

A Descriptive Grammar of Yongning Na (Mosuo)

Liberty A. Lidz



Lake Lugo

Mosuo people live all around Lake Lugo and the plain of Yong Ning, few kilometers away from the lake. In the language of the Mosuo, Lake Lugo is called Shinami, which means "Mother Lake"; Shinami is a goddess, too.

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A Descriptive Grammar of Yongning Na (Mosuo)

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Dedication

For Lance Hahn
requiescat in pace

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This dissertation is a descriptive grammar of Yongning Na (Mosuo), a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in southwestern China. The theoretical approaches taken are functional syntax and the discourse-based approach to language description and documentation. The aim of this dissertation is to describe the ways that the language's features and subsystems intersect to make Na a unique entity: analyticity; zero anaphora; OV word order; topic/comment information structure; a five-part evidential system; a conjunct/disjunct-like system that intersects with evidentiality and verbal semantics; prolific grammaticalization; overlap between nominalization and relativization and associated structures; representation of time through aspect, Aktionsart, adverbials, and context; and the Daba shamanic register.

Topics covered in the grammar include a description of the sociolinguistic environment; the phonemic inventory; phonological processes; compounding; word classes; the structure of noun phrases; the classifier system; types of possession; methods for quantification; grammatical relations and non-systemic 'ergative' and 'anti-ergative' marking; the structure of verb phrases; the multiple existential verbs; the aspectual system; evidentiality; grammaticalization; clause-combining; narrative texts; and lexicon.

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List of Abbreviations

1SG.PRO	1st person singular pronoun	ɲa33
1INC.PRO	1st person plural inclusive pronoun	ʃ31-sɻ33 ku31
1EXC.PRO	1st person plural exclusive pronoun	ɲa33-sɻ33 ku31
2SG.PRO	2nd person singular pronoun	nɔ33
2PL.PRO	2nd person plural pronoun	nɔ33-sɻ33 ku31
3SG.PRO	3rd person singular pronoun	tʰu33
3PL.PRO	3rd person plural pronoun	tʰu33-sɻ33 ku31
1SG.POSS	1st person singular possessive pronoun	ɲa33 bu33
1INC.POSS	1st person plural inclusive possessive pronoun	ʃ31-sɻ33 ku31 bu33
1EXC.POSS	1st person plural exclusive possessive pronoun	ɲa33-sɻ33 ku31 bu33
2SG.POSS	2nd person singular possessive pronoun	nɔ33 bu33
2PL.POSS	2nd person plural possessive pronoun	nɔ33-sɻ33 ku31 bu33
3SG.POSS	3rd person singular possessive pronoun	tʰu33 bu33
3PL.POSS	3rd person plural possessive pronoun	tʰu33-sɻ33 ku31 bu33
ABL	Ablative	kwɔ33, nu33
ABLT	Abilitive	wɔ33, ku13
ACCOMP	Accomplished	lɛ33-
ADESS	Adessive	tɔ31
ADV	Adverb	(various)
ADVB	Adverbializer	zɔ33
ADVERS	Adversative conjunctive coordinator	nɔ31, dzɔ31
AGTV	Agentive	nu33
ALL	Allative	ki33, tɔ31
AND	Andative	bi33
ASP	Aspect marker	(various)
ASSOC	Associative	bu33
AUG	Augmentative	-mi33
AUX	Auxiliary	(various)
BACK AND FORTH	Back and forth movement	V ₁ -V ₁
BEN	Benefactive	ki33
CAUS	Causative	kʰu13, tɕi33, yi33
CERT.M	Certainty: Epistemic marker	mæ33
CERT.STR	Certainty: Epistemic strategy	ni33
CIS	Cisative	kʰu33
CLS	Classifier	(numerous)
CMKN	Common knowledge evidential	=a31 dzɔ33
CMPL	Completive	sɛ13
CO	Coordinator	(various)
COM	Comitative	ga33

List of Abbreviations (continued)

COMP	Comparative	tɔ31
COMPL	Complementizer	dʒɔ33
COND.CTRF	Conditional – counterfactive	pi33-zə31-dʒɔ33
COND.HYP	Conditional – hypothetical	pi33
COND.PRED	Conditional – predictive	pi33-dʒɔ33
CONJ	Conjunctive coordinator	la33
CONTR	Contrastive focus	nu33
COP	Copula	ni33
CSM	Change of state marker	ze33
CRS	Currently relevant state marker	ze33
CTP	Complement taking predicate	(various)
DAT	Dative	ki33
DEL	Delimitative aspect	du33 + v
DES	Desiderative	hɔ33
DIM	Diminutive	-zɔ33
DISJ	Disjunctive coordinator	nɔ33
DUR	Durative	tʰu33-
EMPH	Emphatic	nu33
EXIST	Existential: Generic	dʒɔ33
EXIST.C	Existential: Container	ʒu33
EXIST.P	Existential: Used with items perpendicular to a plane	di33
EXIST.T	Existential: Used with past existence of time	ku33
EXPER	Experienced aspect	tɕi31
FOC	Focus	nu33
FUT.IMM	Future immediate	bi33
FUT.REM	Future remote	hu33
FUT.DES	Future predictive (desire)	hɔ33
FUT.ABL	Future predictive (ability)	ku13
IMP	Imperative	(suppletive forms: hɔ33, yɔ33, etc.)
INESS	Inessive	kwɔ33 lɔ31
INFR	Inference evidential	pʰæ33 di33
INSTR	Instrumental	pɔ13
INTERJ	Interjection	hæ31, kwæ31
INTS	Intensifier	ʒwæ13
INTSF	Intensified (of a stative verb)	SV ₁ - SV ₁
IRR	Irrealis	
ITER	Iterative aspect	du33 + V ₁ V ₁
KAK	Knowledge and acquisition of knowledge CTP	(various)
LOC	Locative (temporal/spatial)	kwɔ33
NEG	Negative	mə33-

List of Abbreviations (continued)

NOM	Nominalizer	-hĩ33
NOM _{Agt}	Agentive nominalizer	-hĩ33
NOM _{Loc}	Locative nominalizer	-di33
NOM _{Purp}	Purposive nominalizer	-di33
NRA	Non-relative attributive	bu33
OBL	Obligative	zɔ33
PAT	Patient	tɔ31
PERF	Perfective aspect	ze33
PL	Plural	= æ31
POSS	Possessive	bu33
POSSIB	Possibility	t ^h ɑ13
POSTP	Postposition	(various)
PROG	Progressive aspect	dʒɔ33
PROH	Prohibitive	t ^h ɑ33
QM	Question marker	ɑ31-
QUANT	Quantifier	(various)
QUOT	Quotative evidential	pi33
RECIP	Reciprocal	V ₁ -V ₁
REFL	Reflexive pronoun	ʃ31-bu33
REL	Relativizer	di33
REP	Reported/hearsay evidential	tsi13
RLS	Realis	
SEM	Semelfactive	[du33 + v] ~
SV	Stative verb	(various)
SVC	Serial verb construction	
TOP	Topic marker	dʒɔ33
VEN	Venitive	yɔ33
VOL	Volitive	ʃu33 du33

Index of Classifiers

lu33 generic classifier

Shape:

gɣ13 round sticks
kwɣ33 strands
k^hu31 long, narrow things
k^hwɣ33 sections, strips, and pieces
ly33 kernels
tu31 balls
na33 long, flat, and stick-shaped things
p^hæ13 slices
q^hwɣ13 bowls
tɕ^hɔ13 ladles
wɣ33 stacks
wæ33 piles

Living things:

dzɯ33 large things which grow from the ground
mi31 flying things and some other animals
pɔ33 small things which grow from the ground
p^hɔ13 some common four-legged animals
yɣ13 dogs

Selection for number:

dzɯ33 pairs
wu33 one person
ku13 more than one person
wɔ33 teams of oxen

Auto-classifiers:

q^hɣ33 holes
tsɔ13 rooms
ts^hi13 sheepskin throws
tɕi31 sound of whistles
wɣ33 villages

Index of Classifiers (continued)

Measure:

fi31	units of cloth
q ^h wɿ13	bowfuls
tɕ ^h ɔ13	ladlefuls

Quantification:

duw33 ta13	all
duw33 pi13	some
duw33 wɔ33	a type of
duw33 huw33	a little
tʂu13	many

Round number:

ts ^h ɛ33	ten
ɕi33	hundred
tu33	thousand

Time spans (do not require head nouns):

dzuw31 k ^h ɿ31	a while
dzæ33	period of time
k ^h u13	year
ɲi33	day
ʂɿ33	time
tʂ ^h æ13	generation
ha33	night
zuw33	lifetime

Typological Profile

- Towards the analytic side of the synthetic-analytic continuum
- Zero anaphora
- AOV word order
- Three-way voicing distinction in obstruents
- Prolific vowel harmony
- Bilabial trills
- Topic/comment language
- Pragmatic context very important for interpretation
- Five-part evidential system
- Conjunct/disjunct-like system that intersects with evidentiality and verbal semantics
- Prolific grammaticalization
- Multiple existential verbs
- Classifier system, as is common in SE Asian languages
- Overlap between nominalization and relativization and associated structures, like many Tibeto-Burman languages
- Complex aspectual system
- Daba shamanic register

1 Sociolinguistic overview ¹

This dissertation provides a comprehensive description of Yongning Na (Mosuo), a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in southwestern China. In very recent years, the field of linguistics has seen a paradigmatic shift towards describing and documenting indigenous languages, as researchers have realized the scale of language endangerment occurring as speakers switch to speaking a small number of global languages. China is developing at an astonishing pace, and the broader changes happening across the nation are having profound effects on language use among minority language speech communities. Improvements in quality of living, including increased access to education for youth, new infrastructure reaching previously remote areas, new media, and novel socioeconomic opportunities, are precipitating language shift from minority languages to Mandarin. For the Na, large-scale tourism has been an additional factor. This tourism is fueled by Han Chinese curiosity about the Na, whose way of life is completely antithetical to the Confucian worldview.

The aim of this dissertation is to describe the ways that the language's features and subsystems interact to make Na a unique entity: analyticity; zero anaphora; OV word order; topic/comment information structure; a five-part evidential system; a conjunct/disjunct-like system that intersects with evidentiality and verbal semantics; prolific grammaticalization; overlap between nominalization and relativization and associated structures; postpositional semantic role markers; representation of time through tense, aspect, Aktionsarten, adverbials, and discourse context; and the Daba shamanic register.

¹ This research was made possible by support from the National Science Foundation under Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant No. 0345862 (PI Tony Woodbury), as well as a grant from the National Science Foundation Office of International Science and Engineering, for which I am extremely grateful.

§1 presents an overview of the sociolinguistic situation. §2–5 discuss the sound system of Na: §2 shows the consonant and vowel phonemic inventories; §3 provides laboratory data to support the inventories; §4 describes the phonological processes active in the language, including the allophonic variants and the environments in which they appear and vowel harmony processes; and §5 examines tonogenesis.

§6 provides the Na reflexes of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms reconstructed in Matisoff (2003b) for the reader interested in comparative and historical Tibeto-Burman linguistics, and discusses general patterns of change attested from Proto-Tibeto-Burman to Na. §7 delineates the word classes of Na, and provides an overview of the processes of grammaticalization found in Na morphosyntax. §8 describes the Na noun class, including morphological structure, types of nouns, and closed classes of nouns. §9 discusses noun phrase structure, the classifier system, quantification, possession, and noun phrase coordination. §10 shows how grammatical relations are marked in Na, including when and why non-systemic agentive and patient marking appear, and looks at ‘case’ marking. §11 describes the Na verb phrase, including morphological structure, verb phrase structure, the copula, the existential verbs, stative verbs, transitivity, the special role of verbal semantics in Na, adverbials, negation, causativity, serial verb constructions, and verb phrase coordination. §12 looks at modality. §13 examines temporal representation in Na, with a focus on tense / aspect and Aktionsarten. §14 discusses the five-fold evidential system, as well as the ways that person, evidence, and verbal semantics interact in Na. §15 describes simple clauses, including declarative, imperative, prohibitive, and interrogative constructions. §16 looks at clause-combining in Na, including coordination, subordination, conditionals, relative clauses, and complement clauses. §17 consists of the narrative text corpus. This is followed by the lexicon; Appendix A, which gives Chinese transcripts of several interviews with Daba shamans; Appendix B, which presents additional spectrograms; and the bibliography.

The narrative texts are then presented. These include two creation mythologies, one of which includes sections spoken in the Daba shamanic register; a folktale about the animist goddess Gemu; an interview on the custom of Na women to wear headdresses composed of their female ancestors' hair; a procedural narrative on building a traditional Na house, which shows strong indications of influence from Tungusic shamanism; and excerpts of interviews with three of the very few remaining Daba shamans.

The current chapter provides an overview of the Na sociolinguistic situation. §1.1 discusses classification of Na, and the issues which complicate classification. Figure 1.1 *Map of Yunnan* illustrates the geographic context of southwestern China and shows the locations of Na and other linguistic groups living in Yunnan. Figure 1.2 *Varieties of Na(xi)* gives a concise graphic representation of the Na and Naxi varieties discussed in §1.1. §1.2 explains the research methodology. §1.3 gives a brief typological profile of Na for the reader desiring an overview of the major features of the language. §1.4 discusses key aspects of Na life and society. §1.5 describes the traditional subsistence economy, while §1.6 discusses the very recent tourist economy that has developed because of newly middle-class Han Chinese visiting from the eastern cities. §1.7 provides a critical assessment of language vitality.

1.1 CLASSIFICATION

The language of the Na (also known as Mosuo) is estimated at 40,000 speakers (Yang 2009, divided among three dialects. This work focuses on the Yongning variety of Na (hereafter, Na), as spoken at the fieldwork site of the village of lu33-su33 (Luoshui / 落水村) on Lugu Lake (泸沽湖) in Yunnan Province. Yunnan Province is located in southwestern China, and is north of Laos and Vietnam, east of Burma, southeast of Tibet, and southwest of Sichuan Province (see Figure 1.1 *Map of Yunnan*).

Na itself is categorized as an eastern variety of Naxi, which linguists variously characterize as an ungrouped Tibeto-Burman language (Thurgood 2003:19–20); on the periphery of Loloish (Matisoff 1986:47); close to, but not part of, Lolo-Burmese (Bradley 1975:93); and both classified as Yiish (Lolo-Burmese) by Beijing linguists and typologically extremely similar to Loloish languages, yet perhaps not actually Loloish (Ramsey 1987:265–266).

The best current understanding of the linguistic situation is presented in Figure 1.2 *Varieties of Na(xi)*. This diagram shows that Naxi (western) has three sub-varieties: Dayanzhen (大研镇), Lijiang (丽江), and Baoshanzhou (宝山州), and that Na (eastern) has three sub-varieties: Yongning (永宁), Guabie (瓜别), and Ninglang (also known as Beiqu) (宁蒍 / 北渠). The western varieties are mutually intelligible, and the speakers of these all use the autonym ‘Naxi’ na31-ɕi33. The eastern varieties are not fully mutually intelligible, and the speakers use different, but related, autonyms: the Yongning speakers use the autonym na13, the Guabie speakers use the autonym na33-zuu33, and the Ninglang speakers use the autonym na33-xi33 (He and Jiang 1985:2–4).²

2 There is also a small population living in Weixi (维西), a county slightly northwest of Lugu Lake, who use the autonym ‘ma33 li55 ma33 sa33,’ which He and Jiang take to be derived from ‘mu31 li33 mo33 so33,’ Muli (木里) being an area in Sichuan not far from Lugu Lake (He and Jiang 1985:2).

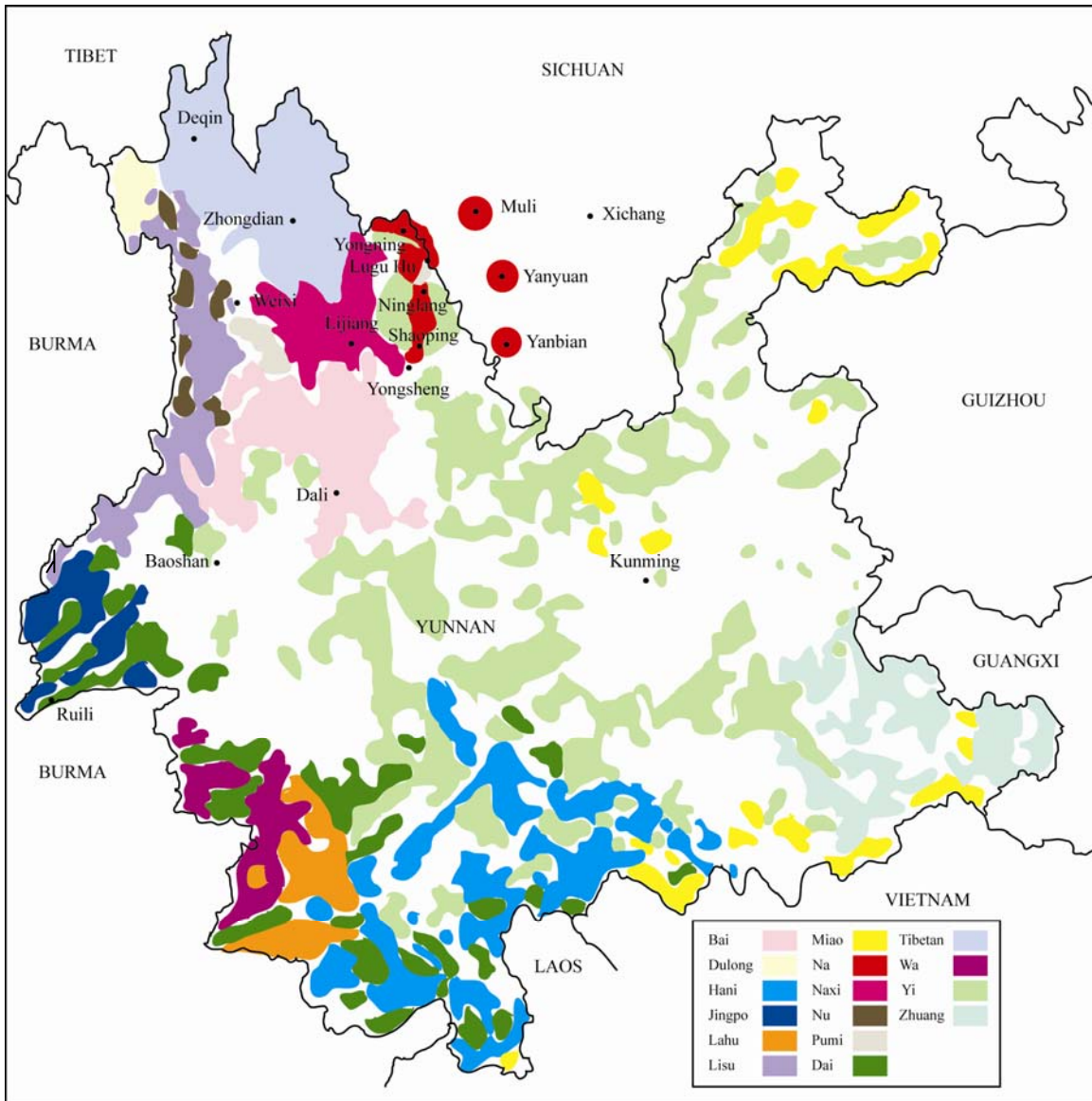


Figure 1.1 Map of Yunnan³

³ This map is based on National Minorities Commission (1983), with the addition of data on Na areas as described in Yang Zhenhong (2009). Please note that this map is abbreviated for the sake of visual clarity: speakers of varieties of Chinese, primarily Xiguanhua (the southwestern variety of Mandarin) and Yunnanese, are widespread throughout Yunnan Province, and thus are not pictured.

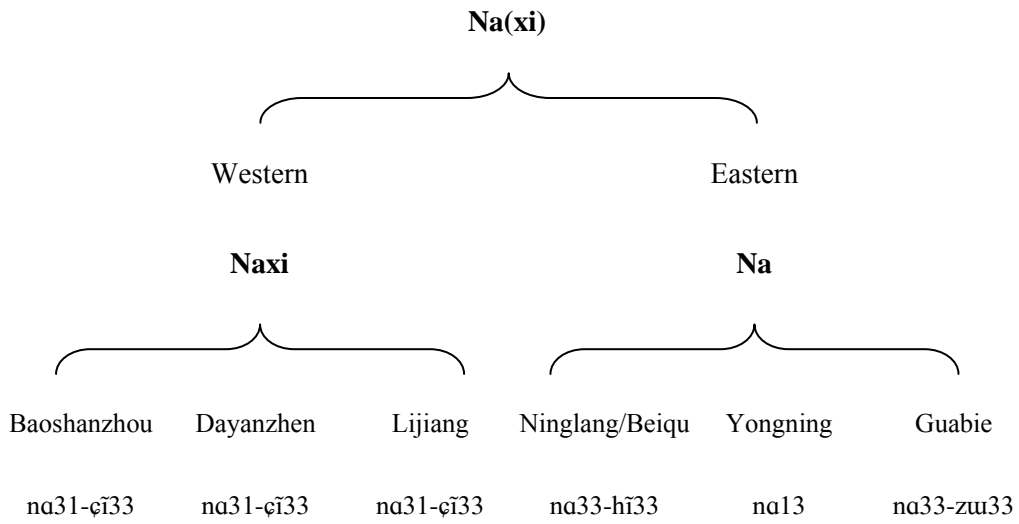


Figure 1.2 Varieties of Na(xi)

Although there are substantial literatures in anthropology and sociology on the Na, there is very little previous linguistic research on Na. Nishida (1985) provides several examples from Na; Jiang (1993) presents a brief overview of differences between Na and Naxi; Dai, Huang et al. (1992) contains Na lexical items; Lidz (2007) describes evidentiality in Na; Michaud (2008) provides a phonemic and tonal analysis; and Yang (2009) presents a grammatical sketch. Fu (1940/1941, 1941, 1943) and Li (1971), use the ethnonym ‘Moso’ in the titles; however, these works actually refer to Naxi. This discrepancy is due to inconsistencies in the ways that the terms ‘Mosuo’ and ‘Naxi’ were used in the past, as will be described shortly.

Lexicostatistical data to gauge roughly the distance of the relationship between Na and Naxi are not yet available. However, native speaker reports from both Lijiang (western) and Yongning (eastern) indicate that these two varieties are not mutually intelligible, with most estimating that it would take a native speaker of the Lijiang variety approximately a year living in Yongning to speak that variety, and vice-versa. As might be expected given native speaker reports of non-mutual intelligibility, there are linguistic differences evident at the phonetic, phonological, syntactic, and lexical levels of the grammars of Lijiang Naxi and Yongning Na. Western variety-speakers and eastern-variety speakers also identify as separate ethnocultural groups. A detailed dialectal survey of Na has not yet been conducted, but anecdotal data indicate that differences exist even among nearby villages, particularly with respect to tone and rhotacization. The aim of this dissertation is to provide a comprehensive description of Yongning Na, so a survey of other Na varieties is beyond the scope of this work and remains for future research.

Na is commonly referred to as ‘Mosuo’ in present-day mainland China, and has traditionally been described as being a dialect of Naxi. The terms ‘Mosuo’ and ‘Naxi’ were used indiscriminately until fairly recently (approximately the mid-1970s), with the term ‘Mosuo’ sometimes used to refer to what is now called ‘Mosuo,’ sometimes to what is now called ‘Naxi,’ and sometimes as a cover term for both, as well as the term ‘Naxi’ sometimes used to refer to what is now called ‘Mosuo,’ sometimes to what is now called ‘Naxi,’ and sometimes as a cover term for both.

Nomenclature is further complicated by the fact that speakers of Na have different official ethnic classifications. The Na in Yunnan are classified as belonging to the Naxi ethnicity (纳西族) at the national level; more recently, they have obtained a provincial-level sub-classification as a distinct *rén* (人) ‘people,’ the Mosuo people (摩梭人). The designation as a distinct *rén* affords some benefits, but not as many benefits as designation as a distinct *zú* (族) ‘ethnicity’ would afford. Such benefits include representation in the government at different levels, government funding, and affirmative action policies for acceptance to schools and universities.

The Na in Sichuan, however, are classified as belonging to the Mongolian ethnicity (蒙古族). That the Sichuan Na are officially classified as ‘Mongolian’ is due to unusual socio-historical circumstances. After the founding of the People’s Republic in 1949, Chinese ethnologists were sent to survey the minority populations in southwestern China, as part of Mao’s plan to incorporate these peoples into the new state. Due to historical tensions between the Na and the Naxi, when the Sichuan Na learned that they would be classified as Naxi in the early 1950s, they protested by taking over the county government offices. As the federal government limits recognition to the fifty-six ethnicities, local officials were perplexed as to what to do, and a face-saving compromise was established such that the Sichuan Na could be classified as Mongolian, on the basis that the Mongols had invaded the area seven hundred years previously, and perhaps the Na were descendants of these Mongols. Although this designation is within historical memory, the Na in Sichuan have clearly adopted their designation as Mongolian, and colorful plastic plaques of Genghis Khan hang prominently on the walls in homes. Sichuan Na also disavow designation as Mosuo, likely because of the associations with the term ‘Mosuo’ developed in the tourist industry.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

The Na data were collected during my stays at Luoshui at Lugu Lake in Yongning Township, Ninglang County, Yunnan Province, in 2005–2006, 2004–2005, the summer of 2002, and from a previous stay in Kunming, the capital city of Yunnan Province, in summer 2001. In Luoshui, I elicited data from Geze Dorje and Da Lang, both native speakers of the Yongning dialect of Na who are Na–Mandarin bilinguals. In Kunming, I elicited data from another native speaker of Yongning Na (as spoken in Abuwa Village [阿布瓦村]), who is also a Na–Mandarin bilingual, Yang Zhenhong.

The principle research methodologies used were the discourse-centered approach to language documentation (Sherzer 1987, Sherzer and Woodbury 1987, Urban and Sherzer 1988), the ethnography of speaking (Grimshaw 1974, Hymes 1974), linguistic elicitation (Payne 1997, Samarin 1967), participant observation (Bernard 1994, Hume and Mulcock 2004, McCall and Simmons 1969, Spradley 1980), and ethnographic techniques (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983).

Data presented are taken from audio- and video-recordings of oral narratives, such as folklore and mythology, which I recorded with the aim of documenting the culture of the Na linguistic community, their natural speech patterns, and important aspects of Na belief systems and the Daba shamanic religion. This methodology, the discourse-centered approach to language documentation (Sherzer 1987, Sherzer and Woodbury 1987, Urban and Sherzer 1988), also captures casual speech not obtained through formal elicitation and grammaticality judgments, thus yielding a more well-rounded data set. The data from the texts also are important for the syntactic description of the language, as natural speech exhibits linguistic features that are nearly impossible to elicit (Sherzer 1987), and interesting syntactic patterns found in textual data present new lines of questioning for linguistic elicitation. Elicitation of naturalistic speech is also important given the potential influence of Mandarin on the Na data during elicitation sessions conducted through Mandarin. All data were transcribed in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), glossed in Chinese and English, and entered into a database.

I collected the narrative texts using a Sony DCR HC-20 digital video camera, a Sony MZ-R700 MiniDisc recorder in stereo mode with no additional compression, a headset microphone, and a Sony ECM-CR120 condenser microphone. The video recordings were transferred from digital video camera to a Toshiba Satellite M-30 laptop computer. Nova Video Explosion Deluxe 1.5, a Unicode-compliant program, was used to create subtitles in Chinese and English. The video files were saved as non-lossy .avi files, rendered as compressed .mpg2 files, and then burned to DVD and VCD. Copies were given to those speakers who were recorded, and to the Na community for their archives.

Lexical data were collected both through the elicitation of words and expressions used in everyday life, and through the use of lexical questionnaires from the Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus Project (STEDT) (STEDT n.d.). This series of questionnaires lists lexical items in the categories of kinship terms, plants, natural objects, body parts, and animals. The STEDT Project asks linguists working on Tibeto-Burman languages to elicit these lexical items and return the data to the STEDT Project. The STEDT linguists then use the data in conjunction with the data from other Sino-Tibetan languages to reconstruct the ancestor language from which Chinese and the Tibeto-Burman languages are direct descendants, Proto-Sino-Tibetan. Thus, the data are useful for creating a lexicon of Na words for this grammar of Na, as well as for linguists working to understand the history of the Sino-Tibetan languages.

1.2.1 Computing environment

I used commercially available, Unicode-compliant software and operating system (Microsoft Access XP and Windows XP) and Unicode-compliant fonts to customize a database that allows the user to: 1. enter data in multiple writing systems (here, English, IPA, and Chinese characters); 2. sort data by stipulated grammatical categories; 3. export the data in XML, a non-proprietary format. The use of Unicode-compliant software and fonts allows the database to operate in multiple languages without misinterpretation of the language encoding of the data. The fact that the data can be exported from the database in XML, a non-proprietary format, means that researchers running other database software or operating systems can use the data. Additionally, the XML format is convenient for distributing data over the Internet. Microsoft Access is available fairly cheaply for educational use, and there is a wide selection of commercially-available and well-indexed pedagogical user manuals for this software. This system is in line with the E-MELD recommendations for digital language documentation (E-MELD 2004).

The data fields in the relational database are: isolation form of the Na word; tone sandhi form of the word; Chinese gloss; English gloss; an example sentence from the narrative texts using the word; notes; and semantic field. The first four items are fairly self-explanatory. The inclusion of a field for an example sentence is useful for grammatical analysis, and has the added advantage that one can include an example sentence when exporting the lexicon. Information stored in the notes data field include: phonological variants, more precise translation, or further explanation of usage; identification number if the lexical item is from a STEDT questionnaire; and morphological breakdown if the word is a compound. The semantic fields in the semantic field data field are those from the STEDT lexical questionnaires (kinship, body parts, natural objects, plants, and animals). I have added one semantic field, religion, which I found useful because many religious terms in Na are borrowed from Tibetan due to the influence of Tibetan (Vajrayana) Buddhism, and the addition of this semantic field allows the database user to sort for possible Tibetan loans, which typically retain phonological properties of Tibetan.

The phonetic analysis software used was Praat, which is available by free download from: <http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/>. Praat version 4.3.19 was used on a laptop operating under Windows XP, with view range set to 0-5000 Hz, a bandwidth of 260 Hz, a window length of 0.005, and a dynamic range of 40dB.

1.3 TYPOLOGICAL PROFILE

Typologically, Na is towards the analytical end of the spectrum. Grammatical relations are shown mainly by word order, lexical choice, an animacy hierarchy, and discourse context. Agent and patient marking occur in several pragmatically-marked constructions, such as contrastive focus. Subject-object-verb word order is most common in unmarked, non-idiomatic, pragmatically neutral constructions. Agreement is not marked by inflection, although person (but not number) often can be extrapolated from the verb phrase because of the conjunct/disjunct-like system as in Tibetan (Agha 1993:158–159), (Bickel 2000:6), and (DeLancey 2001:372). Phonological processes active in the language include prolific vowel harmony and tone sandhi.

