
 all through the night *adv.* mɛŋsɛŋsɛŋ
 allow *v.* ku
 almost; more than a half *adv.* dɛwuɣui
 alone *adv.* dɛpɛitsei
 also *adv.* ɛsi; ɣɛɣsi
 alternate (of day and night) *vpr.*
 nisise
 altogether *adv.* ɣɛlhɛ
 aluminium *n.* thi; tʃhɛi
 America *n.* ɛ'məzɪkə
 an appointed date *n.* zɛ
 an envoy *n.* ɣɛitshə
 an idol statue *n.* ʔɔdɛtɛhyo
 an overfilled plate *n.* tɛyətɛyɔdətɛiə
 and *conj.* lə; lɛ
 animals *n.* βəmucɪɛnsɔ
 answer *n. vpinfl. v.* dɛciɛ
 ant *n.* βuɣɛ
 antique *n.* ŋɛnbuŋɛn'ne
 anus *n.* bɔbɔkuti; nɛŋbɔ'ji
 anxious *adj.* zɔsi
 ape *n.* migui
 appearance *n.* zilu
 apple *n.* leisi
 apply (cream, drugs, gilding, etc.) on
 the surface *v.* si
 apply dressing *v.* jilulu
 apprentice *n.* sɔ'mə
 approach *v.* tɛ

- appropriating such things as come within one's reach, as one goes about one's way; pilfering** *n.* khæcilhæci
apricot *n.* sitei; apricot blossom *npr.* sīteiemintō
April *n.* zību
apron *n.* jientʃi
aqueduct *n.* tʃiφu
Arctonyx collaris *n.* dzueŋbu
area *n.* niē; pōtō
argali *n.* 'lo'wu
arm *n.* khəpʰe [cf. Chinese *Gēbó* 胳膊]
arm span *n.* b'əŋgweŋ; an arm span *n.* dəb'əŋ
army *n.* 'mēmi
arrange *v.* enthe
arrive *v.* dzui
arrow *n.* dǝ
artisan *n.* ləto
ash *n.* dz'i
ask for payment of debt *v.* dzǐdzǐtəhiə
ask *v.* minkhəŋ
ask repeatedly *v.* minkhəŋʃuminkhəŋbōbei
askew *adv.* wujujutsei
assemble *v.* min'məntʃho
assistant to an official *n.* zitʃhi
associate with *v.* zǣ
associate with *vpr.* nyəŋ'məhe
(not) at all *adv.* məntʃshen
at noon *adv.* tʃəŋtəiə
at the beginning *vpr. adv.* jibeigəŋ
at the doorway *adv.* meitəhiō
at the end *adv.* wutshugəŋ
at what time *adv.* dz'iŋiō
August *n.* dziəbu
aunt *n:kin.* ɐ'i
automatically *adv.* 'wu'wu
autumn *n.* jōtə; φuŋtə
avenge *v.* lənbeidziən
awkward *adj.* dǣmu
axe *n.* peitsʃei
baby *npr.* bəŋtsə'e'letsei
bachelor *n.* φututŋ
back; upper back *n.* tətʃhi; guigō
backbite *v.* ŋe'licie'wu
background *n.* titʃi
backpack *n.* dziōkhu; a backpackful of *n.* dəbu
bacon *n.* lhəzəu [cf. Chinese *Làròu* 腊肉]
bad (of weather) *adj.* məŋhəŋ
bad *adj.* dǣ; mǣdzueŋ; ŋei
bad body odour *n.* dzīŋei
bad-hearted *adj.* sənnigōdzəu; sənnidǣ
bad-tempered *adj.* gətəidə; səŋdǣ
bag *n.* pōpō [cf. Chinese *Bāobāo* 包包]
bag; sack *n.* khi
bake *v.* khə
balcony *n.* sənhəŋ
balcony; ground *n.* sənhəŋ
bald hairless head *n.* gutʃhi
bamboo *n.* 'mēi
bamboo shoots *n.* 'mēizi
bamboo strips *n.* 'mēixō
banks of waterside fields *n.* tʃhibəŋ
Bǎoxīng 宝兴 *name.* thəŋtəiə
bar; hold up *v.* wo
bare *adj.* geitəielhe
bare-footed *adj.* ŋəgədzəŋ
bare mountain *n.* dzəpə
bark *n.* pəpə
bark *n.* sənpupəpə
barley; highland barley; hull-less barley *n.* g'i
a gain of barley *n.* g'idə'jəŋ
barley bread *n.* g'ib'ōlō
barley flour *n.* g'iphə
black barley *n.* g'inigə
roasted barley flour *n.* jīphə; inb'ə

- self-made barley beer *n.* χεν
 white barley *n.* g'isɔ'mə
 bask *v.* d'en
 basket sieve *n.* lɔʃei [cf. Chinese *Luóshāi*
 箩筛]
 basket used to carry objects on the back
n. ɸ'ur̥tu
 bastard *n.* niətʃhu [cf. Chinese *nièchù*
 孽畜]
 bat *n.* gədziphəŋ'wəŋ
 bathe *v.* jejebei
 battle *n.* 'mə
 be *cop.* dzi
 be forced to promise *v.* dzi'wutsilelu
 be responsible for *v.* kuən
 beak *n.* 'niŋtʃɔ
 beak; the mouth of birds *n.* nəmənyŋbu
 bean *n.* tɕieŋtəu [cf. Chinese *Jiāngdòu*
 豇豆]
 bean *n.* niɔ
 bear *n.* ɛngui
 beard *n.* 'ətsəŋ
 beast-hide raincoat *n.* lhəki
 beast *n.* βəmuɕiənsɔ
 beastly, cruel *adj.* sənnihəŋ
 beat *v.* dē
 beautiful *adj.* dzi'wu
 beauty *n.* dzi'wu
 become a doctor *v.* 'mēbei 'wu
 become accustomed *v.* ŋendzueŋbe
 become an orphan *v.* duzɕuə
 become available *v.* tɕi
 become famous *vpr.* 'miŋthu
 jən;'miŋthəuŋ
 become in-laws (of families), have
 each other's children get engaged *v.*
 niwuəse
 become objectively permissible *v.* dzi
 become *v.* ji
 become well-known *v.* 'miŋthutchi
 bed *n.* tʃhī
 bee *n.* wuitsei
 beef *n.* nici
 beehive *n.* χə
 a beehive of *n.* wuitseiχədzuŋ
 beehives *n.* χədzuŋ
 before long *vpr. adv.* dənməthɔsəŋ
 before one's eyes *adv.* niēʃike
 before the house *adv.* dz'ieŋʃike
 beggar *n.* tʃui'wu
 beginning of a year *n.* lotshɔ
 behind *n. adv. pos.* ŋe'li
 believe *v.* sīzə
 bell *n.* dziɸu
 bell-metal *n.* li
 belly *n.* pə
 below *adv.* b'ei
 bend down *pder.* jigɔzɔ
 bend *n.* gɔzɔ; giŋɔ; geigo
 bend of the road *n.* ɸuteieŋɔzɔ
 best *n.* tʃhige'wu
 betroth *v.* ɕiɔtəhiəŋbei
 better *v.* wugeku
 Betula *n.* tʃhuipɸu
 big *adj.* də; dədə
 the big *n.* də'wu
 the bigger *n.* də'wu
 the biggest *n.* də'wu
 big dipper *n.* nəŋtʃhigədən
 big in diameter *adj.* ŋendəŋ; niendəŋ
 big rock *n.* pəŋ'wəŋ
 big toe *n.* ŋənydə'wu'ny; gənydə'wu'ny
 big wooden fork *n.* gidē
 big yellow ant *npr.* βuχə dzueŋ'mə
 bind up *v.* jilulu
 bind *v.* tʃhe
 birdie *n.* nətsei; tʃhitsei
 any tiny little bird *n.* tʃhitʃitsei
 birds *n.* b'u'wu; nə'wuŋ; nə'wū
 birthday *n.* səŋ

- bit** *adj. adv.* detəi
bitch *n.* khu'ŋi
bite *v.* tseŋdi
bitter *adj.* khi
bitter buckwheat *n.* dzudziu
bittern *n.* gəutsi
black *adj. n.* nige
black and white ox *n.* nitʃhəkəi
black and white; of different colours
adj. tʃhəkəi
black fungus; tree's mushroom *n.*
'etsinɔ'wu
black ink *n.* 'nədzo
black soybean *npr.* ɲionige
blackberry *n.* ɬeisi
blacksmith *n.* gəzə
bladder *n.* 'mɛŋkɔ
blast *v.* b'ɛ
bleed *v.* dzitʃhue
blighted corn *n.* yu'meniəkɔ
blind *adj. n.* niəkɔ
blind gut *n.* pɛtu
blink one's eyes *v.* niətsigə
blisters *n.* tʃhite
block up *v.* sui; sui
blood *n.* dzi
blooding *adj.* 'məsəmə'lo
blow [said of wind] *v.* ʃə
blowpipe *n.* pɛitun
blue veins *n.* gu
blunderbuss *n.* niətchiun; niətʃhun
blunt *adj.* mətchiɛŋ
blunt, slow-witted *adj.* dʒɛmu
boast *v.* dzeŋbei'wu
body *n.* libu
body hair *n.* tʃheŋ
boil food in water *v.* ʃɛ
boil medicine *v.* 'mɛʃɛ
boil some water *v.* tʃiphutə
be boiling *v.* dui
books *n.* dz'i
a book *npr.* dz'ithə
borrow *v.* ji'ni
borrow money *v.* dzo'ni
borrow back and forth *v.* ji'niwu'nibei
bottom *n.* titsi
boundary of a field *n.* χi'leŋ
bow *v.* ʃi
bow with hands folded in front *v.*
tsɔ'jibeɪ [cf. Chinese *Zuòyǐ* 作揖]
bowl *n.* khɔ; z'eikhɔ
an overfilled bowl *n.* tɛyətɛyədəkhɔ
a crack in the bowl *n.* khɔkhəzɪ
a bowl of butter tea *npr.* mindz'iuədəkhɔ
a bowl of *npr.* dəkhɔ
box *n.* ɕieŋɕieŋ [cf. Chinese *Xiāng* 箱]
bracelet *n.* letʃɔ
branch *n.* luŋtə
brave *v.* sɛntɛie
brawny *v.* simukɔdzɛn
brazen out *v.* lɛitsiʃuɛmu
bread *n.* b'ɔlo
a loaf of bread *npr.* b'ɔlodɛtchie
break *v.* tɛie
break; snap *v.* g'iu
break into fine particles *vpr.*
tʃhimitechiun
break off relations *vpr.* hezɪmɛsɛŋ
break wind *v.* 'nɛŋku
breakfast *n.* dzɛi
breast *n.* 'ŋi'ŋi
breath *n.* wuŋɛn
breathe out *v.* wuŋɛn ɬɛŋ
bricklayer *n.* totsu
bridge *n.* zɛŋbu; tɛhiɛu'lutsi [cf. Chinese
Qiáolùzi 桥路子]
bright *adj.* sɛŋ; sɛŋtʃshuɛŋtsei;
sɛŋtʃshɔŋtsei
brine *n.* gəutsi
bring *v.* phɛn

- bring out** *v.* thutʃhue
broadcast *v.* χəu; β'əu
broad-minded *adj.* pətʃhiləŋ
bronze ritual metal *n.* zɤ
broom made of sorghum straw *n.*
 gəpɛitɕhiə'mu
broom *n.* tɕhiə'mu
broth *n.* cɪɣən
brothers and sisters *n.* 'mən̄'muhəŋtsei
brothers *n.* kekeɣuzu
bruise by squeezing *v.* kələn
brutal people *n.* dzu'wu
Bubble fir *n.* thəŋgəu
bubble *n.* bubu
bucket *n.* dzo'wu
buckwheat *n.* gi
buckwheat bread *n.* gib'ɔlə; gidzəŋb'ɔlə
buckwheat flour *n.* giphɛ
Buddha *n.* səŋŋi
a living Buddha *n.* khənmu; khəŋβu;
 khənbu
buffalo *n.* ɬepɛ
bug *n.* dzɛiʃi
build *n.* libu
build, lay out *v.* to
build a road *vpr.* ɸuteiətsu
building *n.* dz'ieŋ
bull kept for covering *n.* 'ləŋzən
bump *v.* tɕhiɔ
bump together *v.* tɕhiuŋtɕhiuŋtʃhei
bun with vegetable stuffing *n.* dzəŋb'ɔlə
burn incense *vpr.* ʃɔpəŋ
burn the firewood *vpr.* sən'ləku
burn to carbon, overburn *v.* dz'i
burn wood *v.* khuən
**burning wood made up of dry branches
 and twigs** *npr.* khəɣəŋ
burst *v.* b'ɛ
bury *v.* min'nu
business *n.* dənɖɛ
businessman *n.* tʃhuŋβei'wu
bustle about *v.* khiekhieku
busy *adj.* bɛ
but *conj.* deigəŋ
butler *n.* geigu
butt *v.* geigeitshei
butter *n.* mi
butter lamp *n.* dz'ynei; dz'ymi
butter tea *n.* mindz'iu
butter tea barrel *n.* dzieŋthuŋ
butterfly *n.* khəɬə
buttocks *n.* bəbɔ, bəbə
button *n.* dzɤ'wu
button hole *n.* dzəpən
buy *v.* 'ŋyɛŋ
buyer *n.* dzɔ'ŋieŋ'wu
by all means *adv.* ɛ'li'wubeibei
by oneself *adv.* deɣeitsei
by the way *adv.* ʃəŋɔ
cactus *n.* silhelhebə
calf *n.* məŋpɛ
calf, small ox *n.* nītsei
calf of the leg *n.* bu'lŋŋ
call, yell *v.* sətɕhyən
calm *adj.* dzieŋmeijəŋtsei
camp *n.* 'jə
can *v.* 'ŋyɛŋ
can't go *pder.* jilumətɛi
can't help laughing *v.* ɣisibubu
cannon *n.* phɔ [cf. Chinese *Pào* 炮]
**cannot appreciate kindness, act;
 ungratefully** *vpr.* dzuənbumə'ŋyɛŋ
careful *adj.* dzəndzɔ
carefully *adv.* dəntɔkule; gegetsei
careless *adj.* dzilumɛ̃
caress *v.* ʃiʃuəi
carpenter *n.* sənɡo'wu; cɪəntsɔ
carry on the shoulder *v.* tɕhəkhope
carry on the back *pder.* jibu

case used to hold clothing *n.*

dz'ɛwɛkhuʂɛŋ

case used to hold clothing *n.* dz'ɛwɛ

hɛsɛŋ

casserole *n.* ʂɛkuɛntsi [cf. Chinese

沙罐子 *shāguànzǐ*]

cat *n.* ŋɛ'wũ; ŋɛŋ'wu

catapult *n.* wutɔ

catch a cold *vpr.* g'utseiphɛphɛtseitɛhimu

catch *v.* ɣɔ

catch up *v.* tɛiɛŋtɛhiɔ

catch with hands *v.* ŋue

caterpillar *n.* βukei

cattle keeper *n.* nizi'wu

cattle *n.* dzɔ'jɛ

cattle *n.* ni

caul fat *n.* tshidzɛu

causative marker -ku

cause and consequences *n.* ʂikɛŋɛ'li

cause and effect *n.* dzɔlu

cause; source *n.* jiluhɛlu

cave *n.* dzɛbɔ

cave *n.* khɔkɔ

cecum *n.* pɛtu

celebrate birthday *v.* sɛŋbei

celebrate the Spring Festival *vpr.* liseibei

celebrate *v.* bei

centipede *n.* βudzizɛ

centre *n.* wui

century, a hundred years *npr.* lodziɔ

certainly *int.* o'jɛ

chaff blower *n.* tʂɛi

chaff *v.* si

chang *n.* ɣɛn

change back and forth *v.*

tʂɛtʂɛʂɛʂɛtʂɛtʂɛbɔbei

change *v.* tʂɛtʂɛ

change; give change to *v.* tʂɛ

chant *v.* 'lo; ɣi

chant words *vpr.* dz'ixi

char *v.* g'ɛmɛ pɛŋ

characteristics *n.* sɛŋ

charcoal *n.* g'ɛmɛ

chase *v.* ɣɔ

chat *v.* dzɛŋɛiebei

cheap *adj.* tshĩ

cheap *adj.* tshĩ'wu

cheap things *n.* tshĩ'wu

cheek *n.* nɔtsho

cheer on *v.* sɛntɛie

chef *n.* [tɔŋki

Chéngdū 成都 *name.* tʂɛŋɔdu

chest *n.* 'wɛŋtɛie

chest or case used to hold clothing or

grains *n.* khuʂɛŋ

chew into fine particles *v.* migogo;

midziku

chicken (lit.) *n.* dzɛɔ

chicken coop *n.* dzɛiɔtɛŋ

chicken egg *n.* nɛsi; nɛʂi

an egg *npr.* nɛside'jɛŋ

chicken keeper *n.* nɛzi'wu

chicken *n.* nɛ

chieftain *n.* dzɛiɔpu

child *n.* buzɛ; e'letsei; bɔbuzɛ

a group of children *npr.*

e'letseijnɛdɔtɛhiɔ

bad children *n.* niɛtʂhu [cf. Chinese

nièchù 孽畜]

childish/childlike man *npr.*

e'letsei'wudɛpei

chilli pepper *n.* g'utsɔ

chin *n.* nɛnki; nɛgi

Chinese characters *n.* dz'i

a Chinese character *n.* dz'idenɛŋ

Chinese emperor sitting in bed

reigning the entire country *n.*

dziɛ'nɛtʂhĩdzɛdzɛiɔbu

Chinese juniper *n.* dzɛdɛzɛ

Chinese pear-leaved crab apple *n.* leisi

Chinese prickly ash *n.* dzɛŋmɛŋ

Chinese tingling black pepper *n.*

dzɛŋmɛŋ

Chinese yam *n.* ʋ'ŋɛ'ŋɛ

chip *v.* tsɔ

chisel *n.* dzɛntsi

choke (of smoke) *v.* ciu

choking smoke; fume *n.* muhɔciumu

choose *v.* tshi

chop into pieces *v.* tsɛtsɛ

chop *v.* tsɛ

chopsticks *n.* tʃuŋtɛhie [cf. Ancient

Chinese *zhù* 箸]

a set of chopsticks *npr.* tʃuŋtɛhiedɛtɛie

chopsticks' cage *npr.* tʃuŋtɛhiephɔtʃɔ

Chrysosplenium macrophyllum Oliv *n.*

pɛpɛniɔ

chump *n.* dʒɛmu

cicada *n.* ɛ'nien'nien

a small cicada *n.* guɛnpie

circumstantial suffix -lu

city, town *n.* khie

clanking *n.* tɛŋlɛŋlɛŋ

clap one's hands *v.* kodɛ

clap *v.* tɛhiedi

classifier for a mouthful of liquid food

n. mu; a mouthful *npr.* demu

classifier for a piece of land or a group
of people tɛhiɔ

classifier for an episode -tɛtɛsei

classifier for animals tɛieŋ

classifier for backpacks bu

classifier for beating or striking [cf.