1.4 THE PEOPLE

Within China, the Na are well known because of their matrilineal family structure, the relatively high status of women, and the Na tradition of *tisese* ‘walking back and forth,’ which is more commonly known by the Chinese term *zǒuhūn* (走婚) ‘walking marriage.’

The Na practice matrilineal inheritance, which has often been misconstrued as matriarchy (Walsh 2001a, 2001b). A Na woman inherits her mother’s house, and she lives with her children, her sisters and their children, and her brothers. Traditionally, the Na do not marry, but practice a system of overnight visits called *zǒuhūn*. Couples generally do not reside together; rather, each person continues to live in his or her mother’s extended household. The Na emphasize that the lack of economic dependence on anyone except for blood kin permits more happiness than Han marriages, which are rooted in economic bases.

Discussion of *zǒuhūn* relationships in the hearth room and between relatives of the opposite sex is expressly taboo. Discussing relationships in the hearth room is taboo because the hearth room symbolizes familial harmony, and the discussion of *zǒuhūn* relationships disrupts this harmony through bringing an outsider into the family space, if only through mention. Although the taboo focuses most circumspectly on discussion of relationships in the hearth room and between relatives of the opposite sex, it is more generally taboo to talk about one's relationship with anyone outside of one's small, tightly-knit cohort of friends of the same age and gender, and it is considered impolite to talk about another's relationship unless s/he has brought the topic up.

Ironically, although discussion of *zǒuhūn* relationships is taboo, *zǒuhūn* is heavily promoted as one of the key unusual Na customs in the tourist literature, which is written by Han outsiders and tour promoters, so tourists arrive with the expectation that *zǒuhūn* is somehow a site to see, and often ask audacious questions of locals.

The Na world stands in direct contrast to the Confucian Han way of life. Confucianism emphasizes the hierarchical nature of the relationship between husband and wife, and within its patrilineal family structure, enormous pressure is placed on the wife to produce a male heir to continue her husband's lineage. A male heir also is extremely important because sons remain in the family, while daughters become part of their husbands' families after marriage, and thus leave their own parents without any means of support in old age, an acute problem in a traditional agrarian society with no retirement pension system. This pressure is particularly severe in the cities of modern China, because the one child policy leaves couples with only one chance to have a male heir, the state pension system is disintegrating, and extant pensions, set in the old economy, are insufficient to cover basic living expenses in the rapidly expanding economy. Additionally, in Han society, a daughter-in-law faces playing a subservient role toward her mother-in-law, and *pó-xí* (婆媳) (mother-in-law and daughter-in-law) relations are considered a key source of possible tension in the Han family.

1.5 SUBSISTENCE

The Na territories span different climates. The Lugu Lake area is in an alpine valley in the mountains, while Ninglang and parts of Guabie are significantly more temperate, permitting a wider range of crops to be grown. Pork provides a key source of nutrition, and several hundred pound pigs are a common sight in homesteads. Chickens, sheep, and goats are also raised, as well as oxen for ploughing, and Na tend to be extremely competent horse-riders, with a small-sized horse breed preferred for their stamina in carrying heavy loads of goods over long distances at high altitude.

Key crops grown in the Na areas include potatoes, maize, small apples, and sunflower seeds. In recent years, as roads and transportation have improved, fresh vegetables and fruits are brought in from villages in more temperate areas. Villages not far from the town of Lijiang are warm enough that bougainvillea, oranges, and bananas grow easily. Some varieties of Himalayan red rice are grown in Na areas, but most types of rice will not grow at such a high altitude. In recent years, white rice from Zhejiang or other rice basin areas of eastern China increasingly is shipped to Luoshui. During my first two visits in 2001 and 2002, most of the small restaurants in the village served red rice, but by my 2004 and 2005 stays, white rice predominated.

Small fish from Lugu Lake are another important part of the diet in the villages surrounding the lake. Fishermen knock on the doors of the village homes most mornings, offering their fresh catch. Each home has a small cistern for fish, and fish purchased in the morning will swim in the cistern until evening meal preparation time arrives. Na living around Lugu Lake tend to be quite tall in comparison to Na living in other areas, as well as to other ethnic groups living in the region, which some Na attribute to the abundant calcium available in the extremely boney small fish.

As in other regions under Tibetan influence, yak butter tea and *tsampa* are common foods. Na yak butter tea is made with pu-erh, a type of fermented tea produced in southwestern Yunnan which is particularly well-suited for the long trade route from China through the Himalayas. Na use a puck-shaped pu-erh from the Xiaguan/Dali region. *Sulima*, a type of grain-based alcohol, is commonly home-brewed, and has been bottled in recent years as a commodity representative of the Na region.

1.6 TOURISM

Yunnan is one of the most desired and heavily promoted tourist destinations in China, due to cultural tourism in the ethnic minority regions, temperate climate, lush vegetation, and numerous scenic spots. As many Chinese cannot afford to travel abroad, and until very recently have had difficulty obtaining passports and visas, domestic tourism is extremely popular. Yunnan presents Chinese the opportunity to observe the culture of different ethnicities without leaving China itself. Additionally, as Yunnan has borders with Vietnam and Laos, it is very popular with young western backpackers traveling through Southeast Asia, as it affords a view of China without requiring the expense of airplane tickets.

Yunnan has several popular tourist regions, including the Dai area of Xishuangbanna in the south, the city of Ruili to the west on the border with Burma with a large Burmese population, and a northern route, which starts in Kunming, the capital city of Yunnan, and continues to Dali, Lijiang, Lugu Lake, and Zhongdian / Deqin (see Figure 1.1 *Map of Yunnan*). The first stop, Dali, is in an ethnic Bai region. Dali was the administrative capital of an ancient state which lay on the crossroads of trading routes connecting China to Burma, Tibet, Nepal, and India. Dali also was an important stop on the Burma Road during World War II. The second stop, Lijiang, is the traditional capital of the Naxi, and historically was an important crossroads for tea and horses traders travelling to Tibet, Nepal, and India. In the mid-1990s, Dali and Lijiang became popular tourist destinations, and both now have airports. Zhongdian and Deqin are Tibetan autonomous regions north of Lijiang, with Deqin being the closest town to Tibet in Yunnan Province. In the late 1990s, Chinese began promoting the Zhongdian and Deqin region as ‘Shangrila,’ based on photos of the region that appeared in *National Geographic* which are said to have influenced James Hilton when he wrote *Lost Horizon* (Mayhew and Huhti 1998:393). Today, in Kunming, Lijiang, and even at Lugu Lake, Chinese-language copies of *Lost Horizon* are sold at souvenir stands.

Lugu Lake is northeast of Lijiang, and with a new road completed in 1999, became a possible side trip for tourists on a Kunming-Dali-Lijiang route. The first tourists began to come to Luoshui in 1995, before the completion of the new road, and increased somewhat in 1999–2001. In late 2001 and early 2002, the Na received a lot of attention in fashionable magazines such as Chinese *Elle*, and a major influx of tourists began in January 2002. Although public bus service to Luoshui had existed for some time, private tour companies began operating package tours to Luoshui, including fairly luxurious mid-sized buses (*zhōngbā*).

Luoshui is a village of a mere five hundred inhabitants, and yet approximately 20,000 tourists visit each year. Nearly every family in the village runs a guesthouse, and there is a small museum exhibiting Na cultural items in the center of the village. There also is a small red light district, and three cooperatively-run ventures which provide activities for tourists: a nightly bonfire dance, short boat trips in dugout canoes known as ‘pig trough canoes’ because of their resemblance to pig troughs, and horse rides. Other attractions to Luoshui include Gemu Mountain (格姆山), the Na holiday Zhuanshan Jie (‘circling the mountain day’), and Liwubi Island in the middle of Lugu Lake with its Tibetan Buddhist temple. Furthermore, some young Han women, faced with the challenges implicit in the Han marriage contract, come to visit Lugu Lake. Young women in their twenties constitute a substantial portion of the tourists to Lugu Lake, and one Na involved in the Lugu Lake tourist trade estimated that approximately eighty percent of the young women tourists come to Luoshui because of a curiosity about, or romanticism of, the Na marriage customs. In other areas, the economies are still based on raising livestock and subsistence-farming, although many young Na move to cities to do migrant work to earn currency to send back home.

1.7 LANGUAGE VITALITY

Several key pieces of evidence indicate that language shift from Na to Mandarin is well underway. These include strong age-based stratification of language use and a growing number of domains where Mandarin is used rather than Na.

Disruption of language transmission to the younger generation is taken by linguists to be a clear diagnostic for language endangerment. This disruption of language transmission is unmistakably attested in Na speech communities, with strong age-based stratification of language use in daily life. Speakers roughly sixty years and older tend to be monolingual in Na, or are greatly more comfortable speaking Na. Middle-aged speakers tend to be bilingual in Na and Yunnanese, and speak both languages in daily life. Speakers who are in their twenties and early thirties generally are fluent in Na, but tend to speak Yunnanese more often than their elders do. Additionally, they usually understand Mandarin, and may also speak Mandarin. Children speak Na at home until they leave at age seven for boarding school, but by their teenage years, many are reluctant to speak Na. They commonly speak Yunnanese and/or Mandarin, and show some attrition in Na fluency. Michaud and Latami (to appear) have identified changes in the phonological system of these younger speakers which indicate incomplete acquisition of the language.

Na is spoken with Na friends and family, in formal speeches during the New Year's celebration, in story-telling, and in speech with elders. However, there are a growing number of domains where Chinese is used rather than Na. Children attend Chinese-medium education in boarding schools until their late teenage years, and commerce is conducted in Chinese as local shops primarily are run by Han, Naxi, and Bai. Large numbers of Chinese-speaking tourists visit the area. Many families have purchased satellite televisions, which broadcast in Chinese, and young people migrate to the outside world to work. Perhaps most tellingly, one speaker stated, "If even one speaker in the conversation does not know Na, we switch to Chinese."

2 Segmental Phonology

§2 presents an overview of the segmental phonology of Na. §3 will present laboratory studies to support the analyses in this section. §4 will discuss the phonological processes of Na. §5 looks at tonogenesis.

§2.1 discusses syllable structure. The phonemes of Na are presented in §2.2 and §2.3. Na has a fairly wide inventory of consonants and vowels, particularly in contrast with Lolo-Burmese languages spoken in adjacent areas of Yunnan and Sichuan, but lacks the prenasalized stops of Lijiang Na. This inventory, however, pales in comparison with the Qiangic languages spoken to the northeast in Sichuan. §2.2 shows the consonant inventory and §2.3 presents the vowel system of Na, which includes plain and nasalized monophthongs (§2.3.1, 2.3.2) and plain and nasalized diphthongs (§2.3.3, 2.3.4). These inventories are supported with minimal pairs/triplets to illustrate contrastive distribution.

2.1 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

Na has a maximum syllable of CGVT, where C is a consonant, G is a glide, V is a vowel, and T is tone. Syllables with CVT and CGVT structures are both quite common. Null-onset (VCT) syllables are not attested as automatic glottal stops appear in syllables which would otherwise be V-initial (see §4.6). The loss of Proto Lolo-Burmese prenasals is a salient feature of Yongning Na. Pre-nasals also are lost in Lahu (Matisoff 1973:2), but are retained in Weixi Naxi (Fu 1940/1941:407),¹ Lijiang Naxi (He and Jiang 1985:5), and Yi (Fu 1997:67). Codas are not attested.

¹ Fu calls this variety “Weixi Moso.” However, since Fu records them as using the autonym Naxi (Fu 1940/1941) and the language variety as being mutually-intelligible with Lijiang Naxi, in current naming conventions this variety would be known as Weixi Naxi. See §1.1 for a description of autonyms, exonyms, and genetic affiliation.

Examples of CVT and CGVT syllable structures with a variety of onsets and nuclei can be seen in examples (1) and (2), respectively.

(1)	CVT as in:	(2)	CGVT as in:
	bɔ13		dwæ13
	‘pig’		‘be scared’
	da33 pɣ33		dzwæ31
	‘Daba’		‘arrive; return’
	t ^h ɑ13		k ^h wɣ33
	‘may’		‘footprint’
	ga13		kwɔ33
	‘help’		LOC
	mɣ33		gwɣ33
	‘oil; lard’		‘to circle’
	na13		ɲwɣ33
	‘Na’		‘five’
	fu33		ʃwæ33
	‘happy; to like’		‘tall’
	sɔ33		zɰwɣ33
	‘three’		‘speak’
	ɕi13		zɰwæ13
	‘lake, ocean’		‘very’
	zæ33		tʃ ^h wæ33
	‘laugh’		‘star(s)’
	hu33		tʃ ^h wɣ33
	‘go’		‘dinner’
	dʒi33		lwɣ13
	‘water’		‘ash’
	tɕi33		
	‘cloud’		
	tʃu13		
	‘paw’		
	lɔ33		
	‘valley’		
	yi33		
	‘cow’		
	ʈɑ13 pɣ31		
	‘excess’		

2.2 CONSONANT INVENTORY

The consonant inventory includes three voicing types: voiceless aspirated, voiceless unaspirated, and voiced. There are four places of articulation for stops, six places of articulation for fricatives, and three places of articulation for affricates. Both the stop series and the affricate series distinguish among all three voicing types. There are three places of articulation for nasals, three non-lateral approximants, a lateral approximant, and a lateral fricative. §2.2.1 through 2.2.2.3 motivate phonemic status for these segments by showing them in contrastive distribution preceding the monophthongs /i, u, ʉ, ɛ, ɤ, ɔ, æ, a/.

The consonant inventories of Yongning Na and Lijiang Na are minimally different: Yongning Na has /ʎ/ that Lijiang Na does not, while Lijiang Na has the prenasalized series /mb, ndz, nd, ndz, ndz, ŋg/ (He and Jiang 1985:5) that Yongning Na does not.

One of the most striking things about the Na sound system is that there is a huge amount of sound change in progress. /q^h, q, ɣ/ have phonemic status, but they are clearly very secondary, and developed from being allophones of /k^h, k, g/, as will be discussed in §2.2.1.1.4 and §4.5. /t^h, t, d, n, l/ do not have phonemic status, but appear as allophones of /t^h, t, d, n, l/ in a large number of environments, and have achieved phonemic status in Naxi, as will be discussed in §2.2.1.1.2 and §4.3. /f/ is in contrastive distribution with /h/, but is highly marginal, and clearly only recently achieved phonemic status from being an allophone of /h/, as will be discussed in §2.2.1.2.1. Some varieties of Southwestern Chinese have a sound change from /f/ to /h/, so the appearance of /f/ as a phoneme in Na may be an effect of language contact. /ɲ/ and /ŋ/ are in complementary distribution, with /ŋ/ being an allophone of /ɲ/, but native speakers report /ɲ/ and /ŋ/ being in contrastive distribution in villages very close by, as will be discussed in §2.2.2.1 and §4.4. Michaud and Latami (to appear) suggest that uvular sounds are not being acquired by younger speakers, probably due to substratum interference from Chinese. This analysis is corroborated independently, as my consultant had mentioned previously that Na is very difficult for the elderly deaf, as there are a lot of sounds coming from the throat which are difficult to lip-read, but that now many younger speakers do not acquire these uvular sounds.

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop	p ^h p b		t ^h t d		(t ^h t d)		k ^h k g	q ^h q ɢ	
Trill	(β ^h , β, ʙ)								
Nasal	m	(m̥)	n		(ŋ)	ɲ	(ŋ)		
Fricative		f (ɸ)	s z	ç ʒ	ʂ ʐ		ɣ	(χ)	h
Affricate			ts ^h ts dz	tç ^h tç dʒ	tʂ ^h tʂ dz				
Lateral fricative			ɬ						
Approx	w					y ²			
Lateral approx			l		(l)				

Allophones are shown in parentheses.

Table 2.1: Na consonant inventory^{3, 4}

2.2.1 Obstruents

In the class of stops, Na has a voiceless aspirated series /p^h, t^h, k^h, q^h/, a plain series /p, t, k, q/, and a voiced series /b, d, g, ɢ/. In the class of fricatives, Na has a voiceless series /f, s, ç, ʂ, ɣ, h/ and a voiced series /z, ʒ, ʐ/. In the class of affricates, Na has a voiceless aspirated series /ts^h, tç^h, tʂ^h/, a plain series /ts, tç, tʂ/, and a voiced series /dz, dʒ, dz̥/.

² I am using the symbol /y/ to represent the palatal approximant rather than the /j/ symbol of the IPA, as this is in accordance with the Chinese *pinyin* system of Romanization, and thus will be more intuitive for many readers.

³ The headings of each column represent places of articulation, while the headings of each row represent manners of articulation.

⁴ When two or more symbols occur in one space in the above chart, the rightmost symbol represents a voiced sound. /f/, /h/, and /w/ are voiceless; otherwise, if only one symbol occurs in a space in the above chart, it represents a voiced sound.

2.2.1.1 Stops

2.2.1.1.1 Bilabial stops /p^h, p, b/

Yongning Na distinguishes the voiceless aspirated bilabial stop /p^h/, the voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop /p/, and the voiced bilabial stop /b/. These distinctions are evidenced by the examples in contrastive distribution seen in (3).

(3)	/p ^h /	/p/	/b/
	p ^h i33 ‘hemp cloth’	pi33 ‘say’	bi33 ‘to go’
	p ^h u33 [ɸ ^h i33] ‘white’	pu13 [ɸi13] ‘take out’	bu33 [ɸi33] ‘intestines’
	p ^h u33 [ɸ ^h u33] ‘money’	pu13 [ɸu13] ‘barrel’	bu33 [ɸu33] POSS
	ɑ33 p ^h ɣ33 [ʔɑ33 ɸ ^h ɣ33] ‘grandfather’		
	(ɛ)		bɛ33 ‘but, then’
	(ɣ)	pɣ33 pɣ33 ‘carry on one’s back’	bɣ33 ‘Pumi’
	p ^h ɔ33 ‘escape’	pɔ33 ‘mane’	bɔ33 ‘hillside’
	p ^h æ33 ‘fasten’		bæ33 ‘rope’
	(a)	pa33 ʔa13 ‘clothes’	ba33 ‘to open’

The bilabial stops are distinguished from the voiced bilabial nasal /m/ and the voiceless bilabial approximant /w/, as can be seen with the addition of the examples in (4). /m/ and /w/ are further discussed in §2.2.2.1 and 2.2.2.3, respectively. The labials /p^h, p, b, m, w/ appear as their allophones [ɸ^h, ɸ, ɸ, m̥, ɸ] preceding /u, u, ɸ/, as will be discussed in §4.2.

(4)	/m/	/w/
	ɑ33 mi33 [æ33 mi33] ‘mother’	
	mu33 [m̥i33] INTERJ	
	mu33 [m̥u33] ‘name’	wu33 [ɸu33] CLS (one person)
	mɣ33 [m̥ɣ33] ‘to hear’	
	(ɛ)	
	mɣ33 ‘oil; lard’	wɣ33 ‘mountain’
	mɔ33 ‘corpse’	wɔ33 CLS (team of oxen)
	mæ33 ‘to gather’	wæ33 ‘to ask’
	ma33 NEG-	

2.2.1.1.2 Alveolar stops /t^h, t, d/

Na distinguishes the voiceless aspirated alveolar stop /t^h/, the voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop /t/, and the voiced alveolar stop /d/. These distinctions are evidenced by the examples in contrastive distribution seen in (5). The alveolars /t^h, t, d, n, l/ appear as the retroflexes [t^h, t, d, ŋ, l] preceding /u, u, y, ɤ, æ, wɤ, wæ/, as will be discussed in §4.3.

(5)	/t ^h /	/t/	/d/
	t ^h i13 ‘so’	ti13 ‘hit’	di13 ‘catch up with; drive’
	t ^h u33 DUR- [t ^h ɥ33]		du33 [dɥ33] ‘one’
	t ^h u33 [t ^h u33] ‘until; arrive’	tu33 [tu33] ‘to plant’	du55 ɛi33 [dɥ55 ɛi33] ‘porcupine’
	(y)	tɥ31 [tɥ31] CLS (mountains)	
	(ɛ)		
	t ^h ɤ13 [t ^h ɤ13] ‘fall in’	tɤ33 [tɤ33] ‘pull’	
	t ^h ɔ33 li33 ‘rabbit’	tɔ33 ‘to see’	dɔ33 ‘should; can’
	t ^h æ33 [t ^h æ33] ‘under’	tæ33 [tæ33] ‘horizontal’	dæ33 [dæ33] ‘short’
	t ^h ɑ33 PROH	tɑ33 ‘intervene’	dɑ33 pɤ33 ‘Daba’

2.2.1.1.3 Velar stops /k^h, k, g/

Na distinguishes the voiceless aspirated velar stop /k^h/, the voiceless unaspirated velar stop /k/, and the voiced velar stop /g/. These distinctions are evidenced by the examples in contrastive distribution seen in (6). The velar stops /k^h, k, g/ appear as [q^h, q, ɣ] preceding the low vowels /æ/ and /ɑ/, as will be discussed in §2.2.1.1.4 and §4.5.

(6)	/k ^h /	/k/	/g/
	k ^h i33 ‘door’	ki33 ‘wear’	gi33 ‘to fall’
	k ^h u33 ‘to send’	ku33 ‘gall bladder’	gu33 ‘true, real’
	k ^h u33 ‘dog’	ku33 EXIST.T	gu33 ‘trough’
	k ^h ɣ33 ‘horn (of animal)’		gɣ33 ‘nine’
	(ɛ)		
	(ɤ)	kɤ33 CLS (used with land)	gɤ33 ‘side’
	k ^h ɔ33 p ^h ɣ33 [k ^h ɔ33 p ^h ɣ33] ‘field’	kɔ33 dzæ13 ‘neck, throat’	gɔ33 ‘to hurt’
	(æ)		
	(a)		
	k ^h wæ33 ‘fence, garden’		

2.2.1.1.4 Uvular stops /q^h, q, ɣ/

Na distinguishes the voiceless aspirated uvular stop /q^h/, the voiceless unaspirated uvular stop /q/, and the voiced uvular stop /ɣ/. The voicing distinctions are evidenced by the examples in contrastive distribution seen in (7). This series of uvular stops is quite marginal in Na, as the velars and uvulars are in contrasting distribution in only two environments, preceding the monophthong /ɣ/, as can be seen in (8), and preceding the diphthong /wɤ/, as can be seen in (9). Outside of these examples, the uvular stops /q^h, q, ɣ/ appear preceding the low vowels /æ/ and /a/ (see §4.5). However, because the velars and uvulars are in contrastive distribution in (8) and (9), the uvular series must be given phonemic status. The uvular stops likely gained phonemic status from their origins as allophones of the velar stops through a fairly recent process of re-analysis, which accounts for their very limited distribution.

Na is somewhat unusual in that the uvular series includes the voiced uvular stop, as Na is considered to be closely related to the Loloish languages. Matisoff notes that Loloish languages generally only have the voiceless aspirated and voiceless unaspirated members of the uvular series, although Qiangic languages have more complicated systems of postvelars (Matisoff 2003b:20). Matisoff also notes that the postvelars in Tibeto-Burman languages tend to be secondary, and to have developed out of a velar series (Matisoff 2003b:20). The Na data are consistent in that the uvular series is quite marginal and is barely phonemic with the velar series.

(7)	/q ^h /	/q/	/G/
	(i)		
	(u)		
	(u)		
	q ^h ɣ33 ‘hole; well’		
	(ɛ)		
	(ɤ)		
	(ɔ)		
	q ^h æ33 ‘comfortable’	qæ33 ‘to move something’	
	q ^h ɑ33 ‘however many’	qɑ33 ‘thin’	Gɑ33 COM
	q ^h wɣ33 ‘smart’	qwɣ33 ‘hearth, place to cook’	Gwɣ13 ‘to grow’
	(wæ)	qwæ33 ‘bed’	
(8)	k ^h ɣ33 ‘horn (of an animal)’	q ^h ɣ33 ‘hole; well’	
(9)	k ^h wɣ33 CLS (section)	kwɣ33 CLS (strand)	gwɣ33 ‘to circle’
	q ^h wɣ33 ‘smart’	qwɣ33 ‘hearth’	Gwɣ13 ‘to grow’

2.2.1.2 *Fricatives*

Na distinguishes fricatives in six different places of articulation: labio-dental, alveolar, alveo-palatal, retroflex, velar, and glottal. These distinctions are evidenced by the examples in contrastive distribution seen in (10) through (14). There are both voiceless and voiced counterparts for all positions of articulation except for labio-dental, which has only the voiceless counterpart; the velar, which has only the voiced counterpart; and the glottal, which has only the voiceless counterpart.

2.2.1.2.1 Labiodental fricative /f/

The voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ is distinguished from the voiceless glottal fricative /h/. This distinction is evidenced by the examples in contrastive distribution seen in (10). The voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ is very marginal in Na: it appears in a very limited distribution—only preceding /u/, and there are very few words with the phoneme /f/. Michaud reports [f] as an allophone of /h/ in the A Ser and Feng Ke dialects of Naxi and in the Pingjiang variety of Yongning Na (Michaud, p.c.), so although /f/ should be regarded as a phoneme in the Luoshui variety of Yongning Na, based on /f/ occurring in contrastive distribution with /h/, it is clear that this is a recent development. A sound change from /h/ to /f/ is found in many varieties of Southwestern Mandarin, so it may be that this sound change is in the process of spreading to Na through language contact.

(10)	/f/	/h/
	(i)	hi33 ‘person’
	(u)	hu33 ‘to go’
	fu33 ‘like; be happy’	hu31 mi33 ‘stomach’
	(y)	
	(ɛ)	
	(ɤ)	
	(o)	ho33 ‘can; want; FUT’
	(æ)	hæ13 ‘lime(stone)’
	(a)	ha33 ‘rice; food’

2.2.1.2.2 Alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/

Na distinguishes between the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ and the voiced alveolar fricative /z/. This distinction is evidenced by the examples in contrastive distribution seen in (11).

- (11)
- | /s/ | /z/ |
|---------------------|---|
| si33 [sʒ] ‘to know’ | zi33 [z] ‘grass’ |
| su33 ‘firewood’ | zu33 ‘lifetime (N, CLS)’ |
| (u) | |
| (y) | |
| se33 ‘to go’ | ze31 wu13 ‘nephew’ |
| sɿ33 ‘blood’ | zɿ13 kwɔ33 ‘where’ |
| sɔ33 ‘three’ | zɔ33 ‘to use’ |
| (æ) | |
| sa33 ‘hemp’ | za31 ni33 ʃɿ31 ‘hare-lipped bear (of legend)’ |

2.2.1.2.3 Alveo-palatal fricatives /ç/ and /ʒ/

The alveo-palatal fricatives /ç/ and /ʒ/ are treated as phonemes, rather than as the retroflexes /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ followed by /i/, and analyzing çɿ13 ‘to try; to taste’, given in (12), as ʃiɿ13. However, there are good reasons to treat the alveo-palatal affricate series as phonemes (see §2.2.1.3.2 for discussion), so for consistency’s sake, I will treat the alveo-palatal fricatives as phonemes.

- (12)
- | /ç/ | /ʒ/ |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| çi33 ‘rainwater’ | ʒi13 ‘monkey’ |
| (u) | |
| (u) | |
| (y) | |
| (ɛ) | |
| çɿ13 ‘to try; to taste’ | |
| (ɔ) | |
| (æ) | |
| (a) | |

2.2.1.2.4 Retroflex fricatives /ʂ/ and /ʐ/

Na distinguishes between the voiced retroflex fricative /ʂ/ and the voiceless retroflex fricative /ʐ/. This distinction is evidenced by the examples in contrastive distribution seen in (13).

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (13) | /ʂ/ | /ʐ/ |
| | (i) | |
| | ʂu33 [ʂɿ33] ‘to die’ | ʐu33 [ʐɿ33] ‘wine’ |
| | ʂu33 ‘to carry’ | ʐu33 ‘four’ |
| | ʂy33 ‘to lighten (of sky)’ | ʐy31 ‘disguise’ |
| | ʂe33 [ʂe33] ‘meat’ | ʐe33 [ʐe33] ‘arrow’ |
| | ʂɣ33 ‘time, instance’ | ʐɣ33 ‘to give birth to’ |
| | ʂɔ31 ‘clear’ | ʐɔ33 q ^h wɣ33 ‘house’ |
| | ʂæ33 ‘far’ | ʐæ33 ‘to laugh’ |
| | (a) | |

2.2.1.2.5 Velar fricative /ɣ/ and glottal fricative /h/

The voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ is distinguished from voiceless glottal fricative /h/. This distinction is evidenced by the examples in contrastive distribution seen in (14).

- | | | |
|------|--|----------------------|
| (14) | /ɣ/ | /h/ |
| | (i) | hi33 ‘person’ |
| | ɣu13 ‘hide (n.)’ | hu33 ‘to go’ |
| | (u) | hu31 mi33 ‘stomach’ |
| | lə33 ɣy33 ‘swallow (v.)’ | (y) |
| | (ɛ) | (ɛ) |
| | (ɣ) | (ɣ) |
| | (ɔ) | hɔ33 ‘want; FUT.DES’ |
| | t ^h ɔ33 ɣæ13 [t ^h ɔ33 ɣæ13] ‘pine sap’ | hæ13 ‘lime(stone)’ |
| | ɣa33 [ɣa33] ‘good’ | ha33 ‘rice; food’ |

2.2.1.3 Affricates

Na has affricates in three different places of articulation: alveolar, alveo-palatal, and retroflex. Each of these three sets of affricates contains a voiceless unaspirated affricate, a voiceless aspirated affricate, and a voiced affricate.

2.2.1.3.1 Alveolar affricates /ts^h, ts, dz/

Na distinguishes the voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate /ts^h/, the voiceless unaspirated alveolar affricate /ts/, and the voiced alveolar affricate /dz/. These distinctions are evidenced by the examples in contrastive distribution seen in (15).

(15)	/ts ^h /	/ts/	/dz/
	ts ^h i13 [ts ^h z13] ‘goat’	tsi33 [tsz33] ‘fasten’	dzi33 [dzz33] ‘to eat’
	ts ^h u33 ‘come’	tsu33 ‘hot (spicy)’	dzu33 CLS.tree’
	ts ^h u33 ‘thin’	tsu33 ‘vertical’	
	(ɤ)		
	ts ^h ɛ33 [ts ^h e33] ‘salt’	tse13 [tse13] ‘float’	dze33 [dze33] ‘to fly’
	ts ^h ɣ13 ‘to comb’	tsɣ33 ‘to seem’	dzɣ31 ‘to overturn’
	ts ^h ɔ33 ‘to dance, leap’	tsɔ13 ‘room’	
	(æ)		
	ts ^h ɑ33 p ^h u33 [ts ^h ɑ33 p ^h i33] ‘greens’	tsɑ33 ‘busy’	dza33 ‘base, low quality’

2.2.1.3.2 Alveo-palatal affricates /tɕ^h, tɕ, dʒ/

Na distinguishes between the voiceless aspirated alveo-palatal affricate /tɕ^h/, the voiceless unaspirated alveo-palatal affricate /tɕ/, and the voiced alveo-palatal affricate /dʒ/. These distinctions are evidenced by the examples in contrastive distribution seen in (16).