Chinese *Dùn* 顿] dɛntsi

classifier for bite tɛŋdi

classifier for books thɛ

classifier for buildings, mountains;

clothing; affairs, etc. tɛie

classifier for Chinese characters,

sentence, articulation, etc. nɛŋ

classifier for cloth ju

classifier for cups of drinks *n.* tʃuɛŋ

classifier for either one of the objects

that occurs in a pair phe

classifier for people pɛi

classifier for rivers khe

classifier for statue tɛhyo

classifier for the number of month 'li;

a month *n.qual.* dɛ'li

classifier for the times of doing

something phɔ

classifier for trees pu

clay *n.* 'ŋɔpɛ

clean *adj. pos. adv.* tɛŋmɛŋtɛsei; tɛŋ

clean up *v.* khɛidziɔ

clean up, sweep *v.* tɛhie

clean up *v.* wutɛŋku

clear *adj. adv.* guɛntʃɛtɛsei

cleft lip *n.* ɛʃui

clench one's fist *v.* ko'jynɛŋjitiŋku

clever *adj.* dzɛ

cliff *n.* 'lɛχɛŋ

cliff *n.* gɛutsi

climb upwards *v.* thutʃɛ

clip something in the armpit *v.*

jetʃimejigəku

close, near *adj. adv.* nɛŋphe

close, not long in time *n.qual.*

dɛn'jin'ŋɛŋmɛtshie

close one's eyes *vpr.* niɛmi

close the door (obsolete) *v.* gudziɔ

close the door *vpr.* mɛnwukhyɔ

close *v.* khyɔ

cloth *n.* zɛi

black cloth *n.* zɛigentshei

a piece of cloth *n.* zɛidəju [either 10.67m
or 9.33m]

a piece of cloth winding around the

head *n.* tʃɛntʃhi [cf. Chinese *Chánzi*

缠子]

a piece of red cloth *n.* zɛijinxindəju

cloth shoes *n.* zɛidzi

- clothes; upper garment** *n.* dz'ɛwɛ
a whole set of clothing *n.* gʊtsɛŋlite
a suit of clothing *npr.* dz' ɛwedɛtɛiɛ
cloud *n.* zɔŋkuɛn; wǔpə; mǔbə
clutch *v.* ŋue; wɛdi
coal *n.* mɛi [cf. Chinese *Méi* 煤]
cockroach *n.* dz'iɛŋβuzu
cocoon *n.* khəkhə
coffin *n.* gɛŋ'mu
cohabitant *n.* nɛŋdzǔ
coin *n.* zuŋtshɛi
cold *adj.* khuɛŋ
cold season *n.* guɛnkhu
collapse *v.* lə
collar *n.* guɬuŋ
collect *v.* khəkhə
college *n.* tɛɛyɔ [cf. Chinese *Dàxué* 大学]
colorful cloth *adj.* zɛitʃhəkɛitsei
colour *n.* dəkə; dəkhu; tshɛntsi
colourful *adj.* tʃhəkɛitsei;
tʃhɛikɛitʃhəkɛitsei; dzəmindzəme
comb *n.* tʃu; tʃutsi; *v.* tʃu [cf. Chinese
Shū 梳]
comb the hair *v.* wɛn'jɛntʃu
come *v.* hɛ
come again *vpinfl.* dɛhɛ
come back *vpinfl.* dɛhɛ
come downstairs *vpinfl.* demihɛ
come downward *v.* mihɛ
come downwards along the same
course (after one has gone upwards)
vpinfl. demihɛ come in *pder.* jihɛ
come in along the same course (after
one has gone out) *vpinfl.* dejihɛ
come out along the same course (after
one has gone in) *vpinfl.* dewuhɛ
come upward *v.* tuhɛ
come upwards along the same course
(after one has gone downwards)
vpinfl. dethuhɛ
Come here! *pder.* hɛ'wɛ
commissioned army officer *n.*
'mɛmimɛpɛ
commitments *n.* dɛndɛ
common cold *n.* g'utɛɪpɛphɛtɛɪ
companion *n.* zɔpu
compare *v.* tuiɪpɛi [cf. Chinese *duìbǐ*,
对比]
competent *adj.* guluŋthen
complete *adj.* gudzui; *vpr.* beitshu
completely *adv.* thəuthəugəu(gəu)
complicated *adj.* ɣɛŋ
compost *n.* ɪ'en
comprehensive *adj.* gʊtsɛŋlite
computer *n.* diɛnnə [cf. Chinese *diànnǎo*
电脑]
concave *n.* khəkhə
conceal *v.* jipɛ
confused *adj.* lusumɛ
connect *v.* sɛ
conserve *v.* zuzɪ
constitution, build *n.* zɪtɛi
consult *n.* dzuiɛ; *v.* minkhɛŋ
consume *v.* dz'ie
contagious *vpr.* dziɪzɪɛi; dzilujɛn
contain *v.* tʃhuhɛŋ
convenient *adj.* dziɛn
cook by directly putting raw food in fire
v. pɛŋ; pǔ
cook dishes *v.* dzɛnbɛɛi
cook *n.* jɔbu; tʃhəŋki
cool *adj.* kɔkɔtɛi; *v.* pɛmu
cool water *n.* tʃuŋpɛ
copper *n.* dzɛŋmu
coral *n.* dzɪzi
corn bread *n.* yu'mɛb'ɔlɔ
corn cob *n.* yu'mɛpɔpɔ [cf. Chinese *Yùmǐ*
Bàngbàng 玉米棒棒]
corn *n.* yu'mɛ [cf. Chinese *yùmǐ* 玉米]
corner *n.* zukhɛ
corner of clothes *n.* guɬuŋ
corpse *n.* 'mɛŋ

- corridor** *n.* tsheilheŋtsi
cotton *n.* mēχe [cf. Chinese *miánhuā*
 棉花]
cotton coat *n.* mēχetšhipē
cough again and again *v.* khysukhybobei
count *v.* dz'ie
country *n.* sutēhiu
country road *n.* φutēie
countryside *n.* huŋtshu
courage *n.* deŋ'jēŋ
cover *n.* khəkhə
cow *n.* bə'mu
cowardly *adj.* deŋ'jēŋni
cowpea flour *npr.* tēieŋtəuphe
cowpea *n.* tēieŋtəu
crab apple flower *n.* leisimintə
craftsman *n.* ləto
crane *n.* dzio'wēŋ
crawl *vpr.* bəbəšiši
creep, crawl *v.* tēhtēhymu
crematory *n.* doso
crippled *adj.* kuē'jē
crisp *adj.* khəsolətsei
criticise *v.* dzə
crop expertise *n.* lieien
crop harvest decrease *vpr.* lithəŋien
crop *n.* lithə
**cross legs (in the old times only people
 of some importance can do this)** *v.*
 d'end'enbei
cross talks in public places *n.* lū'mindzī
cross-eye *n.* niēcie
crossing *n.* jithuŋwuthuŋ
crow *n.* gē'li
crowd *n.* mūminmēŋ
cruel *adj.* dzu; senniheŋ
crush *v.* tēhiuŋ; tšhuŋ
cry *v.* gə
cuckoo *n.* kuku
cumin *n.* 'entši
cunning *adj.* gui
cup *n.* pēpēitsei; tšueŋ
cupboard *n.* beŋ
curio *n.* ŋenbuŋen'ne
currency *n.* dzə
curse *n.* mēleŋ
curse back and forth *v.* dzəʂudzəbə
curse each other *vpr.* dzədzəbei
**curved stone or iron leg of the tripod
 props beneath a wok** *n.* dzēŋluŋ;
 dzēŋluŋ
customer *n.* dzə'ŋieŋ'wu
cut firewood *v.* sēn'nyŋ
cut the cackle *v.* khēpēniēntsilē
cut the vegetable *v.* dzēnbēmido
cut *v.* do; gə
cut wood *v.* 'jyŋ
Cyclobalanopsis glauca (Thunb.) Oerst
n. dzisēn
cymbals *n.* tēhiēnlhe
**cypress, cedar (the leaves of which is
 burned as incense to worship the
 God)** *n.* ʂəpu
Dàdù River *n.* nyēŋtši
damage *v.* deŋheŋbei
**Dānbā 丹巴, places where Jiāróng
 people live** *name.* zu'mei
dance *v.* dzueidzueibe
dandelion *n.* gəutsipə
Dào *n.* tə
Dàofú 道孚 *name.* də'wu
dare *v.* 'jy
dare not eat *vpr.* gome'jy
dark *adj.* nigəzə
dark brown and blue *n.* məpu
dark cloth *n.* zēigēntshē
dark clouds foreboding rain *n.* dzī'ne
dark nights *n.* nigəzəməmēŋgeitsei
darken *v.* pi

- date of wedding** *n.* ɕiətɕhiɛŋbeimezɕɐ
dative marker -ə of -wuələ ~ -ələ
 ~-ləwuə ~ -wuə ~ -ə
daub the colour *v.* ɕi
daughter *n.* dz'imeɪ; daughters *npr.*
 dz'imeɪɲie
daughter-in-law *n.* dz'ieŋdɛmu
dawdle over one's work *v.* jɛnmubei'wu
dawdle *v.* zɕku'wu
day *n.* mu'lu
day after tomorrow *n. adv.* tɕhidzɕ
day and night *n.* nisi
the day before yesterday *n.* ɕonie
days *n.* zɕ
deaf *n.* wɛnβə
December *n.* bei'liseɪ; liseɪ
decide *v.* denthe
decide on a date for a special occasion
 by the shaman *vpr.* zɕɛdzio
deep *adj.* 'nu
deer *n.* ɕiu'wu
definitely *adv.* thəuthəugəu(gəu)
delay *v.* thə
delicious *adj.* tɕhĩdzɕuɛŋ
delight *v.* guiluhɛŋhɛŋɛɛ
deliver a child *v.* b'jəbei'wu
dell *n.* luŋpu
demarcations of the land *n.* dz'ɛikuɛn
dense *adj.* ziezie
dent *v.* dɪ
dependent existential verb *v.* bu
deposit *v.* zuzu
desk *n.* tɕsuətsei
despair *v.* 'mɛŋteɪubeɪ; dɛ'ləbei
destiny *n.* le
destroy oneself by taking poison *v.* tugo
destroy *v.* wutshoku
details *n.* kɛnkɛn'məzi
devastate *v.* wutshoku
develop *v.* bɛ; khi
dew *n.* guɛnsi
diabolo *n.* khuɛlhɛwɛn
dialect *n.* kɛtɕhie
dibble (e.g. maize, cabbage, etc.) *v.* tshɔ;
 dz'ɔ
dice *n.* seitsi [cf. Mandarin shāizi/tóuzǐ
 骰子]
dice-thrower *n.* seitsiŋuɛ'wu
die *v.* si
difficult *adj.* χɛŋ; difficult *n.* nɛŋzɕχɛŋ
difficult to handle *adj.* zieŋŋɛjɛn
difficult to walk (of road) *adj.* tɕhy'ji
 hɛŋ
dig *v.* he
digit *n.* kə'ny
digit *n.* ɲy; 'ny
diligent *adj.* gei'jɛŋ
dillydally *v.* jɛnmubei'wu
diminish (of sound) *v.* ŋɛ
diminutive suffix -tsei
direction *n.* tɕhəutɕhyo
direction of wood *n.* ɕiəŋgkɕhɛŋ
directional morpheme 'back on the
same course' de-
directional morpheme denoting a
downward action mi-
directional morpheme denoting an
inward direction ji-
directional morpheme denoting an
upward action thu-
directional suffix denoting an outward
direction wu-
dirty *adj.* kekeŋiəŋiə; ni; ŋɛ
disappointed *adj.* ɕixui
disaster *n.* bətɕhie; dzɕŋtɕhie; gibətɕhie
disclose *v.* bə
disengage *v.* te
dish *n.* tɕiə
dish cabinet *n.* dɛŋtɕhə
disheartened *adj.* ɕixui

- disposition** *n.* phitchi
dispute *v.* ciεciεbei
disrobe *v.* te
distant *adj.* d'εχin
a distant place *n.* d'εχin
distinct *adj.* tchilijen; teie
disturbing *adj.* bubulele
divide *v.* dzi
divine *v.* dz'ie
do a night's sleep *v.* wūšibe
do acupuncture *v.* khədi'wu
do chainsmoking *v.* dz'iešudz'ieɔbei
do cleaning at home *v.* dz'ieŋtchie
do embroidery; do needlework *v.* sɔ
do fortune-telling *v.* dz'ie
do serious prayers *v.* 'lətšəŋbei'wu
do singing and dancing *v.*
 mə'nitchieŋ'wu; tchieŋ
do up *v.* tsu
do *v.* bei
docile *adj.* nyŋbudzi
doctor *n.* 'mēbu
dodge *v.* wune
dog (lit.) *n.* tšhi
dog *n.* khu
a dog *n.* khutseŋ
dog *n.* khutsei
don't allow to go *v.* jiməku
don't feel shameful *v.* hē'limənyəŋ
Don't forget! *int.* šumuthəɖə
Don't go! *int.* the'jine
don't know how to eat *vpr.* gome'nyəŋ
don't know *v.* 'mēməsi; mēməsi
don't know *v.* cielumesi
don't provoke *vpinfl.* thehehe
don't take offense *vpinfl.* zibu<thə>zu
don't want to go *v.* jitšhə<mə>gi
don't want to obey *vpr.* tsizəŋmegi
donkey *n.* lhuotši
door *n.* mei; mən
a Tibetan door *n.* gu
dough basin *n.* zuŋbu
douse the glim *v.* wuŋə
dove *n.* kuentsi
dowry *n.* pheilhen [cf. Chinese *péilián*
 陪奩]
dragon (lit.) *n.* dzu
Dragon Boat Festival *n.* wu'jə [cf.
 Chinese *wūyuè* 五月]
dragonfly *n.* šəkəi
drama *n.* ci [cf. Chinese *Xì* 戏]
**draught animals (horse, mule and
 donkey)** *n.* βu
dream *v.* məŋ; məŋ
dress *n.* 'ətchiegui
dried turnip in slices for sale
 n. jəŋkiphɔ
dried turnip in slices *n.* tchiəngue
drill (a well) *v.* bɔ
drink a mouthful of water *v.* tšimudz'ie
drink medicine *v.* 'mɛdz'ie
drink *v.* dz'ie
drink water; drink tea *v.* tsidz'iedz'ie
drinks *n.* dz'ietsei
drizzle *n.* dz'əŋsisitsei
drooling *adj.* khətšhinətšhi
drop, classifier for water *n.* dzə
drop one's head *v.* wən'jəŋjipei
drop *v.* mike
drown *v.* jəŋ
drum *n.* dzən
dry *adj.* *v.* su
dry in the sun, expose *v.* wuthen
dry out (of porridge) *v.* sudziəŋŋi
duck *n.* ŋiəntsi; nɛ
Dusky Thrush; Turdus naumanni
 n. tseiguili
dust *n.* theiti
duty *n.* beikə'wu; litei
dwarf *n.* khɔbu 'en'əntsei

dynamic perfective marker -ləneŋ
 dzo (offspring of a bull and a female yak) *n.* dzo

eagle *n.* χɛ

ear *n.* nɔ

earhole *n.* nɔphɔ

early *adj. adv.* ʃi; zie; ʃikətsei

early in the morning *adj. adv.* zio

earring *n.* bɔdɔ; tɛndə

earthenware *n.* mɛŋ³⁵

earthquake *npr. vpr. n.* sɛnhɛŋdɔ

earthworm *n.* βudɛi

earwax *n.* nɔ'wu

east *n.* ciɔ

the east side *n.* ciɔnie

easy *adj.* leiɦu

easy-tempered *adj.* mindɛŋtsei

eat medicine *v.* 'mɛgo

eat one's fill *v.* pɛku

eat too much *vpr.* golɛ'mɛitɕhiphɔ

eat *v.* go

egg *n.* nɛsi; nɛʃi

egret *n.* tʃhidziɔzɔ

eight hundred *num.* dziɛdzia

eight months *num.* 'jɛ'li

eight *n.* 'jɛ

eight *n.* dzie

eight thousand *num.* tuŋtshu'jɛdzien

eight Yuán *num.* 'jɛpɛ

eighteen *num.* dziudzie

eighteenth day of a month *num.* giudzie

eight day of a month *n.* 'jɛdzɔɛŋ

eight-nine *num.* dziɛtʃizɔgei

eighty *n.* dziɛtʃi

eighty-eight *num.* dziɛtʃizɔdzie

eighty-five *num.* dziɛtʃizɔ'ŋə

eighty-four *num.* dziɛtʃizɔzɔ

eighty-one *num.* dziɛtʃizɔdzɪ

eighty-seven *num.* dziɛtʃizɔdɛn

eighty-six *num.* dziɛtʃizɔdzɪ

eighty-three *num.* dzie tʃizɔsɛŋ

eighty-two *num.* dziɛtʃizɛŋ

ejaculate *v.* ɸɛn

elbow *n.* khəpɔtʃɔ [cf. Chinese *gēbózhǒu* 胳膊肘]

elder brother *n.* kɛkɛ; kiki [cf. Chinese *gēgē* 哥哥]

elder brother *n:kin.* 'ətɛiɔ

elder sister *n:kin.* 'əgə

elderly people *n.* 'ləjɪ'wɔɸie

eldest child *n.* buziɛdɛ'wɔɸie

elephant *n.* 'lɔmutɕhi

elephant trunk *n.* nəzɸɛ

Eleusine *n.* 'nɛtsiniɔ

eleven months *n.* seidɛ'li

eleven *num.* dziudzi

eleventh day of a month *num.* seigɛi

emerald *n.* 'ji

emissary *n.* geitshə

empty *adj.* bətɔŋtsei

empty *n.* tuŋpu

end table *n.* thɛtʃɔ

endeavour *v.* guɕsubɛi

end of a year *n.* losɪ; losɛi

ends of clothes *n.* guɦuŋ

engage *v.* ciɔtɕhiɛŋɸɛi

enjoy *v.* tʃhɛgi

enter *v.* jɪky; jɪtɛy

entertain *v.* phɛn

entity *n.* pron. dɛn

equal *adj.* dzũdzũ

equal division between two people
n.qual. dɛpɛidɛnie

equally *adv.* dzũdzũ

erect *v.* tsu

erect a club *vpr.* sɛntɛiɛ meitsu

erode by rust *v.* tsuŋgo

escape *v.* lɛ

estimate *v.* tsheitsheibeɪ

- ethos n.* khəntseɪŋ
even adv. ni
evening n. nīthiətsitsi
evening time, at dusk, in the evening n.
adv. məŋgeitsɛi; məŋpitseɪ
every pron. gəŋtʃi; deisi
everybody n. pron. gəŋtʃi'wu; dzəmu'wu
everyday adv. deɪnɪdɛtsʰe
every day adv. n:qual. deɪni
every family n.pr. deɛdz'ieŋdɛdzuŋ
everywhere adv. 'əlɛdzɪdzɪ; ɛ'like
exceedingly adv. luheŋ
excavate v. b'ute
exception n. ʃe
exchange v. tʃʰetʃʰe
exhale v. wuŋɛn ʃeŋ
exhaust v. tʃʰuən
exist (said of animate beings) v. nəŋ
exist (said of inanimate beings) v. jɛn
expensive adj. n. phudɛ'wu
experience n. deŋŋɛn
experienced auditory evidential marker
 -tsimu
experienced prospective marker -beimu
experiential marker -nien
explode v. b'ɛ
expose v. then
exposed adj. then
extend v. tɛie
extract oil v. mə'nɛtɛie
extremely bad person n. gɔdzudzu
extremely poor adj.
 phuŋlɛtɛŋlɛŋlɛŋɛ'wu
exuberant adj. dɛu
eye n. niẽ
eyeball n. niẽlo
eyebrow n. niəntsʰeŋ; niẽtsʰeŋ

Fagopyrum tataricum (L.) Gaertn n.
 dzudziu

face n. wunie
face v. khi
face-washing basin n. kholo
Fagopyrum esculentum n. gi
fairly adv. tɔji
fairy n. ʃə'mu
fall asleep v. wūdzy
fall ill v. tɛhīŋe
fall v. lo
fame n. 'miŋthəu
family n. deɛdz'ieŋ
famine n. dzuŋtɛhie
famous adj. 'miŋthudziəŋtʃe
fan its ears (of some animal) v. nɔphɛɛ
fan v. phɛɛ
farm animals n. sɔtɛhieŋie
farm v. zi
farmer npr. litho tsho'wu
fast adj. tɛŋ
fasten the horse vpr. βuphəjɪtʃʰe
fasten v. jiteŋku; tʃʰe
fasttrack n. tsholu
fat adj. tɛie
fat pork n. eiphe
fatback n. eiphe
fate n. le
father n. n:kin. pheɪ
father n:kin. 'ɛpe
father n:kin. 'ɛte
fear v. ŋeŋ
feast day n. diŋtɛhien
feast n. dzuən; ɣəndz'ie
feather n. tshɛŋ
February n. ŋibu; ŋibu'li
feed the pig v. phɛz'eikheŋ
feel afraid v. ŋeŋmu
feel as if v. tɛhiphɔ
feel at ease v. səŋzɛ
feel depressed v. du
feel depressed v. dzɪ

- feel disheartened** *v.* dzy [cf. Chinese
 jǔ 沮]
feel heavy *v.* jīmu
feel itchy *v.* t̚shɔ̃t̚shɔ̃mu
feel just right *v.* zē; zēn
feel light *v.* jējmu
feel painful *vpinfl.* t̚chimu
feel relieved *v.* sēj̃mudi
feel satisfied *v.* sēj̃zē
feel sorry for *v.* ŋiēngi
feel thirsty *v.* nỹbusu; t̚sij̃imu
feel tired *v.* gē
feel uncomfortable; feel unsettled *vpr.*
 sēj̃mākā
feel upset in the heart *vpr.*
 dēj̃jēngusej̃mumēdi; zosiphō
feel *v.* phō
fell under the weather *v.* libumēdziēn
**fellow townsman; of the same town (of
 travellers)** *n.* sutchiudētcie
**fellow-villager; (of travellers) from the
 same village** *adj.* phā'jidētcieēmēmū
felt *n.* beiten
female ancestors *n.* sēj̃idē'mu
female *n.* 'ŋi
fence up *vpr.* le'ŋej̃isui
Feng Shui divination after one's death
n. šitsidziō
festival *n.* diŋtchien
fetch *v.* dz'i; dz'i
fetch *v.* t̚chiu
fetch water *vpr.* t̚sikhiōji
fete ceremony by three-gun salute *n.*
 phōdi
few *adj.* niēn
few and far between *adj.* dēj̃
few *pron.adj.* niēn'wu
fewer *adv.* niēnnientsei
field *n.* dziē; a plot of land *npr.* dziētchic
field mouse *n.* dzīgūj̃'luj̃
- fierce** *adj.* kō
fierce gale *n.* 'luŋthō; muhi'luŋthō
fifteen *num.* dziu'ŋə
fifteenth day of a month *num.* sei'ŋə;
 si'ŋə
fifth day of a month *npr.* 'ŋendzueŋ
fifth time *n.* 'ŋenthengəu
fifty *num.* 'ŋət̚ci; 'ŋət̚si
fifty-eight *num.* 'ŋət̚sizədzie
fifty-five *num.* 'ŋət̚sizə'ŋə
fifty-four *num.* 'ŋət̚sizəzi
fifty-nine *num.* 'ŋət̚sizəgei
fifty-one *num.* 'ŋət̚sizədzi
fifty-seven *num.* 'ŋət̚sizədēn
fifty-six *num.* 'ŋət̚sizədzu
fifty-three *num.* 'ŋət̚sizəsēj̃
fifty-two *num.* 'ŋət̚sizēj̃
fight in the battle *v.* 'mets̚hēi
fight *v.* t̚shēi; dēdēt̚shēi
quarrel and fight *v.* didit̚shēi
figure and build of a person *n.* khōbu
filial *adj.* ciōt̚shā [cf. Chinese *Xiàoshùn*
 孝顺]
fill *v.* dziku
filled *adj.* dzi
filter *v.* t̚shē; t̚shē
fine (weather) *adj.* zui
fine hair on the human body *n.* nīt̚shēj̃
**fine-dried noodles; ready-made
 noodles** *n.* kō'mēn [cf. Chinese
Guàmiàn 挂面]
fine-looking *adj.n.qual* dzidzīt̚sei
finger *n.* kō'ny; j̃y; 'ny
finger nail *n.* kuicien
fingerprint *n.* z̃i'mu
fire *n.* minde; mile
firecracker *n.* huopaot̚sei [cf. Chinese
Huǒpàozi 火炮子]
fireplace *n.* minthā
fire-tongs *n.* kēj̃pēi

- firewood *n.* sən
 a bundle of firewood *npr.* də'wə
 fireworks *n.* b'utchieŋte'wu
 first day of a month *npr.* dədzueŋ
 first day of the Spring Festival *n.* nəŋtu
 first day of the twelfth month of a lunar
 year *n.* ŋən'li
 fish *n.* tʃini
 fishnet *n.* peitʃəu
 fist *n.* tchiəntho
 fit *v.* zǐ; zǐən
 five hours *n.* tʃhitshəu'ŋeŋtɕie
 five hundred *num.* 'ŋədzia
 five lamps *n.* tətɕie'ŋeŋtɕie
 five months *npr.* 'ŋən'li
 five *num.* 'ŋe; 'ŋen; 'ŋeŋ; 'ŋə
 five thousand *num.* tuŋtshu'ŋeŋdzieŋ
 five years *npr.* 'ŋe'ŋeŋ
 five Yuán *npr.* 'ŋenpə
 flag *n.* dz'i [cf. Chinese Qí 旗]
 flail *n.* kə'ji
 flame *n.* milə
 flat *adj.* dziedziətsei
 flat grassland *n.* theŋ'wəŋ
 a big area of flat grassland *n.*
 pəŋtɕiedziəŋtheŋ
 flat riverside field *n.* tʃhizəŋ
 flatland in the valley *n.* pətsei [cf.
 Chinese Bàzi 坝子]
 flatter *v.* kusubei
 flea *n.* zǐ'wu
 flee *v.* lə
 fleetingly *adv.* ji'mije'mə
 flint *n.* mintʃhu
 flood *n.* ɸu
 floor board *n.* dz'ieŋtɕie
 flour *n.* pɕe
 flourishing *adj.* dǝu
 flow *v.* tchiəŋ
 flower *n.* mintə
 flower wither *vpr.* mintəgu
 flute *n.* gə'lunjtsei
 fly *n.* ɬu'jəŋ
 a fly *npr.* ɬu'jəŋtɕieŋ
 fly *v.* b'u
 flying squirrel *n.* dziənnə
 flying things *n.* b'u'wu
 foam *n.* bubu
 fodder *n.* niə
 fold *v.* kuŋ
 folk dances said to be imported from
 India *n.* mə'nitchieŋ
 folk song *n.* də'lə
 food for pig, pig wash *n.* phez'ei
 food *n.* z'ei
 food steamer *n.* dzəku
 foodstuff *n.* gotsei
 foolish *n.* dǝmu
 foot *n.* gə; ŋe
 foot of a mountain *n.* zǐnə
 foot of goat *n.* tchiŋe
 foot of mountain *n.* zǐthəu
 for the benefit of *adv.* ʃəkɕeitsei
 forehead *n.* 'nike
 forest (a) *n.* sənpuđetehie
 forget *v.* ʃumuđe
 fortunate, with exceptional good luck
 in life and social status *adj.* ledə
 fortune *n.* dzətheŋ
 forty *num.* zǐtʃi
 forty-eight *num.* zǐtʃizədziə
 forty-five *num.* zǐtʃizə'ŋə
 forty-four *num.* zǐtʃizəzǐ
 forty-nine *num.* zǐtʃizəgei
 forty-one *num.* zǐtʃizədzi
 forty-seven *num.* zǐtʃizədən
 forty-six *num.* zǐtʃizədzu
 forty-three *num.* zǐtʃizəsəŋ
 forty-two *num.* zǐtʃizəŋǐ
 four hundred *n.* zǐdzia

four liǎng 两, 125grams *npr.* zi'lheŋ
four months *n.* zi'li
four *n.* zǐ
four *num.* zi
four or five people *npr.* zi' ŋepei
four thousand *num.* tuŋtshuzidzieŋ
four Yuán *npr.* zipe
fourteen *num.* dziuzǐ
fourteenth day of a month *npr.* sizi
fourth day of a month *npr.* zidzueŋ
fourth floor of a Guìqióng building used to store raw and unprocessed harvest
n. sětʂhi
fourth time *n.* zithengəu
fowl *n.* nē'wuŋ; nē'wũ
fox *n.* oə
fragrance *n.* dzitʂeŋ
freckle *n.* zeituŋ
free *adj.* ʂə
free captive animals *v.* tshəithəŋ
free from worries *v.* zibuəio
friend *n.* dzu
friends *n.* dzuŋdzuŋtʂei
frog *n.* beibu
frog or toad spawn *n.* beiʂibeithe
from above *adv.* g'uni
from beginning till end *adv.*
jǐzueŋwutshueŋ
from December 11th to 13th of a lunar year *n.* dzueŋ'li
from *prep.* ni
front *n. adv. pos.* ʂike
frost *n.* ʂedz'en
frostbite *n.* khu'wunəbeŋ
fruit *n.* sitə; **fruit tree** *n.* sitə
fry *v.* teieu [cf. Chinese *Chǎo* 炒];
petəieku; tei
full (said of container of solid entities)
adj. teyətəyə
full *adj.* dzi

full of life *adj.* 'jəŋdzieŋkhu
fume *n.* muho
fur *n.* tshəŋ
furniture and utensils *n.* teiəlhe
all the furniture and utensils *n.*
dzuibuteiəlhe
gallbladder *n.* zəŋ
gamble *n.* ʂuetəhien; *v.* səitsiŋuē [cf. Chinese *Shuāqián* 耍钱]
gambler *n.* səitsiŋue'wu
game *n.* zǐde
Gānzǐ 甘孜 *name.* gəŋtʂei
garbage *n.* dzələ
garbage *n.* teiəteiepepe
garden *n.* gəli; gəzəi
garlic *n.* ʂu
Gastrodia *n.* zǐ'ni
gather in the crops *v.* ke
gathering place *n.* min'məŋtshə'ji
gather up *v.* zuzu
gotsei *adv.* about the time
generally speaking *adv.* dulewueiegeŋ
generation *n.* miəə
generous *adj.* z'ətəiemədzi
genitive case marker mē
get (food, etc.) burnt *v.* dz'i
get alleviated (of swelling) *vpinfl.* deŋui;
dəmiŋui
get angry *v.* zibuzu
get big *adj.* də
get cheated *v.* ʂəŋteŋphə [cf. Chinese *Shàngdàng* 上当]
get close to *v.* tē
get dark (of light) *v.* ŋə
get drunk *v.* ezezie; dz'ieledzie; dzie
get grubby *vpr.* ʂuzubei
get ill *v.* ŋə
get in the way *v.* du
get out *v.* tʂhuei; tʂhue; tchye

get rid of solid waste from the body *v.*

'nəŋbɔ

get rusty *v.* tsuŋkĩ; tsuŋtɛĩ

get stale *v.* pu

get through *v.* thuŋ

get up *v.* thuwɛ; wɛ

ghost *n.* niɛbu

ghostlike *n.* niedzui'wu

gift *n.* khɛŋlu

gift *n.* ŋɛ

Gig prayer wheels *n.* lhɛkhu

gilded *adj.* tʃshimu sisime

gingiva *n.* χuisi

Ginseng *n.* 'wɔ'mulebɔ

girdle *n.* zɔku

girl *n.* dz'imeĩ

a girl; a daughter; only daughter *npr.*

dz'imeidɛpei

girls *npr.* dz'imeĩŋiɛ

give *v.* khɛŋ

give birth to *v.* tʃshɔ

give birth to a child *vpr.* ɛ'letseinenŋ

give or have an injection *v.* 'mɛmidɛgu

give sb a kick *v.* dɛtɛiɔdi

given short weight (of purchaser) *adj.*

kuɛnmɔgɔ

glacier *n.* pɛŋi

glass *n.* tʃsuɛŋ

glutinous rice *n.* dziu'mi

go *v.* ji ~ gɛ

go, leave *v.* bɛ

go all out to do *vpr.* ʃimutʃshuɛnlebei

go back *vprinfl.* dɛbɛ

go carry some water on the back *vpr.*

tʃikhioji

go mouldy *v.* dz'icieu; mutchie

go on an errand *v.* lɛŋdenχi'wu

go out *v.* tɛhyɛ; tɛhue

Go there! *pder.* jine

go to bed *v.* wuju

go to court *v.* khɛŋtsidzio'wu

Go to release yourself. *int.* 'nəŋbɔjine

go to school *v.* dz'itsɛn

go to work regularly *v.* ʃɛŋpɛnbɛi [cf.

Chinese *Shàngbān* 上班]

goat *n.* tɛhi; goat milk *n.* tɛhime'ŋi'ŋi

goat (lit.) *n.* lo

goat shit *n.* tɛhi'nɛŋ

goatskin *npr.* tɛhipepe

god *n.* ɬɔ

god of Màibēng mountain *n.* jɛŋdzɛŋ

gold *n.* 'ni

golden monkey *npr.* niɔdzɔgiu

gong *n.* ʃuɛŋ

good *adj.* gɛ

good will *n.* dɛibɔ

good-looking *adj.* dzĩ

goods *v.* ki'wu

goose *n.* wo [cf. Chinese 鵞]

gore *v.* 'wɛ

gourd, mellon *n.* dz'ɛikue [cf. Sichuān

Chinese *càiguā* 菜瓜]

government official *n.* pɛ

gradations marked on the beam of a

steelyard *n.* kuɛnniɛ

grains *n.* 'jɛŋ'jɛŋ

a grain of (wheat, apple, pear, gun) *npr.*

dɛ'jɛŋ

a grain of wheat *npr.* 'jɛŋdɛ'jɛŋ

grand grandparents *n.* sɔdɛdɛdɛ

grandchild *n.* butshɔ

grandfather *n:kin.* 'ɛpu; ɛpu

grandmother *n:kin.* 'ɛtsi; ɛtsi

grandson *n.* sunsun

grape *n.* g'ɛiphɛsi

grass *n.* niɔ

goose grass *n.* 'nɛtsiniɔ

a grass which can be used as the fodder

of livestock *n.* teniɔ

grasshopper *n.* ʃuɛŋi

- have breath** *v.* wuŋɛnɛn
have decayed teeth *vpr.* χuiβuzunɛŋgo
have fallen asleep *v.* wūdzytshu
have fun *v.* gulubei; guzubei
have loose bowels *v.* pɛci
have nerve-wracking problems *v.*
 zǎgutchi
have nocturnal emission *vpr.*
 wuməŋgəuɛtʃshue
have one's hair cut *v.* wɛn'jɛŋ'uei
have retention of food in the stomach *v.*
 dɛŋ'jɛŋgudz'iu
have sex *v.* bubutshɛ; bubutshɛi
have signs of life *v.* wuŋɛnɛn
have something done *v. vpr.* beitshuku
have temple ache *v.* zǎgutchi
have the time to do something *v.* ʃo
have thrown up *vpinfl.* ɛ'ɛmu
haven't expected *vpr.* dɛigilumɛ'wu
having a large family with many
 children *adj.* mūmindəɟəu
having an honest character *adj.*
 sennitʃhiʃu
having some signs of disaster; ominous
vpr. adj. bətɛhiɛtɛijɛn
hǎŋninie *adv.* yon
he *pron.* zo
head *n.* wɛn'jɛn
backside of head *n.* ŋu'lo; wu'lo
head of a field *n.* tʃshɛikie
head towel *n.* pɛzɛi
headman (lower than chieftain, who in
 charge of 4–5 headmen) *n.* tʃshulu;
 tʃshuzu
health *n.* libu
hear the voice *v.* sɛtɛie
hear *v.* tɛie
hearsay *v.* tsi
heart *n.* dɛŋ'jɛŋ; kho
heat [*v.*] *v.* tǎ
heat *v.* pɛŋ; pǎ
hedgehog *n.* wuitsi; dziwui [cf. Chinese
Cìwèi 刺猬; *Wèizi* 猬子]
heighten *v.* thuthəuku
help each other *v.* zɔzɔbei
help *n. v.* zɔ'wu; zɔ
helper *n.* zɔ'wu
helpless, at the end of one's rope *adv.*
 lumɛsɛŋ
hemlock *n.* thɛŋ'ne
her, his *pron.* zome
herb medicine *n.* bɔ'mɛ
Herba Houttuyniae *n.* niɔtʃshɛbɔ
here *adv.* dǎ; dəkɛn, dəkɛ; dǎlə; dɛinie
hide in different places *v.* nɛnɛgigibɛi
hide *n.* nɛ; nɛgi; pɛ
hide up *v.* jipɛ; wunɛ
high *adj. v.* thəu; tʃəu
highly intelligent, with green fingers
adj. 'lɛdzɛŋphu
hill *n.* dzugulu
hillside *n.* bəlɛbətɛ
Hindus *n.* dzioŋgəmū
his *pron.* zome
hit the target *v.* z'ɔ
hit, beat, strike *v.* tɛhiɔ
hoe *n.* wui
hold (baby) *v.* ʃuɛŋ
hold (objects) in the arms *v.* ɛien
hold a wedding ceremony *v.* ɛiɔtɛhiɛŋbei
hold, contain *v.* tʃshuɛŋ
hold with two hands *v.* koŋiphɛnɛŋjɛŋue
hole *n.* bətɔŋ; dzɛbɔ; khɔkhɔ; tɔŋpu
holiday *n.* diŋtɛhiɛn
hollow (of kernels) *adj.* mɛ'wɛŋ
hollow *adj.* bətɔŋtɛ
hollow, empty, zero *n.* tɔŋpu
home *n.* dz'ienmɛ
honest *adj.* ɛ'ɔlubu
honest *adj.* ʃu