Some discussion is necessary about whether the alveo-palatal series exists, or whether to analyze them as retroflexes followed by /i/ such as ʃi , ʒi , $\text{tʃ}^{\text{h}}\text{i}$, tʃi , dʒi . Arguments in support of analyzing the series as retroflexes followed by /i/ are that if one does so, a series of i-initial diphthongs /iæ, iɤ, io, io/ is created that closely mirrors Na's series of u-initial diphthongs /wæ, wɤ, wo/, and that one does not need to posit a phonological rule stating that all of the retroflex appear as alveo-palatals when followed by the vowel /i/. Arguments in support of analyzing the series as alveo-palatal are: 1. if one analyzed these forms as retroflexes followed by /i/, one would have a series of i-initial diphthongs that never occur following any other sounds; 2. for symmetry of the phonemic inventory, if one does not posit an alveo-palatal series, one should posit a series of retroflex stops, but the retroflex stops are clearly allophonic in Na; 3. in other Sino-Tibetan languages with similar situations, an alveo-palatal series generally has been posited, so to do so in Na brings consistency with other analyses; and, perhaps most convincingly, 4. vowel harmony disregards the /i/ in an i-initial diphthong, suggesting that the /i/ should be understood as palatization on the consonant onset rather than a semivowel glide as part of a diphthong.

(16)	/tʃ ^h /	/tʃ/	/dʒ/
	tʃ ^h i33 'sell'	tʃi33 'put'	dʒi33 'water'
	(u)		
	(u)		
	(y)		
	(ɛ)		
	(ɤ)		dʒɤ33 'staircase'
	tʃ ^h ɔ13 'ladle'	tʃɔ31 'most'	dʒɔ33 EXIST; PROG
	(æ)	tʃæ33 = æ31 'pickles'	dʒæ13 'often'
	(a)		

2.2.1.3.3 Retroflex affricates /tʂʰ, tʂ, dz/

Na distinguishes the voiceless aspirated retroflex affricate /tʂʰ/, the voiceless unaspirated retroflex affricate /tʂ/, and the voiced retroflex affricate /dz/. These distinctions are evidenced by the examples in contrastive distribution seen in (17).

(17)	/tʂʰ/	/tʂ/	/dz/
	(i)		
	(u)	tʂu13 [tʂɿ13] ‘paw’	dzɿ31 [dzɿɿ31] ‘loss’
	tʂʰu33 mi33 ‘wife’	tʂu13 ‘sweat’	dzɿ33 ‘to burn’
	tʂʰɿ33 ‘ball’	tʂɿ33 ‘cough’	dzɿ33 ‘horrible, hated’
	(ɛ)		dzɛ33 ‘money’
	tʂʰɿ31 tʂʰɿ13 ‘to touch’	tʂɿ33 ‘to allot’	dzɿ33 ‘to grab’
	(o)	tʂo33 ‘cold’	
	tʂʰæ33 tʂʰæ33 ‘to wash’	tʂæ13 ‘joint’	dzæ33 ‘to ride’
	tʂʰa33 ‘every’		

The stop in the stop + fricative combination seems to retroflex in a very limited, non-systematic way—this is the retroflexion from the retroflex fricative component spreading to the alveolar stop component. This non-systematic tendency should not be considered evidence to posit an allophonic series such as [tʂʰ, tʂ, dz] for the series /tʂʰ, tʂ, dz/.

2.2.2 Sonorants

2.2.2.1 Nasals /m, n, ɲ/

Na distinguishes the voiced bilabial nasal /m/, the voiced alveolar nasal /n/, and the voiced palatal nasal /ɲ/. These distinctions are evidenced by the examples in contrastive distribution seen in (18).

(18)	/m/	/n/	/ɲ/
	æ33 mi33 ‘mother’	ni33 ‘two’	ɲi33 ‘day’
	muu33 [m̥i33] INTERJ	nuu33 [n̥] ABL	
	mu33 [m̥u33] ‘name’	nu31 mi13 [n̥u31 mi13] ‘heart’	
	mɥ33 [m̥ɥ33] ‘to hear’	nɥ33 [n̥ɥ33] ‘to know, find out’	ɲɥ33 [ɲɥ33] ‘silver’
	(ɛ)		
	mɣ33 ‘oil; lard’	nɣ31 lu33 [n̥ə31 l̥ɥ33] ‘soybean’	ɲɣ31 kɔ33 [n̥ə31 kɔ33] ‘knee’
	mɔ33 ‘corpse’	nɔ33 2SG.PRO	ɲɔ13 ‘milk’
	mæ33 ‘to gather’	næ13 [n̥æ13] ‘submerge’	
	ma33 NEG-	na33 ‘black’	ɲa13 ‘early’

2.2.2.2 Laterals /l/ and /ɬ/

Na distinguishes between the voiced lateral approximant /l/ and the voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/. These distinctions are evidenced by the examples in contrastive distribution seen in (19).

(19)	/l/	/ɬ/
	li33 ‘to see’	ɬi33 mi33 ‘moon’
	lu33 [li33] CLS.generic	
	lu33 [l̥u33] ‘to till’	ɬu31 ‘warmth’
	lɥ33 [l̥ɥ33] CLS.kernel	
	(ɛ)	
	(ɣ)	
	lɔ31 ‘hand’	ɬɔ33 ‘valley’
	(æ)	
	la33 ‘and; etc.’	ɬa13 ‘exceed’

2.2.2.3 Glides /w/ and /y/

Na distinguishes between two glides, the bilabial approximant /w/ and the palatal approximant /y/. This distinction is evidenced by the examples in contrastive distribution seen in (20).

I am analyzing the segment as a glide when it appears syllable-initially preceding a simple nucleus (i.e., wæ33 ‘left’). If the segment occurs following a consonant and preceding a vowel (i.e., z_wæ13 ‘very’), I am treating it as part of a complex nucleus. There are three motivations for doing so. First, complex onsets are not attested in Na unless one analyzes such segments as being part of a complex onset. Thus, by Occam’s Razor, one should analyze such segments as elements of complex nuclei. Second, this analysis follows the *pinyin* romanization system used to represent Mandarin in mainland China; thus, this analysis will make intuitive sense to readers who are familiar with *pinyin*.

(20)	/w/	/y/
	(i)	yi33 ‘cow’
	(u)	
	wu33 [y33] CLS (person)	
	(y)	
	(ɛ)	
	wɤ33 ‘mountain’	yɤ13 yɤ13 ‘to lick’
	wɔ33 CLS (team of oxen)	yɔ33 ‘sheep’
	wæ33 ‘left’	
	(a)	ya33 q ^h a33 ‘buckwheat’

2.3 VOWELS

Na has an inventory of fourteen vowel phonemes. These include nine monophthongs, one nasalized monophthong, three u-initial diphthongs, and one nasalized diphthong.

The Na vowel system is fairly symmetrical, with three front vowels and six back vowels, three close vowels, three mid vowels, and two open vowels. /y/ is fairly unstable and often appears as [u] in casual or rapid speech (cf. §2.3.1.1). The symbol [ə] is used following (Michaud 2008) to represent a vowel which harmonizes (cf. §4.7.6); it is not a phoneme in its own right.

The nasalized monophthong, /ã/, and the nasalized diphthong, /wã/, are discussed in §2.3.2 and 2.3.4, respectively. Nasalization is also found on [ĩ, ũ, ã, wĩ], but nasalization on these vowels is not phonemic—there are no minimal pairs which would show that nasalization is contrastive on these vowels. The nasalization in these cases only appears preceding the glottal sounds /h/ and /ʔ/, and is clearly a case of rhinoglottophilia (cf. §2.3.2, 2.3.4).

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		ɯ, u, ʏ
Mid	ɛ	(ə)	ɤ, ɔ
	æ		ɑ
Open			ɑ
Diphthongs	wɤ, wɔ, wæ		
Nasalized	ã, wã		

Table 2.2: Na vowel phonemes

2.3.1 Monophthongs

2.3.1.1 High

Na distinguishes between four high vowels: the high front unrounded vowel /i/, the high back unrounded vowel /ɯ/, the high back rounded vowel /u/, and a high back ultra-closed unrounded vowel commonly transcribed as /ʏ/ among Tibeto-Burman linguists. The examples in (21) show /i, ɯ, u, ʏ/ in contrastive distribution.

(21)	/i/	/u/	/u/	/y/
	bi33 ‘side; on’	bu33 [Bi33] ‘intestines’	bu33 [Bu33] POSS	
	di33 ‘follow’	du33 [d̥i33] ‘one’	du55 ɕi33 [du55 ɕi33] ‘porcupine’	
	k ^h i33 ‘door’	k ^h u33 ‘send’	k ^h u33 ‘dog’	k ^h y33 ‘horn (animal)’
	æ33 mi33 ‘mother’	mu33 [m̥i33] INTERJ	mu33 [m̥u33] ‘name’	my33 [m̥y33] ‘to hear’
	ɕi33 ‘rainwater’	ʂu33 [ʂ̥i33] ‘to die’	ʂu33 ‘to carry’	ʂy33 ‘lighten (of sky)’
	d̥zi33 ‘water’	d̥zu31 [d̥z̥i31] ‘loss’	d̥zu33 ‘to burn’	d̥zy33 ‘horrible, hated’
	li33 ‘to see’	lu33 [l̥z̥i33] CLS (kernel)	lu33 [lu33] ‘to till’	
	fi31 CLS		fu31 ‘warmth’	

He and Jiang give this explanation of /v/ in Lijiang Naxi:

“v in Naxi can be a final; it can also be an initial. When acting as a final, its actual value is [v]. The finals /v/ and /u/ in Naxi are two opposing phonemes. When pronouncing v, the lower lip and upper teeth have a slight friction, the lips are slightly spread, the tongue position is more front than IPA [u]. The final v usually does not co-occur with retroflex and tongue surface initials.” (He and Jiang 1985:9, my translation).

I concur with their analysis of /ɤ/ as a high (closed) back vowel for several reasons. The lips are very closed during articulation of this vowel; this observation is supported by the fact that in spectrograms of the vowel /ɤ/, the first and second formants are highly compressed, as can be seen in Figure 2.1. The lips are quite spread and actually touch during articulation, with the exception of the central third or so of the lips. However, from Figure 3.12 in §3, *Yongning Na Vowels*, we can see that, at least in Yongning Na, the place of articulation is further back than that of /u/, and that vowel height is scattered from being on par with /u/ through the /ɔ/ vocalic space, to the top of the /a/ vocalic space, with the median value for /ɤ/ being slightly lower and more front than /ɔ/, as can be seen in Figure 3.13 in §3, *Average Values of Yongning Na Vowels*. Phonologically, /ɤ/ patterns with the high back vowels /ɯ/ and /u/, as can be seen particularly in §4.2, but also to some degree in §4.3 and §4.6. Additionally, there is some free variation between /ɤ/ and /u/; /ɤ/ will sometimes appear as /u/ or even /ɔ/ in rapid, casual speech. Nevertheless, in careful speech the distinction between /ɤ/ and /u/ is phonemic.

There are some dialectal differences between Lijiang Na and Yongning Na with respect to /ɤ/. He and Jiang note that the final /ɤ/ does not co-occur with retroflexes and apicals—Yongning Na /ɤ/ does occur following retroflexes, as can be seen in (21), although like Lijiang Na, it does not occur with apicals.

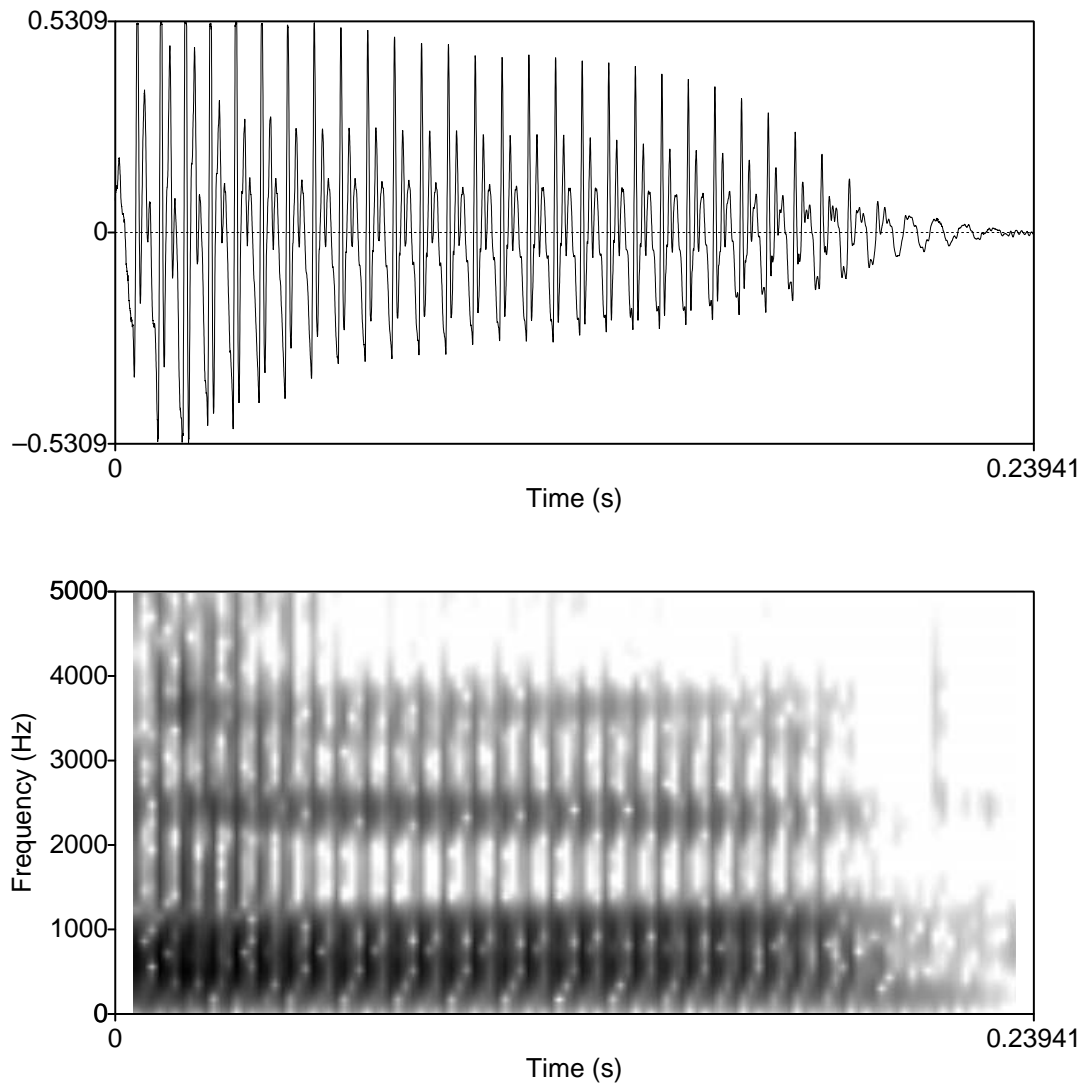


Figure 2.1 Waveform and spectrogram of y_{33}

Note the highly compressed F1 and F2 that appear in the vowel /y/.

2.3.1.2 *Mid*

Na distinguishes between three mid vowels: the mid front unrounded vowel /ɛ/, the mid back unrounded vowel /ɤ/, and the mid back rounded vowel /ɔ/. The examples in (22) show these vowels in contrastive distribution.

(22)	/ɛ/	/ɤ/	/ɔ/
	bɛ33 ‘but, then’	bɤ33 ‘Pumi’	bɔ33 ‘hillside’
		tɤ33 [tɤ33] ‘pull’	tɔ33 ‘to see’
		gɤ33 ‘side’	gɔ33 ‘to hurt’
		mɤ33 ‘oil; lard’	mɔ33 ‘corpse’
	sɛ33 [sɛ33] ‘to go’	sɤ33 ‘blood’	sɔ33 ‘three’
	ʂɛ33 [ʂɛ33] ‘meat’	ʂɤ33 ‘time, instance’	ʂɔ31 ‘clean’
		lɤ33 [lɤ33] CLS.generic	lɔ33 ‘valley’

2.3.1.3 *Low*

Na distinguishes between two low vowels, the low front unrounded vowel /æ/, and the low back unrounded vowel /ɑ/. The examples in (23) show these vowels in contrastive distribution.

(23)	/æ/	/ɑ/
	bæ33 ‘rope’	bɑ33 ‘to open’
	dæ13 [dæ13] ‘through’	dɑ13 ‘to cut down’
	qæ33 ‘to move s.t.’	qɑ33 ‘thin’
	mæ33 ‘to gather’	ma33 NEG-
		la33 ‘and; etc.’

2.3.1.4 *Front*

Na distinguishes between three front vowels, the high front unrounded vowel /i/, the mid front unrounded vowel /ɛ/, and the low front unrounded vowel /æ/. The examples in (24) show these vowels in contrastive distribution.

(24)	/i/ bi33 'side; on' di13 'follow, drive' k ^h i33 'door' a33 mi33 [æ33 mi33] 'mother' çi33 'rainwater' dzi33 'water' li33 'to see'	/ɛ/ bɛ33 'but, then' mæ33 'to gather' ʂɛ33 [ʂɛ33] 'meat' dzɛ33 [dzɛ33] 'money'	/æ/ bæ33 'rope' dæ13 [dæ13] 'through' q ^h æ33 'dung' sæ33 'far' dzæ33 'to ride'
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2.3.1.5 Back

Na distinguishes among six back vowels, the high back rounded vowel /u/, the high back unrounded vowel /ʉ/, the high back ultra-closed vowel /y/, the mid back rounded vowel /ɔ/, the mid back unrounded vowel /ɤ/, and the low back unrounded vowel /a/. The examples in (25) show these vowels in contrastive distribution.

(25)	/u/ bu33 [bu33] POSS du55 çi33 [du55 çi33] 'porcupine' k ^h u33 'dog' mu33 [m̥u33] 'name' ʂu33 'to carry' dzu33 'to burn' lu33 [lu33] 'land for planting' ɬu13 'brain' /ʉ/ bu33 [bi33] 'intestines' gu33 'true, real' mu33 [m̥i33] INTERJ su33 'firewood' ts ^h u13 'to cut' zu33 [z̥i33] 'wine' dz̥u31 [dz̥i31] 'loss' lu33 [li33] CLS.generic	/y/ ty31 [ty31] CLS k ^h y33 'horn (of animal)' my33 [m̥y33] 'to hear' sy33 'bright, clear' dzy33 'horrible, hated' /ɤ/ bɤ33 'Pumi' gɤ33 'side' mɤ33 'oil; lard' sɤ33 'blood' ts ^h ɤ13 'to comb' zɤ33 'to give birth to' dzɤ33 'grab' (ɤ)
------	--	--

/ɔ/	/a/
bɔ33 ‘hillside’	ba33 ‘open’
dɔ33 ‘should, can’	da13 ‘cut down’
tɔ31 on, above’	ta31 ‘then, just’
k ^h ɔ33 p ^h ɿ33 [k ^h ɔ33 p ^h ɿ33] ‘field’	q ^h a33 ‘however many’
mɔ33 ‘corpse’	ma33 NEG-
ɣɔ31 ‘clean’	la33 ‘and; etc.’
lɔ31 ‘hand’	ɬa13 ‘exceed’
ɬɔ13 ‘dark; deep’	

2.3.2 Nasalized monophthong

The examples in contrastive distribution in (26) show that nasalization is a distinctive feature for /æ/.

- (26) t^hæ33 [t^hæ33] ‘underneath’ t^hæ̃33 [t^hæ̃33] ‘often’

Although no minimal pairs are attested for the examples in (27), one can see that /æ̃/ can also appear preceding /w/ and /ɣ/.

- (27) bi33 wæ̃33 ‘to swell, be swollen’
læ31 ɣæ̃33 ‘crow’ [læ31 ɣæ̃33]

2.3.2.1 Rhinoglottophilia

Nasalization is found on /i, æ, u, ɔ/, as can be seen in example (28). Nasalization on these vowels, however, is not phonemic—no minimal pairs are found to show contrastive distribution. Nasalization on these vowels is only attested following the glottals /h/ and /ʔ/, and the nasalization clearly has developed through rhinoglottophilia.

- (28) hī33 ‘person’
hæ̃33 ‘gold’
tɕi31 hū33 ‘clothes’
hō33 ‘hair’
æ̃13 ‘chicken’ [ʔæ̃13]
ō31 ɦi55 ‘soul’ [ʔō31 ɦi55]

2.3.3 Diphthongs

A diphthong consists of a semivowel glide and a vowel in the nucleus position of the syllable. Figure 2.2 illustrates the movements that occur in the diphthongs.

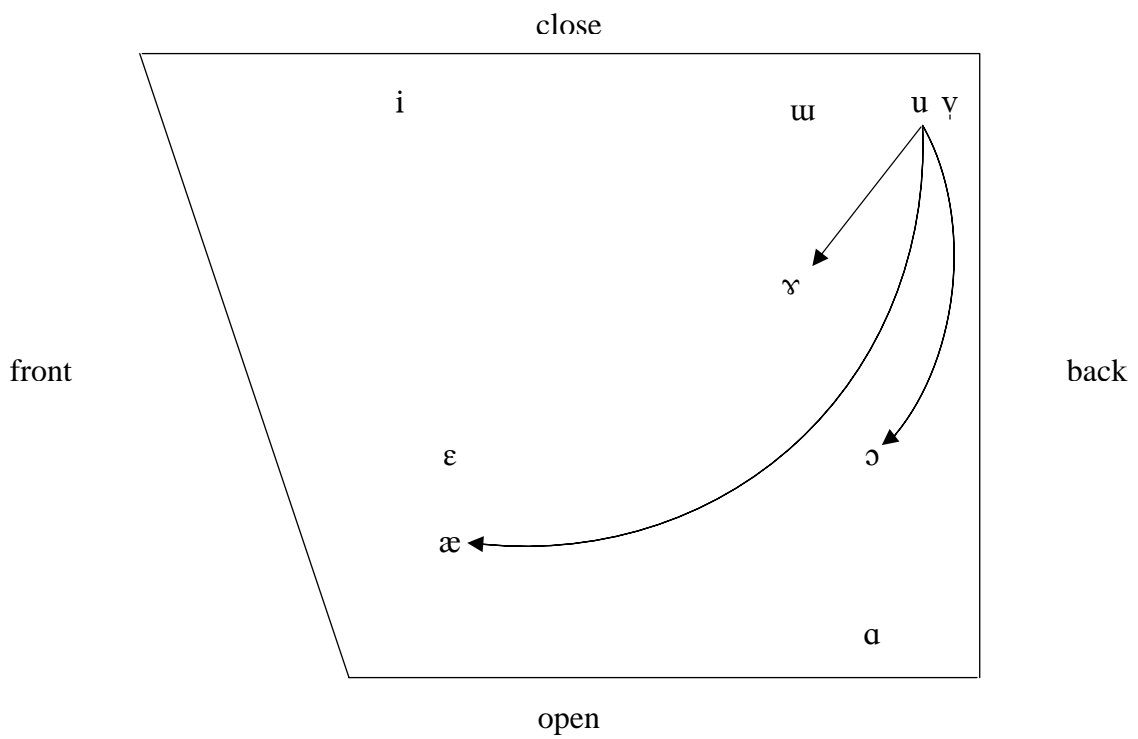


Figure 2.2 Diphthongs⁵

⁵ (modelled on Ladefoged 1993:81 for English)

2.3.3.1 *Rising diphthongs*

A rising diphthong is one where the first vocalic element of the diphthong phonetically is a semivowel glide, so that there is increasing sonority as the height of the vowel decreases. Na rising diphthongs have the close back rounded semivowel glide /u/ as the first vocalic element.

This plethora of u-initial rising diphthongs is in distinction to Yi, where all diphthongs are rising and i-initial, except for Chinese loanwords which may be u-initial (Fu 1997:59). For Weixi Naxi, Fu finds both i-initial and u-initial rising diphthongs: /iẽ, ī, io, iɤ, ui, uẽ, ua/, but no falling diphthongs (Fu 1940/1941:415).

Note that diphthongs in Na act phonologically very differently than as a concatenation of monophthongs. Vowel harmony patterns according to the second vocalic element in a diphthong, disregarding the semivowel glide (see §4.7.6). This is evidence that the semivowel glide /u/ should in fact be considered part of the initial, thus it is transcribed as a ‘w’ rather than as ‘u,’ i.e., ɛ̃31-twɤ33 ‘rooster’s crow.’ The status of semivowel glides is ambiguous by phonetic nature (see Matisoff 2003b:61–62 and Matisoff 1982 for a discussion of semivowel glides as “Janus-headed”). There are three u-initial rising diphthongs found in Na, as seen in examples (29) through (31).

/wɤ/ is a rising diphthong that moves from the close back rounded semivowel /u/ to the mid central unrounded vowel /ɤ/. Examples are given in (29).

(29)	ɛ̃31 twɤ33 [ʔɛ̃31 tɤ33]	‘rooster’s crow’	dwɤ33 mi33 [qɤwə33 mi33]	‘fox’
	tɕ ^h wɤ33	‘dinner’	k ^h wɤ33	CLS (section)
	ɔŋ33 tɕwɤ33	‘mosquito’ ⁶	gwɤ13	‘sing’
	nɔ31-zwɤ33	‘Na language’	gwɤ31	‘fix’
	ɲwɤ33 [ŋwə33]	‘five’	lwə33 q ^h wɤ31	‘gorge’
	lwɤ13 [lɤ13]	‘ash’	q ^h wɤ55 du13 [q ^h wə55 dɿ13]	‘relative’

⁶ Etymology: ɔŋ33 is onomatopoeic of the sound that a mosquito makes and tɕwɤ33 means ‘catch.’

/wɔ/ is a rising diphthong that moves from the close back rounded semivowel /u/ to the open-mid back rounded vowel /ɔ/. Examples are given in (30).

- (30) kwɔ33 LOC
 lwɔ33-q^hwɔ31 ‘gorge’
 ẽ31-ɣwɔ13 ‘chicken egg’
 dzi33-na31-hwɔ33 =ə33 ‘whirlpool’

/wæ/ is a rising diphthong that moves from the close back rounded semivowel /u/ to the fairly open front unrounded vowel /æ/. Examples are given in (31).

- (31) qwæ31 ‘bed’ dzwæ33-mi33 ‘sparrow’
 dzi33-twæ33 [dzi33-ʈwæ33] ‘puddle’ k^hwæ33 ‘enclosing fence’
 ẽ31-ɣwæ33 [ʔẽ31-ɣwæ33] ‘rooster’ mɔ33-hwæ33 ‘uncomfortable’
 dwæ13 [dʷæ13] ‘be scared’ ni33-tɕ^hwæ33 ‘roe, fish eggs’
 dwæ33-mi33 [dʷæ33-mi33] ‘small reservoir’ p^hæ33-q^hwæ33 ‘face’
 dzi33-q^hɣ13-twæ13 [dzi33-q^hɣ13-ʈwæ13] ‘to freeze’ zwæ13 ‘very’
 dzi33-ɣwæ13 ‘dew’

2.3.4 Nasalized diphthongs

Nasalization is attested on the diphthong /wæ̃/, as can be seen in example (32).

- (32) wæ̃33 q^hɑ33 tse33 [wæ̃33 q^hɑ33 tse33] ‘heirloom variety of corn’

2.3.4.1 *Rhinoglottophilia on diphthongs*

Nasalization also is attested on the diphthong /wə̃/, as can be seen in example (33). Nasalization on this diphthong is not phonemic—no minimal pairs are found to show contrastive distribution. Nasalization on this diphthong only is attested following the voiceless glottal fricative /h/, and, like the examples in §2.3.2.1, this nasalization developed through rhinoglottophilia.

- (33) hwə̃33 ‘slow’

3 Laboratory analysis

3.1 OVERVIEW

The laboratory analysis focuses on measurement of voice onset time (VOT) and measurement of vowels. VOT measurements supply empirical support for the three voicing types. The methodology, results, and analysis for VOT measurements are presented in §3.2. Perhaps the most significant result of the laboratory analysis is the finding that the Na voiced obstruents exhibit considerable pre-voicing. VOT also varies according to position of articulation, as would be predicted. The objective position in the vowel space of a given vowel varies considerably cross-linguistically, as do the vowels' relative positions with respect to other vowels in the system. Thus, laboratory measurements were made for each of the Na vowels, and the measurements were then entered into scatterplots, to provide the reader with a visual representation of the objective positions of each vowel and their positions with respect to each other. The methodology, limitations of the study, and results are discussed in §3.3. A scatterplot showing the measurements of vowels is given in Figure 3.12, and a scatterplot showing the corresponding measurement averages is given in Figure 3.13. Spectrograms were made for the Na vowels, and these are shown in Figures 3.14 through 3.22.

3.2 MEASUREMENT OF VOICE ONSET TIME

The Na consonant inventory distinguishes among three voicing types: voiceless aspirated, voiceless unaspirated, and voiced. These voicing distinctions can be seen empirically in measurements of VOT.

3.2.1 Methodology

VOT was measured by hand, from closure until the first cycle of vowel voicing on the waveforms, using Praat 4.3.19 on a laptop operating under Windows XP. The view range was set to 0-5000 Hz with a bandwidth of 260 Hz, as the speaker, GD, is male. The window length was set to 0.005, and the dynamic range to 40dB. Tokens of each onset with as many of the Na vowels as possible were included; these tokens were taken from recordings of both natural discourse and lexical elicitation sessions with speaker GD. The tokens in lexical elicitation sessions were given in careful speech, and repeated three times in succession with a brief pause between each token.

It was not possible to measure VOT for some CV combinations for several reasons: 1. recordings were not conducted explicitly to obtain the full set of CV combinations for VOT measurement, but rather, the VOT tokens were taken from recordings from other parts of the research; 2. there are natural gaps as to which CV combinations occur; 3. some CV combinations trigger allophonic variation in either the consonant or vowel. Furthermore, there are numerous lexical items that were not used to obtain the full set of CV combinations for VOT measurement, as: 1. the lexical item was only recorded with a speaker other than GD; 2. recordings with the lexical item were unsuitable for analysis due to either background noise or extremely rapid speech; 3. the lexical item was obtained in an unrecorded elicitation session.

The sample size for each phoneme was extremely limited (ten tokens), as the data were not specifically recorded for laboratory VOT measurement, but rather, were part of a larger project to describe and document Na. Tokens were included from both lexical elicitation sessions and recordings of narrative texts. Although it would certainly be preferable to rely only on elicited data, for some phonemes minimal or no tokens appeared in the elicited data.

Standard deviation was calculated using Excel, and appears as error bars in the VOT charts. In general, standard deviation was quite minimal for voiceless unaspirated stops, and a more significant issue for voiceless aspirated and voiced stops. This presumably is because length of aspiration and length of pre-voicing are somewhat difficult for speakers to control tightly. Additionally, including both tokens from elicitation, where speakers exhibit longer aspiration and pre-voicing, and tokens from recordings of narrative speech, where aspiration and pre-voicing tend to be shorter due to appearing in rapid, connected speech, compounds the variation, resulting in larger figures for standard deviation. Accordingly, I have included Figure 3.2, which shows the VOT for elicited samples only, and Figure 3.3, which shows the VOT for examples from narrative texts only. (Both of these charts show no results for several phonemes, as several phonemes were found only in elicited speech or only in narrative speech.) Note that for Figures 3.2 and 3.3, standard deviations decrease for three reasons: 1. overall decrease in sample size, 2. tokens available from fewer phonological environments, and 3. not combining elicitation and textual tokens.

3.2.2 Analysis

3.2.2.1 Voice onset time and place of articulation

Overall, VOT for stops generally decreases from front to back in terms of place of articulation, as does standard deviation, with the exception of uvular stops. Although it has been generally observed that VOT increases for stops as place of articulation moves further back (Fischer-Jorgensen 1954; Peterson and Lehiste 1960; Cho and Ladefoged 1999, as cited in Cho, Ladefoged et al. 2001), Cho, Ladefoged et al. find no significant difference in VOT between velar and uvular stops in either Eastern Aleut or Western Aleut (Cho, Ladefoged et al. 2001: 238). In Na, VOT for uvular stops generally seems to be longer than for velar stops, although large measures of standard deviation make the results largely inconclusive.

3.2.2.2 Voice onset time and voicing type

VOT is largest for voiceless aspirated stops, dramatically smaller for voiceless unaspirated stops, and negative for voiced stops. The voiceless unaspirated fricative is an outlier in that the substantial frication yields a long VOT, even longer than the voiceless aspirated fricative, and this result stands despite re-measurement. For the voiceless aspirated stops, standard deviation is significantly reduced by relying on elicited examples only (see Figure 3.2). Standard deviation remains very high for the uvular stops, remains fairly high for all fricatives, and decreases only slightly for the voiced stops. If one relies solely on textual tokens, VOT for both voiceless aspirated and voiced bilabial and alveolar stops. VOT for fricatives is generally much less affected. However, standard variation for the voiced bilabial and alveolar stops, as well as all alveolar fricatives, does decrease for textual tokens.

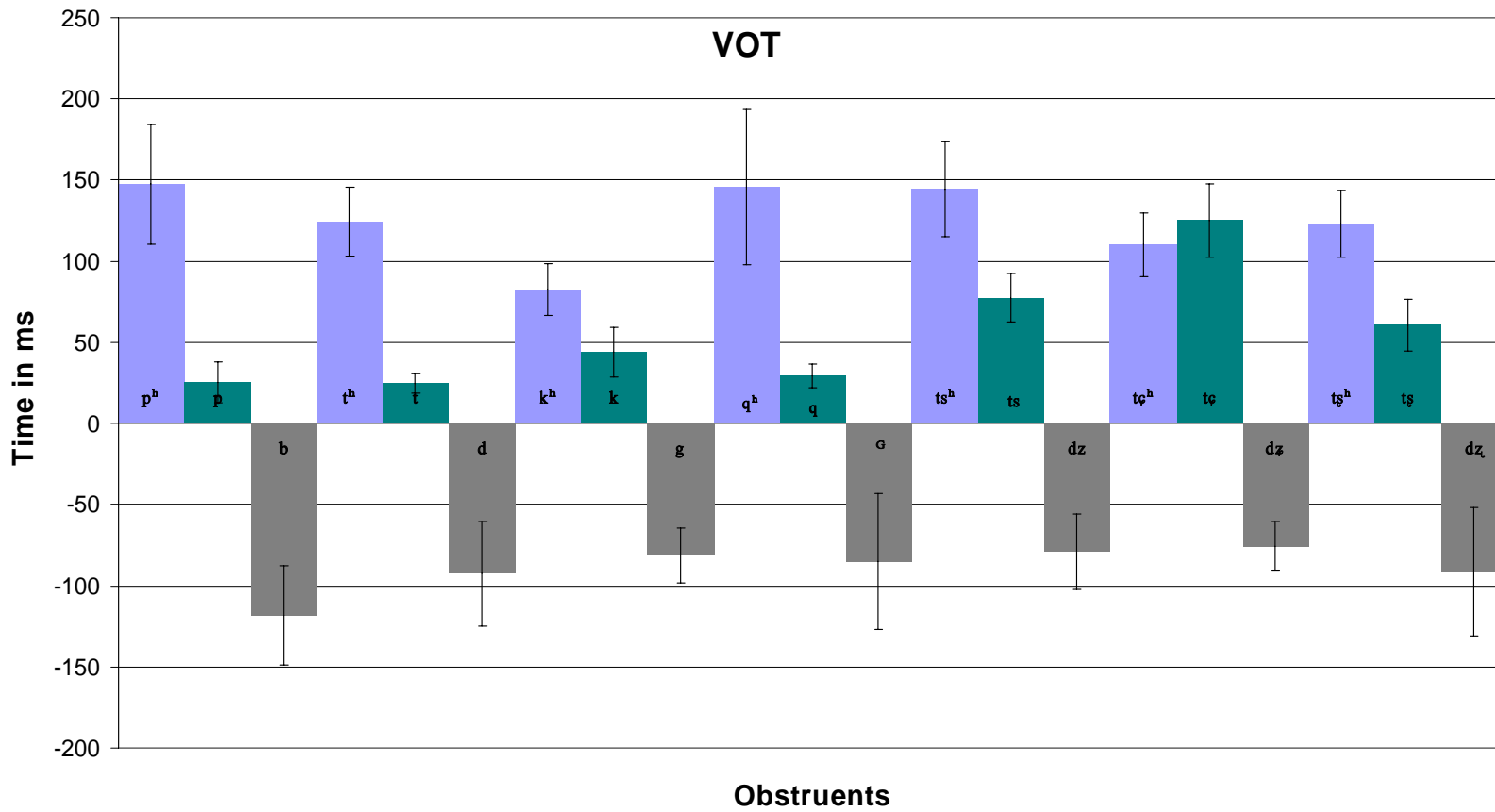


Figure 3.1 Comparison of voice onset time for obstruents

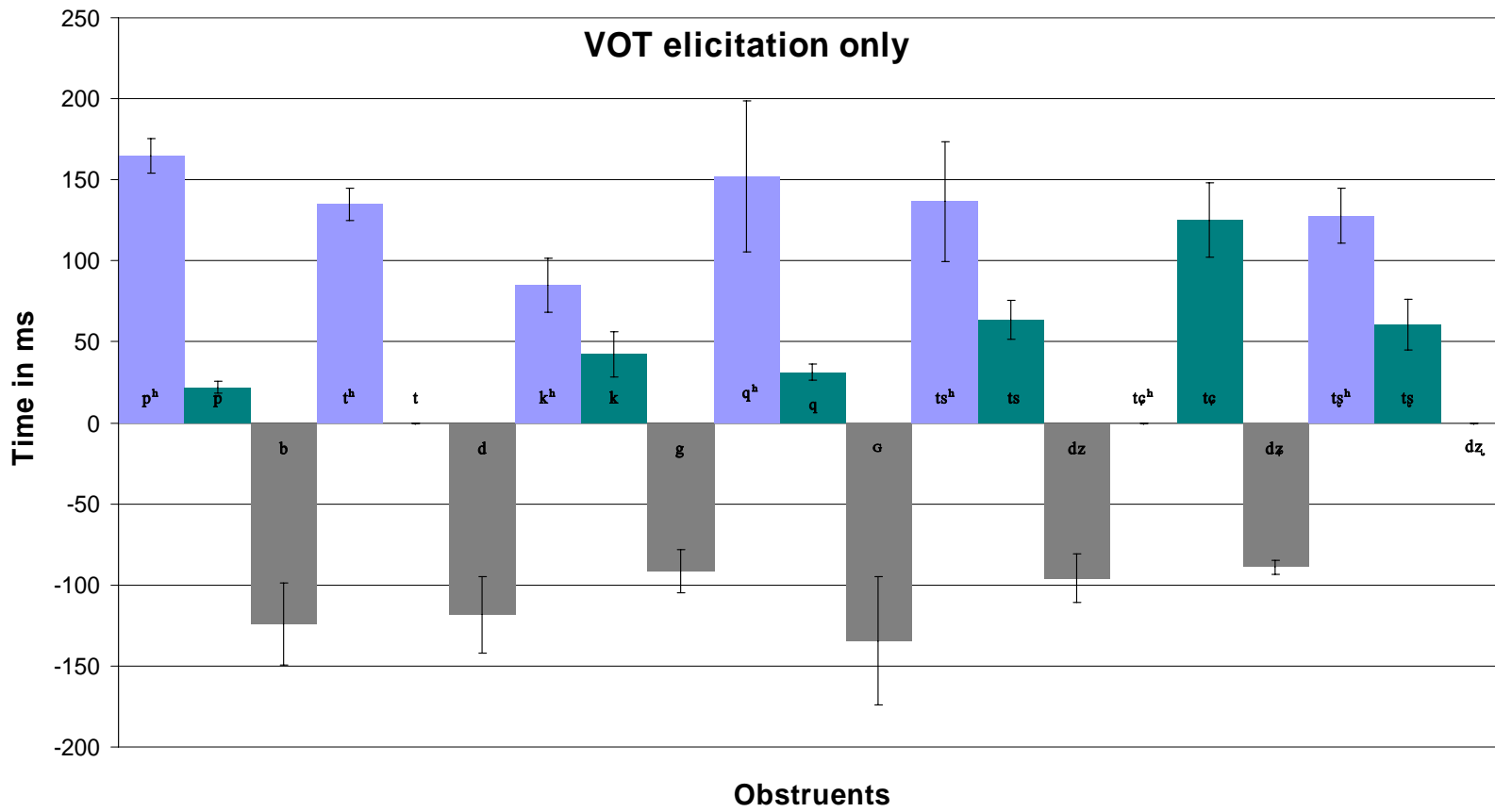


Figure 3.2 Comparison of voice onset time for obstruents, using elicited tokens only

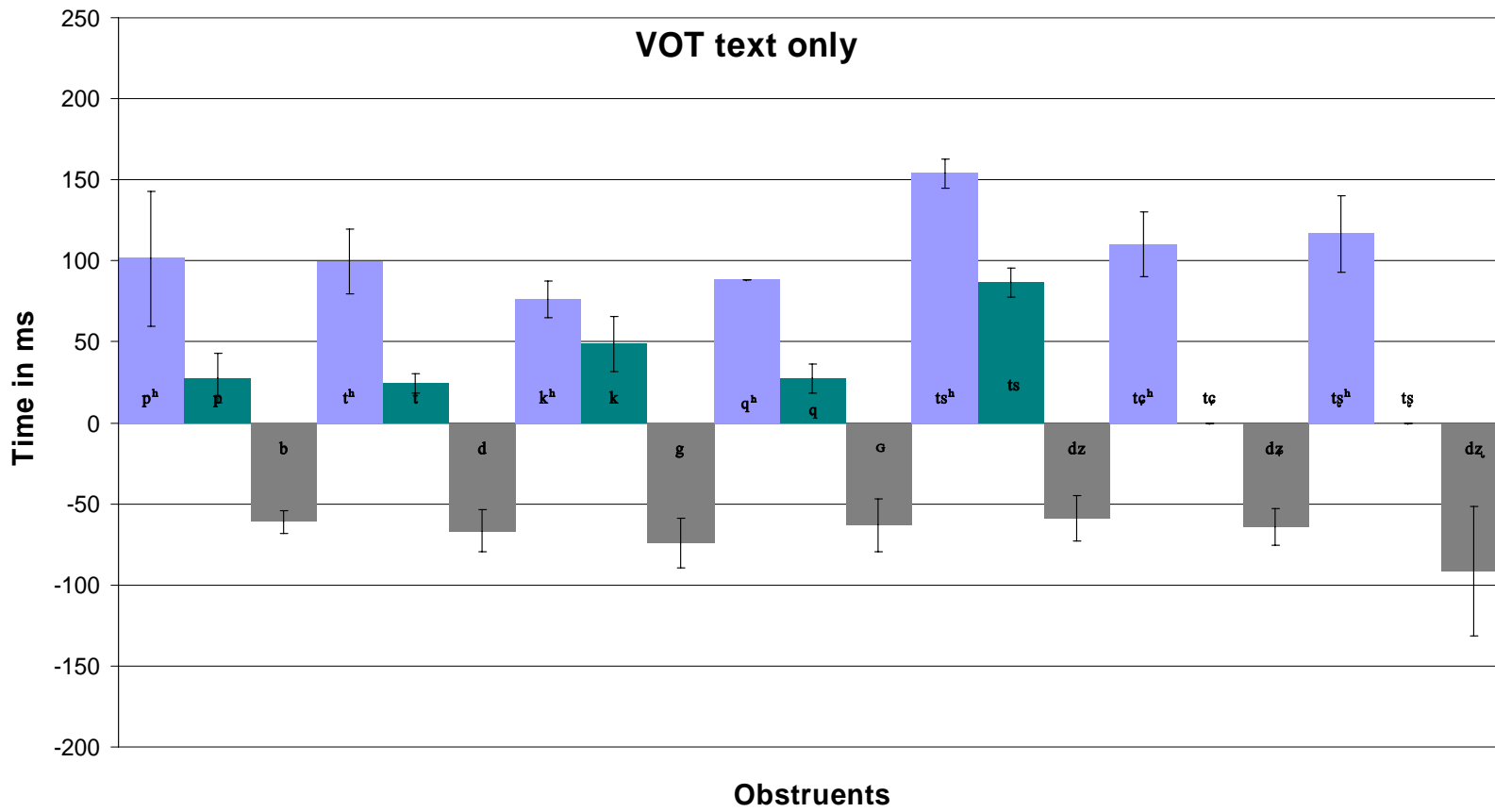


Figure 3.3 Comparison of voice onset time for obstruents, using tokens from narrative texts only

The distinctions among the three voicing types of voiceless aspirated, voiceless unaspirated, and voiced can be seen empirically in the averages of voice onset time (VOT) made for stops and affricates. Those for /p^h, p, b/ are given in Figure 3.4, /t^h, t, d/ in Figure 3.5, /k^h, k, g/ in Figure 3.6, /q^h, q, ɟ/ in Figure 3.7, /tʰ, ts, dz/ in Figure 3.8, /tɕ^h, tɕ, dz/ in Figure 3.9, and /tʂ^h, tʂ, dz/ in Figure 3.10. In all cases, the voiced series exhibit considerable pre-voicing, as evidenced in significant negative VOT. Each of the voiceless aspirated and the voiced plain series exhibit fairly large figures for standard deviation, which may be due to the difficulty for speakers of controlling the length of aspiration and pre-voicing, respectively.

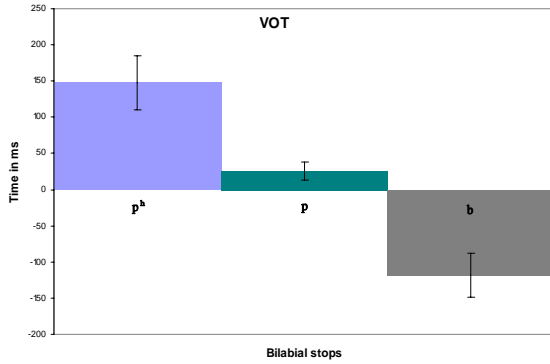


Figure 3.4 Voice onset time for the bilabial stops / p^h , p , b / with error bars showing standard deviation

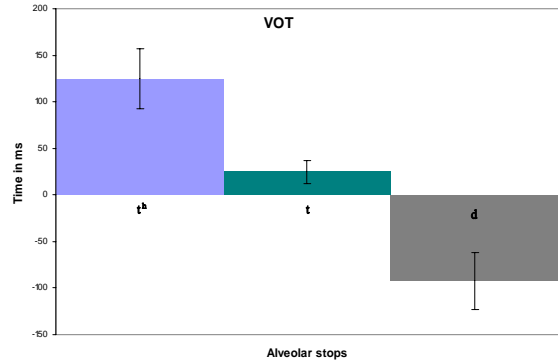


Figure 3.5 Voice onset time for the alveolar stops / t^h , t , d / with error bars showing standard deviation

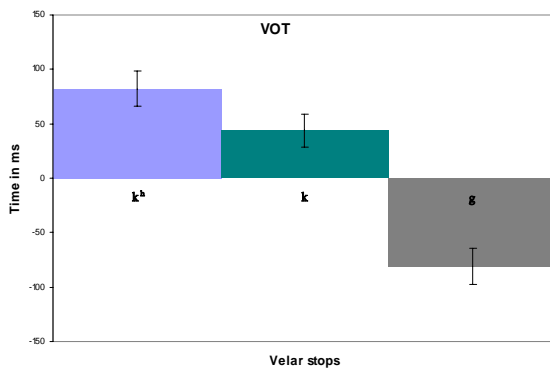


Figure 3.6 Voice onset time for the velar stops / k^h , k , g / with error bars showing standard deviation

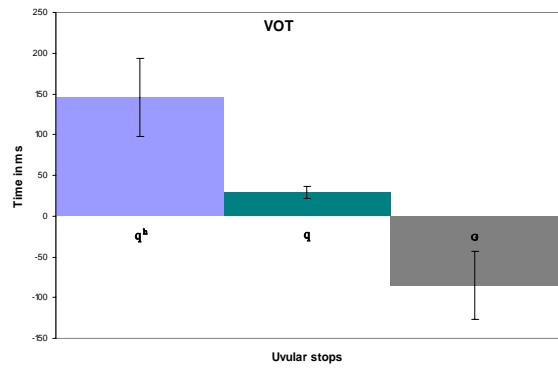


Figure 3.7 Voice onset time for the uvular stops / q^h , q , $ɢ$ / with error bars showing standard deviation

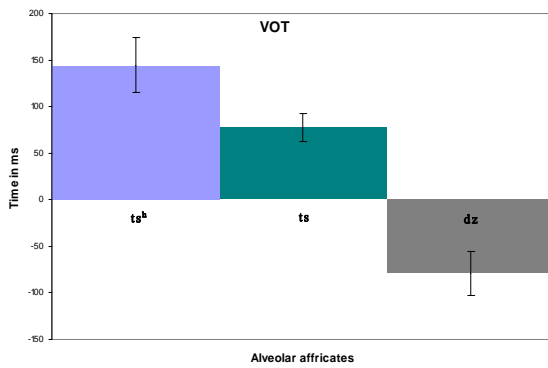


Figure 3.8 Voice onset time for the alveolar affricates /ts^h, ts, dz/ with error bars showing standard deviation

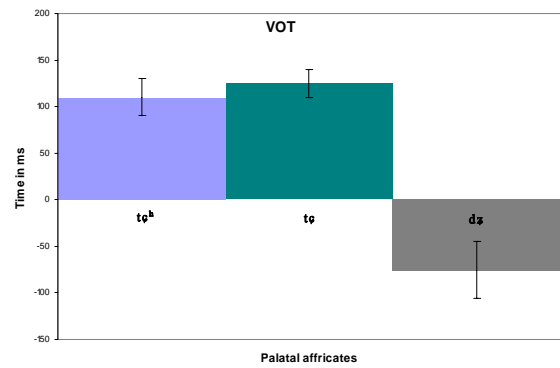


Figure 3.9 Voice onset time for the palatal affricates /tɕ^h, tɕ, dʒ/ with error bars showing standard deviation

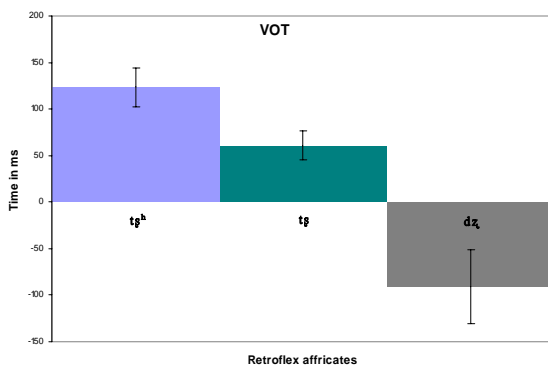


Figure 3.10 Voice onset time for the retroflex affricates /tʂ^h, tʂ, dʐ/ with error bars showing standard deviation

3.3 MEASUREMENT OF VOWELS

3.3.1 Methodology

Vowels were measured using Praat 4.3.19 on a laptop operating under Windows XP. The view range was set to 0-5000 Hz with a bandwidth of 260 Hz, as the speaker, GD, is male. The window length was set to 0.005, and the dynamic range to 40dB.

Tokens were used from recordings of both lexical elicitation sessions and narrative texts. The tokens in elicitation sessions were given in careful speech and repeated three times in succession, with a brief pause between each token and the next. Tokens from narrative texts were selected where enunciation of the vowel was clear and canonical, no background noise was present, and the spectrogram was clear enough to get an accurate measurement (i.e., in extremely rapid speech, formants are sometimes unclear or of such short duration as to be difficult to measure). Tokens were selected so that each vowel was measured in environments following and preceding consonants of all places and manners of articulation, so that no individual consonant place or manner of articulation would skew the results, but rather, measurements from the full constellation of phonological environments could be attained. This was slightly constrained by phonological restrictions as to, and natural gaps in, which consonants and vowels can appear adjacently. The measurements for F1 and F2 were then taken as follows: if there was a period of steady state for both F1 and F2, the measurement was taken during the steady state. If there were no steady state, and F1 and F2 arced upward in a convex fashion, measurements were taken at the crest of this arc. If there were no steady state, and F1 and F2 arced downwards in a concave fashion, measurements were taken at the trough of this arc. If there were no steady state, and F1 and F2 ran at a diagonal, measurements were taken at the halfway point. Using MS Excel, a scatter plot was created, with F1 plotted against $(F2 - F1)$.

3.3.2 *Limitations*

Vowel measurements really should have been taken for at least ten speakers to get a representative sample of the speaker population; however, the breadth of the fieldwork (i.e., description and documentation of the language well beyond phonetics) did not allow time to do so. Thus, the vowel measurements provided are meant simply to give an indication of the approximate identities of the vowels in relation to each other, and are not meant to represent the entire speech community.

Figure 3.11 presents measurements of vowels in a scatter plot, with F1 plotted against (F2-F1). Note that the Na vowel /uu/ sounds much closer to [i] than to [u]; this is corroborated by the placement of the tokens in the scatter plot, where it is labelled with its phonetic value [i] rather than its phonemic value /uu/. /ɤ/, which is also a back unrounded vowel, similarly sounds much closer to [ə] than to [ɤ], and this also is corroborated by the vowel measurements, where it also is labelled with its phonetic value [ə] rather than its phonemic value /ɤ/. Nevertheless, both /uu/ and /ɤ/ pattern as back vowels phonologically, and thus are represented as such throughout this text.

The phonological process involving bilabials (as detailed in §4.2) seems to move the place of articulation of the high back unrounded vowel /uu/ back. Evidence for this movement is seen in the fact that the four tokens of /uu/ following spirantized bilabial initials are found further back, with a value of F2–F1 of approximately 600–660, than the rest of the /uu/ tokens.

Figure 3.12 presents average values of Na vowels, with F1 plotted against (F2–F1). Note that the place of articulation for the high back unrounded vowel /u/ is fairly far forward in comparison with the other back vowels.

Yongning Na Vowels

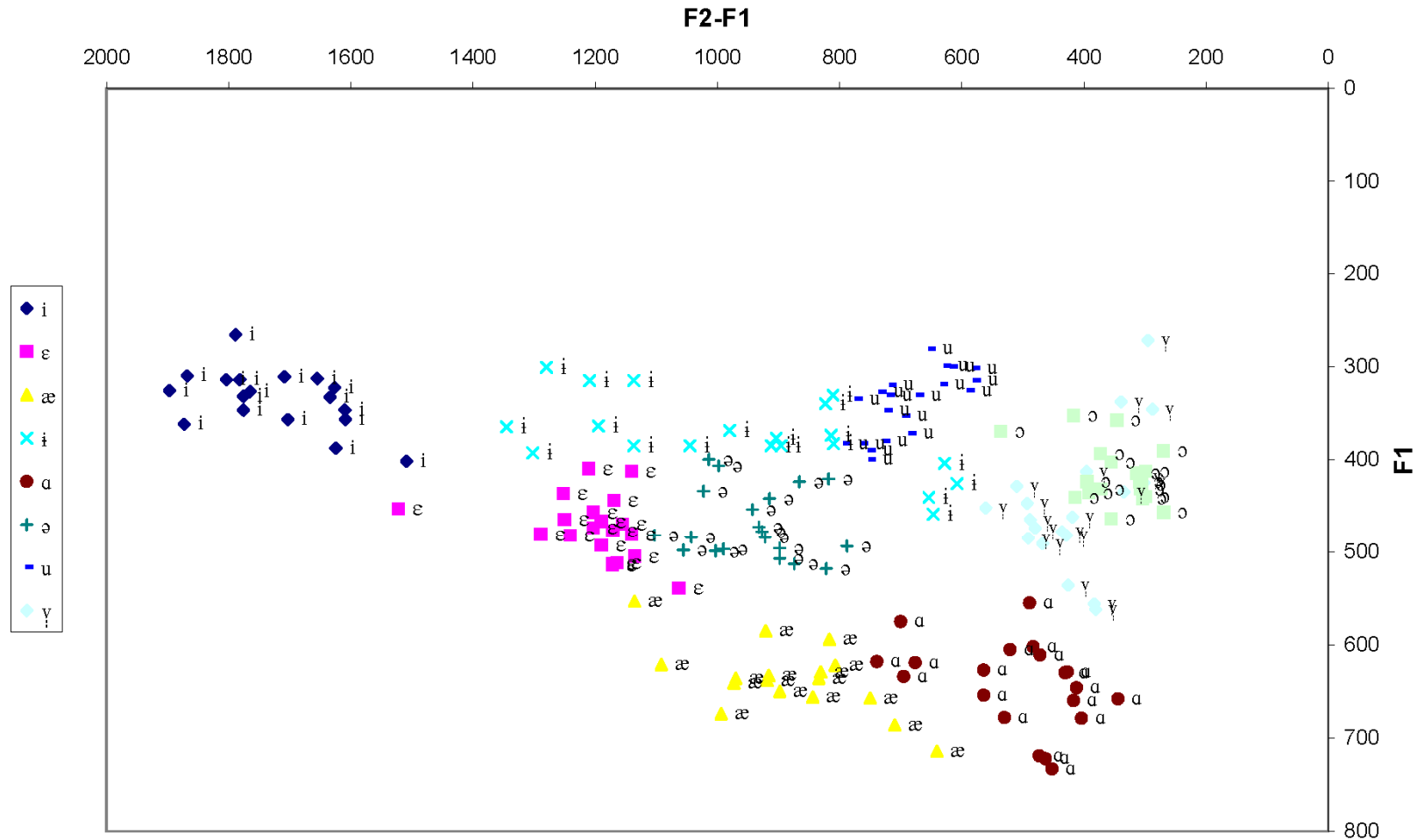


Figure 3.11

Average values of Yongning Na vowels

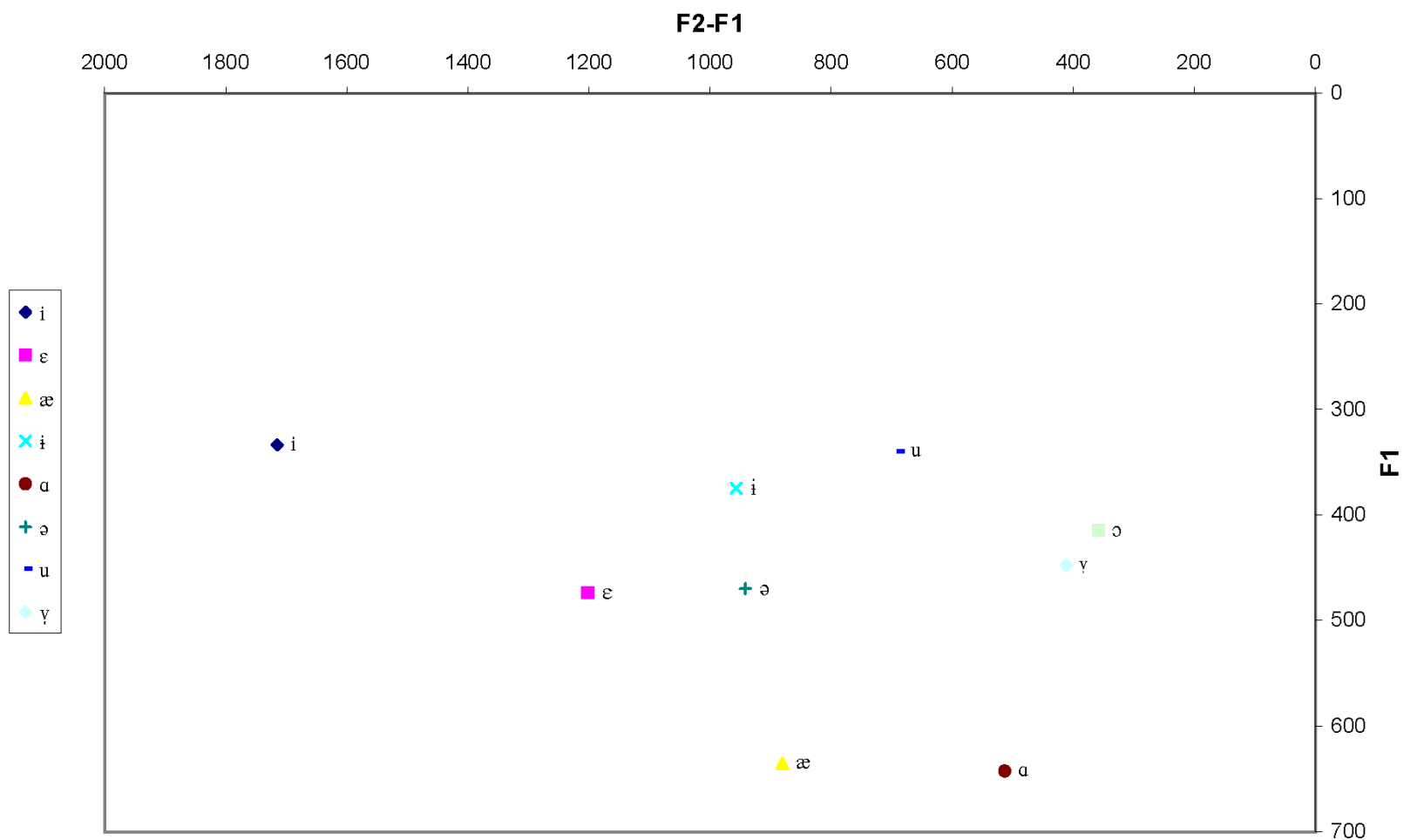


Figure 3.12

3.4 SPECTROGRAMS OF NA VOWELS

Spectrograms were made for the Na vowels. The view range of Praat was set to 0-5000 Hz with a bandwidth of 260 Hz, as the speaker, GD, is male. The window length was set to 0.005, and the dynamic range to 40 dB. The tokens used were all from lexical elicitation sessions, where each token was given in careful speech and repeated three times in succession, with a brief pause between each token and the next. As many of the vowels as possible were taken in word-initial syllable following a glottal stop. When such an example was not possible, primarily due to the complicated phonotactics of Na, a token was used of the vowel following a non-retroflexed alveolar, such as /i/ in ɭɔ31 tʰi13 ‘right hand,’ /ɔ/ in ɲi31 tɔ33 ‘mouth,’ and /u/ in ɑ33 su33 [ʔə33 si33] ‘great grandparent’; as the second syllable following a vowel for /ɣ/ in ɑ33 ɣ33 [ʔə33 ɣ33] ‘uncle’; and following a word-initial velar for /u/ in gu33 mi33 ‘younger sister.’ Labial sounds were particularly avoided, given the lowering affect they can have on adjacent vowel formants.