- honey** *n.* wui
hoof (ox, horse, yak) *n.* dzɿtu
horizontal thwartwise *adj.* gɛŋgɛŋ
horn *n.* 'mɛnu; 'wui
horse (lit.) *n.* tɕə
horse *n.* βu
horse food *n.* βuz'ei
horse-ride road *n.* βukhuɛi'jimeɸuteiɛ
horseshit *n.* βu'nɛŋ
hospital *n.* jɿjuɛn [cf. Chinese *Yīyuàn*
 医院]
hospital *n.* 'mɛkhuɛŋ
hospitality *n.* dɛibə; dzuɛn; dzuɛnbu
host, hostess *n.* jɛŋde
hot *adj.* bɛŋ; bɛŋzɛtsei
hot and spicy like wine or chili pepper
adj. ciu
hot days *n.* denkhu
hot things *n.* ciu'wu
hot water *n.* tɕiphu
hotel inn *n.* 'lipukhuɛŋ
house *n.* dz'ieŋ
a house *npr.* dz'ieŋdɛtɛiɛ
back of the house *adv.* dz'ieŋŋɛ'li
housekeeping *n.* dɛnciu
housewife *n.* dz'ieŋnɛmũ
housework *n.* dɛnciu
how *adv.* ɛ'li'wu; gɛŋ
how many, how much *adv.* dzɿ
however *adv.* ɛ'lu
human flesh *n.* mũci
humpback *n.* zɔgɔzɔ
hunch *n.* sɛŋzɿŋ
hundred, a hundred *num.* dziə
a hundred million *num.* dɿŋtɕhi
a hundred thousand *num.* mɛŋ;
 mɛŋtseiɛiɛ
a thousand *num.* tɿŋtshudziɛŋ
hungry *adj.* phɔŋŋ
hunter *n.* ŋuɛnpu
hunting dog *n.* ŋuɛntɕhi
husband *n.* jɛdz'y
Hwamei; Garrulax canorus *n.* z'iliko
I *pron.* ŋə
ice *n.* pɛŋi
idiot *n.* ɕɛtshɔ
idle *v.* suen
idle away *v.* gulubɛi'wu; gulubɛi; guzɿubɛi
idler *n.* gulubɛi'wu; tɕhitchiuphɔ'wu
if *conj.* jɛgi; lə; ləli
ignite the firewood *vpr.* sɛn'lɔku
immediately *adv.* dɛiɛŋzu
immortals *n.* sɛŋdɛi
imperative ending of ɦɛ 'come' -'wɛ
impolite Hello *int.* 'wɛ
important *adj.* dɛien
imprint *v.* dzɔu
improve *v.* wugeku
imprudent *adj.* dzuɛnɛientsɛmɛ
in a good manner *adv.* gɛgɛtsei
in a waist-bending position *adv.*
 bəbətsei
in a while *adv.* dɛɕɔtsei
in front of the house *adv.* mɛitɛhiɔ
in good faith *adj.* ɛ'ɔlubu
in good order *adj.* dzɛidzɛi
inside *n.* ciugu
in the ear *n.* nɔgu
in the evening *adv.* mɛŋŋi'wɛtshɛi
in the front *adv.* ɕikɛniɛ
in the future *adv.* 'ji'ji
in the heart *npr.* sɛŋsɛŋmu
in the middle *adv.* zɿŋgəu
in the opposite *adv.* ɕɔmunie;
 ɕumɿŋiɔniɛ
in the sky *adv.* bɛnɛŋ
inappropriate things *n.* mɛdzɿ'wumɛligə
inauspicious *adj.* dzɛŋmɛ
incense burning *n.* ɕɔpɛŋ

incisor *n.* tuŋχui
incomplete *adj.* mēłɛŋ
increase *v.* khən; g'ən
indeed *conj.* lɛdzɪ
India *n.* dzɔŋə
indistinct *adj.* dz'ɪlimē; tɛhilimē
infect *v.* dzidzibɛi
inject *v.* 'mɛdɛgu
inner heart *n. adv.* sɛŋmugu
innermost of the underground floor of
 a Guìqióng building *n.* pɦɛʂu
ins and outs *n.* dzɔlu
innocent *n.* khyme'wu
insect *n.* βuzu
inside *n.* ciugu
insight *n.* dzə̃thəuzə̃thəu
instep *n.* ɲədzɔ
instruments *n.* tɛiɛʂi
insufficient *adj.* məgə; niən
insufficient in weight (of entity) *adj.*
 kuənməgə
insufficient to eat *adj.* goməgə
insult *n.* niɛŋtsɦɛi
integrated *adj.* ʂu
intelligent *adj.* dzɛ; dzɛuɛncienjen
interest *n.* tɛikhəu
interlock *v.* wutʂhətʂɦɔ
intricate *adj.* dzəmindzə
iron *n.* ʂɛŋ
iron or steel chain *n.* ʂɛŋdzɛuən
the tripod props with an iron circle
 beneath a wok *n.* sɛntʂuɛŋ
strike iron *v.* sɛŋtɛhiuŋ; sɛŋdz'iuŋ
irrigate *v.* tʂiɛŋ
irritable *adj.* səŋɖɛ
Istanbul *name.* jɛnbu
it is late for sth. *pder.* məʂɔsɛŋ
It is my pleasure (used to reply to
 people's thanks) *vpr.* zɛuɛnmē
it *pron.* zo

itch *v.* dzi
its *pron.* zome

jak *n.* 'jɛ
janitor *n.* dz'ɛŋdzɔ; dz'ɛŋsuŋ
January 15 *n.* dɛŋbusei'ŋɛ
January *n.* dɛŋbu
January *n.* dɛŋbu'li
jar *n.* mɛŋ³⁵
jaw *n.* nɛnki
Jiǎ Líng 甲铃, a wind instrument *n.* lhɛŋ
Jiāróng girls *npr.* zɛ'meimɛdz'imɛiɲɛ
jīn *n.cflr.* kuən [cf. Chinese *jīn* 斤]
Jīntāng 金汤 *name.* thɛŋmu
join the army *v.* 'mɛmibɛi
joint *n.* tsho
joint *n.* tshotsei
joke *v.* guzɛciɛ
July *n.* dɛnbu
jump *v.* dzɛuɛi; dzɛuidzɛuɛibɛi
jump from the tree *v.* sɛnpunimidzɛuɛi
June *n.* dzɛbu
just a bit *adv.* gɔsulə
just *adv.* dzə
just now *adj.* 'mɛtɔ; 'mɛ'letsikien; dɛje
jute *n.* khuʂi

Kāngdìng *name.* ɖo
keck *v.* ɛ'ɛbubumu
keep (an animal) *v.* zi
keep company *vpr.* nyɛŋ' mɔɦɛ
kerosene *n.* mɛijo [cf. Chinese *Méiyóu*
 煤油]
kettle *n.* dz'ɛɦu; thɛŋguən
khutsigəu *adv.* above
kick *v.* tɛiɔdi
kidney beans *n.* tɛiɛŋtəu [cf. Chinese
 Jiāngdòu 豇豆]; kɛnkɛntəu [cf.
 Chinese *Gāngāndòu* 杆杆豆]
kidney *n.* khimu

- kill** *v.* sɛːsɛi
kind-hearted *adj.* khogɛ; sɛntʃhigɛ'wu
kindling material *n.* mintʃhu
kindness *n.* dɛibə; dzuɛn; dzuɛnbu
kitchen knife *n.* tsɬɛitsei
kitchen *n.* z' eibɛi'wukən
kite *n.* muhikhu'lu
knee *n.* bo'mu
kneel down *vpr.* bo'mu mitsu
knife *n.* tsɬɛi
knit *v.* thɛ̃
knock down by striking *vpr.* dɛ̃lɛwu'lo
knot *n.* kuɛtɛ [cf. Chinese *gēda* 疙瘩]
know *v.* 'mɛsi; si
knuckle *n.* tsho; tshotsei
kowtow *v.* khiebei

labour *n.* ligə
ladle made from dried gourd *n.* tʃho
lake *n.* tsho
lama *n.* 'lomu
lamb *n.* tɬɛitsei
lame *adj.* kuɛ'je
lamp *n.* tɛ̃tɛie
land around the house *n.* goli; gɔzɛi
land in the valley near water *n.* tʃhidzo
land *n.* dziɛ̃
landlord *n.* sɛdɛ
landslide *v.* dzɛtɬɛie
language *n.* kɛtɬɛie
lantern *n.* tɔŋluŋ
lard *n.* phɛdz'iu'wu
lard obtained from the soft caul fat *n.* lhɛlhɛsi
lard rendered from fatback *n.* ɛiphɛ
large in diameter *adj.* niɛ
lash *v.* ʃuɛi [cf. Chinese *Shuǎi* 甩]
last night *n. adv.* sizɛŋmɛŋgɛitsei; *npr.* adv. tɬhiɛŋ'numɛŋnitsei
last year *adv.* mɛŋ'ŋɛ

late *adj. adv.* dɛŋ
late afternoon; late in the evening; in the afternoon *adv.* tʃhəŋtʃəuɔtsɛi; tʃhə̃tʃəuɔtɬɛi
later *adv.* 'ji'ji
latrine *n.* tɛiɛkhuɛŋ
laudable *adj.* dzɛn
laugh *v.* ɛi
laugh and laugh *v.* ɛiɛibɛi
lavatory *n.* mɔsu
law *n.* kətʃhi
lay across *v.* ɬɛŋ
lay aside *v.* wutchiudi
lay between two objects *v.* ɬɛŋ
lay *v.* tɬɛy
lazy *adj.* lhɛ̃
lazy people *n.* lhɛ̃'wũ
leach *v.* tʃhɛ
lead (metal) *n.* silhɛ
lead a leisurely life *v.* zibuɛio
lead *v.* ʃi
leaf lard *n.* tshidzəu
leafy, shady places *n.* ɛɔtɬɛiphə
leak *v.* yo
lean against *v.* guigɔtɛn
lean meat *n.* ɛiu'mu
learn from books *v.* dz'itsɛn
learn *v.* tsɛn
having learnt to distinguish one taste from another (of infant) *adj.* guŋɔjɛn
leather clothing *n.* phiŋə
leather *n.* pɛpɛ
leather shoes *npr.* pɛpɛdzɛi
leather smith *n.* gũkɬɛn
leave a print *v.* dzəu
leave *v.* bɛ
lecture *v.* didzidziɔ
leech *n.* mɛɬɛŋ [cf. Chinese *mǎhuáng* 蚂蟥]
left side *n.* wuilhɛ

- leftovers** *n.* dzəʔe
leg wrappings *n.* duŋbe
leisurely *v.* zibucio
lend money for interest *v.* dzĩdzĩʔeŋ
lend money *v.* dzə'ni
lend *v.* wu'ni
lend, rent, borrow, loan *v.* 'ni
leopard *n.* zi'ne
leper *n.* leiʔsi [cf. Chinese *Làizi* 癩子]
Lèshù 勒树 **the village name.** leiʂu
less *adv.* nienniẽtsei
lessen *vpinfl.* demĩnien
lessen *vpinfl.* denien
lessor *n.* zẽntʂubei'wu
let out (of fume) *v.* ciu
let somebody come *v.* wuhẽku
let *v.* ku
letter *n.* dẽndə; dẽŋdə
leucorrhoea *n.* ʂẽn
Lhasa *n.* ʔəsə
Liǎng 两 **an ancient Chinese**
 measurement units of weight,16
 Liǎng make a Jīn 斤 *n. cfr.* lheŋ
liar *n.* dzẽŋbei'wu
lick *v.* lhe
lid *n.* khəkhə
lie down *v.* ju; miju
lie on one's back *v.* gigiju
lie on the side *v.* gẽŋgẽŋkhutseiʂu
lie prone *vpr.* bəbəju
lie, tell lies; liar *v. n.* dzẽŋbei'wu
life *n.* sə
lifetime; life *n.* tsheithə
a lifetime *n.* mintsheiteiŋ;
 mintshuiteiŋ
light a cigarette *v.* dz'ẽŋxẽntsə
light *adj.* jẽŋ
light *n.* sẽŋtchye
light [weight] *adj.* jẽŋtseiʔsei
lightning *n.* mẽŋʔə'wu; mẽŋʔə
like that *adv.* jiki'wu
like this *adv.* du'wu
like *v.* tʂhegi
lion *n.* si'ji
listen to *v.* tsi
Lítáng 理塘 *n.* lithẽŋ
little crow *n.* gẽ'litseiʔsei
little chicken; little ducks; little geese
 n. netsei
little horse *n.* ʂutsei
little jug *n.* mẽŋtsei
little magpie *n.* gẽsẽtseiʔsei
little mouse *n.* tshuitshuitsei
little *pron. adj.* niẽn'wu
a little *adj. adv.* detei
little tree *n.* sẽnpu 'ẽn'ẽntsei
live *v.* nẽŋ
liver *n.* phu'wu
livestock including donkey, mule, horse,
 goat, sheep, pig, excluding dog and
 chicken; farm animals *n.* sətchie
livestock *n.* sətchieŋie
living room *n.* dz'ienme
loaf on the job *v.* jẽnmubei'wu
loafer *n.* tʂhitchiuphə'wu
lobe *adj.* old
location *n.* tchyozĩtshẽŋtsei
location *pron.* nie
long *adj.* xĩ; xĩn
look *v.* dzio
look about for *v.* luʂulubə
look after *v.* ŋiẽndzio; ʔ'e
look around *v.* wuludi
look down *vpr.* wẽn'jẽnmiŋui; tʂhibeidzio
look for *v.* lu
look sideways *v.* wujujutseiʔeiledzio
look up *vpr.* wẽn'jẽnthupe; wẽn'jẽnwũŋe
loop around the neck of draught
 animals *n.* 'jẽnguen
loop of a cow rope *n.* ə'lũ

- loop or arch (fingerprint) n.** zì
loose adj. ʰəʰətsei
loosely adv. ʰəʰətsei
loosen v. g'uaə
lose (battle; contest etc.) v. b'ɛŋ
lose a battle v. 'mɛləmekə
lose one's voice v. ŋue; səŋŋue
loud noise n. ɛzɪzɪ
louse n. ʂi
love v. tʂhɛgi
low adj. 'mu
lower v. mi'mu; mi'muku; ŋui; dəŋui;
 dəmiŋui
Lúchéng 炉城 name. tchiɛnɛŋpʰe
lucky adj. lɛge
Lúdìng 泸定 name. dziezeŋkhə;
 dziezeŋkhə
Lúhuò 炉霍 name. dzɛnku
lunatic n. βəpʰu
lunch n. tseŋ
lung n. lo'wu
lush adj. ɖəu
- mad money n.** z'ə
maggot arises vpr. βuzubɛi
magpie n. gɛsɛ
magpie n. guɛsɛ; gɛsɛ
Màibēng 麦崩 the village name. məbu;
 məibu
maize flour n. yu'mɛpʰe
major bone n. guitɔŋ
make a fortune v. dzəlu
make a great effort to do something v.
 gudzubɛi
make a lot of loud noise v. wuzuzɔ
make charcoal v. g'əme pəŋ
make dirty v. ŋɛku
make fire v. khueŋ
make noise v. wuɛku
make room for v. dəwuthəŋ
- make topical application of drug v.**
 'memisi
make topical application of medicine
 v. misisi
make v. bɛi
make, let, cause v. ku
making one's mouth water adj.
 khətʂhinətʂhi
male adj. pi
male ancestors n. səjidepu
male dog n. khupi
man, people, human n. mǔ
manage to do v. bɛikud'en
mane n. dzi'luŋ
manure n. ɛ'en
many adj. pron 'mei'wu
March n. səŋbu
Marmota himalayensis n. ɕuətʂutsi [cf.
 Chinese *Xuězhūzi* 雪猪子]
mass n. min'mɛŋ
a whole piece or chunk n. dətɛhie
Matrimony vine n. kəutiɛ [cf. Chinese
 gǒuqǐzi 枸杞子]
May n. 'ŋəbu
measles n. tʂhitɛb'ɛb'ɛtsi
meat n. ɕi
a whole piece of bacon with the size
 about half a pig n. ɕikhe
meat of goat n. tɛhici
meat of sheep n. tɛhieŋɕi
medicine n. 'mɛ
medicinal liquor n. 'mɛɛzɛ
medicine-giver n. 'mɛkhɛŋ'wu
mediocre adj. npr. bə'litsei
meet v. dɔ
meet with, appoint with v. dɔdɔbɛi
melt v. gu
men n. tseiŋ'ie
mend by sewing vpinfl. dəjikhui
mend in the wall vpr. tsipəpɛtɛi

- mend one's dress** *vpr.* dz'ɛwɛdɛjɛsɛitɛ.
mend *v.* tɛiɛ
mend *vpr.* pɛtɛiɛtɛiɛ
mend, repair (dress, shoes etc.) *vpinfl.*
 dɛjɛsɛitɛ
menstruate *v.* libuŋɛ
mess *n.* tshələ'mələ
messenger *n.* gɛitshə
messy *adj.* tshəbɛitshɔzɔ
metamorphose *v.* dziu
mid-air *adv.* bənɛŋ
middle *n.* zɔŋ
middle finger *n.* zɔŋgɔny
middle of the road *n.* gɛti
middle-sized river *n.* niɛntʃi
midnight *n.* tshɛzɔŋ
midway *n. adv.* dɛdɛŋzɛŋ
midwife *n.* bɔ'jɔbɛi'wu
mighty person *n.* khɛnmɔ; khɛŋβu;
 khɛnbu
mild *adj.* dziɛŋmɛijɛŋtɛi
mildly *adj.* dziɛŋmɛijɛŋtɛi
mileage *n.* lhi'wu
milk *n.* 'ŋi'ŋi
mill *n.* dzi
milled glutinous broomcorn millet *n.*
 ŋi'mi
millenium, a thousand years *npr.*
 lotuŋtshudziɛŋ
millet *n.* tʃitɛi
million *num.* tɛi'wɔu
millstone *n.* dzi
mince *v.* dzə
mirror *n.* min'nu; pɛŋli
miserly *adj.* z'ətɛiɛ
misgivings *n.* dulu; zosi
miss *v.* 'nikɛtchi
missive *n.* dɛndə; dɛŋdə
mistake *v. n.* dzu
mix *v.* khuitʃhɛ; tshə
molar *n.* jɛχui
mole *n.* ŋɛtsi
momentaneous aspect marker -di
moments *n.* zɛ
money *n.* dzɔ
Mongolian name. sɔpɔmũ
monkey (lit.) *n.* tʃɛi
monkey *n.* piɔ
monster *n.* tʃshidzɛsi
monstrous *adj.* b'udziɛŋdziɛŋ
month *n. qual.* də'wə
monthly rose *n.* dɛŋtɛhɔmɛntɔ
moon *n.* lɛi'mɛŋ
morning glory *n.* 'mɛnumɛntɔ
more *adv.* tukutsi
morning *n.* zietɛi; in the morning *adv.*
 zietɛi
mortar *n.* g'ɔpu; tɛiɛŋthuŋ
Moschus moschiferus *n.* dzugulu
mosquito *n.* βusi
moss *n.* dzɛbu
moth *n.* g'ələhɛŋko; khələ
mother *adj.* 'ŋi
motionlessly *adv.* tʃshotʃhɔmətʃhotʃhole
mountain *n.* zi
at the foot of the mountain *adv.* zɛχɔpɛi
back of a mountain *n.* ziŋɛli
mountain side *n.* zɛkɛi
mouse (lit.) *n.* dziuwuə
mouse *n.* tshui
little mouse *n.* tshuitshuitɛi
mouth *n.* khɛpɛ; nɛŋbu; nɛŋpu
move by squatting down *v.* ɛgɔgɔ
move *v.* bu; sɛuɛi; tʃhotʃhɔmɔ;
 wutʃhotʃhɔ
much *adj. pron.* 'mɛi'wu; 'mɛi
mud *npr.* 'ŋɔpɛthɛŋthɛŋ
mud brick *n.* topeŋɛŋ

muddy *adj.* muddily *adv.* theŋtheŋ;
 theŋtheŋtsei
muddy water *adj.* t̥siθeŋtheŋ
Mùyǎ *person name.* min'jəmũ
mule *n.* lhuotsi [cf. Chinese *Luózi* 骡子]
mung bean *n.* dziubutsei
muntjac *n.* nə'wuj; nə'wũ
mushroom *n.* zutsei; z'iomu
a kind of mushroom *npr.* z'iomudəzəŋ
a mushroom *npr.* z'iomudə'nie
musk *n.* lhudzi
Muslim *n.* p̄həciməgo'wu
mutually intelligible *adj.* hu

name *n.* 'miŋtsho
ŋeŋt̄hə *name.* the God of a mountain
 peak in Guiqióng area
narrow *adj.* d̄; d̄d̄z̄itsei
narrowly *adv.* d̄d̄z̄itsei
nasal mucus *n.* 'j̄niə
nəs̄iteiə *n.* wild apricot, plum
nature *n.* kho
navel *n.* p̄həhe
nearby *adv.* nəŋp̄he
nearly *adv.* dəwux̄ui
neck *n.* 'j̄en
necklace *n.* dz̄ə'wu
need *v.* dziən
needle *n.* khə
needle and thread *n.* khəxi
negative existential verb m̄ē
negative prefix mə-
negative prefix mə-
negative prefix mə-
neice *n.* tshəmu
neighbour *n.* dz'ieŋtsei
the neighbouring house *n.* dz'ieŋtseiəu
neither hot nor cold *adj.*
 bəŋməbən̄khuəŋmēkhuəŋ

Nepalese *npr.* p̄e'jimũ
nephew *n.* tshə'wu
nest *n.* h̄eŋko
nestle up to v. t̄siə
new *adj.* subu
next month *adv.* 'ji'ji'li
next year *adv.* nihi
nice people; nice things *n.* ḡe'wu
night *n.* si'lu
dark nights *n.* niḡəz̄əməməŋḡeitsei
at night *adj.* məŋŋpile
nine hundred *num.* ḡeidziə
nine *n.* giu
nine thousand *num.* tuŋtshuguidziəŋ
nine Yuán *num.* guip̄e
nineteen *num.* dziuḡei
nineteenth day of a month *num.* giuḡei
ninety *num.* ḡeit̄xi
ninety-eight *num.* ḡeit̄xiədz̄iə
ninety-five *num.* ḡeit̄xiə'ŋə
ninety-four *num.* ḡeit̄xiəz̄i
ninety-nine *num.* ḡeit̄xiəḡei
ninety-one *num.* ḡeit̄xiədz̄i
ninety-seven *num.* ḡeit̄xiədz̄en
ninety-six *num.* ḡeit̄xiədz̄u
ninety-three *num.* ḡeit̄xiəz̄əŋ
ninety-two *num.* ḡeit̄xiəz̄eŋ
ninth day of a month *num.* guidzueŋ
Nippon Hawthorn Fruit *n.* p̄eŋt̄eŋsi
nit *n.* 'oə
nonsensical *adj.* b'udziəŋdziəŋ
noodle *n.* p̄eite
north *n.* dziəŋ; dziəŋtshikhəŋ
the north side of the mountain *n.* dz̄il̄ə
the north side or direction *n.* dziəŋniə
nose *n.* nyoḡu; nioḡu
nostril *n.* dz̄əb̄ə
not clear at all *adj.* t̄chilid̄eteim̄ē
not only *conj.* metshe

- note money** *n.* ʃo'wu
a 100-Yuán note *npr.* ʃo'wudziə
a 50-Yuán note *n.* ʃo'wuŋətʃi
notebook *n.* pentsi [cf. Chinese *běnzì*
 本子]
notopterygium root *n.* dz'ienχeŋ
 [compare the Chinese loan *Qiānghuó*
 羌活]
November *n.* sentʃi
now *adv.* 'mɛ'le
nuisance *n.* niɛŋdzɔdzɔ
numb *adj.* dzizizidə; βuzizidə

o'clock *npr.* tʃhitshəukhulu
oats *n.* pheɪ'wu
obedient *adj.* nyŋbudzi
obey *v.* dzitsi
object, stuff *n. pron.* den; khe'wu; bæzi;
 bei'libəzi
objects within the same category *n.*
 dətɕie'wu
oblique nominaliser -'ji
obsession *n.* ŋɛnɬə; zɛnɬə
occur *v.* be; dz'y
ocean *n.* dziɛŋtʃo
October *n.* tʃibu
offense *n.* niɛŋtʃɛi
officer *n.* pɛ
offspring *n.* buzi
offspring of a common ancestor *n.* tʃhə;
 butʃhə
often *adv.* niɛŋtsi; tɕhiɛŋtsi
oil lamp *n.* dz'yɛɛi; dz'yɛɛi
oily *adj.* tɕie
OK *adj.* dzɕueŋ
old (said of age) *adj.* lodɛ; ləji
old *adj.* ŋɛnbu
old man *n.* gɛipu; gɛpu
old people *n.* gɛnsɛŋ; ləji'wu
old woman *n.* gɛi'mu; gɛmu

on the left *adv.* wuilhɛpɛ
**on the opposite site from which the
 wind blows** *adv.* ʃɔmunie; ʃumunɔnie
on the right hand *n. adv.* dzɕueŋlhɛ;
 dzɕueŋlhɛpɛ
once *n. adv. n:qual.* dɛphɔ; dɛthɛn; dɛthɛ
one child, only child *npr.* ɛ'letsɛidɛpei
one fifth *num.* 'ŋɛŋsɔgəudɛʃɔ
one fourth *num.* zɪsɔgəudɛʃɔ
one *n.* dzi; dɛ ~ dɛ ~ dɛ
one third *num.* sɛŋsɔtsidɛʃɔ
one Yuán (of Chinese currency) *n.* dɛpɛ
only *adv.* dzə; lɛdzɪ
ooze *v.* 'jü; tʃhɛɛi; tʃhɛɛ
open *adj.* thɛn
open *v.* ki; pɛ
open country; wild; outdoors *n. adj. adv.*
 nɛŋgəu
open market *n.* khie; khieʒə
open one's eyes *v.* niɛwuki
open the door *v.* guci (obsolete);
 mɛiwuki
open the lid *v.* khəkhəwuhɛ
opening *n.* dzɛbɔ
orientation *n.* tɕhyozɪtʃɛŋtɕie
orphan *n.* duzɔbuzɪ
other *adj. pron.* khukhu
other people *pron.* 'inɛ; khukhupei
otter *n.* tʃhisɛŋ
otter hide *n.* sɛŋpɛ
ought to *modal verb.* kɛ
our family *pron.* zɔgəu
our home, our place *n.* ŋəgukɛn
our hometown *n.* ŋəgukɛn
outgoing *n:qual. adj.* dzɕuɛdɛ
outside *n. adv.* tʃhimu; tʃhimu; tɕhiumu
**outside part of the underground floor
 of a Guìqióng building** *n.* buzɔ
overfilled, overflowing *adj.* dzidzibəbə
overhead *adv.* bənɛŋ; g'u

- owe debt of gratitude *vpr.* dzuenbudzien
 owl *n.* wupu
 ox (lit.) *n.* 'lɛŋ
 ox *n.* ni
 ox food *n.* niz'ei
 ox keeper *n.* nizi'wu
 ox killer *n.* nise'wu; nisei'wu
 ox shit *n.* ni'nɛŋ
 a lump of ox shit *npr.* ni'nɛŋdɔdzu
 ox skin *n.* nipepe
- pacing *n.* ŋɛŋ
 a pace *n.* dɛŋɛŋ
 pagoda *n.* tɛhytɛn
 pain *v.* tɛhi
 pair (a) *n.qual.* dɔtsuŋ
 a pair of shoes *npr.* dzɛdɔtsuŋ
 paint *v.* bi
 paintings *n.* χuɛ [cf. Chinese *Huà* 画]
 pal *n.* dzu
 palatable *adj.* dzuɛŋ
 palm *n.* koʃikɛ; lɛtsho
 panic-stricken *adj.* bɛbɛdz'ɛndz'ɛn
 pant for breath *vpr.* 'wɛŋtɛiekɛmu
 pants, underpants, undergarments *n.*
 nɛŋgui
 paper *n.* ʃo'wu
 parents *n.* pɛini
 parrot *n.* jɛki
 part of the underground floor of a
 Guiqióng building *n.* thɔzɔ
 pass *v.* bo
 pass away *v.* mɛʃɛŋ
 pass on *v.* phɛn
 pass the bridge *v.* zɛŋbugu
 pass the message *v.* dɛŋdɔphen
 past *adv.* gɔbɔ
 past days *npr.* wubɛtshumɛzɛ
 patch *n.* pɛtɛie; pɛtɛie
 patch up *vpr.* pɛtɛietɛie
- path *n.* ɸutɛie
 patient *adj.* khogɛ
 patter *v.* mɛ'ni'lo
 pause *v.* tɛhiu
 paw *v.* dɛi'mu
 pay back *vprinfl.* dɛkɛŋ
 pea *n.* ŋiɔphɛŋlɛŋ
 peaceful times *n.* nɛŋzɔgɛ
 peach *n.* dz'isi; dz'isi [Chǎngmǎ]
 a peach *npr.* dz'isidɛ'jɛŋ
 peacock *n.* mɔdzio
 pear *n.* linkhin
 peasant *n.* dziɛlibei'wu
 peck *v.* tɛʃɔ
 peel *n.* pɛpɛ
 peel of groundnut *n.* khɔkɔ
 peel off *v.* ʃi
 pen made of bamboo strips *n.* 'ŋyŋku
 penis *n.* bɛ
 penny *n.* zuŋtshɛi
 people bustling about *n.*
 jikhywukhybei'wu
 people *n.* min'mɛŋ
 people of the same family *npr.*
 dɛdz'ieŋmũ
 people and families *n.* dz'ieŋmũ
 people working in the field *n.*
 dziɛlibei'wu
 perfective aspect marker -le
 perpendicular *adj.* thutsu
 persimmon *n.* guɛndzɛŋ
 person *n.* mũ
 a person *n.* mũdɛpei; mũpɛi
 pervade *v.* wutɛŋ
 perverted *adj.* 'nɛŋzɔsɔzɔ; zɔ
 pest *n.* βu'nɛ
 pestle *n.* z'uŋpu
 petrified *adj.* dɛnmu; dɛmu
 Phasianus colchicus; long-tailed
 crowned bird *n.* dzihɛdzɛ

phlegm *n.* z'əpei
 physician *n.* 'mēkhəŋ'wu; 'mēbei'wu
 physique *adj.* zitei
 Picea brachytyla (Franch.) pritz. *n.*
 dzeŋsən
 pick an apple, a pear, etc. from the tree
 vpr. de'jəŋjike
 pick up and glean leftovers in the field
 to exchange or sale for mad money *v.*
 səŋsūtəi'wu
 pick up food with chopsticks *v.* gə
 pick up *v.* təkɔ; wukhəkhə; kə
 pierce *v.* di
 pig *n.* phe
 the year of pig *n.* phələŋjəŋ
 pig keeper *n.* phəzi'wu
 pig killer *n.* phəsə'wu; phəsəi'wu
 pig trotters *n.* phəŋjə
 pig trough *n.* phə'ŋu
 piglet *n.* phətsei
 pile *v.* βu
 pile up *v.* thūbeiletchiu
 pilfering *n.* khəcilhəci
 pillow *n.* xəŋkhi
 pimple, small raised spots on the body
 n. təuətəuətsei; tətə
 pin money *n.* z'ə
 pinch *v.* tēidi
 pine *n.* thəŋkələ
 pit *n.* bətuŋ; khəkhə
 pitfall *v.* jətshə'wu
 places like that *npr.* jiki'wumesutchiu
 plainly *adv.* niənnientsei
 plan *n.* səŋluŋ; zəŋ
 plan to buy *v.* 'jyəŋzəŋbei
 planet Venus in the evening *n.*
 məŋŋikhətəhə
 planet Venus in the morning *n.*
 məŋsəŋkhətəhə

planets of the earth visible in the
 morning *n.* gəməməndzu
 plant *v.* tshɔ; dz'ɔ
 plate *n.* təiə
 platform *n.* sənhəŋ
 play jokes *v.* guzubei
 play the hiding in hide-and-seek *v.*
 nənəbei'wu
 play the instrument *v.* təiəsītē
 play the seeking in hide-and-seek *v.*
 lulubei'wu
 play *v.* gulubei'wu; gulubei; guzubei; suen
 play wind instruments *v.* mo
 playing *n.* gulubei'wu
 plot against *vpr.* dəŋhəŋ bei
 plough *n.* tshuŋ [cf. Chinese *Chán* 轛]
 different parts of a plough *n.* jəphə,
 khu'lu, tshuŋŋədzie
 plough rope *n.* gədzue
 pluck the feather and make it clean *v.*
 tshəŋcilewutsəŋku
 pluck *v.* ci; kə
 plum *n.* lhitse
 plump (of kernels); full; plump-eared
 adj. 'wəŋ
 ply tricks on *vpr.* dəŋhəŋbei
 pockmark, pockmarked face *n.* metsi
 [cf. Chinese *Mázi* 麻子]
 point *n.* zezə
 poison *n.* tu
 poisonous *adj.* tubu
 pomegranate *n.* ciəŋ'luŋ
 pond *n.* tsho
 poor *adj.* phuŋ
 the poor (those without money) *n.*
 dzəmə'wu; mē'wu
 poplar *n.* βuzi
 pork *n.* phəci
 porter *n.* dziəkhukhu'wu

- portrait *n.* pətɛie
 possessions *n.* bəzɪ; beɪ'libəzɪ
 pot cover *n.* dɛŋŋə; dɛŋɰə
 potato *n.* jɛŋy [cf. Chinese *Yángyù* 洋芋]
 potential mood marker -lutɛi
 poultry *n.* nɛ
 pound *v.* tɛhiuŋ; tɕhuŋ
 pour alcohol *vpr.* ɛzɛtuŋ
 pour into *v.* mituŋ
 powder *n.* phɛ
 powerful *adj.* kɔ
 practice abstinence from meat *v.*
 z'əzɛibɛi
 prayer wheel *n.* lhɛkhu
 precipitation *n.* tɛhitɕhi
 precipitous *adj.* lɛhɛŋ; lɛtɕhihɛŋ
 preconception *n.* sɛŋzɔŋ
 preconceive *v.* sɛŋzɔŋbɛi
 predict if two people are good match
 in marriage according to their birth
 dates by gəmə *vpr.* lo'mindz'ie
 predict one's future; tell one's fortune
 by gəmə at the birth of a child *vpr.*
 dzidɛndz'ie
 pregnant *adj.* ɛ'letɛseibu
 present *n.* ŋɛ
 press *v.* dzɛ
 press, rush, urge *v.* khuei
 pretend not to be *v.* mɛzɪsu'wu
 previous two or three days *adv.* siŋsɛŋni
 previously *adv.* gəbə
 prey *n.* zɪdɛ
 price *n.* phu
 prick *v.* ŋui
 priest *n.* gəmə
 prior *n. adv. pos.* ɕikɛ; ɕi
 progressive aspect marker *su-* ~ <*su*>
 prohibitive suffix the
 prolix *adj.* ɛiedzɪbɛdzɪ
- prominent in social status *adj.*
 dzəthɛŋdɛ
 promise to marry one's daughter *v.*
 dz'imɛikhɛŋ
 promise *v.* dzɪtsi
 prompt and efficient *adv.* promptly
 wubugəu *adj.* ɕuɛŋɕuɛŋthɛthɛ
 prop against *v.* wutɛn
 prop *v.* tɛn
 Proso millet *n.* ŋi'mi
 prospective aspect marker -lə
 prosper *v.* phɛ
 protrude *v.* ɛio
 proud *adj.* mɛndzɪdzɪŋi
 proverbs *n.* khəpɛi
 provide for the children to grow *vpr.*
 yɔledɛku
 provide for *v.* yɔ
 prune away *v.* khetɛtɛ
 pseudois nayaur *n.* zɪgɔi
 public place *n.* khiɛlhɛ; tsizɪ
 puff *v.* β'u
 pull *v.* guɛn
 pull at *vpr.* dɛmunɛŋmidz'ie
 pull down *pder.* mike
 pull out from a lower place *v.* thutɕhuɛ
 pull out teeth *v.* ɕuikɛ
 pull towards oneself *pder.* jɪguɛn
 pull up weeds *vpr.* niɔɛi
 pulse *n.* tsho
 punch a hole through the nose *n.*
 nilhuŋpho
 punch a hole *v.* pho
 punch sb with a fist *v.* dɛzɔŋdi
 pungent *adj.* ɛiu
 purchase *vpr.* dɛn'pyɛŋ
 purple *n. adj.* məji
 push and squeeze *v.* gəgətshɛi
 push it off oneself *v.* wutɕhɔ

push *v.* tchiə; tʃhə
 put aside *v.* tɛhyɛ; wusə
 put down a message *n.* dɛŋdəbɛi
 put in a lower position *v.* mi'mukui
 put something into the cupboard *v.*
 bɛŋthəu
 put two things close together *v.*
 nɛŋpɛjɛtɛ
 put *v.* tɛhiu
 pyrotechnics *n.* b'utɛhɛŋtɛ'wu