3.4.1 Front vowels

Figures 3.13 through 3.15 show the Na front vowels /i/, /ɛ/, and /æ/. /i/ is from Na ɭɔ31 tʰi13 ‘right hand,’ /ɛ/ is from Na ɑ33 tɕi33 [ʔɛ33 tɕi33] ‘aunt,’ and /æ/ is from Na ɑ33 mi33 [ʔæ33 mi33] ‘mother.’ Noteworthy is the slight diphthongization towards the end of /ɛ/, where F1 and F2 spread apart.

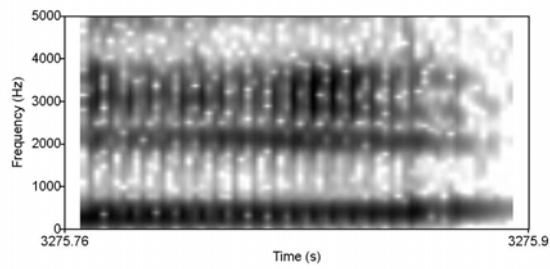
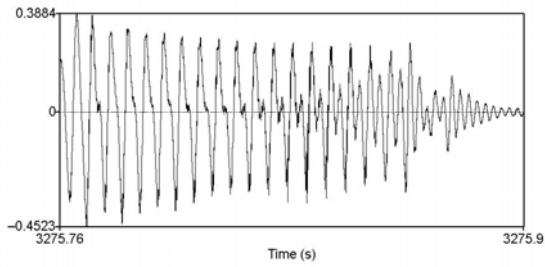


Figure 3.13: / i /

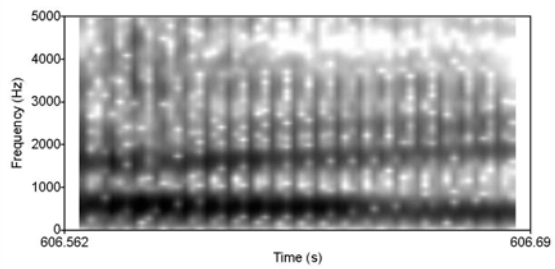
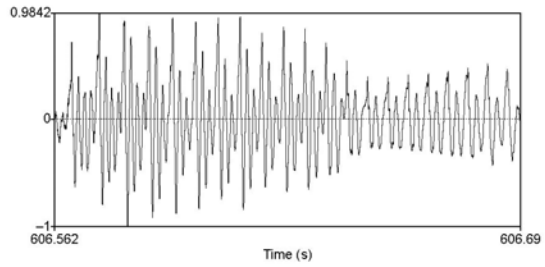


Figure 3.14: / ε /

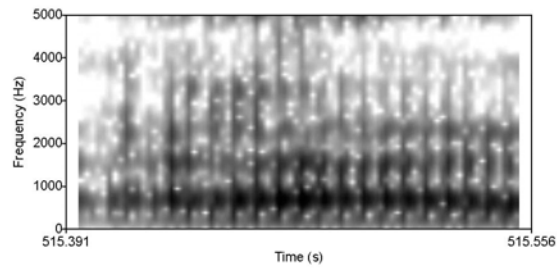
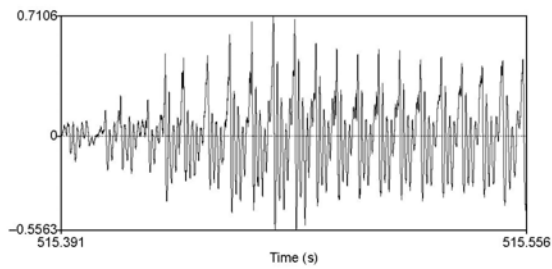


Figure 3.15: / æ /

3.4.2 Back vowels

Figures 3.16 through 3.21 show the Na back vowels /a/, /ɔ/, /u/, /ɣ/, /ɤ/, and /w/. /a/ is from Na a33-da33 [ʔa33-da33] ‘father,’ /ɔ/ is from Na ji31 tɔ33 ‘mouth,’ /u/ is from Na gu33-mi33 ‘younger sister,’ /ɣ/ is from Na a33 ɣu33 [ʔə33 ɣu33] ‘uncle,’ /ɤ/ is from Na a33 ɣ33 [ʔɤ33-ɣu33] ‘uncle,’ and /w/ is from Na a33-su33 [ʔə33-si33] ‘great grandparent.’

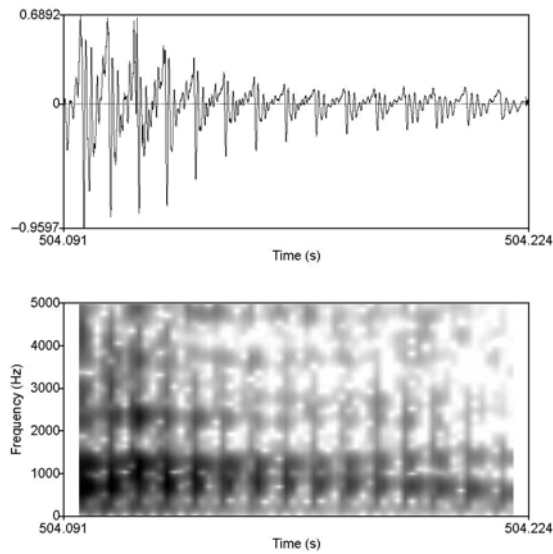


Figure 3.16: / a /

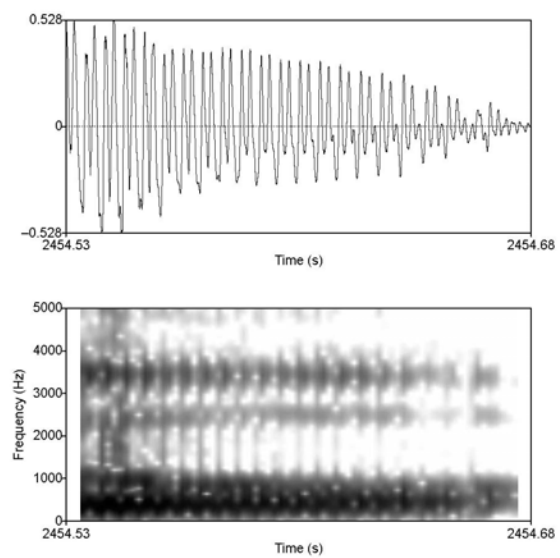


Figure 3.17: / ɔ /

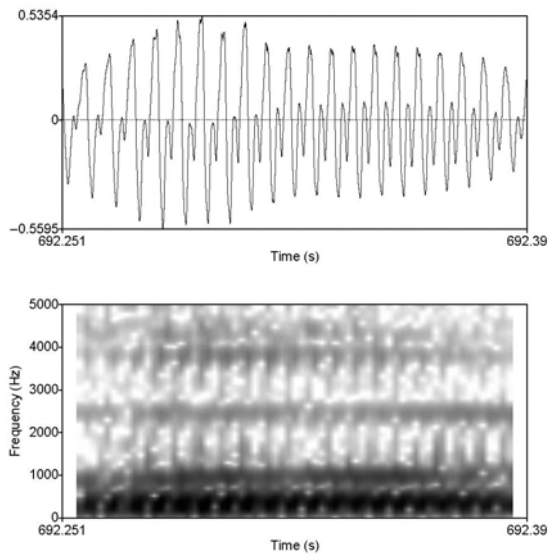


Figure 3.18: / u /

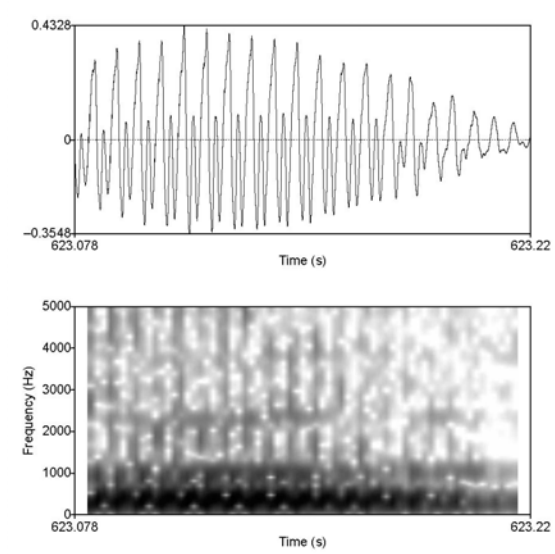


Figure 3.19: / ɣ /

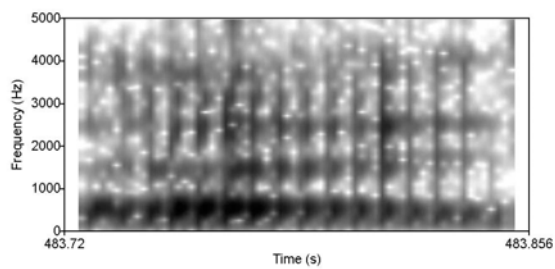
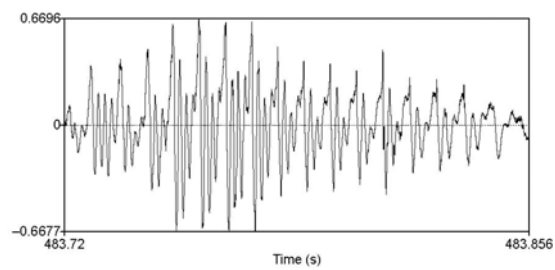


Figure 3.20: / r /

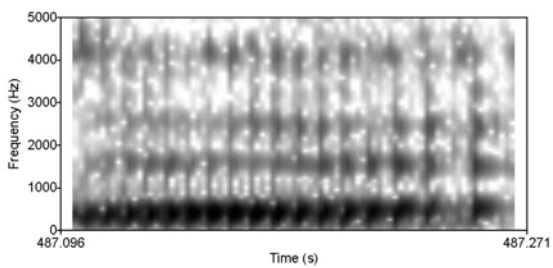
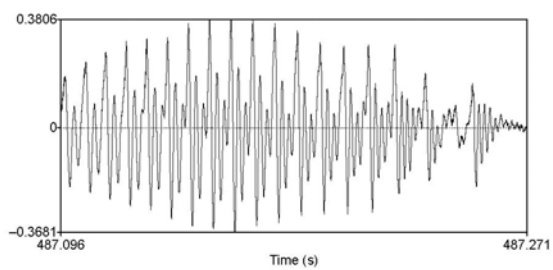


Figure 3.21: / w /

4 Phonological patterns

4.1 OVERVIEW

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop	p ^h p b		t ^h t d		t ^h t ɖ		k ^h k g	q ^h q ɢ	
Trill	β ^h , β, β								
Nasal	m	ɱ	n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ		
Fricative		ɸ					ɣ	ʁ	
Affricate									
Lateral fricative									
Approx	w								
Lateral approx			l		ɭ				

Nearly all of the Na consonant phonemes have allophones where place of articulation has moved back by one place: the bilabial series /p^h, p, b, m, w/ appears as the allophones [β^h, β, β, ɱ, ɸ]; the alveolar series /t^h, t, d, n, l/ appears as the retroflexes [t^h, t, ɖ, ɳ, ɭ]; the palatal nasal /ɲ/ appears as the velar nasal [ŋ]; and the velar stop series /k^h, k, g/ appear as the uvular stops [q^h, q, ɢ].

However, the phonetic conditioning that governs the appearance of the allophones varies considerably by place of articulation. The spirantized allophones of the bilabial series appear preceding the [+high, +back] vowels /uu, u, ʏ/, or a subset thereof (/w/ is not attested preceding /uu/ and /ʏ/). The uvular allophones [q^h, q, ɢ] of the velar series appear preceding the [+low] vowels /æ/ and /a/. The retroflex allophones [t^h, t, d, ŋ, ʎ] of the alveolar series appear preceding the [+high, +back] vowels /uu, u, ʏ/, and [+low, -back] vowel /æ/, the mid back unrounded vowel /ɤ/, and the diphthongs /wɤ/ and /wæ/. It seems that the retroflex allophones follow the same pattern of appearance as the spirantized allophones of the bilabials, but that the pattern for the appearance of the uvular allophones of the velar series is spreading to the alveolar series. Note, though, that the uvular allophones appear with /a/, while the retroflex allophones do not. This may be evidence for the directionality of rule spread being from velars to alveolars.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		ɯ, u, ʏ
Mid	ɛ	(ə)	ʁ, ɔ
Open	æ		ɑ

Figure 4.1 Labials preceding the high, non-front vowels /ɯ, u, ʏ/

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		ɯ, u, ʏ
Mid	ɛ	(ə)	ʁ, ɔ
Open	æ		ɑ

Figure 4.2 Alveolars appear as retroflexes preceding the high back vowels /ɯ, u, ʏ/, the low vowels /æ, ɑ/, the mid back vowel /ʁ/, and the diphthongs /wʁ/ and /wæ/

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		ɯ, u, ʏ
Mid	ɛ	(ə)	ʁ, ɔ
Open	æ		ɑ

Figure 4.3 Velars appear as uvulars preceding the low vowels /æ, ɑ/

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		ɯ, u, ʏ
Mid	ɛ	(ə)	ʁ, ɔ
Open	æ		ɑ

Figure 4.4 Labial and velar rules both apply to the alveolars

The consonant phonemes which do not have allophonic variants are the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/, the alveo-palatals /ç, z, tç^h, tç, dz/, the retroflexes /ʂ, z, tʂ^h, tʂ, dz/, the voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/, and the glottal fricative /h/. The voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ is quite marginal in Na, appearing only with the high back rounded vowel /u/ in a very limited number of lexical items. It may be that the voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/ does not have an allophonic variant because there is no other sound with the same manner of articulation into which the lateral fricative could morph. The glottal fricative /h/ does not have an allophonic variant further back in place of articulation because the glottal place of articulation is the furthest back—there is no place of articulation further back to which it could move.

4.2 BILABIALS

The voiceless aspirated bilabial stop /p^h/ has an allophone, a voiceless aspirated trill, [p^h]. The voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop /p/ has an allophone, a voiceless unaspirated trill, [p̥]. The voiced bilabial stop /b/ has an allophone, a voiced trill, [B]. The voiced bilabial nasal /m/ has an allophone, a voiced labio-dental nasal [m̥]. The voiceless labiovelar approximant /w/ has an allophone, a voiced labio-dental [w̥]. Speakers' lips can clearly be seen vibrating during careful enunciation. These allophones only occur preceding the [+high, +back] vowels /u, u, y/, or a subset thereof (/w/ is not attested preceding /uu/ and /y/). Similar processes have been documented in other Tibeto-Burman languages. In Lahu (Lolo-Burmese), [+lab, -cont] → [+strid] / __ [+high, +back] [p ph b m → pf p^hh bv mv / __ u] (Matisoff 1973:3). In Kurtoep (East Bodish), /p^h/ spirantizes to the extent that /p^h/ is only found in careful enunciation and /b/ tends to spirantize, although a conditioning factor for the variation had not yet been found (Lowes 2006:21).

These allophones are well-described in the literature on Naxi and Na. The bilabials /p, p^h, b, mp/ have a slight trill when preceding /u/ in Weixi Naxi (Fu 1940/1941:411), the bilabials /p, p^h, b, mb/ have a trill preceding /v/ in Lijiang Naxi (He and Jiang 1985:7), and the bilabial stops /p, p^h, b/ trill preceding /ɣ/ and /ʂ/ in YN Na (Yang 2009).

$$(34) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /p^h/ \\ /p/ \\ /b/ \\ /m/ \\ /w/ \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [p^h] \\ [p] \\ [β] \\ [m] \\ [w] \end{array} \right\} / _ /u, u, ɣ/$$

[+lab, -syl] → [+strident] / _ [+high, +back]

The following is a near minimal triplet (low rising tone on the second in the series) showing these allophones in Na:

- (35) p^hu33 [p^hu33] 'white'
 pu13 [p̥u13] 'take out'
 bu33 [βu33] 'intestines, bowels'
 mu31 qæ33 [m̥u31 qæ33] 'to castrate (an animal)'
 a31 wu55 [a31 ɣ55] 'good-looking'

The following examples show that these allophones do not appear in complementary environments, preceding the vowels /i, ɛ, æ, a, ʌ, ɔ/.

(36)	p ^h i33 [p ^h i33]	‘hemp cloth’
	pi33 [pi33]	QUOT
	bi33 [bi33]	‘go; FUT.IMM’
	ɑ33-mi33 [ʔæ33-mi33]	‘mother’
	pɛ31 [pɛ31]	‘then’
	p ^h æ33 [p ^h æ33]	‘fasten’
	bæ33 [bæ33]	‘rope’
	mæ33 [mæ33]	‘catch up’
	wæ33 [wæ33]	‘left (direction)’
	pa33 la33 k ^h u33 [pa33 la33 k ^h u33]	‘spider web’
	ba33 [ba33]	‘open’
	ma31 na33 [ma31 na33]	‘many’
	pʌ33 pʌ33 [pʌ33 pʌ33]	‘carry on one’s back’
	bʌ33 [bʌ33]	‘Pumi’
	mʌ33 [mʌ33]	‘vegetable oil’
	wʌ33 [wʌ33]	‘village’
	p ^h ɔ33 [p ^h ɔ33]	‘escape’
	pɔ13 [pɔ13]	‘take; INSTR’
	bɔ13 [bɔ13]	‘pig (generic)’
	mɔ13 [mɔ13]	‘elder’
	wɔ13 [wɔ13]	‘needle’

The labials /p, p^h, b, m, w/ are treated as a discreet class of sounds which undergo a phonological process preceding the high, back vowels /ʉ, u, ʏ/. /p, p^h, b/ trill preceding /ʉ, u, ʏ/, and speakers' lips visibly vibrate during pronunciation. /m/ moves forward in place of articulation to labio-dental [m]. Although the phonetic realization of /p, p^h, b/ preceding high, back vowels is trilled, rather than strictly spirantized, there is a cogent argument for treating the labial phonological process as one of over-arching spirantization. As shown in the diagram at the beginning of §4.1, all other consonantal phonological processes in Na involve movement one step backwards in position of articulation; this phonological process is clearly akin to processes of spirantization in other Tibeto-Burman languages; and the phonetic realization of one member of the labial set, /m/, is spirantized: [m].

/w/ and its allophone are more difficult to assess. In extremely careful speech, the /w/ in ɑ31 wu33 'good-looking' may appear as [w], though in casual speech, it always appears as the high back vowel commonly transcribed in the Chinese descriptive literature as [ɥ]. Acoustic measurements for [ɥ] indicate that it is high and back in position of articulation, and in Na, [ɥ] consistently patterns phonologically with the high back vowels /ʉ/ and /u/. /w/ is not attested preceding /ʉ, u, ʏ/, and is attested preceding /æ, ɤ, ɔ/ as per example (36). Thus, assessing whether syllables which are enunciated as [ɥ] are phonemically /wɥ/, /wʉ/, /wu/, or /ɥu/ is problematic. Automatic glottal stops appear before onset-less vowels (cf. §4.6), so presumably there is no underlying syllable /ɥ/. Despite these difficulties, we will claim that the labial phoneme /w/ has an allophone [ɥ].

A waveform and spectrogram of p^hʉ33 [p^h] 'white' showing the initial trill is given in Figure 4.5. Waveforms and spectrograms for [p], [b], [m], and [ɥ] are provided in Appendix B.

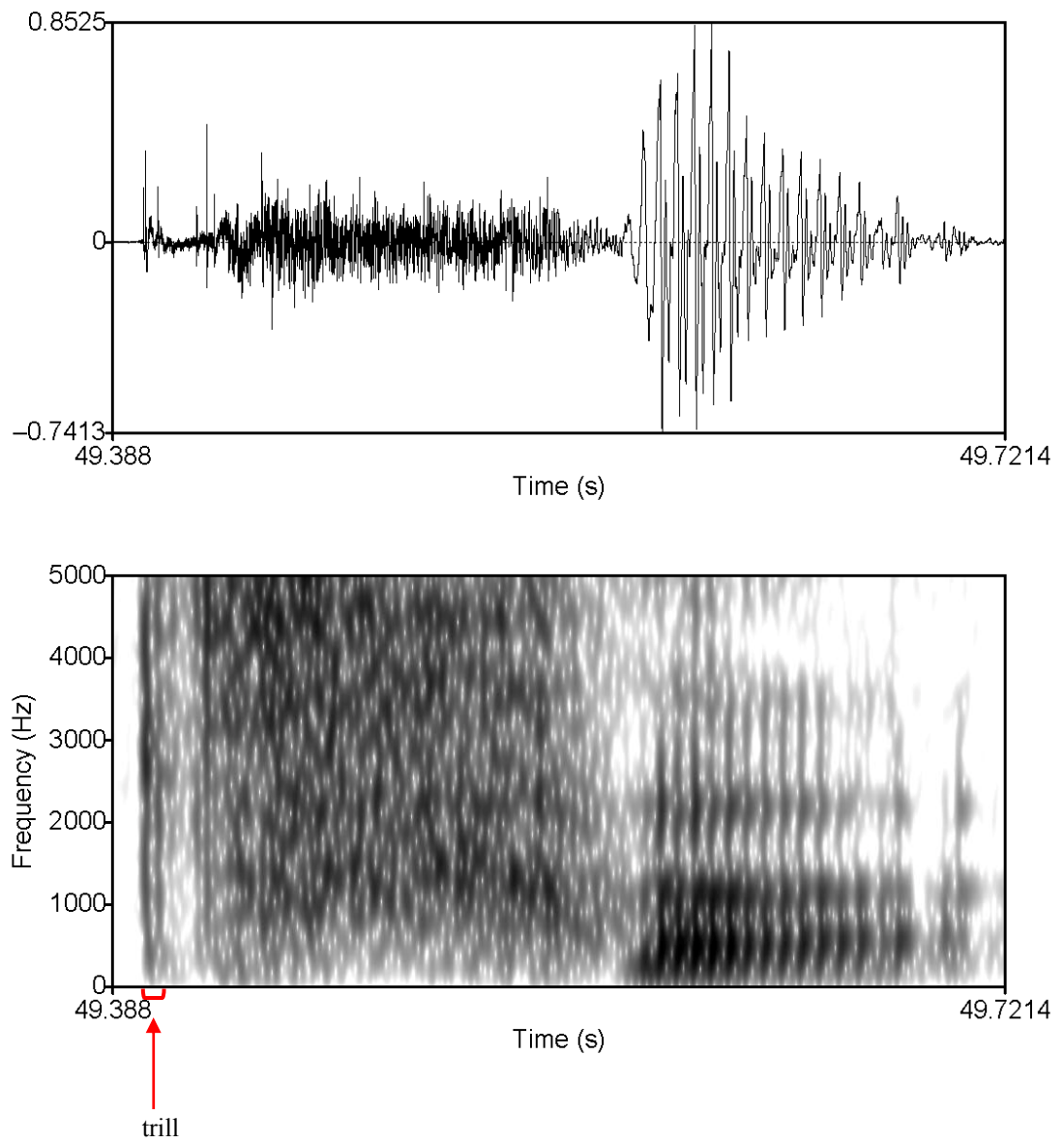


Figure 4.5 Waveform and spectrogram of $p^h u_{33}$ 'white' [$p^h u_{33}$]

4.3 ALVEOLARS

The alveolars /t^h, t, d, n, l/ have the retroflex allophones [t^ʰ, ṭ, ḍ, ṇ, ḷ]. These allophones occur preceding the [+high, +back] vowels /ʉ, u, ʏ/, as well as the [+low, -back] vowel /æ/, the mid back vowel /ɤ/, and the diphthongs /wɤ/ and /wæ/. The diphthongs pattern following the first vowel in the diphthong, which here is /u/.

$$(37) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /t^h/ \\ /t/ \\ /d/ \\ /n/ \\ /l/ \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [t^h] \\ [ṭ] \\ [ḍ] \\ [ṇ] \\ [ḷ] \end{array} \right\} / _ / ʉ, u, ʏ, ɤ, \text{æ}, wɤ, wæ/$$

$$[-\text{cont}, +\text{cor}, +\text{ant}, +\text{distr}] \rightarrow [-\text{ant}, -\text{distr}] / _ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{high}, + \text{back}] \\ [-\text{high}, -\text{low}, + \text{back},] \\ [+ \text{low}, -\text{back}] \end{array} \right\}$$

Michaud (2008) elevates the retroflex series to full phonemes, which has the advantage that the resulting phonemic inventory is more symmetrical. Although the alveolar series appear as their retroflex allophones in a large number of environments (five vowels and two diphthongs), despite my best efforts, I was not able to elicit any minimal pairs that would indicate that the two series are in contrastive distribution.

In Naxi, /t^h, t, d, nd, n, l/ becoming retroflex preceding the high back vowels /u/ and /ɯ/ and the mid back and central vowels /ə/ and /ɚ/ in Lijiang Naxi (He and Jiang 1985:7). For Na, Yang has /t^h, t, d, n, l/ becoming retroflex preceding /ɯ, æ, ə, ɚ, uæ, uæɚ/ (Yang 2009). Some of these differences can be accounted for by differences in the phonemic inventories: Lijiang Naxi has a prenasalized series that includes /nd/ and the YN Na spoken in Yang's natal village of Abuwa has significantly more rhotacization than that spoken in Luoshui. However, outside of these differences in phonemic inventory, it is clear that YN Na as spoken in Luoshui has adopted this rule of retroflexion with the widest variety of vowels.

When this phonological rule of retroflexion occurs preceding the high back unrounded vowel /ɯ/, a second phonological rule is induced. The high back unrounded vowel /ɯ/ appears as the retroflex vowel [ɿ] following retroflexes (see §4.7.2).

The following are examples of these retroflex stops in Na:

(38)	t ^h æ13	[t ^h æ13]	'bite'
	tæ13	[tæ13]	'shut'
	dæ13	[dæ13]	'through'
	bu33 nu33	[bɯ33 nɿ33]	'smell (v.)'
	bɔ31-lu13	[bɔ31-lɿ13]	'feed pigs'

The following examples show that retroflexion does not occur in the complementary environments of preceding /i, a, ə/. Neither the alveolars nor their retroflex allophones are attested preceding /ɛ/; the vowel /ɛ/ shows a number of natural gaps in its distribution (cf. §2.3.1.2, §4.7.3).

(39)	t ^h i13	[t ^h i13]	‘so’
	ti13	[ti13]	‘hit’
	di13	[di13]	‘follow; drive’
	ni13	[ni13]	‘near’
	li13	[li13]	‘tea’
	t ^h ɔ33 ɕu13	[t ^h ɔ33 ɕu13]	‘pine needles’
	tɔ31	[tɔ31]	ADESS
	dɔ33	[dɔ33]	‘should; can’
	nɔ33	[nɔ33]	2SG.PRO
	lɔ31	[lɔ31]	‘hand’
	t ^h a13	[t ^h a13]	‘sharp, pointy’
	ta31	[ta31]	‘just’
	da13	[da13]	‘sew, weave’
	na13	[na13]	‘the Na’
	la33	[la33]	‘tiger’

Figure 4.6 shows a waveform and spectrogram for [t^h]. One can see clearly the lowered F3 and F4 in the syllable preceding the retroflex initial. The lowering of F3 is due to the tongue curling found in retroflexion (Ladefoged 2003:167). Ladefoged does not correlate a lowered F4 with retroflexion; however, in the Na data, F4 clearly lowers in the syllable preceding a retroflex. Waveforms and spectrograms for [t], [d], [n], and [l] can be found in Appendix B.