Qiangic card *n.* phɛi
 Qián 钱, a measurement unit of weight
 smaller than Liǎng 两, 10 Qián make
 a Liǎng 两. *n.* hɛn
 quantitatively enough *adj.* gə
 quarrel *v.* tshɛtshɛbɛi
 Quercus griffithii Hook *n.* wopɛ
 questions and answer *n.* lɛŋkhɛŋ
 quick *adj.* ʃuɛŋkutsei; ʃɛŋ
 quickly *adv.* ʃuɛŋkutsei; ʃɛŋʃɛŋtsei
 quick-witted *adj.* 'lotʃuɛŋjɛn
 quiet *adj.* bɛmɛbɛ ʃɛŋmɛʃɛŋ
 quietly *adv.* d'ɛgɛitsei; gəujɛtsei
 quite *adv.* gɛlɛ

rabbit (lit.) *n.* jibɛi
 rabbit *n.* zɪkɔŋ
 race *v.* χɛχɛbɛi
 rags *n.* dz'ɛwɛpɛtɛ
 rain *n.* dz'ɛŋ
 a drop of rain *npr.* dz'ɛŋdɛzɛ
 rain cats and dogs *v.* dzɛtʃhidzɛmu
 raincoat *n.* tɛhiəgɔi
 rainfall *n.* tɛhitʃhi
 rainy seasons *npr.* dz'ɛŋwuimɛzɛ
 raise *v.* pɛ; thuthəuku
 raise hands *v.* kothupɛ
 raise the salary *v.* mɛiphukhɛn

rapeseed; rape *n.* tshɛitsei [cf. Chinese
 Càizi 菜籽]
 rash *adj.* dzuɛnciɛntsəmɛ
 rat *n.* tshui
 raw *adj.* zɛŋkue
 raw turnip *n.* tɛhɛntʃhu
 reach one's hand *v.* kowuteiɛ
 reach out *v.* tɛiɛ
 reach *v.* dzɔ̄; dzɔ̄gɛ̄
 reach, arrive *v.* dzui
 can't reach *vpinfl.* dzɔ̄məkə; *vpinfl.*
 dzɔ̄mɛgɛ̄
 read a book aloud *vpr.* dz'ixi
 read a book, learn from a book *v.*
 dz'itsɛn
 read aloud *v.* χi
 ready to serve, well-cooked *adj.*
 'mɛi;min
 real *adj.* dzien
 reap *v.* kɛ
 rear *v.* zi
 rear animals in pens *v.* wə
 rear pig *v.* phɛzi'wu
 reason *n.* dzəulu
 receive *v.* tʃɛ
 recently *adv.* dɛjɛ
 recite the scriptures said to be imported
 from India *v.* mə'ni'lo
 recline *vpinfl.* wuɛŋɛŋ
 recognise *v.* si
 recollect *vpr.* ʃikɛmɛdɛjɛdɛigi
 recover from illness *v.* tɛhiphɛ
 recover *v.* phɛ̄; phɛi
 red *adj.* n. 'jinχin
 red paper *n.* ʃo'wu 'jinχin
 reduce *vpinfl.* deniɛn
 refine oil *v.* mə'nɛtɛiɛ
 region *n.* pətə
 regret *v. n.* dzu; ŋiɛŋgi

- relatively** *adv.* tɔ̃ji
relatives *n.* tshɛ̃ŋlɛ̃ŋkhu; tshɛ̃ŋzɛ̃ŋkhu
release *v.* wuɛ̃ŋ
reliable *adj.* ɓ'ɔ̃lubu
reluctantly *adv.* bə̃dɛ̃tsei
rely *v.* tɛ̃n
remain *v.* tsɛ̃n
remove from *v.* kɛ̃
remove the hair of *v.* g'uɛ̃i; tshɛ̃ŋkhuɛ̃i
remove the root *v.* nɛ̃'wukɛ̃
remove the skin of *v.* ʃi
remove the walnut from the tree *v.*
 g'uŋluŋdɛ̃
rendezvous *n.* min'mɛ̃ŋtshɔ̃'ji
rent the land *v.* zɛ̃ntʃubɛ̃i'wu
renter *n.* zɛ̃ntʃubɛ̃i'wu
repeatedly *adv.* dule
reply *n. vpinfl. v.* dɛ̃ɛ̃iɛ̃
research *n.* dzuiɡə̃
resemble *v.* yə̃u; *n. qual*
 tʃhidzɛ̃su'wudɛ̃tɛ̃iɛ̃
reservoir *n.* tʃhibɛ̃ŋ
respect *n.* dɛ̃ibɔ̃
responsibility *n.* bɛ̃ikɛ̃'wu
rest on *v.* wutɛ̃n; ɡuiɡɔ̃wutɛ̃n
rest *v.* ɡɛ̃sɛ̃ŋ
rest *v.* tɛ̃n
restaurant owner *n.* z'ɛ̃iki'wu
return the respect, good will,
 hospitality, kindness, etc. *v.*
 dɛ̃ibə̃dɛ̃tʃi
return *vpinfl.* dɛ̃ji
return *vpinfl.* dɛ̃kɛ̃ŋ
reveal *v.* bɔ̃
rhizoma gastrodiae *n.* z'i'ni
rhododendrons *n.* dɛ̃'mumintɔ̃
rib *n.* nɛ̃ŋtɛ̃iɛ̃
rice *n.* tɔ̃
rice porridge *n.* tɔ̃ɛ̃n
rice steamed with corn flour *n.* 'mɛ̃hɛ̃n
rich dress *n.* ɡutɛ̃iɛ̃ntʃhipɛ̃
rich people *n.* dzɔ̃jɛ̃n'wu
riddle *n.* dzu
ride *v.* dzi; dzɔ̃ŋ; ride a horse *v.* ʃudzi
ridge *n.* ɡuɛ̃npɛ̃
right *adj.* zɛ̃; zɛ̃n
right away *adv.* dzɛ̃iɛ̃ŋzɔ̃; niɛ̃ŋ'mɛ̃ile
rightside *n.* dzɔ̃ŋlɛ̃pɛ̃
ring *n.* mɛ̃ŋtʃɛ̃tɛ̃i
rip *v.* b'ɛ̃
ripe *adj.* 'mɛ̃i; min
rises well (of rice) *v.* zɛ̃riverside *n.*
 tʃhibɛ̃ŋ
river *n.* tʃikɛ̃; a small stream *npr.*
 tʃikhɛ̃tɛ̃i
road *n.* ɸutɛ̃iɛ̃; a road *npr.* ɸutɛ̃iɛ̃pɛ̃
road side *n.* ɡɛ̃dzɛ̃iɛ̃
roast *v.* khə̃
rob *v.* 'yo
robber *n.* v'yo 'wu
rocky mountain *n.* pɛ̃hɛ̃'wɛ̃ŋ
roe; Chinese water deer *n.* ʃɛ̃i
roll up (of smoke, fume, etc.) *v.*
 muɸociumu
roll *v.* jilulu
roll into a mass by kneading *v.*
 dɛ̃dz'iuzɔ̃
room *n.* dzɔ̃ikɛ̃n
root *n.* nɛ̃; root of a tree *n.* sɛ̃npumɛ̃nɛ̃
roots *n.* kɛ̃nɛ̃n'mə̃zɛ̃i; nɛ̃'wu
rope *n.* zɛ̃pɔ̃; a small piece of rope *n.*
 zɛ̃ŋkɛ̃
rosary *n.* tʃɛ̃huen'wu; tʃɛ̃huen'wen
rot (of wood) *v.* bu; lɛ̃n
rotate *v.* suɛ̃n
round *adj.* ku'lu'lutɛ̃i
round *adj.* lɔ̃lɔ̃; lɔ̃lɔ̃tɛ̃i; niɛ̃
round gourd *n.* lɔ̃lɔ̃kue

- round radish *n.* tchienluŋpu; tchien
 round the clock *adv.* mənʃənʃənʃ
 round up *v.* 'lɔ; 'lɔ'lo
 rub one's hands *v.* kowuhəhə
 rub *v.* hə
 rubbish *n.* tɛiɛtɛiɛ
Rubus parvifolius Linn (cf. 笏 𦵑) *n.* ɛɛisi
 rules *n.* kətʃhi
 run fast *vpr.* ɣɛlɛtʃhiʃɛŋ
 run, escape *v.* lɛ
 run *v.* ɣɛ
 rust *n.* tsuŋ

 sack *n.* khi
 sad *adj.* sɛɛiu; ʃiɣui
 sagacious *adj.* guluŋthen
 salary *n.* mɛiphu
 saliva *n.* ʃɛpɛi; z'ɛpɛi
 salt *n.* tshei
 salty *adj.* khi
 same *adj.* dɛzɛŋ
 same place *n.* sutchiudɛtɛiɛ
 same thing *n.* dɛkhe 'wu
 same type of things *n.* dɛtɛiɛ'wu
 sandbag *n.* dɛitʃi
 sanguinary *adj.* 'məsə mə'lo
 sauerkraut *n.* dʒiubu
 sauerkraut soup *n.* dʒɛnbɛtsi
 sausage *n.* ɛiɛŋŋo
 save [cf. Chinese *Jiù* 救] *v.* tɛiu
 save bit by bit *v.* z'ɔ
 save money or property *v.* sɛz'ɔ'wu
 save pin money by gleaning wheat *v.*
 z'ətɛiɛbɛi
 save *v.* wusɔ; wuzuzu
 saw *n.* ɛiɛnsɔ
 saw *v.* gəi
 say *v.* ɛiɛ
 sayings *n.* khəpɛi
 scale *n.* kuɛn

 scarce *adj.* dɛŋ
 scarlet *adj.* mətshitshi
 scatter *v.* wuthɛn
 scent *n.* dʒiɛtsɛŋ
 school [cf. Chinese *Xuéxiào* 学校] *n.*
 ɛyɛɛiɔ; dʒ'itsɛn'jikɛn; tɛzɔŋ
 scissors *n.* gətu
 scold *v.* dʒɔ
 scoop *n.* tʃuɛntsei [cf. Chinese *Chǎnzi*
 铲子]
 scorch *v.* lə
 scratch *v.* wɛ; wɛdi
 sea *n.* dʒiɛŋtʃho
 seabuckthorn fruit *n.* tshinɛdzige
 search for *v.* lu
 season *n.* kuɛntə
 second floor of a Guìqióng building
 used as sleeping room or storage
 place for precious *n.* bətsɛ
 second day of a month *npr.* ŋidzɔɛŋ
 second generation *npr.* ŋitʃɛŋ
 second person plural imperative suffix
 -so
 second person plural inclusive
 imperative marker -li
 second son *npr.* ɛ'letseibəmɛpɛi
 second time *npr.* ŋithɛŋgəu
 secret *n.* d'ɛgɛitsei
 secret purse *n.* z'ə
 secret quarters *adv.* d'ɛgɛitsei
 secretly *adv.* d'ɛgɛitsei
 sedan chair (cf. Chinese *Jiàozǐ* 轿子) *n.*
 tɛiɛotsei
 see *v.* dʒiɔ; dʒiɛdzɔɛŋ
 seed *n.* tsui
 seedlings of cereal crops *n.* butsei
 seesaw *v.* 'wutsidzǐ'wǔ
 select *v.* tshi
 self *pron.* zɛŋ; zɛŋsu
 sell *v.* ki; sell up *v.* kitshuko

- sell *infl.* ki'wu; seller *n.* ki'wu
 semen *n.* xən
 send the letter *v.* dəŋdəphən
 send *v.* ci; phən
 sense the fragrance, scent or odour of
 v. ciu
 sense the smell of *v.* χuŋ
 sentence-final negative polar item *səŋ*
 separate *v.* dzi
 September *n.* geibu
 serve as a government official *vpr.*
 pətəhyo
 sesame [cf. Chinese *Zhīmázi* 芝麻子] *n.*
 tʃi'metsi
 set *v.* bo
 set a pitfall *n.* jətshə'wu
 set fire *v.* mindəbe
 set one's mind at rest *v.* səŋmudi
 set up a family *v.* khu'wokhuəi
 set up a stick *vpr.* səntseimeitsu
 seven *num.* 'nin; dəŋ; gui; a temporal unit
 of seven days *npr.* dəntshidətchiə
 seven hundred *num.* dəndziə
 seven months *npr.* 'nin'li
 seven months *num.* gui'li
 seven o'clock *npr.* 'ninziə
 seven thousand *num.* tuŋtshu'nindziəŋ
 seventeen *num.* dziudən
 seventeenth day of a month *n.* giudən
 seventh day of a month *npr.* 'nindzueŋ
 seventy *num.* dəntʃi
 seventy-eight *num.* dəntʃizədzie
 seventy-five *num.* dəntʃizə'ŋə
 seventy-four *num.* dəntʃizəzi
 seventy-nine *num.* dəntʃizəgei
 seventy-one *num.* dəntʃizədzi
 seventy-seven *num.* dəntʃizədən
 seventy-six *num.* dəntʃizədzu
 seventy-three *num.* dəntʃizəsəŋ
 seventy-two *num.* dəntʃi zəŋi
 seven Yuán [cf. Chinese currency] *npr.*
 ninpə
 sew *v.* khui
 shade *n.* dzɪkhuŋ
 shadow *n.* wūpeipeitsei
 shady location *n.* xəxətsei
 shake hands *v.* koxəχəbei
 shake *vpinfl.* wudəqə
 shake *v.* qə
 shaman *n.* gəmə
 shameless *adj.* hə'limənyəŋ
 shank *n.* məŋpə
 shape *npr.* khə'wuyəu
 sharp *adj.* təhiəŋ
 sharpen a knife *v.* tsheisi; si
 shave *v.* g'uei; ətsəŋg'uəi
 she *pron.* zo
 sheath of the knife *npr.* tsheitchiəŋ
 sheep *n.* təhiəŋ
 shelf *v.* wutəhiudi
 shepherd; people tending cattle *n.*
 dzə'jəv'e'wu; shepherd of cattle *n.*
 niə'e'wu
 shine *v.* tə
 shoe *n.* dzi
 shoe mender *n.* dzitsei'e'wu
 shoot at *v.* səŋ; shoot at the target *v.* βēdi
 short *adj.* 'mu; khəbuni
 short people *npr.* khəbuni'wu
 shortcomings *n.* mədzueŋ'wu
 should *v.* dziəŋ
 shoulder *n.* tʃəhəkho
 shout *v.* xə
 show *v.* ʃi
 show the way *v.* quteieŋi
 show a prospect of good harvest *vpr.*
 dəluŋjən
 showy *adj.* khītseitʃhi
 shrimp *n.* tʃini
 shrink *v.* ŋui; *vpinfl.* dəmiŋjən

- shrivel (by frost, snow) v.** tchio
shroud n. ſigui
shudder adj. denj'jɛŋnikhudzɛŋ;
 wutheitheibe
shy adj. χɛ
sickle n. sɔli
side n. nɛŋtɛie
sideways adv. wujujutsei
sieve n. ɸɛɸɛ
sifter n. ɸɛɸɛ
silken costume n. gutɛientʃhipɛ
silkworm n. gukien βuzu
silly adj. denmu; khyme'wu
silver n. 'wuŋ
simply adv. niennientsei
simultaneous aspect marker ʃi
sing v. 'lo; tʃhɛŋkobei; tɛhieŋ; sing a song
 v. dɔ'lɔ'lo
single man n. ɸututɯ
sip vpr. niennientseidemudz'ie
sipɛlu adv. everywhere
sisters n. 'nɛŋtseitchy
sisters; daughters of a family n.
 nɛŋtseitchy
sit v. tɛhyo; tʃho; sit down *pder.* mitchyo
sit exams [cf. Chinese kǎo 考] v. kheu
sitting and idling away n. tɛhyo'wutɛie
situation n. ʃhəutɛhyo
six hundred num. dzudzia
six months npr. khɔ'li
six n. kho
six num. dzu
six o'clock n. khɔŋɔ
six thousand num. tunʃtshukhɔdzieŋ
sixteen num. dziudzu
sixteenth day of a month num. giudzu
sixth day of a month num. khɔdzueŋ
sixty n. dzutʃi
sixty-eight num. dzutʃizədzie
sixty-five num. dzutʃizə'ŋə
sixty-four num. dzutʃizəzi
sixty-nine num. dzutʃizəgei
sixty-one num. dzutʃizədzi
sixty-seven num. dzutʃizədɛn
sixty-six num. dzutʃizədzu
sixty-three num. dzutʃizəsɛŋ
sixty-two num. dzutʃizɛŋ
ski v. khu'wugəuzienziebei'wu
ski v. zienziebei
skin n. pepe
skirt n. 'ɛtɛhiegui
sky n. bənɛŋ
slant pder. Jiju
slant v. ju
slash v. le
slasher n. ʃɛŋtu
sleep v. ju
slender adj. ʃɛŋʃentsei
slice n. guhe
slight adj. gɔsulə
slim adj. g'uendzɛitsei
slim adj. niɛnbuxɛŋ
slim adj. ʃɛŋʃentsei
slingshot n. wutɔ
slip v. dzie
slip down pder. mĩdzie
slippery adj. dzieŋ'mɛtsei
sloppy adj. dzilumɛ
slovenly person n. jiguɛnwũχĩ
slow adj. d'ɔ
slowly adv. hɛmɛtsei; χɛmɛtsei
slow-witted adj. dʃɛmu
small adj. n. ni; ni'wu
**small bag for carrying money, odds and
 ends n.** zuzi
small birds n. tshitshi
small earthenware n. mɛŋtsei
small intestine n. beiteŋ
small pox immunization giver n.
 bɔɛŋ'wu

small premature walnut *n.*

g'uŋluŋ'en'entsei

small river *n.* tɕikhe

small shoes *n.* dzitsei

smallpox *n.* sibo

smash *v.* tɕhiuŋ; tɕhuŋ

smell *v.* jixuŋxuŋdi

smiling *adv.* smilingly *adj.* wubitsei

smoke *n.* muho

smoke *v.* dz'ie

snack *n.* gotsei

snake (lit.) *n.* dzui

snake *n.* tɕu

snap *v.* tɕie

sneeze *v.* ɸ'ətɕhibeimu

snow *n.* khu'wu

snow on the mountain top *n.*

zĩgumekhu'wu

snow the whole day on *v.*

khu'wukhætənbei

snub-nosed monkey *npr.* piɔdzĩgui

so *adv.* du³⁵lə

so *adv.* Jiku

so *adv. pron.* du³⁵

so frightened that one's heart becomes

cold *adj.* deŋ'jɛŋnikhudzɛŋ

so much *pron.* dətɕi; dətɕi

soak *adj.* theŋtheŋ; theŋtheŋtsei

soft *adj.* dzieŋmeijɛŋtsei

soft *adj.* dzieŋmeijɛŋtsei

softly *adv.* dzieŋmeijɛŋtsei

soil *n.* 'ŋɔpɛ

sold out *v.* kitshukɔ

soldier *n.* 'mɛmi

sole for footwear [cf. Chinese *dǐzi* 底子]

n. titsi

sole *n.* gəphi; ŋəphi

sole, under-surface of the foot *n.* ŋəphi

solid *adj.* bə

solid *adj.* gedɛlə

solid waste from the body *n.* 'nɛŋ

solution *n.* denŋɛn

solve a riddle *v.* dzutɛiɛku

some *art.* jɛ

some children *npr.* ɛ'letseiɛjɛ

something taken for granted *n.*

dudzĩ'wu

somewhat uncomfortable *adj.*

dɛtɛimeɔdzien

son and daughter *n.* buzĩ

son *n.* tsei

song *n.* də'lə

son-in-law *n.* nɛŋdzũ

son-in-law *n.* zĩpu

sons and daughters *n.* bəbuzĩ

sons *n.* tseiɛ'ie

sons of a common ancestor *n.* bu

sorghum flour *n.* gəpɛiphe

sorghum *n.* gəpɛi

sort out *v.* seide

sound *v.* ɸɛ

sour *adj.* dzɛŋ

sour *adj.* dzɛŋ'wu

sources of unhappiness *n.* dulu

south *n.* tɕəu; south direction *n.* tɕəuni;

south side of the mountain *n.* niɛnlɔ

sow (e.g. wheat, barley, soybean, etc.) *v.*

χəu; ɸ'əu

sow down *pder.* miχəu

sow in drill *v.* tɕie

sowing season *npr.* lithətshogɛŋ

soybean *n.* piɔ; soybean bread *n.* piɔb'ɔlɔ;

soybean curd *n.* liki; leiki [Ancient

Sichuan Chinese *Líqí* 黎祁]; soybean

flour *npr.* piɔphe; the skin of soybeans

npr. piɔpɛ; white soybean *n.* piɔsɔ'mɛ;

spade *n.* tɕshuɛntsei

span of time *n.* nɛŋtə

sparrow *n.* tɕshi

sparrow *n.* tshitshi

- sparse *adj.* dɛŋ
 spawn (frog or toad) *n.* bɛithɐ
 speak Chinese *v.* dziɛdzubɛi
 speak concisely *vpr.* dzɛŋciɛ nientsei
 lɛciɛ
 speak in dreams *vpr.* wuməŋgugetɛhie
 ciɛ
 speak out one's mind *v.* jidigi'wuwucie
 speak out *v.* dzɛŋciɛciɛ
 speculative mood marker -əmu-
 speech *n.* ciɛ 'wu
 speech *n.* dzɛŋciɛ
 spider *n.* dzɔgɔzɔ
 spine *n.* geizɔ
 spiral marrow *n.* geithe
 spit out *v.* ɸ'e
 spit *v.* χɛ
 splash *v.* kho'wu
 splendid attire *n.* gutɛientʃhipɐ
 split *v.* b' ɐ
 spongy *adj.* dzi
 spot *n.* ŋɛtsi
 Spring Festival *n.* lisei
 spring flowers *npr.* 'jukhumemintɔ
 spring *n.* 'jukhu
 spring *n.* 'jutə
 spring *n.* citə
 springtime *n.* citəsɛŋ
 squander *v.* tʃhuelebei
 square or triangle pouch *n.* zuzi
 squat *v.* mikotsɔ
 squirm *v.* tʃshotʃhomu
 stack up *v.* thūbeiletɛhiu
 stack *v.* βu
 stamp one's feet *v.* gedzuei'wu
 stand on ceremony *vpr.* dzuɛnbubɛi
 stand on top of the bench *v.* pɛntəŋ
 jitʃshe
 stand on top of; step on *v.* tʃshe
 stand up *pder.* thujɔ
- stand *v.* jɔ
 standing on ceremony (of people) *adj.*
 dzuɛnbutʃhitʃhi
 star anise [cf. Chinese huíxiāng 茴香] *n.*
 χoχieŋ
 star *n.* ɸeitʃi
 start working *v.* geŋtsubɛi
 static perfective marker -lejen
 stature *n.* dzəthɛŋ
 steaks *n.* nɛŋtɛieci
 steal *v.* mū
 steam buns with vegetable stuffing *vpr.*
 dzɛŋb'ɔlɔkhu
 steam *n.* 'lɛŋpu
 steam *v.* khu
 steamed corn-flour pancake [cf.
 Chinese Tāngbāzi 汤巴子] *n.*
 thɛŋpɛtsi
 steel *n.* kəŋ
 steelyard *n.* kuɛn
 steep *adj.* 'lɛχɛŋ
 steep *adj.* lɛhɛŋ
 steep *adj.* βɛije
 stick out *v.* ciɔ
 sticky paste used as glue *n.* βɛ
 still *adv.* 'mɛ
 still *adv.* ɛsi; χɛʃi
 still *adv.* hɛʃi
 still *adv.* χɛʃi
 sting *n.* tsɛŋdzɛŋ
 sting *v.* di
 sting *v.* tsɛŋdi; a bite *n.* dɛtsɛŋdi
 stir fry *v.* tɛhiɔ
 stir up trouble *v.* ligəlu
 stir *v.* khuitʃshe
 stir *v.* wuzuzɔ
 stomach *n.* pɛ
 stomp *v.* gedzuei'wu
 stone *n.* ɸ'uyphə; small stones *n.*
 ɸ'uyphəpɛpɛtsei; sandy stone *n.*

- ʼuŋphəpəpətsɛi; a boundary stone
n. χitʂhɔ
stonemason *n.* ʼuŋphədē 'wu
stonemason *n.* ʼuŋphəgo'wu
stop up *v.* ʂui; sui
stop *v.* dzue
stop working *v.* zəsubei
store up *v.* bəŋthəu
storey [cf. Chinese *Céng* 层] *n.* tshəŋ
story *n.* dzu
straight *adj.* ʂu
strain *v.* tʂhe
stranger *npr.* 'məməsiməmũ
strategy *n.* 'lotʂuen
straw shoes [sichuān 四川 Chinese
cǎoxié 草鞋] *n.* tshəuχei
strawberry *n.* gugusi
street *n.* khiəzə
streets *n.* khielhe
strength *n.* ʂimu
strength *n.* simu; ʂimu
strengthen *v.* jitəŋku
strike into pieces with pestle *v.* təhiuŋ;
 tʂhuŋ
strike *v.* dē
strike with an effort *v.* simubeile w'udē
strike with elbow *v.* khəputʂonəŋtchiuŋ
string *n.* zəŋkhe
stroll *v.* suen
strong (of external force) *adj.* dzen
strong *adj.* 'liŋlühəŋ
strong *v.* zubugukɔ
stubborn *adj.* zo
student *n.* so'mə
study *n.* ʎəzui
stump *n.* βəgui
stupid *adj.* dɛ
stupid *adj.* mədzədzɛ
succeed *v.* dzi
such *adv. pron.* du³⁵
- such matter** *pron.* jikiphə
such *pron.* jiku
suddenly *adv.* jən'meiteien
**suffer from chronic cough or
 tuberculosis** *v.* dzeitchi
suffer from diarrhoea *v.* pɛci
suffer from diarrhoea *v.* tʂhueʂitchi
suffer from drought *v.* məŋsu
suffer *v.* phɔ
sufferer of wanderlust *n.*
 tʂhitchiuphɔ'wu
suffering from a sore throat *adj.* səŋue
suffering from stroke *adj.* tʂhotʂhomekɔ
suffuse *v.* wutʂuŋ
sugar [cf. Chinese *Táng* 糖] *n.* d'əŋ
suitable *adj.* zɛ; zəŋ
sumac tree *n.* χənsən
summer *n.* dəŋkhu
summer *n.* dəntə
summer nights *npr.* dəntə mə məŋgeitsei
summit of Mǎibēng mountain *n.*
 jəŋdzəŋ
sun *n.* mintshə
sunflower *n.* yu'məminto
sunny *adj.* zui
sunset clouds *n.* gɛ'li mintshə
sunset glow *n.* gɛ'li mintshə
sunshine [lit. the foot of the sun] *n.*
 mintshəge
supper [chǎngmǎ] *n.* dzi
supper *n.* dzi
support sb. with one's hand or arm *v.*
 eien
supreme leader of Buddhism *n.*
 khənmu; khəŋβu; khənbu
supreme leader of Buddhism *n.*
 təhydʒidziɔbu
supreme leader of Buddhism in India *n.*
 dziɔgətəhydʒidziɔbu
surface *v.* tʂhuei; tʂhue

- surpass, transcend *v.* tʃhe
 swaddling clothes *n.* teiɐθen
 swallow *n.* dz'əgɔ
 swallow *n.* tʃhəgɔ
 swan *n.* keizɪkuɐŋzɐŋ
 sweat *n.* ɸutʃi
 sweater *n.* məji
 sweep *n.* tchiɐ'mu dɛtchiɔ
 sweep *v.* tchiɐ; sweep the floor *v.* dz'i
 ɐŋtchiɐ
 sweet *adj.* khue
 sweet food *n.* khue'wu
 sweet potato flour *n.* dzio'ləuphe
 sweet potato *n.* dzio'ləu
 swell *v.* ɛŋ
 swelling on the skin [cf. Chinese *Gēdá*
 疙瘩] *n.* tʃuətɛtɛ
 swim *v.* tʃitʃi
 swing *v.* ʃuɐi
 swish *v.* ʃuɐi
 sword *n.* dzɛi

 table *n.* tʃuətsei
 tadpole *n.* beidzuətʃi
 tail (the lower end) of a field *n.* dz'eiŋɔ
 tail *n.* mikue
 tailor *n.* dz'ewɛkhui'wu; dz'ewɛg'ui'wu
 take aim *v.* sɐŋ
 take care of children *vpr.* ɛ'letseidziɔ
 take care of *v.* niendziɔbei
 take charge of; take care of [cf. Chinese
 guǎn 管] *v.* kuɛn
 take down *pder.* mike
 take it easy to say *vpr.* səŋzɔtʃhepʰɔləɛɛi
 take it here *pder.* jǐguɛn
 take off upper garment *vpr.* dz'ewewute
 take offense *v.* zibuzu
 take out *v.* wubuku
 take shelter from the rain *vpr.* dz' ɐŋne

 take *v.* tchiu
 talk about something openly *vpr.*
 dzɐŋɛiɛkuthenku
 talk about something over and over *v.*
 ɛiɛʃuɛiɛbɔbei
 talk *v.* dzɐŋɛiɛbei
 tall *adj.* khɔbude
 tall *adj. v.* thəu; tʃəu
 tall people *n.* khɔbude'wu
 target *n.* βě
 taste bitter *v.* khimu
 taste sweet *v.* khue'wu
 taste *v.* ʃɐŋlɔ
 tasteless *adj.* dzəmədɛdɛmɛ
 tax *n.* litɛi
 tea (before it is served with water) *n.*
 dz'iu
 tea and drinks *n.* tsǐdz'ie
 teach sb. a lesson by hitting *v.* dɛthɛ dɛ
 teach someone a lesson by hitting *v.*
 tɛtseidɛ
 teach *v.* tsɛn
 teacher *n.* geiken
 teacher *n.* ɬɔpen
 tear apart *v.* wudziku
 tear each other's clothes *vpr.*
 dz'ewɛguɛnguenbei
 tear each other's clothing *v.* ɛiɛiɛi
 tear *v.* phe
 telic *Aktionsart* auxiliary kɔ
 tell stories to many people [cf. Chinese
 Bǎilóngménzhèn 摆龙门阵] *v.*
 lǐ'mindzǐ pe
 tell stories *v.* dzuɛie
 temper *n.* phitchi
 temperament *n.* gətɛi
 temple *n.* ɬəkhueŋ
 temple *n.* zəŋgu
 temporal order *n.* ditshi

- ten** *n.* dzj; ten li 里 (about five kilometres) *npr.* lhi'wusiteie ;ten million *n.* sə'jə
- ten months** *npr.* si'li
- tenth day of a month** *npr.* sidzueŋ
- tenth time** *npr.* sithengəu
- ten thousand** *n.* kho
- ten thousand** *n.* tʃhikhuteie
- ten thousand** *num.* dəkho
- ten Yuán** *npr.* sipə
- tent** *n.* 'jə
- terribly** *adv.* geməhe
- testis** *n.* de'luŋ
- than** *pos.* wen'jen
- thangka** *n.* theŋka
- thank** *v.* gəlhedzi;gəlhedzi
- that** *dem.* jiki; that man *npr.* ŋipei; that thing *pron.* jikiphə
- thaw** *v.* gu
- marry** *v.* khu'wokhuəi
- their family** *pron.* Dugu
- then** *adv.* ɐ; ɐ'li; jikigəŋteieŋ
- there** *adv.* jikə
- these** *pron.* dətsi; dətʃi; deŋnie
- they** [plural third person exclusive pronoun] *pron.* Dugu
- they** [plural third person inclusive pronoun] *pron.* dutsei
- thick (of objects not round)** *adj.* jə
- thick** *adj.* ɲendəŋ; nientəŋ
- thick and viscous (liquid)** *adj.* sɔsɔ
- thick corn paste boiled in water to be eaten with sourcraut soup corn flour paste cooked in boiling water, and then removed to sauerkraut soup** *n.* b'ũ
- thick loop bridge ties the two sides of a river for ferrying or the delivery of goods** *n.* nienthe.
- thick** *n.* nientəŋ
- thief** *n.* tʃshuənbu; tʃshueŋbu
- thigh** *n.* kue
- thin** *adj.* dzjʃetsei
- thin** *adj.* g'uendzɪtsei
- thin maize pancake** *n.* thə'lə
- təh̄ɲemɛɛ'letsei** *n.* the sick child
- thing** *n.* khe'wu
- things** *n.* beɪ'libəzi
- things of the same quality** *n.* dzũdzũ
- think of** *v.* jidigi
- think** *v.* deigi
- third day of a month** *npr.* seŋdzueŋ
- third generation** *npr.* miʒəsəŋtʃeŋ
- third time** *n.* senthengəu
- third year from this year** *n.* cih
- third floor of a Guìqióng building with half balcony and half offering place to serve god** *n.* dzugui upstairs. dzugui
- thirsty** *adj.* ji
- thirteen** *num.* dziuseŋ
- thirteenth day of a month** *num.* seiseŋ
- thirtieth day of a month** *npr.* neŋtu
- thirty** *num.* seŋdzi
- thirty** *num.* seŋtʃhi
- thirty-eight** *num.* seŋtʃhizədzie
- thirty-five** *num.* seŋtʃhizə'ŋə
- thirty-four** *num.* seŋtʃhizəzi
- thirty-nine** *num.* seŋtʃhizəgei
- thirty-one** *num.* seŋtʃhizədzi
- thirty-seven** *num.* seŋtʃhizəden
- thirty-six** *num.* seŋtʃhizədzu
- thirty-three** *num.* seŋtʃhizəsəŋ
- thirty-two** *num.* seŋtʃhi zəŋi
- this** *dem.* deɪ
- this evening (said when the day has turned into night)** *npr. adv.* beɪzi meŋgeitsei; beɪzi meŋpitsei

this evening *n. adv.* ʃizəŋməŋgeitsei;

ʃizəŋməŋjitsei

this evening *npr. adv.* tchə'i məŋgeitsei

this time *n. qual.* deithən

this year *n.* tʃhizəŋ

thistle *n.* zɛzɛ

thogether *n.* the first time

thorn *n.* dzigə

thorough and perfect *adj.* sūtshəŋ

those who have little *n.* mə'wu

though *conj.* beime

though *conj.* tsilə

thought *n.* səŋluŋ

thoughtful *adj.* dzəndzɔ

thoughtless *n.* khyme'wu

thousands *num.* tuŋtʃhetʃhitʃhe

thread a needle *v.* 'wən

thread *n.* ʃitɛiɛ

thread, filament, wire, string [cf.

Chinese *Xiànzǐ* 线] *n.* z'iəntsi

three days ago *n.* ɖəŋoniɛ

three *n.* səŋ; three armfuls *num.*

səŋp'əŋ; three books *npr.* səŋthə;

three days *npr.* səŋni; three hundred

num. səŋdzɛ; three thousand *num.*

tuŋtʃhuseŋdzɛŋ; three months *npr.*

səŋ'li; three Yuán *npr.* səŋpʰɛ

throat *n.* 'wutʃhə

throw away *v.* wudziəŋ

throw dices *v.* səitsiŋuɛ

throw up *v.* ʋ'e

throw *v.* ʃuɛi

thumb *n.* kə'nyde'wu'ny

thunder *n.* məŋbɛ'wu

thunder *n.* thə

Tiānquán 天全 *name.* ʃəpei

Tibetan alpine horns resembling the

Alphorn *n.* gəduŋ

Tibetan eared pheasant *n.* dzɔ'wəŋ

Tibetan language *n.* beike

Tibetan *n.* bei

Tibetan New Year *n.* bei'liɛi

tickle *v.* gɛi'litɛiphə'wu

tie up *v.* jiʃiʃi

tie *v.* sɛ

tie *v.* tʃhɛ

tiger *n.* tɛ

tight *adj.* tɛŋ

tile *n.* wɛkə

till the land *v.* dziɛdzɔ

tilt *pder.* Jiju

tilt *v.* ju

time measure of two hours [cf. Chinese

Shíchén 时辰] *n.* tʃhitshəu; tʃhitʃhəu

time *n.* zɛ; a period of time *n. adv.* dəphə;

a long time *n.* zɛwuzi

time-consuming *adj.* thə

tingling *adj.* ʋ'u'wus

tingling *adj.* ʃuzɛdzə

tip *n.* zɛzɛ

tip *pder.* jiju

tip of the fingers *n.* kə'nywɛŋ'jɛntɛi

to go *v.* ji

to remove the peel *vpr.* pəpəwʃi

to tear off the peel downwards *vpr.*

pəpəmiʃi

toad *n.* beibu

toast song *n.* liŋuɛŋ'wu

tobacco *n.* dz'ɛŋχɛŋ

tobacco pouch attached to a pipe *n.*

tulhə; tuzə

today *adv.* tɛhiɛ'i

today *n. adv.* ʃizəŋ

toe *n.* gəny; ŋəny

toenail *n.* gəciɛŋ

toenail *n.* gəciɛŋ; ŋəciɛŋ

toenail *n.* ŋəciɛŋ

tofu *n.* liki; leiki [Ancient Sichuan

Chinese *Líqí* 黎祁]