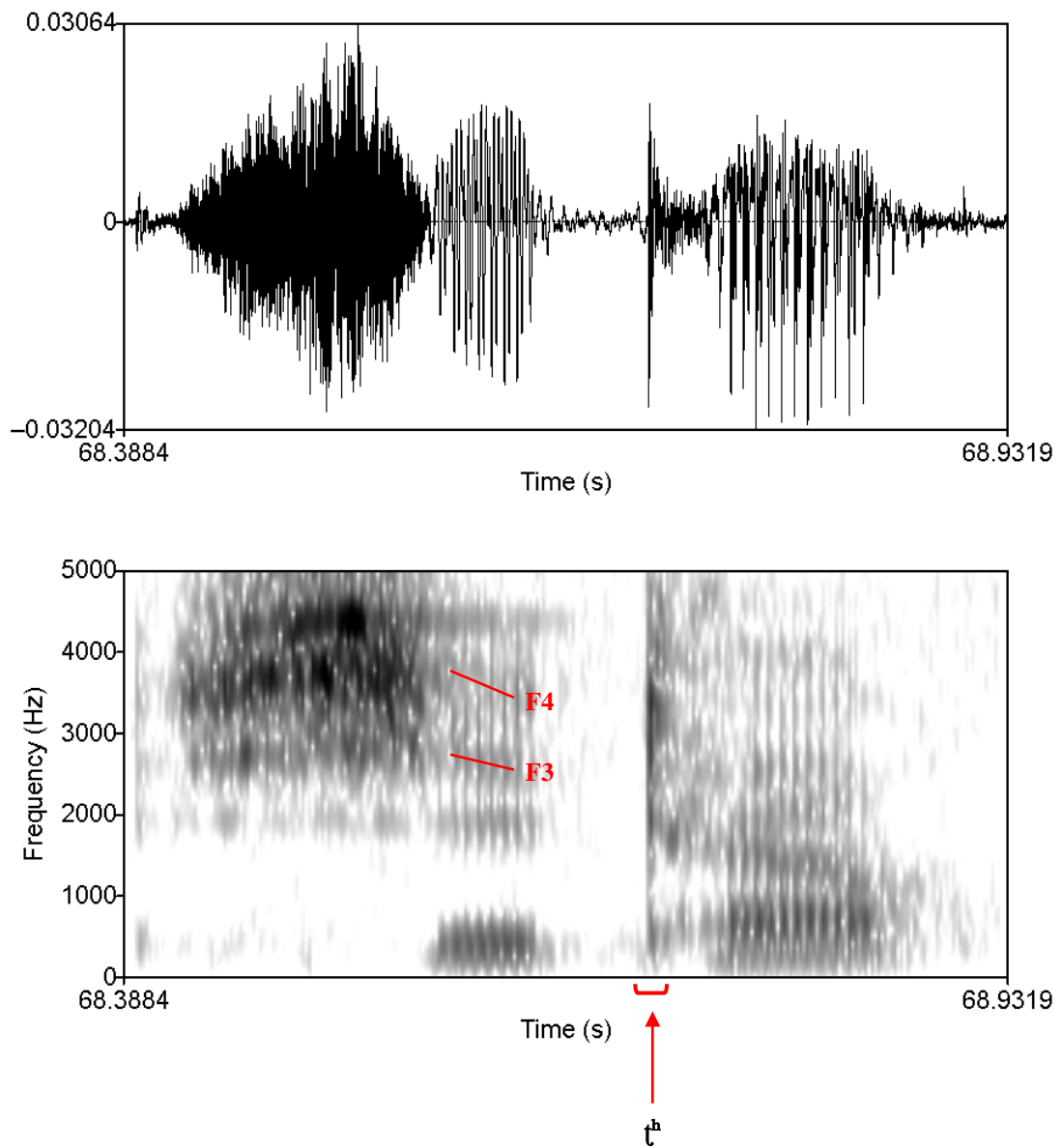


Figure 4.6 Waveform and spectrogram of $t^hæ33$ ‘under’ $[t^hæ33]$ with preceding syllable

4.4 PALATALS

The palatal nasal /ɲ/ has an allophone, the velar nasal [ŋ]. This allophone only occurs preceding the high back rounded vowel /u/, the high back vowel /ʊ/, the mid back unrounded vowel /ɤ/, and the diphthong /wɤ/, as diphthongs pattern following the first vowel in the sequence. There is a distribution gap in that neither the phoneme /ɲ/ nor the allophone [ŋ] occur with the high back unrounded vowel /u/ or the mid front unrounded vowel /ɛ/. Presumably, this phonological pattern would occur with all [+high, +back] vowels, but the distribution gap prevents this larger claim. The phonological process is an assimilation in which the nasal assimilates to the back place of articulation of the vowel.

$$(40) \quad /ɲ/ \rightarrow [ŋ] / _ / u, \upsilon, \text{ɤ}, w\text{ɤ} /$$

$$[+nas, +high, +cor] \rightarrow [+nas, +high, -cor] / _ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+high, +back] \\ \end{array} \right\}$$

Examples of the velar nasal appearing in the environment /ɲ/ → [ŋ] / _ / u, ʊ, ɤ, wɤ/ are given in (41).

(41)	ɲu33 ɲu33	[ŋu33 ɲu31]	‘to cry’
	ɲʏ33	[ŋʏ33]	‘silver’
	ɲɤ31 kɔ33	[ŋɤ31 kɔ33]	‘knee’
	ɲwɤ33 p ^h æ13	[ŋwɤ33-p ^h æ13]	‘roof tile’

The following examples show that the allophone [ŋ] does not appear in complementary environments: preceding /i, æ, a, ɔ/. Neither /ŋ/ nor [ŋ] are attested preceding /u, ε/; this is a natural gap in the distribution of this nasal.

(42)	ɲi33	[ɲi33]	‘day’
	ɲa31-q ^h æ33	[ɲæ31-q ^h æ33] *	‘eye sand’
	ɲa33	[ɲa33]	1SG.PRO
	ɲɔ13	[ɲɔ13]	‘milk’

* Note that the vowel [æ] in this example is due to vowel harmony.

4.5 VELARS

The uvular series /q, q^h, ɢ/ is phonemic, but clearly a secondary development. Historically, the velar stop series /k, k^h, g/ appeared as the uvular allophones [q, q^h, ɢ] preceding the low vowels /æ/ and /a/, but the uvular allophones have undergone reanalysis and emerged as phonemes in their own right (see §2.2.1.1.4). The velar stops do not appear preceding /æ/ and /a/, while they occur in most other environments; the uvular stops appear preceding /æ/ and /a/, but do not occur in most other environments. This can be seen in examples (43) and (44). One can see that the uvular series is in fact phonemic, as shown by the near minimal sextuplet in (45).

(43)	k ^h a33	[q ^h a33]	‘however many, several’
	ka33	[qa33]	‘thin’
	ga33	[ɢa33]	‘crotch, fork of legs’
	ɣa33	[ɣa33]	‘good, okay’

(44)	k ^h i33	[k ^h i33]	‘door’
	ki33	[ki33]	‘give; DAT’
	gi13	[gi13]	‘after’
	k ^h u31 ts ^h u13	[k ^h u31 ts ^h u13]	‘foot’
	ku31	[ku31]	‘hide’
	gu33	[gu33]	‘true, real’
	k ^h u13	[k ^h u13]	‘year’
	ku13	[ku13]	‘can; FUT’
	gu33	[gu33]	‘trough’
	k ^h ɣ33	[k ^h ɣ33]	‘horn (of animal)’
	lə33-ɣɣ33	[lə33-ɣɣ33]	‘swallow (v.)’
	kɣ33 tɕu31	[kɣ33 tɕu31]	‘moral lecture’
	gu31	[gu31]	‘above’
	k ^h ɔ13	[k ^h ɔ13]	‘peck’
	kɔ33 tɕæ13	[kɔ33 tɕæ13]	‘neck, throat’
	gɔ33	[gɔ33]	‘hurt’
	ɣu13	[ɣu13]	‘skin, hide’

(45)	k ^h wɣ33	CLS (piece, section)
	kwɣ33	CLS (strand)
	q ^h wɣ33	‘smart’
	qwɣ33	‘hearth’
	gwɣ33	‘to circle’
	gwɣ13	‘to grow’

Thus, historically there must have been a phonological rule such as (46). Now, however, the uvulars, with the exception of /ɣ/, have achieved phonemic status. The voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ has an allophone, the voiced uvular fricative [ɣ]. This allophone occurs preceding the low vowels /æ/ and /a/.

$$(46) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /k^h/ \\ /k/ \\ /g/ \\ /ŷ/ \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [q^h] \\ [q] \\ [G] \\ [ɣ] \end{array} \right\} / _ / \text{æ, a}/$$

[+high, +back, -son] → [-high] / _ [+low].

This analysis differs somewhat from Yang, who posits /k, k^h/ → [q, q^h] / _ / /a, æ, ə/ and /ŷ/ → [ɣ] preceding the low or back vowels /a, æ, o, u, ʏ, ə, ua/ for YN Na (Yang 2009). In his analysis, the uvulars are allophones, and the phonological rule includes the environment of preceding /ə/, as speakers from his village exhibit more rhotacization than do Luoshui villagers, for whom the rhotacized vowel is merely an allophone of /ə/ (see §4.7.4). In my data both velar and uvular stops are attested preceding the high back vowel /ŷ/ and the diphthongs /wɤ/ and /wæ/; it may be that this phonological rule has had a wider scope in Luoshui, as there is significant variation among Na villages. Additionally, in my data the uvular series includes /G/.

Three main characteristics distinguish the Na velar series from the uvular series. First, F2 remains steady preceding a velar, as in Figure 4.7, but lowers dramatically in the syllable preceding the uvular, as in Figure 4.8. Second, as observed by Cho, Ladefoged et al. (2001) for uvulars in Aleut, the uvular stops in Na exhibit significantly more noise following the burst than velars do. Third, the energy in the burst is centered much lower for uvulars than for velars (Cho, Ladefoged et al. 2001:245). As the uvulars show a dramatic fall for F2 in the syllable preceding the uvular stop, I have included the preceding syllable for comparison in the spectrograms of both the velars and the uvulars. Given that F2 generally is low in back vowels (Ladefoged 1993:196), it is not surprising that F2 would lower for uvulars, where place of articulation is, of course, back. Additional spectrograms for the full velar and uvular series are given in Appendix B.

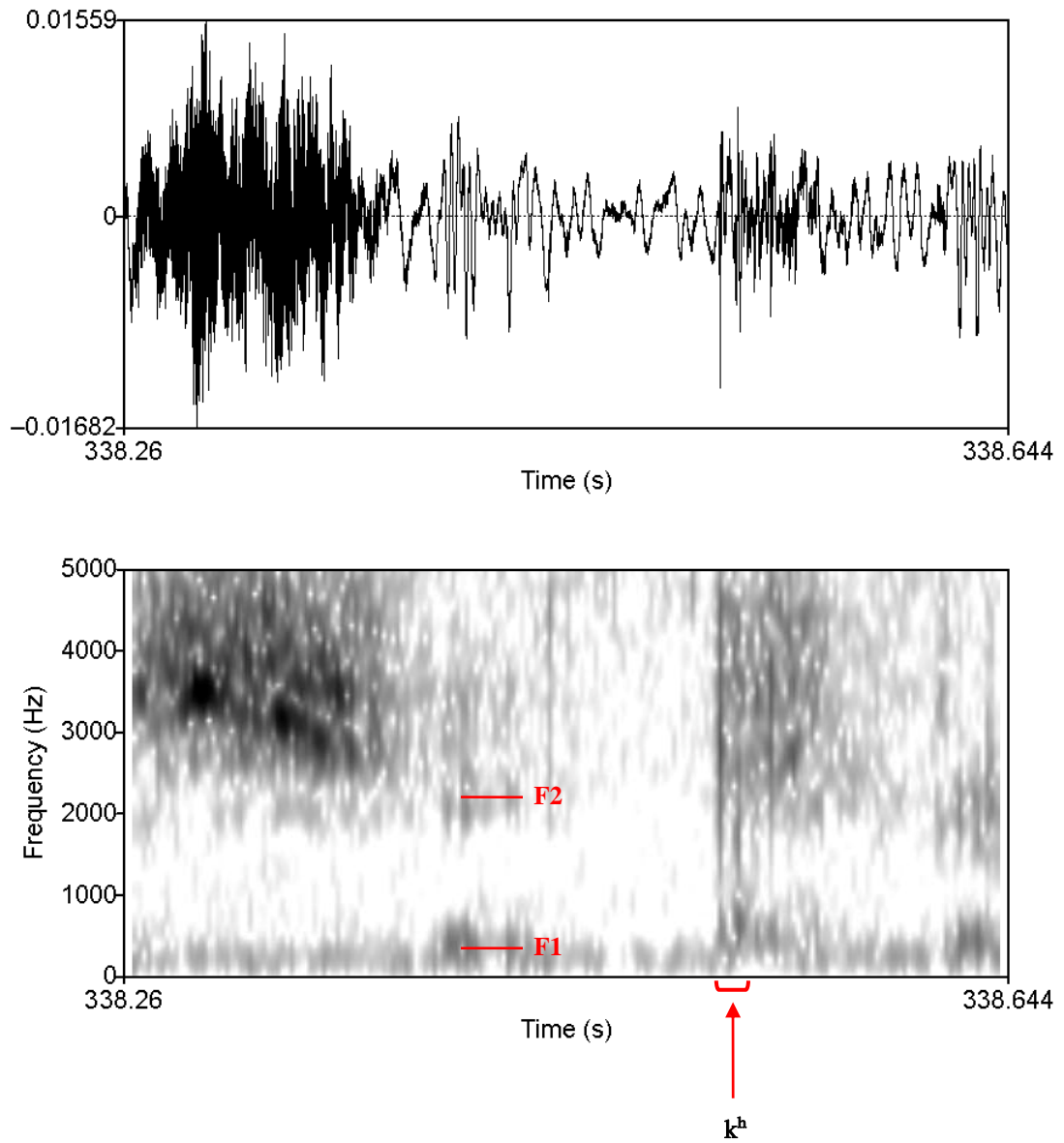


Figure 4.7 Waveform and spectrogram of çi13-kʰi33 ‘lakeside’ [çi13-kʰi33]

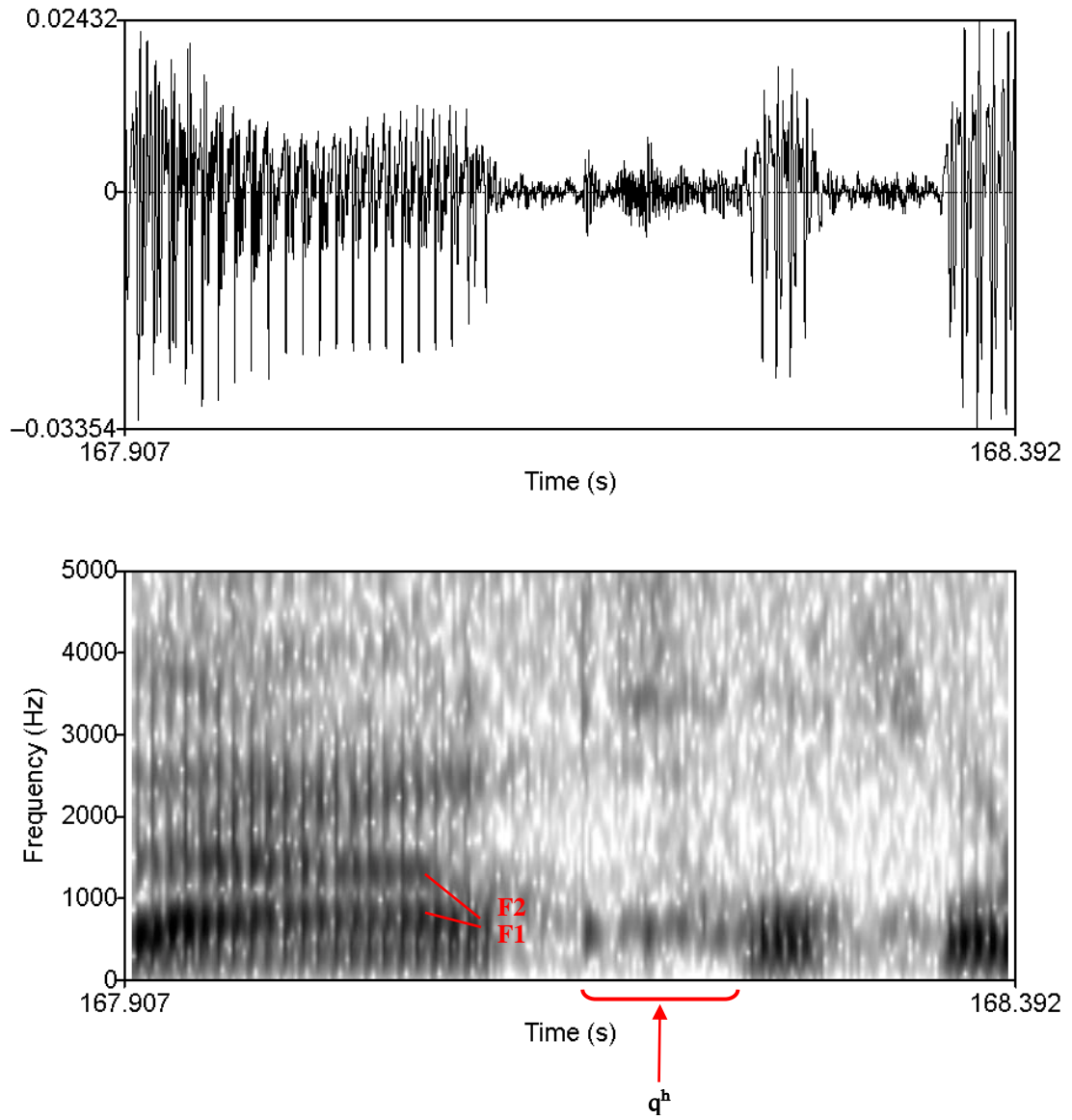


Figure 4.8 Waveform and spectrogram of $\text{ʔæ̃}_{31}\text{-q}^{\text{h}}\text{ɤ}_{33}$ kwɔ₃₃ ‘in the cave’ [$\text{ʔæ̃}_{31}\text{-q}^{\text{h}}\text{ɤ}_{33}$ kwɔ₃₃]

4.6 NO NULL ONSET

Null onset is not attested in Na. A glottal stop appears before any vowel that would otherwise be syllable-initial. The mid vowels /ɛ, ɤ, ɔ/ and the low vowels /æ, a/ appear with a glottal stop as onset. In (47), the vowels for the kinship terms vary through vowel harmony. A spectrogram and waveform showing the glottal stop onset is given in Figure 4.9; spectrograms for glottal stop onsets preceding other vowels are given in Appendix B. The mid back vowel /ɤ/ appears as the allophone [ɔ̥] when it appears syllabically. [ɔ̥] is unusual in that it commonly undergoes liaison with the vowel of the previous syllable; it is only when [ɔ̥] appears as the second syllable in a bisyllabic word that the glottal stop appears preceding it, as in the word *su33 ɔ̥33* [su33 ʔɔ̥33] ‘pearl.’ The high vowels /i, u, ɯ, ʏ/ are attested neither syllable-initially nor with a glottal stop as onset.

This analysis is consistent with Fu’s findings on Weixi Naxi. Fu finds no null onset in Weixi Naxi: a glottal stop precedes any vowel in an otherwise onsetless syllable (Fu 1940/1941:411). Yang in his thumbnail sketch of YN Na, finds that only the low front vowel /æ/ appears with a glottal stop as onset, other vowels can appear syllable-initially. For Lijiang Naxi, He and Jiang find that when /æ/, /o/, /a/, or /ɔ̥/ appear as a syllable, if the syllable has a low falling tone, then the vowel is preceded by [ʔh] or [h]; if the syllable has any other tone, the vowel is preceded by a glottal stop (He and Jiang 1985:7-8). This is not the case for YN Na, as can be seen in the spectrogram for [æ31 yi33 ʂe33] ‘long, long ago’ (Figure 4.10), where /æ/ with a low falling tone appears with a glottal stop, not [ʔh] or [h], as onset.

(47)	ɑ33 tɕi31	[ʔɛ33 tɕi31]	‘aunt’
	ɑ33 mi33	[ʔæ33 mi33]	‘mother’
	ɑ33 su33	[ʔə33 su33]	‘great grandmother, great grandfather’
	su33 ə33	[su33 ʔə33]	‘pearl’
	ɔ̃33	[ʔɔ̃33]	‘bone’
	ɑ33 da33	[ʔɑ33 da33]	‘father’

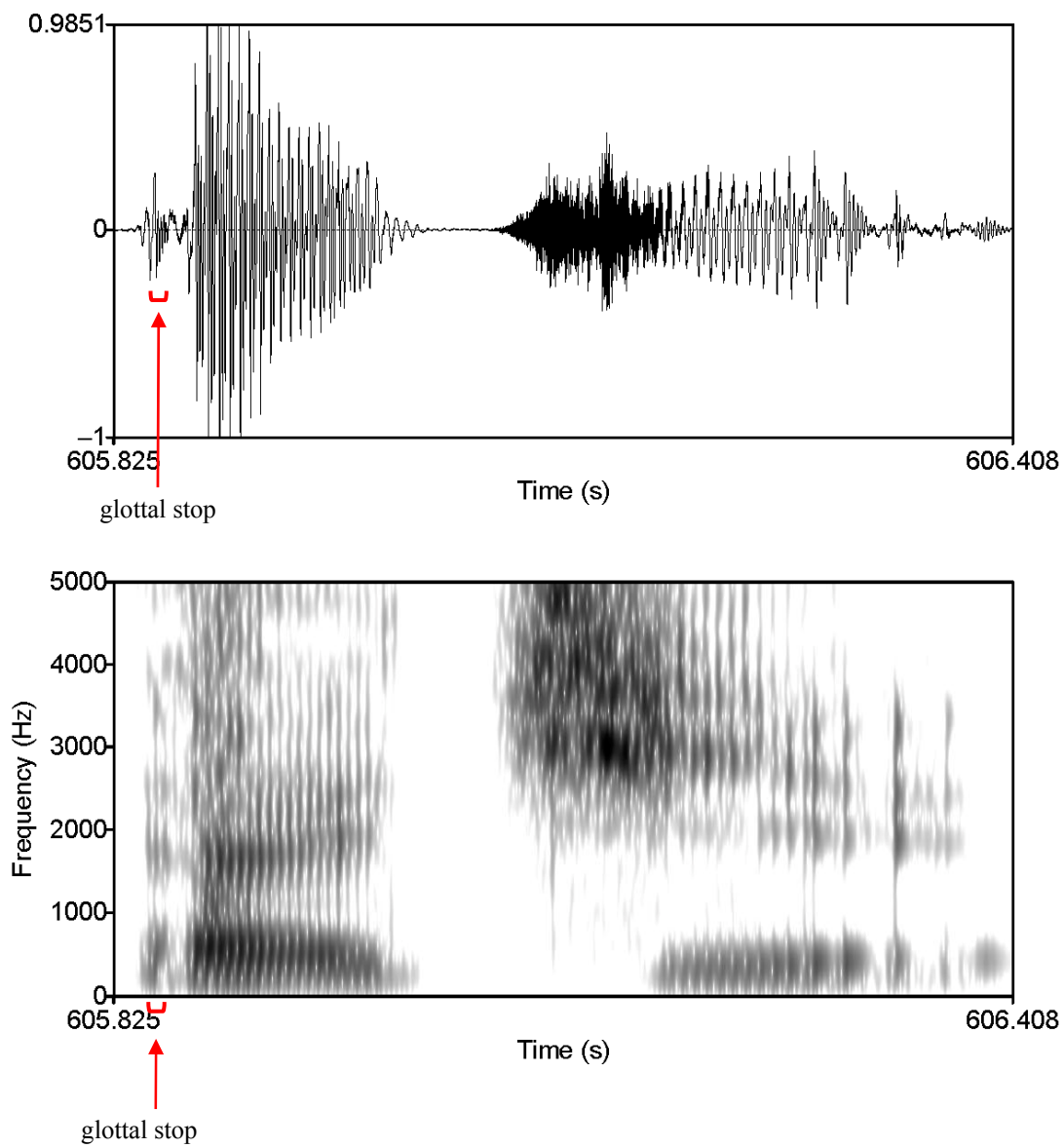


Figure 4.9 Waveform and spectrogram of α_{33} - $t\epsilon i_{31}$ 'aunt' [$\text{?}\epsilon_{33}$ - $t\epsilon i_{31}$]

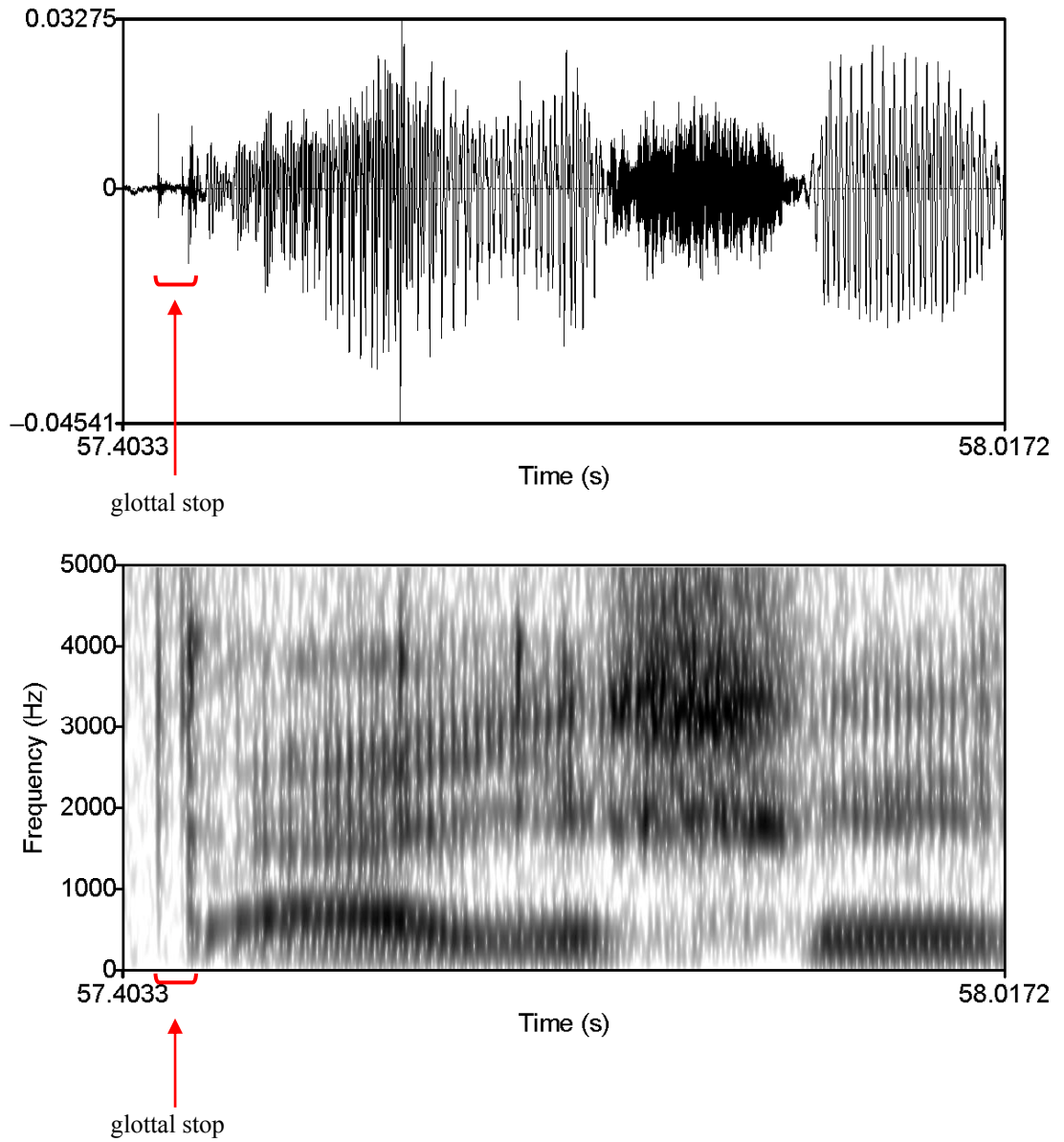


Figure 4.10 Waveform and spectrogram where /æ/ takes a low falling tone: α_{31} yi_{33} ʂe_{33} 'long, long ago' [$\text{ʔ}\alpha_{31}$ yi_{33} ʂe_{33}]

4.7 OVERVIEW OF VOWEL SOUND PATTERNS

The sibilants /s, z, ts^h, ts, dz, ʃ, z̥, tʃ^h, tʃ, dz/ are highly reactive with vowels in Na. For the [+high, -lab] vowels /i/ and /u/, when /i/ appears with the alveolar sibilants, the vowel appears as the apical [z̥]; when /u/ appears with the retroflex sibilants, the vowel appears as the retroflex [ɨ] (it also appears as the retroflex following the allophones [t^h, t, d, n, l]). When the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ appear with any of the sibilants, they raise to [e] and [o], respectively. This fits with the analysis that /e/ and /o/ are secondary in many of the Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff 2003b:202).

4.7.1 The high front unrounded vowel /i/

The close front unrounded vowel /i/ has an allophone, the apical [z̥]. This allophone appears following the apical sounds /s, z, ts^h, ts, dz/ through a process of assimilation. A spectrogram and waveform of the apical is given in Figure 4.11.

(48) /i/ → [z̥] / /s, z, ts^h, ts, dz/ __

[+high, -back, -lab] → [+cons, -son, +cor] / [+cor, +ant, -constr] __¹

Examples of the apical are given in (49).

¹ The vowel assimilates the coronal features of the preceding consonant, although this is difficult to represent in this notation.

(49)	si33 [sɿ33]	‘know (someone)’
	bɔ31 si33 pu31 [bɔ31 sɿ33 pu31]	‘urinary bladder’
	bi33 zi33 [bi33 zɿ33]	‘belly, abdomen’
	ʃ31 zi13 [ʃ31 zɿ13]	‘turquoise (stone)’
	gi31 zi33 [gi31 zɿ33]	‘younger brother; younger male cousin’
	my31 zi13 [my31 zɿ13]	‘oats’
	æ̃31 k ^h u33 ts ^h i31 [æ̃31 k ^h u33 ts ^h z31]	‘pinky finger’
	mu33 tsi33 [mu33 tsz33]	‘moustache; beard’
	ɲa33 tsi31 [ɲa33 tsz31]	‘eyes and eyebrows’
	dzi33 [dzz33]	‘to eat’

/i/ does not appear as the apical [z] in complementary environments, as can be seen in (50).

(50)	p ^h i33 [p ^h i33]	‘hemp cloth’
	pi33 [pi33]	quot
	bi33 [bi33]	‘go; FUT’
	di33 [di33]	‘land, earth’
	k ^h i33 [k ^h i33]	‘door’
	ki33 [ki33]	‘give; DAT’
	gi13 [gi13]	‘after’
	a33-mi33 [æ33-mi33]	‘mother’
	ni13 [ni13]	‘near’
	ɲi33[ɲi33]	‘day’
	hī33 [hī33]	‘person’
	tɕ ^h i33 [tɕ ^h i33]	‘sell’
	tɕi33 [tɕi33]	‘cloud’
	dzi33 [dzi33]	‘water’
	ɕi33 [ɕi33]	‘rainwater’
	zi13 [zi13]	‘monkey’
	li13 [li13]	‘tea’
	ɬi33 [ɬi33]	‘rest’
	yi33 [yi33]	‘cow (generic)’

Note that in Naxi, the apical [z] is analyzed as an allophone of /u/, where /u/ corresponds to the vowel which I have transcribed as /u/. Such an analysis would also be possible for Na (cf. Michaud 2008).

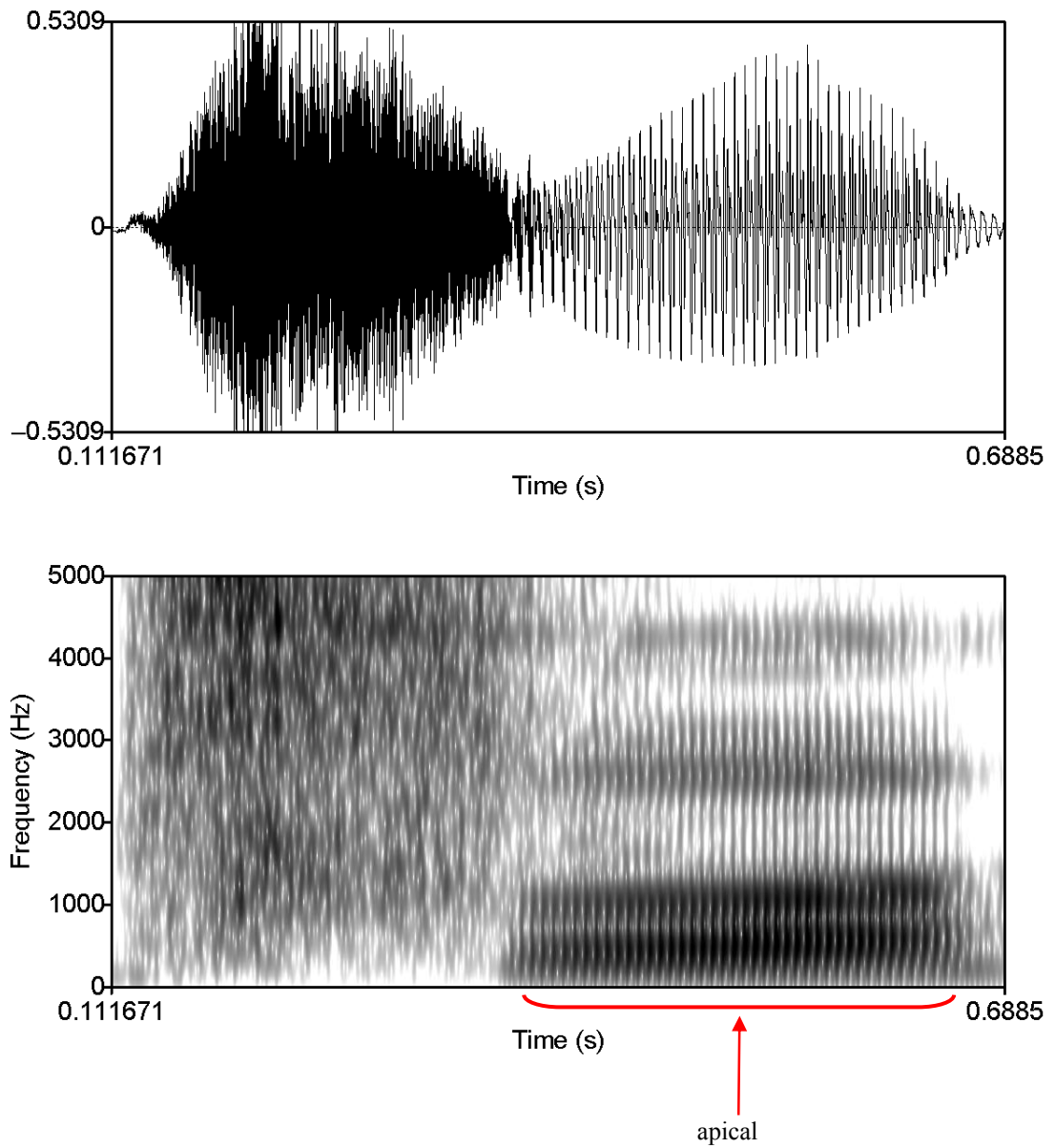


Figure 4.11 Waveform and spectrogram of si33 'know (someone)' [sz33]

4.7.2 The close back unrounded vowel /ɯ/

The close back unrounded vowel /ɯ/ has an allophone, the syllabic retroflex [ɰ]. This allophone only occurs following the retroflex phonemes /ʂ, z, tʂ^h, tʂ, dz/, and the retroflex allophones [t^h, t, d, n, l] in a process of assimilation.

(51) /ɯ/ → [ɰ] / /ʂ, z, tʂ^h, tʂ, dz/, [t^h, t, d, n, l] __

So, [+high, +back, -lab] → [+cons] / [+cor, -ant, -distr] __²

The following are examples of the retroflex vowel in Na:

(52)	ɕi31 ʂu13 [ɕi31 ʂɰ13]	‘to smile’	tʂu13 [tʂɰ13]	‘paw’
	ʂu33 [ʂɰ33]	‘to die’	dzɰ31 [dzɰ31]	‘loss’
	zɰ13 [zɰ13]	‘saliva’	t ^h u33 [t ^h ɰ33]	3SG.PRO
	zɰ33 [zɰ33]	family (n., CLS)	du33 [dɰ33]	‘one’
	ku31 tʂu33 [ku31 tʂɰ33]	‘silk’	nu33 [nɰ33]	‘from’
	kɻ33 tʂu31 [kɻ33 tʂɰ31]	‘moral lecture’	su33 lu33 [su33 ɰ33]	‘wood, log’

The following examples illustrate that the syllabic retroflex does not appear in complementary environments.

(53)	p ^h u33 [p ^h u33]	‘white’	k ^h u31 ts ^h u13 [k ^h u31 ts ^h u13]	‘foot’
	pu13 [pu13]	‘take out’	ku31 [ku31]	‘hide’
	bu33 [bu33]	‘sprinkle’	gu33 [gu33]	‘true, real’
	mu31 qæ33 [mu31 qæ33]	‘castrate (an animal)’	ɣu33 [ɣu33]	‘skin, hide’

² The vowel assimilates the coronal features of the preceding consonant, although this is difficult to represent in this notation.

4.7.3 Mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/

The open-mid front unrounded vowel /ɛ/ has an allophone, the close-mid front unrounded tense vowel [e]. This allophone only occurs following the apical sounds /s, z, ts^h, ts, dz/, and the retroflex sounds /ʂ, ʐ, tʂ^h, tʂ, dz/.

- (54) /ɛ/ → [e] / /s, z, ts^h, ts, dz, ʂ, ʐ, tʂ^h, tʂ, dz/ ___
 [-high, -low, -tense, -back, -lab] → [+tense] / { [+cor, +ant, -constr] } ___
 { [+cor, -ant, -distr] }

Examples of the allophone [e] are given in (55).

- | | | | | |
|------|---|--------------|---------------|---------|
| (55) | ʂɛ13 [ʂe13] | ‘metal’ | dze33 [dze33] | ‘sugar’ |
| | ʂɛ33 [ʂe33] | ‘to go’ | zɛ33 [ze33] | ‘arrow’ |
| | ze33 [ze33] | PERF/CRS/CSM | dʒɛ33 [dʒe33] | ‘money’ |
| | ts ^h ɛ33 [ts ^h e33] | ‘ten’ | | |
| | tɕɛ13 [tɕe13] | ‘float’ | | |

The following examples illustrate that the allophone [e] does not appear in complementary environments.

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (56) | pɛ31 [pe31] | ‘then’ |
| | ɛ33 k ^h ʉ31 [ʔɛ33 k ^h ʉ31] | ‘turnip’ |
| | lə33- [le33-] | ACCOMP- (occurs through vowel harmony) |
| | ɲɔ13-kɛ33 [ɲɔ13-kɛ33] | ‘wean’ |
| | sɔ31-yɛ33 [so31-yɛ33] | ‘next year’ |

Note that this pattern is the opposite of what Yang finds for the language as spoken in his village of Abuwa (阿布瓦). Yang has [ɛ] as an allophone of /e/, in the environment where the sound follows /s, z, ts^h, ts, dz, tɕ^h, tɕ, dz, ʂ, z/ (Yang 2009). In my data based on the language as spoken in the village of Luoshui, /e/ occurs in all environments except following the apical sounds /s, z, ts^h, ts, dz/ and the retroflex sounds /ʂ, z, tɕ^h, tɕ, dz/, where the [+tense] allophone [e] appears. For Lijiang Naxi, He and Jiang analyze [ɛ] as an allophone of /e/, that occurs when it follows bilabials and central apicals /p^h, p, b, mb, m, t^h, t, d, n, l/ (He and Jiang 1985:9–10).

- (57) /ɔ/ → [o] / /s, z, ts^h, ts, dz, ʂ, z, tɕ^h, tɕ, dz/ ___
 [-high, -low, -tense, +back, +lab] → [+tense] / { [+cor, +ant, -constr] } ___
 { [+cor, -ant, -distr] }

Examples of the allophone [o] are given in (58).

- (58) sɔ31 ni33 [so31 ni33] ‘tomorrow’
 ts^hɔ31 du33 lu33 yi33 zɔ33 [ts^hɔ31 dɿ33 [u33 yi33 zɔ33] ‘Tsodeluyizo (name)’
 ɑ33 tsɔ33 [ɑ33 tso33] ‘what, whatever’
 zɔ13 [zɔ13] ‘lunch’

The following examples illustrate that the allophone [o] does not appear in complementary environments.

- | | | | | |
|------|---|----------------|-------------|---------------------|
| (59) | p ^h ɔ33 [p ^h ɔ33] | ‘escape’ | mɔ13 [mɔ13] | ‘elder’ |
| | pɔ13 [pɔ13] | ‘take; INSTR’ | nɔ33 [nɔ33] | 2SG.PRO |
| | bɔ13 [bɔ13] | ‘pig’ | ɲɔ13 [ɲɔ13] | ‘milk’ |
| | t ^h ɔ33 ʂu13 [t ^h ɔ33 ʂu13] | ‘pine needles’ | lɔ31 [lɔ31] | ‘hand’ |
| | tɔ31 [tɔ31] | ADESS | ʈɔ13 [ʈɔ13] | ‘dark, deep’ |
| | dɔ33 [dɔ33] | ‘should; can’ | wɔ13 [wɔ13] | ‘needle’ |
| | k ^h ɔ13 [k ^h ɔ13] | ‘peck’ | yɔ33 [yɔ33] | ‘right (direction)’ |
| | kɔ33 tɕæ13 [kɔ33 tɕæ13] | ‘neck, throat’ | hɔ33 [hɔ33] | ‘can; FUT’ |
| | gɔ33 [gɔ33] | ‘hurt’ | | |

This mid back round vowel follows the same pattern of appearing as [+tense] following a sibilant as the mid front unrounded vowel /ɛ/. However, the pattern is not as strong as that for /ɛ/, and many vowel tokens hover in the area just between [ɔ] and [o]. Additionally, vowel harmony may take precedence over this phonological rule: for instance, in what one might expect to appear as [zɔ31 no33] ‘now,’ the /ɔ/ raises to [o] in harmony with V₁.

4.7.4 Mid vowel /ɤ/

The phoneme /ɤ/, which phonetically is [ə] but is represented as /ɤ/ because it is a full vowel, appears as the allophone [ɤ̃], a mid central unrounded vowel with rhotacization when it occurs without an initial. The examples in (60) show the appearance of this allophone.

(60)	ɤ13 [ɤ̃13]	‘family’
	bu31 ɤ33 [bu31 ɤ̃33]	‘fly (n.)’
	dzi33-na31-hwɔ33 ɤ33 [dzi33-na31-hwɔ33 ɤ̃33]	‘whirlpool’
	ɤ33 [ɤ̃33]	‘to wash’
	ɤ33-q ^h ɤ33 [ɤ̃33-q ^h ɤ33]	‘hot springs’
	k ^h wæ33 ɤ33 [k ^h wæ33 ɤ̃33]	‘cloth floor covering’
	ɤa33 ɤ33 [ɤ̃a33 ɤ̃33]	‘embarrassing’
	su33 ɤ33 [su33 ɤ̃33]	‘pearl’
	t ^h a33 nu33 ɤ33 [t ^h a33 nu33 ɤ̃33]	‘definitely’
	tɕ ^h u ɤ33 [tɕ ^h u ɤ̃33]	‘ant’

4.7.5 Diphthongization

The mid front unrounded vowel /ɛ/ rises to [e] following sibilants (see §4.7.3), and sometimes raises even further in a diphthong-like way to [ei], as can be seen in the examples in (61). This tendency towards diphthongization is just that—a tendency, and not a phonological process. There is no phonological conditioning that triggers diphthongization rather than raising to [e]. The diphthongization likely is an overshoot phenomenon.

This tendency towards diphthongization is additional evidence supporting the analysis presented in §4.7.3 that /ɛ/ is the phoneme and [e] an allophone that appears following sibilants, rather than /e/ being the phoneme and [ɛ].

- (61)
- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| dʒɛ33 pɣ31 ‘swallow (n.)’ appears as | [dʒej33 pɣ31] |
| bɔ31 zɛ55 ‘very fat pig, ready to be slaughtered’ appears as | [bɔ31 zɛj55] |
| dʒɛ33 wɣ33 ‘wealth’ appears as | [dʒej33 wɣ33] |
| du33 du33 tɛ33 ‘one handspan’ appears as | [du33 du33 tej33] |
| gu31-tɛ33 ‘to stand up’ appears as | [gu31-tej33] |

4.7.6 Vowel harmony

Na has prolific vowel harmony. Na vowel harmony is regressive, with a target vowel harmonizing to a trigger vowel found in the ensuing syllable. The most basic distinction for Na vowel harmony is front/back, with specific allomorphs assigned fairly idiosyncratically at the lexical level. There are a few cases where vowels harmonize based on height, but for the most part, the morphing vowel does not cross height levels during vowel harmony.

Vowel harmony primarily works on function affixes and function words, such as the vocative/kinship prefix a_{33} -, the QW prefix a_{33} -, the NEG- marker $m\text{ə}_{33}$ -, the PERF/CRS/CSM marker $z\text{ɛ}_{33}$, the ACCOMP- marker $l\text{ə}_{33}$ -, and the DUR- marker $t^h\text{u}_{33}$ -. However, vowel harmony also operates on free morphemes in compounds, as in the compound $m\check{y}_{33}$ ‘sky’ + $w\text{ə}_{33}$ ‘above,’ which undergoes vowel harmony and appears as $m\text{ə}_{33}$ - $w\text{ə}_{33}$ ‘heavens.’ The various compounds with the word pa_{33} ‘eye’ also illustrate that vowel harmony can occur in compounds with free morphemes: for example, pa_{33} ‘eye’ + $t\text{æ}_{33}$ ‘horizontal’ + mi_{33} ‘woman’ undergoes vowel harmony and appears as $\text{p}\text{æ}_{33}$ - $t\text{æ}_{33}$ - mi_{33} ‘horizontal-eyed woman.’ This latter example also shows that vowel harmony is fairly productive in Na, as $\text{p}\text{æ}_{33}$ - $t\text{æ}_{33}$ - mi_{33} ‘horizontal-eyed woman’ is not a common lexical item, but instead is found in the mythological tale of Tsodeluyizo (see narrative text, *Tsodeluyizo*).

4.7.6.1 Vowel harmony in kinship terms with the vocative/kinship prefix a_{33} -

The nucleus of the vocative/kinship prefix a_{33} - [$?a_{33}$] harmonizes with the nucleus of the following syllable according to degree of backness—front, central-back, or back.

1. The allomorph a_{33} - appears with the back vowels /u, ʏ, ɔ, a/.
2. The allomorphs æ_{33} - and ɛ_{33} - appear with the high front vowel /i/.
3. The allomorph ə_{33} - appears with the high back vowels /u, ʏ/ which are phonetically fairly central, and sometimes with /ɣ/.

Although most vowel harmony in Na shows only a two-way front/back distinction, this prefix shows a more complex three-way distinction, having front, central-back, and back allomorphs.

Examples showing the distribution of these allomorphs are given in (62).

- (62) α_{33} - μ_{33} ‘older sibling’
 α_{33} - $p^h\gamma_{33}$ ‘grandfather’
 α_{33} - $m\alpha_{33}$ ‘grandmother’
 α_{33} - $p\alpha_{31}$ ‘uncle’
 α_{33} - $d\alpha_{33}$ ‘father’
 α_{33} - $l\alpha_{31}$ ‘great great grandparents’
 α_{33} - $m\alpha_{33}$ ‘mother, aunt’
- α_{33} - $m\epsilon_{33}$ ‘mother, aunt’ (also ϵ_{33} - $m\epsilon_{33}$ in some areas)
 ϵ_{33} - $t\epsilon_{31}$ ‘aunt’ (shortened form of α_{33} - $m\epsilon_{33}$ - $t\epsilon_{31}$, where $t\epsilon_{31}$ means ‘small, younger.’)
- α_{33} - $s\omega_{33}$ ‘great grandparents’
 α_{33} - $z\omega_{33}$ ‘grandmother’
 α_{33} - $\text{ɕ}\alpha_{13}$ ‘girlfriend (impolite term)’
 α_{33} - $\gamma\alpha_{33}$ ‘uncle’
 α_{33} - $d\gamma_{33}$ ‘friend’

We can make some additional observations from these data. First, the vowel harmony is particularly clear when one compares the two words for mother: α_{33} - $m\alpha_{33}$ and α_{33} - $m\epsilon_{33}$. Second, the high back ultra-closed vowel / γ / appears with the α_{33} -allomorph in α_{33} - $p^h\gamma_{33}$ ‘grandfather’ and the α_{33} -allomorph in α_{33} - $\gamma\alpha_{33}$ ‘uncle’ and α_{33} - $d\gamma_{33}$ ‘friend.’ Third, α_{33} - $\text{ɕ}\alpha_{13}$ ‘girlfriend’ occurs with the central-back allomorph α_{33} -. This is further evidence for analyzing the sequence / $\text{ɕ}\alpha_{13}$ / as such, rather than as / $\text{ɕ}\alpha_{13}$ /: if the final were in fact / $\text{ɕ}\alpha_{13}$ /, the vocative/kinship allomorph would presumably appear as a front allomorph, / α_{33} / or / ϵ_{33} /.

4.7.6.2 *Vowel harmony in question words with the question word prefix a33-*

The question word prefix a33- has two allomorphs, the front allomorph æ33- and the back allomorph a33-. When a33- prefixes to a morpheme with a back vowel, the prefix appears as the back allomorph a33-. This can be seen in the word a33-tsɔ33 ‘what’ in example (63). When a33- prefixes to a morpheme with a front vowel, regressive assimilation occurs, and the front allomorph æ33- appears. This can be seen in the words æ33-ts^hɛ33 ‘what’ and æ33-yi33 ‘perhaps, maybe’ in example (63). Note that despite their near synonymy, a33-tsɔ33 ‘what’ and æ33-ts^hɛ33 ‘what, how’ are in fact distinct lexical items: the initial in the second syllable of the latter is aspirated.

(63) a33-tsɔ33 ‘what’

æ33-ts^hɛ33 ‘what, how’

æ33-yi33 ‘perhaps, maybe’ (a33- QW + yi33 ‘can’)

4.7.6.3 *Vowel harmony with the NEG-marker mə33-*

The negative prefix mə33- has four allomorphs, the front allomorph mæ33-, the central allomorph mə33-, the back allomorph ma33-, and the high back rounded allomorph mɔ33-. The most basic distinction is front/back: when mə33- appears with a back vowel, the prefix appears as the back allomorph ma33-, but when mə33- appears with a front vowel, the prefix appears as the front allomorph mæ33-. This is exemplified in (64).

(64) ma33-t^ha33 ‘can’t tolerate’

mæ33-si33 ‘do not know’

Adjacent to mid or high back rounded vowels, mə33- NEG- may idiosyncratically show height harmony, as attested in the following examples given in (65).

- (65) mɔ33-fu33 ‘unhappy’
 mɔ33-zɔ33 ‘no use’

However, the magnetic pull of vowel harmony is weak with the mid and high back rounded vowels, and these vowels often remain opaque to vowel harmony, as can be seen in (66).

- (66) mɔ33-ku13 ‘impossible’
 mɔ33-mu13 ‘unripe’
 mɔ33-tɕ^hwɔ33 ‘do not permit’
 mɔ33-hwæ33 ‘uncomfortable’
 mɔ33-my33-hi33 ‘deaf’
 mɔ33-tɔ33-hi33 ‘blind’
 mɔ33-hɔ31 ‘incorrect’

4.7.6.4 *Vowel harmony with the ACCOMP-marker lɔ33-*

The ACCOMP- prefix lɔ33- is unusual in Na. It harmonizes based on height, rather than based on front/back, the fundamental distinction found in Na vowel harmony. The ACCOMP- prefix lɔ33- has three allomorphs, the low allomorph læ33-, the raised allomorph lɛ33-, and the mid allomorph lɔ33-. We can see clearly that the front/back distinction is not relevant to vowel harmony with the ACCOMP- prefix lɔ33-: there is no back allomorph lɑ33-, although this is a phonologically possible word—lɑ33 means ‘tiger.’

The prefix appears as the allomorph læ33- when it attaches to a morpheme with the low vowels /æ/ and /a/, as can be seen in examples (67) and (68).

- (67) læ33-bæ33 ‘row’
 læ33-hæ13 ‘cut off’
 læ33-mæ33 ‘be born’
 læ33-næ13 ‘submerge’
 læ33-qæ13 ‘burn up’
 læ33-wæ13 ‘call up’

- (68) lə33-ba33 ‘open up’
lə33-da31 ‘cut down’

When lə33- prefixes to a morpheme with the apical, the prefix appears as the allomorph lə33-; this can be seen in example (69).

- (69) lə33-dzi33 [lə33-dzɹ33] ‘eat up’
lə33-si33-si33 [lə33-sɹ33-sɹ33] ‘meet each other’

When lə33- prefixes to a morpheme with a high vowel, it appears as the raised allomorph lɛ33-, as can be seen in the examples shown in (70).

- (70) lɛ33-ni33 zɛ33 ‘be full’
lɛ33-ɣu33 ‘die’
lɛ33-ɣu33 du33-hi33 ‘thoughts’
lɛ33-zwɹ33-hi33 ‘words’
lɛ33-mɣ33 ‘hear’

When lə33- prefixes to a morpheme with a mid vowel, it appears as the mid allomorph lə33-, as can be seen in the examples shown in (71).

- (71) lə33-sɛ33 ‘finish’
lə33-sɛ33 ‘walk’
lə33-pɹ33-pɹ33 ‘carry on one’s back’
lə33-pɔ13 ‘take’
lə33-tɔ33 ‘see, look’
lə33-wɔ13 ‘return’

4.7.6.5 Vowel harmony with the DUR-prefix t^hu33-

High vowels undergo vowel harmony very rarely. t^hu33- DUR- is attested undergoing vowel harmony, as can be seen in example (72) where the high back unrounded vowel /u/ of t^hu33- DUR- harmonizes to the high front unrounded vowel /i/ in li33 ‘see.’ However, note that no back allomorph (i.e., t^hu33-) is attested for the durative prefix.

(72)	t ^h i13	zɥæ33	qɥɣ33	bi13	pi33	t ^h i33-li33	lə33-ŋu33.
	so	horse	footprint	toward		DUR-see	ACCOMP-cry
	所以	马	脚印	对着		看	哭

So, seeing the hoofprint, she cried.
 所以看着马的脚印哭了。
 T:Gemu.39

One might argue instead that pi33 ‘toward’, which precedes the durative marker and also has a high front unrounded vowel, is inducing the vowel harmony in this example. However, pi33 is part of the phonological (and postpositional) phrase zɥæ33 qɥɣ33-bi13 pi33 ‘toward the footprint,’ and we would then have to account for the vowel harmony crossing the phonological phrase. By arguing that regressive vowel harmony is induced by the verb li33 ‘see,’ not only do we avoid positing vowel harmony across the phonological phrase, but we can also retain the economy of having only regressive vowel harmony, rather than both progressive and regressive vowel harmony.

4.7.6.6 Vowel harmony in compounds

ɲa13 ‘eye’ (appears as ɲa31 with the low falling tone in compounds) has two allomorphs: the back allomorph ɲa13, which occurs with the back vowels /u, ʏ, ɔ, a/, and the front allomorph ɲæ13, which occurs with the front vowels /i, æ/, as can be seen in example (73).

- (73) $\eta\alpha 31\text{-}l\upsilon 33$ ‘eye’ ($\eta\alpha 13$ ‘eye’ + $l\upsilon 33$ CLS)
 $\eta\alpha 31\text{-}l\upsilon 33$ $m\alpha 31\text{-}m\alpha 13$ ‘blink’
 $\eta\alpha 31\text{-}t\alpha 33$ ‘daylight’
 $\eta\alpha 31\text{-}n\alpha 33$ ‘pupil of the eye’
 $\eta\alpha 31\text{-}p^h\upsilon 33$ $\eta\alpha 31\text{-}n\alpha 31$ $di 31\text{-}di 13$ ‘to move one’s eyes wildly, as just before fainting’
- $\eta\alpha 31\text{-}q^h\alpha 33$ ‘eye sand’
 $\eta\alpha 31\text{-}b\alpha 33$ ‘tear’
 $\eta\alpha 31\text{-}t\alpha 33\text{-}mi 33$ ‘horizontal-eyed woman’
 $\eta\alpha 31\text{-}tsi 31$ ‘eyes and eyebrows; eyelash’

The distinction between the two allomorphs can be a little difficult to hear at times, because the back vowel /a/ picks up a little bit of palatization from the palatal nasal / η / and moves slightly forward; however, in careful speech, the two allomorphs $\eta\alpha 13$ and $\eta\alpha 13$ are clearly distinguished.

$\eta\alpha 31\text{-}l\upsilon 33$ $m\alpha 31\text{-}m\alpha 13$ ‘blink’ illustrates that the presence of a vowel which is not susceptible to vowel harmony (here, the high back vowel in the $l\upsilon 33$ CLS) serves to prevent $m\alpha 31$ $m\alpha 13$ from inducing vowel harmony in $\eta\alpha 13$. $\eta\alpha 31\text{-}p^h\upsilon 33$ $\eta\alpha 31\text{-}n\alpha 31$ $di 31\text{-}di 13$ ‘to move one’s eyes wildly, as just before fainting’ (where $\eta\alpha 31\text{-}p^h\upsilon 33$ means ‘white of the eye,’ $\eta\alpha 31\text{-}n\alpha 31$ means ‘pupil [lit. ‘eye black?’]’ and $di 31\text{-}di 13$ is a reduplicated verb indicating movement back and forth) is also an informative example. One might expect the second syllable of $\eta\alpha 31\text{-}n\alpha 31$, which directly precedes $di 31\text{-}di 13$, with the front vowel /i/, to undergo vowel harmony. However, it does not undergo vowel harmony. This shows that which morphemes undergo vowel harmony is selected at the lexical level; the selection is not by purely morphophonological criteria.

4.7.6.7 *Vowel harmony with the conjunction la33*

The conjunction la33 frequently forms a phonological phrase with the preceding word(s) due to the constituent order rules of Na, and in such cases, does not undergo vowel harmony. However, when it occurs preceding tʰæ13 ‘such’ in the expression læ33 tʰæ13 ‘and such,’ it appears as the front allomorph læ33 through regressive vowel harmony with the front vowel in tʰæ13 ‘and such.’ It also appears as the front allomorph læ33 when preceding hæ33 ‘gold’ in the expression ηʏ33 læ33 hæ33 ‘silver and gold.’

- (74) la33 ‘and; etc.’
læ33 tʰæ13 ‘and such’
ηʏ33 læ33 hæ33 ‘silver and gold’

4.7.6.8 *Vowel harmony showing complete assimilation*

One lexical item, mɔ33-wɔ33 ‘heavens,’ shows complete assimilation through vowel harmony. As shown in example (75), this word is compounded from two morphemes, mʏ33 ‘sky,’ and wɔ33 ‘above’ (grammaticalized from wɔ33 ‘head’). Na vowel harmony focuses on front/back as the fundamental distinction (although the ACCOMP-prefix la33- harmonizes based on height [see §4.7.6.4 above]); thus, there is no overt reason why mʏ33 should harmonize with wɔ33. It is probably because the ultra-closed /ʏ/ is phonetically a somewhat unstable vowel (cf. §2.3.1.1) that it completely assimilates to the vowel /ɔ/ in wɔ33 ‘head.’

- (75) mʏ33 ‘sky’
mɔ33-wɔ33 ‘heavens’ (mʏ ‘sky’ + wɔ33 ‘above’)

4.7.6.9 Textual examples

In example (76), extracted from a narrative text, there are four instances of regressive back/front vowel harmony. The PERF/CRS/CSM marker *zɛ33* appears with the back vowel as *zɔ33* through vowel harmony with the initial back vowel in *ɔ31-sɿ33 ku31* 1INC.PRO. This vowel harmony occurs across word boundaries. In the compound *æ31-yi33-ɕɛ33* ‘long, long ago,’ *æ31-yi33* is ‘last year’ and *-ɕɛ33* is a bound morpheme with no discernable meaning. The vowel *ɑ31* appears as the front vowel *æ31* through vowel harmony with the front vowel /i/ in *yi33*. In the expression *læ33 tʰæ13* ‘and such,’ the conjunction *lɑ33* appears as *læ33* through vowel harmony with the front vowel in *tʰæ13* ‘such.’

- (76) *ɕu33 qæ13 tʰu33 lə33-tsʰu13 tʰu33 lə33-wɿ33-wɿ33*
 branch burn 3SG.PRO ACCOMP-cut this ACCOMP-stack.BACK AND FORTH
 树枝 烧 他 砍 这 堆起来
 He burned branches, burned the branches he had cut down,
 他烧树枝，把他砍掉的树枝
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.189

<i>zɔ33</i>	<i>ɔ31-sɿ33 ku31</i>	<i>æ31-yi33-ɕɛ33</i>	<i>ya33 qa33</i>	<i>læ33</i>	<i>tʰæ13</i>
PERF	1INC.PRO	long, long ago	buckwheat	and	such
了	咱们	很久以前	荞麦	和	那些

stacked them together and burned them; long, long ago we would burn
 堆起来烧掉，我们以前荞麦和那些

lə33-qæ13 zɔ33-ku13.
 ACCOMP-burn ought
 烧
 buckwheat and such.
 会烧掉的。

4.8 LOANWORDS IN NA

4.8.1 Chinese loanwords in Na

Mandarin words have been borrowed into Na via Yunnanese, the provincial variety of Chinese,³ which has served as a *lingua franca* between the various ethnic groups living in the region and in communicating with people from other areas of the province even before Mandarin-based education and media had such a pronounced influence. The semantic fields of Mandarin loanwords in Na heavily represent technology and food items not indigenous to the area.

Nasals that appear in the coda of the Mandarin term usually do not appear in the Na borrowing, as nasal codas are lost in transit when the word is borrowed into Yunnanese from Mandarin, and thus do not appear when the borrowing arrives into Na from Yunnanese. This is similar to what Fu observes of the borrowings into Yi occur (Fu 1997:65). However, in the speech of Na who are bilingual in Mandarin, the nasal codas of the borrowed lexical items sometimes appear in their Na speech, due to the speakers' familiarity with the lending language. Additionally, some delabialization occurs when Mandarin words are borrowed into Na (cf. the second parts of the compounds in 'match,' 'work,' and 'apple.')