together *adv.* dɛtʃhɛ

- together** *adv.* nyɛŋ' mɔ; nyɛŋmu
toilet *n.* mɔsu
toilet *n.* tɛiekhuɛŋ; 'nɛŋgu
tomb *n.* doso
tomorrow morning *n.* 'nɛ'i zietsei
tomorrow *n. adv.* 'nɛ'i
tongue *n.* dzi
tonight *n. adv.* beizi
too much *adj.* tʃhitshen
too plentiful *adj.* tʃhitshen
Toona sinensis [cf. Chinese *Chūn* 椿] *n.*
 tʃhuɛnsɛnpu
tooth *n.* χui
top *n.* wen'jen
top of the mountain peak summit *n.*
 zĩgu
top of a kitchen range *n.* dziɔthə; dziəthə
topic marker -phə
topple over *vpr.* bəbəmibei
tough *adj.* χɛŋ
town *n.* khie
town *n.* sutɛhiu
Toxicodendron vernicifluum (Stokes)
 F.A. Barkl. *n.* χənsɛn
toy *n.* gulubei'ji
trade *n.* tshuŋ
trader *n.* tshuŋbei'wu
traffic hub *n.* jithuŋwuthuŋ
Tragopan temminckii *n.* dziu'mudziəkɛi
trample *v.* miteiətɛiə
travel on official business *v.* lɛŋdɛnxi
 'wu
traveler *n.* 'lipu
tree leaf *n.* sɛnpupepe
tree *n.* sɛnpu; small tree *n.* sɛnputsei; a
 tree *n.* sɛnpudəpu
tree branch *n.* sɛnpuguɛŋtɛie
tree root *n.* sɛnpune
tree seedling *n.* sɛnputseitsei
tree trunk *n.* duŋzɛŋ
tremble *v.* wutheitheibe
trim *v.* gə
trim *v.* khetətɛ
trim vegetables for cooking *v.* dzɛnbɛ
 seide
tripod leg used to prop up a wok *n.* dzɛ
 'eikɔ
trouble times *n.* nɛŋzɛχɛŋ
trousers *n.* χi
trousers *n.* χigɛ
trowel *n.* tʃshuɛntsei
true *adj.* ʃu
trumpet flower *n.* 'mɛnumintɔ
trumpet *n.* 'mɛnu
truss up *v.* tʃshe
try all out to do *v.* gudzɔbe
try *v.* tsheitsheibe
try *v.* tshetsheibe
tsampa *n.* inphe
tsampa 糌粑 *n.* jĩphe; inb'ɛ
tshitɔ *n.* ankle
tunes and melodies *n.* duŋpheidunɛtɛhy
turban *n.* pezɛi
turn into rags; wear out (of clothing)
v. ʃo
turn *n.* gɔzɔ
turn *n.* geigo
turn on the tap *v.* tʃiwuɔhɛŋ
turn over *vpinfl.* wukhuitʃshe
turnip *n.* tɛhien
turnip *n.* tɛhienluŋpu
turtle *n.* cien'meilhɔ
turtledove *n.* buduzu
tusk *n.* tʃhiχui
television set; television programme *n.*
 diensi [cf. Chinese *diànshì* 电视]
twelfth day of a month *num.* seiŋi
twelve *num.* dziuŋi; twelve months *npr.*
 sĩŋ'li
twentieth day of a month *num.* ŋĩʃi

- twenty** *num.* ʀiʂi
twenty-eight *num.* ʀiʂidzie
twenty-eighth day of a month *num.*
 ʀiʂidzie
twenty-five *num.* ʀiʂi'ŋə
twenty-fifth day of a month *num.* ʀiʂi'ŋə
twenty-first day of a month *num.* ʀiʂidzi;
 ʀiʂidzi
twenty-four *num.* ʀiʂizi
twenty-fourth day of a month *num.*
 ʀiʂizi
twenty-nine *num.* ʀiʂigei
twenty-ninth day of a month *num.*
 ʀiʂigei
twenty-one *num.* ʀiʂidzi; ʀiʂidzi
twenty-second day of a month *num.*
 ʀiʂiŋi
twenty-seven *num.* ʀiʂiden
twenty-seventh day of a month *num.*
 ʀiʂiden
twenty-six *num.* ʀiʂidzu
twenty-sixth day of a month *num.*
 ʀiʂidzu
twenty-third day of a month *num.*
 ʀiʂiseŋ
twenty-three *num.* ʀiʂiseŋ
twenty-two *num.* ʀiʂiŋi
twice *npr.* ʀiʂiŋ
**twin (whom are generally regarded
 by Guìqióng people as being
 unfortunate)** *n.* dz'i mukhəle
twisting threads into rope *v.* jə
two armfuls *npr.* ʀiʂ'eŋ
two days *npr.* ʀini
two-hour period *npr.* tʂhitshəudətʂhie
two hundred beehives *n.* wuitseiχədzun
 ʀidziə
two hundred *num.* ʀidziə
two hundred years *n.* loŋidziə
two months *npr.* ʀi'li
two *num.* ʀi
two paces *npr.* ʀiŋeŋ
two people *npr.* ʀipei
two thirds *num.* seŋsətsi'ŋiʂə
two thousand *num.* tunʂshunʀidziəŋ
two years *npr.* ʀi'ŋeŋ
two Yuán *npr.* ʀipe
ugly *adj.* tshentəheŋ
ugly people *n.* tshentəheŋ'wu
umbrella *n.* z'ətun
unable to move *adj.* tʂhotʂhoməkə
unbearable *adj.* sənmeəkə
unbearable *adj.* səŋmeəkə
uncle elder than one's father *n:kin.* 'əpei
uncle *n:kin.* 'ənku
unclear *adj.* meizumuzu
unclear water *adj.* tʂitheŋtheŋ
uncomfortable *adj.* səŋmeəkə
under *adv. pos.* χəpei
under-change *v.* tshələməgə
undergo *v.* phə
**underground floor of a Guìqióng
 building containing pens for keeping
 cattle** *n.* dziuzə
**understand the traditional code of
 conduct** *vpr.* dzuənbu 'jyueŋ
understand *v.* gu
under-surface of the foot *n.* gəphi; ŋəphi
undo *v.* wutʂhutʂhu
unexpectedly *adv.* deigilu mē'wu
unfilial *adj.* eiəmətshə
unfilial sons or daughters *npr.* dz
 'əgə'eletsei
unfortunate *adj.* dʂ
unfortunate *adj.* lədʂ
unlucky *adj.* lədʂ
unmarried *adj.* khuwokhuəiləməneŋ
unmarried daughter; single woman *n.*
 mutuŋ

- unmarried son *n.* ɸuturŋ
 unpalatable *adj.* dziɛŋmeijɛŋtsei
 unpalatable *adj.* mɛdzueŋ
 unreliable *adj.* dziɹlumɛ
 unsettled *adj.* sɛŋmɛkɔ
 untilled land *n.* pɛŋtɛie
 unwise *adj.* mɛdzɛdzɛ
 uphill of the road *n.* ɸutɛiemijen
 upper back *n.* detshi
 upper garment *n.* dz'ɛwɛ
 upright *adj.* thutsu
 uproar *n.* ɛziɹi
 upset *adj.* bubulele
 upturn one's face *v.* wen'jenwũŋɛ
 upturn *v.* ŋɛ
 urge *v.* khuei
 urinate *v.* 'neŋɛɹi
 urinate *vpr.* 'ɛɹi bɔ
 urine *n.* 'ɛɹi
 use sparingly *v.* tsheitsheibe
 use up *n.* tɹutshu
 use *v.* tɹu

 vagina *n.* ɹui
 valley *n.* luŋpu
 valuables (valuable things) *n.* dziɹɔ
 vegetable basin *n.* dzɛnbɛ phɛŋtsei
 vegetable garden *n.* dzɛnbɛ goli
 vegetable *n.* dzɛnbɛ
 vegetable oil *n.* mɛ'nɛ; mɛ'nɛ
 vehicle [cf. Chinese *Chēzi* 车子] *n.*
 tshetsi
 verbal auxiliary *bei*
 verbose *adj.* phiɹiphɛle
 very *adv.* tɹhi
 very bad person *n.* gɔdzu
 very expensive *adj.* phutɹhɛde
 very heavy *adj.* jɛkuɛndodo
 very high (of price) *adj.* dɛluhɛŋ
 very much resemble *v.* yɔulehehe

 very short *adj.* 'mudzɹitsei
 very slowly *adv.* hɛmɛhɛmetsei
 very strong *v.* simukɔdzɛn
 very thin *adj.* g'uɛndziɹg'uɛndziɹtsei
 vicinity *n.* ɹie; nie
 village *n.* dzueŋmɔ
 village *n.* huŋtshu
 vine *n.* tentɛŋ
 vinegar [cf. Chinese *Cù* 醋] *n.* dz'u
 viscera *n.* beiteŋ'nɛŋzi
 voice *n.* sɛni
 voice, sound *n.* sɛ
 vole *n.* dzɹiɹuŋ'luŋ
 vomited *v.* ɹ'ɛle
 vulture *n.* dziɹgui

 wag the tail *v.* mikue ɹɛɹɛ
 wag *v.* ɹɛɹɛ
 waist of a mountain *n.* bɛlibɛte
 waistband *n.* zɹku
 wait a long time *vpr.* gɛlhɛ lɛŋ
 wait *v.* lɛŋ
 wake sb. up *vpr.* sɛtɛhyenlewuɔku
 wake up *v.* wuɹido
 walk *v.* tɛhy
 wall *n.* tsipɛ; a crack in the wall *n.*
 tsipɛkhɛzi
 wall-eye *n.* niɛɹie
 walnut bloom *n.* ɛ'mɛ'mɛtsei
 walnut *n.* g'uŋluŋ
 wander, loaf *v.* tɹhitɛhiuphɔ'wu
 wanderer *n.* tɹɹitɛhiu
 want to burp *v.* ɹ' ɛgibeimu
 want *v.* dzien
 war *n.* 'mɛ
 warm *adj.* jo
 warm and hot season *n.* 'jukhu
 wash one's face and rinse the mouth *v.*
 khɛɹidzi
 wash *v.* jɛ

washy *adj.* theŋtheŋ; theŋtheŋtsei

wasp *n.* wuidur

waste *n.* tɛiɛtɛiɛpepe

waste *v.* tʃhuelɛbɛi

watch over *v.* ɛ'e

watchdog *n.* dɛ'iɛŋdzioɱɛkhu

water bird *n.* tʃhidziɔzɔ

water bucket *n.* χə; a bucket of *n:qual.*

dəχə

water dripping from the eaves *n.* dzɛtʃhi

water flows *v.* tʃiɟu

water *n.* tʃi

water pipe *n.* tʃiɸu

water springs up (e.g. when drilling a well) *v.* tʃibɔ

water vat *n.* tʃiŋə

water-bound animals *n.* tʃini

waterfall *n.* dzɛtʃhi

waterfall *n.* tʃiɛi

waterhole *n.* tʃũ'mu

waterlogging *adj.* tʃhitsuphɔ

waterside *n.* tʃhidzɔ

wave *n.* tʃhidə

wave *v.* dʒɛdʒ

way out *n.* tsholu

wayward *adj.* 'nɛŋzɔsɪzɔ

wayward *adj.* zo

we [the exclusive first person plural pronoun] *pron.* ŋəgu

we [the exclusive first person plural pronoun] *pron.* zogəu

we [the inclusive first person plural pronoun] *pron.* ŋətsei

wear *v.* wɛ

wear-resisting *adj.* 'liŋ; 'liŋlũhɛŋ

weasel, *Mustela sibirica* *n.* wuidzi

weather *n.* mɛŋ

weather *n.* nɛŋthə

weave cloth *v.* zɛiθɛ

weave *v.* thɛ

web *n.* sithɛ

weed grows exuberantly *v.* bɔdɔu

weed *n.* bɔ

weed the land *v.* dɛiɛ 'wui

weep aloud *vpr.* ɛzəməzəbɛilɛgɔ

weigh *v.* jikuen

weigh *v.* kuɛn

well-arranged *adj.* dzɛidzɛi

well-cooked *adj.* 'mei

well-cooked *adj.* 'mei; 'min

well-known *adj.* 'miŋthudziɛŋtʃɛ

well-rounded and healthy *adj.* 'wɔ'mudɔ

well-rounded *n.* niɛntɛŋ

wellspring *n.* tʃũ'mu

west *n.* no

wet *adj.* theŋ

wet *adj.* theŋtheŋ; theŋtheŋtsei

what *pron.* tɛiu

whatever *pron.* dɛndɛn

whatever *pron.* tɛiuzjɛi

whatsoever *adv.* mɛŋtshɛn

wheat *n.* 'jɛŋ; a grain of wheat *npr.*

'jɛŋdɛ'jɛŋ; dark-flour wheat *n.*

dziɱu'jɛŋ; blighted wheat *n.*

'jɛŋniɛkɔ; awn-less wheat *n.* 'jɛŋciɛn;

reap the wheat *v.* 'jɛŋkɛ; wheat flour

n. 'jɛŋpɛ; wheat flour bread *n.*

'jɛŋzɛŋb'ɔlɔ; 'jɛŋb'ɔlɔ; 'jɛŋpɛb'ɔlɔ;

wheat plant with long pointed awn *n.*

gɛŋ'jɛŋtsei

when *conj.* gɛŋ

when one was younger *npr. adv.* lɛsɪ

'nigɛŋ

when *pron.* ɛ'liwuəjɔ

when there is no other choice *adv.*

lumɛsɛŋ

where *adv.* 'əlɛ

where *pron.* ɛ'linie

wherever *adv.* 'əlɛdzjɛdzjɛ

which direction *pron.* ɛ'linie

- which person** *pron.* ɛ'lipɛi
which storey *pron.* ɛ'li tse
whip *n.* dəphu
whipping top *n.* khu'lutsei
whirlpool *n.* tʃhíkhu
whisper *n.* phiseiphusu
whistle *n.* gəluntsei
whistle *n.* lhesui
white *n. adj.* ʃə'me
white paper *n.* ʃə'wu ʃə'me
white pepper *n.* ʎəciɛn
who [Ancient Chinese *Shú* 孰;
 Latter-day Chinese *Shuí* 谁] *pron.* su
who is it? *int.* sujə
whoever *pron.* suzɪzi
whole body *n.* 'wə'mutɛie
whole hand *n.* kodəphə'wu
whole lifetime *n.* meizətɛieŋ
whorl (fingerprint) *n.* tsho
whose family *pron.* sugu
why *adv.* tɛibə
why *pron. adv.* tɛiutsi; tɛiu tsile
wicked *adj.* senni gɔdzu
wicked man *n.* gɔdzu
wide *adj.* lɛŋ
wife *n.* gudz'y
wife *n.* guidz'i; gudz'y; guig'i
wild beast *n.* nɛŋgəumesətchie
wild boar *n.* phɛgui
wild cat *n.* tuŋ
wild dog, *Cuon alpinus* *n.* pu' wu
wild goat *n.* 'lo'wu
wild mulberry *n.* χuisi
wild ox *n.* 'je
wild wind *n.* 'luŋthə; muhi 'luŋthə
willow *n.* dziɛŋdziɛŋ senpu
win a battle *v.* 'mɛkə
win *v.* dz'ɿ
win *v.* kə
wind *n.* muhi; muju
wind *v.* jilulu
windless *adj.* muhimɛ
window *n.* tekū
**window-like opening in the wall which
 cannot be opened** *n.* putʃə
wing *n.* tseiko
winter *n.* guenkhu
winter *n.* guentə
wipe *v.* wutʃhibɛi
wise *adj.* dzuɛnciɛnjen
with *adv.* nyɛŋ' mɔ; nyɛŋmu
with considerable stature *adj.*
 dzəthɛŋgɛ
with ear *n.* nɔgu
wither *v.* gu
within the land *n.* dziɛ'wuə
within this vicinity *adv.* deilɔlgəu
without *n.* tuŋpu
wok *n.* wuŋ
wolf *n.* tɛieŋkei
woman *n.* dz'imeɪ; a woman *npr.*
 dz'imeidepei
women *npr.* dz'imeɪnie
wood knife *n.* ʃɛŋtu
wood *n.* sɛn
wooden bench or stool [cf. Chinese
Bǎndèng 板凳] *n.* pɛntəŋ
wooden bowl *n.* khəpu
wooden cup *n.* tʃuŋtʃuŋ
wooden ladle *n.* mɛlhi
wooden meal scoop *n.* thəkei
woodpecker *n.* sɛnpuθəthə
wool *n.* be
wool *n.* tshɛŋ
word *cl.* nɛŋ
words *n.* ciɛ 'wu
words *n.* dzɛŋciɛ
work harder *v.* sɛntɛie
work *n.* li
work *n.* ligə

worried *adj.* zɔsi
worry *n.* zosi
worry *v.* du
worth doing -beijən *v.*
wound *n.* tshen
wrap *v.* 'b'lo
wriggle *v.* tʃhotʃhomu
wring dry *v.* dz'i
wring *v.* zui
wrinkled *adj.* kɔtsɔmɔtsɔ
wrist *n.* lətsho
write a letter *n.* dəŋdəbei
write again and again *v.* tɛiɔʃutɛiɔbɔbei
write *v.* tɛiɔ
wrong doings *n.* mədzueŋ'wu

Yǎ'an 雅安 *name.* jətʃu
yak *n.* dzɔ
Yamen (cf. yámen), government offices
n. phudzueŋ
**Yamen; government office in feudal
 China** [cf. Chinese *Yámen* 衙门] *n.*
 jɛ'men
yard *n.* goli; gɔzɛi
year *n.* 'hɛŋ; every year *adv.* də'hɛŋdɛisi; a
 year *npr.* də'hɛŋ
yeast *n.* dzitsei
yell *v.* ɛ; sɛtɛhyen
yellow *n. adj.* 'wuʃɛ
yes *int.* o'je

yesterday *adv.* tɛhiuŋtɛiuŋ; *n. adv.*
 tɛhiɛŋ'nu; the whole day yesterday *n.*
 tɛhiuŋtɛiuŋdeni
Yì language *name.* lɔlɔmũkɛ
Yì language *name.* lɔlɔpɛime kɛtɛhie
Yì person lɔlɔmũ *name.*
Yì the language *name.* lɔlɔmũkɛtɛhie
yonder; yon [distal demonstrative] *adv.*
 hɔŋni; hɛŋni
you [the exclusive plural second person
 pronoun] *pron.* nuŋgu
you [the inclusive plural second person
 pronoun] *pron.* nuŋtsei
you [the singular second person
 pronoun] *pron.* nuŋ
You're welcome (used to reply to
 people's thanks) *vpr.* zuɛnmɛ̃
young *adj.* loni
young and ignorant *n.* khyme'wu
young man or woman *npr.* lɛsɪ 'nɪ'wu
younger *adj.* loni; mini; the young, the
 younger, the youngest *n.* ni'wu
younger sister *n.* meimei
younger sister *n.* ɣɛŋtsei; nɛŋtsei
 [Chǎngmǎ]

Zanthoxylum bungeanum *n.* tʃshuipu
zodiac animal sign *n.* lɔkhutɛiuni
zongzi [cf. Chinese *zòngzi* 粽子] *n.* dzieʃi

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