The following are examples of Chinese loanwords in Na. I have provided the transcription of the Mandarin in IPA rather than pinyin so that the phonetic similarities to and differences from Na will be more transparent.

³ Note that Mandarin and Yunnanese are not mutually intelligible.

(77)	Technology	Na	Mandarin
	match	ya31 hɔ13	yaŋ hwo
	work	kɔ33 zɔ13	kɔŋ55 tswɔ51
	glass	pɔ33 li33	pɔ55 li
	electricity	tjæ13	tjæn4
	plastic	su13 ljao13	su51 ljao51

There are copious amounts of loanwords from Chinese for foods. One reason for this is that the Na region is in the foothills of the Himalayas, and at this altitude, the growing season is quite short and many plants simply cannot be grown. Na cuisine is heavily reliant on animal sources of protein, such as pork, with most fruits, vegetables, and grains imported from other parts of the province and country.

(78)	Foods	Na	Mandarin
	apple	p ^h i33 ŋɔ31	p ^h iŋ35 kwɔ214
	squash	kwa31 si13	kwa55 tsi
	cabbage ⁴	ts ^h ɣ13 p ^h u31	pai35 ts ^h ai214
	peas	wan33 tɔ13	wan55 to51
	peanuts	hwa ɣɣŋ	hwa55 ɣɣŋ55
	soy sauce	tɕa33 yo31	tɕaŋ51 yo35
	ginger	tɕaŋ13	tɕaŋ55
	<i>caoguo</i> (herb)	ts ^h ao kwɔ	ts ^h ao kwɔ

⁴ This is a calque: Na p^hu³³ means ‘white,’ as does Mandarin [pai²]. ts^hɣ¹³ may be a loan from Chinese, or it may be an indigenous Na lexical item. In Na, p^hu³³ follows ts^hɣ¹³, as Na is a head-marking language, while the order is the reverse in Mandarin.

4.8.2 Tibetan Loanwords in Na

There also are Tibetan loans in Na as many Na are Buddhists of the Tibetan lamaist tradition. Na parents invite Tibetan and Mosuo lamaist monks of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition to name children, so Na have Tibetan names. A certain amount of Tibetan Buddhist religious terminology has also been borrowed into Na to aid in practicing Buddhism. Furthermore, the names for flora and fauna indigenous to Tibetan regions that are now present in Na areas appear as loanwords from Tibetan.

(79) Na	Tibetan
svn33 ge33 ‘lion’	seŋ ge (form from Dai et al. 1992)
mɔ31 mɔ33 ‘momo’	momo (Tibetan dumpling)
tsa33 pɣ33 ‘tsampa’	tsampa (toasted barley flour)
ma33 mu13 ‘lamp used in religious rites’	marme (form from Marrison 1967)
lɔŋ33 bu33 tʂʰu31 ‘elephant’	glang.po.ce (form from Sun 1985)

(80) shows several loanwords borrowed into Na which are of less certain origin. tɕɔ tɕɣ ‘Zhuang ethnicity’ was identified as a loan by my consultant, but the source language is unknown. tɕɔ33 lɕɔ31 may be a loan from Tibetan to⁵⁵ lo⁵³ ma¹³ tɕoʔ⁵³ ‘yellow weasel’ (form from Dai 1992). zɔ31 pu33 lɣ31 ‘world’ is likely from Tibetan. Na borrows terms from Tibetan Buddhism for philosophical and cosmological concepts; the phonology looks Tibetan; and several Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas have similar forms. Caodeng, which as a rGyalrongic language would be in heavy contact with Tibetan, has mdzɛ-nbo-ɰlan ‘world’ (form from Sun 1997) and Manang (Prakaa) (Tamangic) has ⁴tsompaliŋ ‘world’ (form from Hoshi 1984).

(80)	tɕɔ tɕɣ ‘Zhuang ethnicity’	Identified as loan, source language unknown
	tɕɔ33 lɕɔ31 ‘squirrel’	Possibly to ⁵⁵ lo ⁵³ ma ¹³ tɕoʔ ⁵³ ‘yellow weasel’ (Tibetan)
	zɔ31 pu33 lɣ31 ‘world’	Likely from Tibetan

5 Tonogenesis in Na

5.1 OVERVIEW

Na has four tones: a high level tone (55), a mid level tone (33), a low, slightly falling tone (31), and a low rising tone (13). Of these, two tones are basic, the (33) tone and the (13) tone, and two are secondary, the (55) tone and the (31) tone, where the distinction between basic and secondary tones is made by the fact that the secondary tones are much less common and derive from very limited phonological environments, while the primary tones are much more common and derive from default (in the case of the (33) tone) or much broader (in the case of the (13) tone) phonological environments. The division between basic and secondary tones can be seen clearly when looking at monosyllabic words; the division is not as transparent in compounds because tone sandhi processes create secondary tones (i.e., (31) and (55) tones) from primary tones (i.e., (33) and (13) tones). Thus, monosyllabic words are used to show the development of the Na tones in the following section.

Na tonogenesis primarily develops from finals, as well as to a lesser extent, from prefixes and initials. PTB forms with no final (a.k.a. ‘open series’ forms), forms with a glide final, forms with a nasal final, and forms with a lateral final all have (33) tone in Na. PTB forms with a stop final have (13) tone in Na. Several other types of PTB forms also have (13) tone in Na: those where a PTB *s- prefix has been lost and those where a PTB *N- (nasal) prefix has been lost preceding a velar initial. The conditioning environments for development of the Na secondary tones, (31) and (55), are less clear, although they are clearly much more restricted. The (31) tone derives from PTB forms which have either an /a/ or a /u/ vowel and a nasal final; however, numerous PTB forms with an /a/ or a /u/ vowel and a nasal final retain (33) tone, so it is not clear what additional conditioning occurred such that (31) tone developed in these cases. The (55) tone is quite rare in Luoshui, the village where the fieldwork for this research was conducted, and the few forms which have clear PTB antecedents all share a constellation of features: voiceless initials, a change in non-aspirated in PTB to aspirated in Na, a diphthong in the PTB form, and a monophthong high vowel in Na. However, in other villages in the Yongning area, (55) tones are less rare, as I heard during pilot work in the speech of a consultant from a village adjacent to the town of Yongning, and as speakers in Luoshui acknowledge. The conditioning environment for the the (55) tone in forms from Yongning town found in Michaud (2008) and Yang (2009) are less clear.

An overview of the processes of tonogenesis in Na is presented for readers’ reference in Table 5.1.

Na Tone	Environment
33	PTB open, glide, nasal, and lateral finals
13	Stop finals Loss of PTB *s- prefix Loss of PTB *N- prefix preceding a velar initial
31	A subset of PTB forms with /a/ or /u/ vowel and nasal final; additional conditioning factor unknown
55	Fieldsite: Voiceless initial + change from non-aspirated in PTB to aspirated in Na + diphthong in PTB form + monophthong high vowel in Na Adjacent areas: Unknown

Table 5.1 Overview of tonogenesis in Na

5.2 PTB OPEN

PTB open forms have (33) tone in Na.

Open	Na	Naxi
*mi / PLB *mi ^{2/3}	mi33 ‘female’	mi55
*g-nis / PLB *ʔ-nit / ni ²	ni33 ‘two’	ni31
*na / PLB *na ¹	ni33 ‘hear’	kho33 mi33
*dzi / PLB *ʔ-dzi ²	dzi33-ʃwæ13 ‘dew’	ndzər33
*s/g-la / PLB *s/ʔ-la ³	fi33 ‘month / moon’	xe33
*gla	fi33 ‘musk deer’	n/a
*la / PLB *ʔ-la ²	fi33 k ^h wɔ31 ‘trousers’	le33
*b-r-gya	çi33 ‘hundred’	çi33
*ŋya / PLB *ŋa ²	ni33 zo33 [ni33 zo33] ‘fish’	ni33
*dzya / PLB *dža ²	dzi33 [dzz33] ‘eat’	ndzu33
*sya ‘flesh /meat’	ʃe33 [ʃe33] ‘meat’	ʃu33
*tσα / PLB *tσα ²	ts ^h e33 [ts ^h e33] ‘salt’	tshe33
*dzɣi >> *gyi	dzæ33 ‘ride (an animal)’	ndza33
*yu / PLB *yu ¹	zɰ33 [zɰ33] ‘take’	zɰ31
*plu / PLB *plu ¹	p ^h u33 [p ^h i33] ‘white’	phər31
*pwa	ha31 tʃ ^h u33-pɔ33 ‘husband’, pɔ33 (Shamanic) ‘husband’	za33 ka31 zu33
*wa	wɔ33 ‘village’	mbe33 uə (no tone marked on 2 nd syll in source)
*sa	sɔ33-k ^h u33 ‘vein’	sa33 ‘blood’
*wa ‘man, husband’	a33-wu33 [ə33-ɣu33] ‘uncle’	ə31 ta55
*g-wa	wu33-wu33 [ɣu33-ɣu33] ‘chew’	ŋɣu33
*ta >> *da	to33 ‘look’	ly31 do31
*da / PLB *da ¹	qæ33 do33 ‘stick (n.)’	ndy31
*za / PLB *za ²	zo33 [zo33] ‘son’	zo33
*ra >> *ya	yo33 ‘right (side)’	zi31 tɕy31
*ta	t ^h a33 PROH	mə33 tha31
*ma	a33-ma33 [ʔa33-ma33] ‘mother’	ə31 mo33
*ma / PLB *ma ²	ma33- NEG-	mə33
*ŋa / PLB *ŋa ¹	ŋa33 1SG.PRO	ŋə31
*k-la / PLB *k-la ²	la33 ‘tiger’	la33
*ra / PLB *g-ra ²	ya33 q ^h a33 ‘buckwheat’	n/a
*m-hla ‘god, beautiful’ /	ɔa33 ɬa33 ‘god’	phv33 la31

PLB *hla ³ *ʔa	a33 [ʔa33] ‘kinship / vocative prefix’	ə (isolation tone not indicated in source)
*m-tsa / PLB *m-dzya ¹	dʒwæ33 mi33 ‘sparrow’	ndza33 zo33
*kwa	k ^h wɣ33 bi13 ‘hoof’	khua33 be31
*ŋa / PLB *ŋa ²	ŋwɣ33 [ŋwə33] ‘five’	ua33
Aberrant forms		
*ʔu / PLB *ʔu ³	ɣwɔ13 ‘egg’	kv33

*ʔu would be expected to yield (33) tone in Na rather than (13) tone. However, this form is irregular in its segmental phonemes, suggesting that its development may have been somewhat irregular overall.

5.3 PTB GLIDE

PTB glide forms are really a sub-class of PTB open forms. Like the PTB open forms, PTB glide forms have (33) tone in Na.

Glide	Na	Naxi
*ts(y)i >> *zəy / PLB *m-(d)zyəy ²	ɕi33-ɕi33 ‘to urinate (child speak)’, dʒi33 ‘urine’	mbi33
*nəy	ɲi33 ‘day’, ɲi33 mi33 ‘sun’	ɲi33 mi33
*syey-s / PLB *šey ^{2/3}	si33 [sʒ33] ‘know’	su33 (no33)
*yəy / PLB *s-yəy ²	zi33 [zʒ33] ‘grass’	zu33
*zəy / PLB *zəy ²	tse33-lɥ33 [tse33-[ɥ33] ‘barley’	n/a
*ts(y)i(y) >> *tsyay / PLB *tsay ¹	ts ^h ɛ33 [ts ^h ɛ33] ‘ten’	tshe31
*b(w)ay	wæ33 ‘left (direction)’	ua33 tɕy31
*r(y)a >> *r(y)ay / PLB *ray ¹	zæ33 ‘laugh’	zɕa31
*tsəy / PLB *tsəy ²	tɕ ^h æ33-tɕ ^h æ33 ‘wash’	tɕhər33
*g-ləy	hæ33 ‘wind’	xər33
*nəw	næ33 [ɲæ33] ‘milk’	ɲi55 ɲi33
*səy / PLB *səy ¹	ɕu33 [ɕɥ33] ‘die’	ɕu33
*krəy / PLB *ʔ-grəy ¹	ku33-dʒi33 ‘bile’	ku31 ‘gallbladder’
*dzəy / PLB *m-dzəy ¹	zɥu33 [zɥɥ33] ‘liquor’	zɥu33
*gra:y / PLB *ʔ-grəy ¹	ku33 ‘star’	ku31
*kəw / PLB *kəw ²	mu33 k ^h u33 [ɲu33 k ^h u33] ‘smoke’	mu55 khu31
*ɲəw / PLB *ɲəw ¹	ɲu33 ‘weep’	ɲv31
*kəw / PLB *kəw ²	k ^h u33 ‘steal’	khv33
*kwəy / PLB *k ^w əy ²	k ^h u33 ‘dog’	khw33
*b-ləy / PLB *b/ʔ-ləy ²	zu33 ‘four’	lu33
*mey / PLB *s/ʔ-mey ²	mu33 [ɲu33] ‘fire’	mi33
*krəw / PLB *krəw ¹	k ^h ɥ33 ‘horn’	kho33
*gəw / PLB *gəw ²	gy33 ‘nine’	ɲgv33
*məw / PLB *məw ²	my33 [ɲy33] ‘heavens, sky’	mu33
*rey	zɥwɣ33 ‘language’	ɕə55 ‘say’
Aberrant forms		
*dz(y)ay QUOT / PLB *džay ^{2/1}	tsi13 [tsʒ13] REP	n/a
*bəw / PLB *bəw ²	bu31 ɣ33 [bu31 ɕ33] ‘fly (n.)’	mbər33 lər55
*nəw	ɲɔ13 ‘milk’	ɲi55 ɲi33

Discussion of aberrant forms:

*dz(y)ay QUOT would be expected to yield (33) tone rather than (13) tone, as *dz(y)ay has a glide ending, not a stop ending. Due to frequency of use of grammatical words in language, they tend to be somewhat irregular (e.g., copula verbs, suppletive verb forms in English), so the irregular tone on this evidential is not terribly worrying. Additionally, note (Matisoff 2003b:477), “Akha djé ‘quotative’ reflects PLB Tone #1. Tonal instability is frequent in functors, however.”

*bəw would be expected to yield (33) tone rather than (31 33) tone. However, as this form has gained a syllable, it seems likely that the tonal irregularity is due to the syllable gain, particularly since (31) is only attested on PTB nasal series words, while *bəw belongs to the glide series.

*nəw would be expected to yield (33) tone rather than (13) tone, as it has a glide ending.

5.4 PTB LATERAL

Lateral	Na	Naxi
*s(y)ar / PLB *san ^{1/2}	ɕi33 mi33 ‘louse’	ɕu33
*d-ŋul	ŋu33 ‘silver’	ŋv31
*r-til >< *r-tul	tɔ33 bu33 ‘buttock’	n/a
Aberrant forms		
n/a		

5.5 PTB NASAL

Most PTB nasal forms have (33) tone in Na, while a handful have (31) tone in Na, and a few have (13) tone in Na. The conditioning environment governing these splits is not clear.

Nasal	Na	Naxi
31 tone		
*s-lam / PLB *s-lam ^{1/2}	ɬi31 ‘fathom’	ly31
*m-d/tu:ŋ/k	dzu31 ‘sit’	ndzu31
*maŋ ‘big, older’	mɔ31 ‘old, elder’	mu55
*b-saŋ >> *b-suŋ	sɔ31 [so31] ‘fragrant’	ɕy31 nv31
*dan >> *day	da31 ‘only’	n/a
33 tone		
*byon	bi33 ‘to go; FUT’	bu33
*kriŋ / PLB *kriŋ ¹	k ^h u33 ‘thread’	khui31
*dziŋ	su33-dzu33 ‘tree’	ndzər31
*dzum >> *tsum / PLB *dzum ³	dzu33 ‘pair’	dzu33
*duŋ / PLB duŋ ¹	du33 qæ33 [ɖu33 qæ33] ‘wing’	ndv33 phi31
*kim >> *kum / PLB *m-kum ²	wɔ33-ku33 ‘pillow’ (wɔ33 = ‘head’)	kv33 ly33
*s-toŋ	tu33 [tu33] ‘thousand’	tv31
*miŋ / PLB *ʔ-miŋ ^{1/3}	my33 [ŋy33] ‘name’	mi31
*daŋ / PLB *m-daŋ ^{1/2}	ʂu33 du33 [ʂu33 ɖu33] ‘think’	su33 ndv33
*guŋ >> *kuŋ / PLB *guŋ ² >> *kuŋ ²	q ^h y33 ‘hole’, æ31-q ^h y33 [ʔæ31-q ^h y33] ‘cave’	a31 kho33 ‘cave’
*g-sum	sɔ33 [so33] ‘three’	su31
*zum >> *zuŋ / PLB *zum ²	zɔ33 [zo33] ‘use’	n/a
*pwaŋ / PLB *pwaŋ ³	p ^h ɔ33 ‘open’	phu33
*taŋ ‘pine’	t ^h ɔ33-ʂu13 ‘pine needle’	tho33 ndzər31 ‘pine tree’
*naŋ / PLB *naŋ ¹	nɔ33 2SG.PRO	nv31
*m-dzyaŋ ‘be there’	dʒɔ33 ‘EXIST; have’	dzy33
*laŋ / PLB *laŋ ¹	k ^h æ33 lɔ33 [q ^h æ33 lɔ33] ‘(small) river’, lɔ33 ‘valley’	n/a
*yaŋ	yɔ33 ‘sheep’	zu31
*haŋ / PLB *haŋ ²	ha33 ‘rice (cooked)’	ha33

*kram / PLB *kram ¹	k ^h wæ33 ‘fence / garden’	xo33 phe55 kho31 ‘vegetable garden’
*mraŋ / PLB *mraŋ ²	z _ɥ wæ33 ‘horse’	zua33
*byam / PLB *byam ¹	dze33 [dze33] ‘fly (v.)’	mbi31
*siŋ / PLB sik ^H	su33 ‘firewood’	sər33
*pwaŋ / PLB *pwaŋ ³	ba33 ‘open’	phu33
Aberrant forms		n/a
*niŋ	ni13 ‘way’	mbər31
*blen / PLB *m-blen ¹	bæ13 ‘pus’	

Discussion of aberrant forms:

*niŋ would be expected to yield (33 tone), as *niŋ has a nasal ending and no tone-inducing prefix. However, (13) tone is attested in the Na form. As *niŋ has a nasal initial, either a lost *s- prefix or a *ʔ- prefix would induce the (13) tone, but neither is found in the PTB form. *niŋ is currently only attested in WB and Lai (Matisoff 2003b:281), but the Na form looks consistent when tone is not considered. Thus, this form remains problematic.

*blen would be expected to yield (33 tone)—it has a nasal ending and no prefixes.

5.6 PTB STOP

PTB stop forms have (13) tone in Na.

Stop ¹	Na	Naxi
*tip	ti13 ‘strike’	n/a
*pat / PLB *C-pat ^L	p ^h i31-bu33 [p ^h i13 bu33] ‘vomit (n.)’	phy55
*p ^w ak / PLB *wak ^L	bɔ13 ‘pig’	bu31
*r(y)ap / PLB *ʔ-rap ^L	hī13 ‘stand’	xy55
*tsik / PLB *ʔ-dzik ^L	tʂæ13 ‘joint’	n/a
*tsi:t / PLB *C-tʂi:t ^L	ts ^h u13 ‘goat’	tshu55
*(t)si-t >> *tsut / PLB *tsəy ²	suu13 ‘lung’	tʂhər55
*g-sik / PLB *C-šik	ʂuu13 [ʂɹ13] ‘new’	ʂuu55
*kuk ‘return’ / PLB *C-kuk ^L	k ^h u13 ‘year’	khv55
*luk	lu13 [[u13] ‘enough’	n/a
*m-pup / PLB *pyap ^H	p ^h u13 [p ^h u13] ‘overturn’	n/a
*m/s-lyak	lu13 [[u13] ‘feed (animals)’	lv55
*mut / PLB *s-mut ^H	mɤ13 [mɤ13] ‘blow’	mu31
*d-kruk	q ^h ɤ13 ‘six’	tʂhua55
*sak / PLB *C-sak ^L	sɔ31 k ^h u33 [sɔ13 k ^h i33] ‘breathe’	n/a
*tak / PLB *tak ^H	t ^h ɑ13 ‘sharp’	n/a
*tsap / PLB *tsap ^H	tʂ ^h wæ13 ‘insert’	tʂhu55
*t(r)ak / PLB *rak ^L	da13 ‘weave’	da31
*k-rap / PLB *rap ^L >> *k-rap ^H	wɔ13 ‘needle’ ³	ko31
*tsyat / *tsywar	ts ^h u13 ‘cut’	n/a
*kyit	qæ13 ‘burn’	n/a
*k-rak / PLB *k-rak ^H	æ̃13 [ʔæ̃13] ‘chicken’	a31
*lap ‘leaf’ ²	li13 ‘tea’	le55

¹ Possibly *rak > ɤæ13 [ɤæ13] ‘stone, pit’

² Matisoff (2003b) gives LB ‘tea’ as coming from PLB *la ‘leaf, tea’ (Matisoff 2003b:48, footnote a). *lap ‘leaf’ only has reflexes in Written Tibetan and Jingpho (Matisoff 2003b:336, 342), but reflects the Na tone.

³ See Matisoff (2003b:337), footnote i: “It shows variation between the HIGH- and LOW-stopped tones in Loloish, with the LOW-stopped forms (e.g. Lahu göðʔ, Akha à-γðq, Sani ɣʔ²², Lalo á-jỳq) reflecting an unprefix PLB allofam *rap^L, while the HIGH-stopped forms (e.g., Bisu kjāw, Hani ko³³, Lisu wɔʔ²) point to the prefixed allofam *k-rap^H.”

Aberrant forms *dik / PLB *ʔ-dik ^L *1-tak / PLB *ʔ-tak ‘ascend, top’	du33 [d̥ɿ33] ‘one’ tɔ31 ADESS	du31 ndo33
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Discussion of aberrant forms:

*ʔ-dik^L would be expected to yield (13) tone rather than (33) tone, as it has a stop final. However, the tonal aberrancy in this form is probably not surprising given the numerous grammatical uses for du33 ‘one’: to mark an indefinite, as a morpheme of various quantifiers, etc.

5.7 *C-PREFIX FORMS

Consonant initial does not change tone in Na—open and glide syllables retain (33) tone, stop syllables have (13) tone, and nasals have (33) or (31) tone, as in non-prefixed words. This is the case regardless of whether the *C- prefix is lost or interacts with the proto-initial to form a third initial (typically through rhinoglottophilia phenomena). No instances of the *C- prefix pre-empting the proto-initial have yet been found.

PTB	Na	Naxi
*dzi / PLB *ʔ-dzi ²	dzi33-ʃwæ13 ‘dew’	ndzər33
*la / PLB *ʔ-la ²	li33 k ^h wɿ31 ‘trousers’	le33
*b-r-gya	çi33 ‘hundred’	çi33
*g-wa	wu33-wu33 [yɯ33-yu33] ‘chew’	ŋgu33
*g-ləy	hæ̃33 ‘wind’	xər33
*d-ŋul	ŋu33 ‘silver’	ŋv31
*m-d/tu:ŋ/k	dzu31 ‘sit’	ndzu31
*k-rak / PLB *k-rak ^H	æ̃13 [ʔæ̃13] ‘chicken’	a31
*g-sik / PLB *C-šik	ʃu13 [ʃɿ13] ‘new’	ʃu55
*d-kruk	q ^h y13 ‘six’	tʃhua55
Aberrant forms		
*dik / PLB *ʔ-dik ^L (<i>see section on stops</i>)	du33 [dɿ33] ‘one’	du31
*l-tak / PLB *ʔ-tak (<i>see section on stops</i>)	tɔ31 ADESS	ndo33

5.8 *S-PREFIX FORMS: OPTION 1

If an *s- prefix is lost, the Na reflex will have (13) tone. The forms which have lost the *s- prefix generally have nasal initials, while forms with non-nasal initials generally show an interaction between the *s- prefix and the proto-initial. Note, however, that the *s- prefix is lost in *s-ga > gwɤ13 ‘sing,’ where there is no nasal initial, and the *s- prefix is retained in several forms with nasal initials, such as *s-mul (PLB *ʔ-məw¹) > hɔ̃33 ‘hair, fur’, ʒi31-hɔ̃33 ‘hair (body)’ and *s-na (PLB *ʔ-na²) > ɲi33-q^hɤ33 ‘nose.’⁴

This rule occurs with PTB nasal, stop, and glide syllables.

PTB	Na	Naxi
*s-min / PLB *s/ʔ-min ¹	mi13 ‘ripe, ripen’	mi55
*s-ney / *s-na:y	ni13 ‘near’	nv55
*s-mi:t / PLB mi:t ^L	mæ31-mæ13 [mæ13-mæ13] ‘blink’	miə31 mər55
PLB *s-myak ^H	ɲa31-lu33 [ɲa13-[u33] ‘eye’	miə31 ly33
*s-ga	gwɤ13 ‘sing’	ndzər33
Aberrant forms		
*s-man (HPTB:265)	mɔ33 ‘corpse’	n/a
*s-nak / PLB *ʔ-nak ^L	nɑ33 ‘black’	nɑ31
*s-twak / PLB *ʔ-twak ^H	t ^h u33 ‘emerge’	thv33

⁴ [Matisoff (2003b:40), footnote 55: Okrand has *s-N stopped syllables having simple N initials in Naxi, while *ʔ-N stopped syllables have f/h- initials in Naxi, showing that *s- and *ʔ- prefixes before stopped syllables with nasal initials were distinct in PLB. Also, see Matisoff (2003b:100).

If the *s- prefix preempts the initial, the tone of the Na reflex does not change:

PTB	Na	Naxi
*s-hywəy	sɣ33 ‘blood’	sa33

If the *s- prefix interacts with the initial, even if the initial is a nasal, the tone of the Na reflex does not change, as can be seen in examples like *s-mul > h533, *s-na > ni33-q^hɣ33, and *s-nis > ʃu33, which all have (33) tone.

PTB	Na	Naxi
*s/g-la / PLB *s/ɣ-la ³	ɬi33 ‘month / moon’	xe33
*s-kyu:r	tɕi33 ‘sour’	tɕi31
*s-b-ru:l / PLB *m-r-wəy ¹	zɯ33 bæ33 ‘snake’	zɯ31
*s-mul / PLB *ɣ-məw ¹	h533 ‘hair, fur’, zɿ31-h533 ‘hair (body)’	kv33 fv33 ‘hair (on head)’
*s-na / PLB *ɣ-na ²	ni33-q ^h ɣ33 ‘nose’	ni55 məɾ31
*s-nak / PLB *ɣ-nak ^L	ɬɔ13 ‘deep’	xo55
*s-lam / PLB *s-lam ^{1/2}	ɬi31 ‘fathom’	ly31
*yəy / PLB *s-yəy ²	zi33 [zɿ33] ‘grass’	zu33
*s-nis / PLB *ɣ-nit >< *ʃi ²	ʃu33 [ʃɿ33] ‘seven’	ʃər33
Aberrant forms		
*s-r(y)ak	ha33 ‘night’	(form in source is for ‘dusk’)
*s-ryak >< *s-rik	hɔ33 ‘pheasant’ (PLB variant *rwak ^L Matisoff 2003b:324, 508)	xu31

5.9 *ʔ-N FORMS: OPTION 1

Under the Option 1 analysis, the *ʔ-N tonogenesis rule is not necessary, as these forms can *probably* be accounted for under the *s-prefix tonogenesis rule. However, under the Option 2 analysis, the *ʔ-N tonogenesis rule is necessary to account for the data, so the equivalent rule for Option 1 is shown for comparative purposes. Additionally, it should be noted that *ʔ-N tonogenesis is found in Lahu, a Loloish language: “*pre-glottalized nasals trigger ‘glottal dissimilation’... to produce the Lahu high-rising tone...” (Matisoff 2003b:37).

PLB forms with a glottal prefix and a nasal initial yield (13) tone in Na. The process occurs whether the prefix interacts with the nasal initial (*ʔ-ni¹ > hū13) or the prefix is lost (*ʔ-məw > mɔ13). This process is only attested with PLB open and glide forms. All of the proto-forms have PLB Tone 1.

[In the **OPTION 1** analysis, *s- prefix tonogenesis and *ʔ-N tonogenesis can be seen as closely related processes, because *s- prefix tonogenesis is not restricted to stop forms, as it is in the **OPTION 2** analysis. However, note that *s- and *ʔ- were distinct in stop syllables in PLB (Matisoff 2003b:40).]

PTB	Na	Naxi
*ni / PLB *ʔ-ni ¹	hū13 ‘red’	xy31
*g/s-məw / PLB *ʔ-məw ¹	mɔ13 ‘mushroom’	mu55

5.10 *S-PREFIX FORMS: OPTION 2

*s-N forms with stop finals yield (13) tone in Na. Note that this rule is redundant as stop forms yield (13) tone in Na, regardless of prefix or initial.

PTB	Na	Naxi
*s-mi:t (PLB mi:t ^l)	mæ31-mæ13 [mæ13-mæ13] ‘blink’	miə31 mər55
PLB *s-myak ^H	ɲa31-lu33 [ɲa13-lu33] ‘eye’	miə31 ly33
Aberrant forms		
*s-nak	na33 ‘black’	na31

*s-N forms with open, nasal, glide, or lateral finals retain their regular tones. *s-C forms, where C is a non-nasal consonant, also retain their regular tones.

PTB	Na	Naxi
*s-hywəy	sɣ33 ‘blood’	sa33
*s/g-la	ɦi33 ‘month / moon’	xe33
*s-kyu:r	tɕi33 ‘sour’	tɕi31
*s-b-ru:l	zɯ33 bæ33 ‘snake’	zɯ31
*s-mul (PLB *ʔ-məw ^l)	hɔ̃33 ‘hair, fur’, zɪ31-hɔ̃33 ‘hair (body)’	kv33 fv33 ‘hair (on head)’
*s-na (PLB *ʔ-na ²)	ɲi33-q ^h ɥ33 ‘nose’	ɲi55 mər31
*s-maŋ	mɔ33 ‘corpse’	n/a
*s-lam	ɦi31 ‘fathom’	ly31
PLB *s-yəy ²	zi33 [zɹ33] ‘grass’	zu33
*s-nis	ʂu33 [ʂɹ33] ‘seven’	ʂər33
Aberrant forms		
*s-ney / *s-na:y	ni13 ‘near’	nv55
*s-ga	gwɣ13 ‘sing’	ndzər33
*s-twak / PLB *ʔ-twak ^H	t ^h u33 ‘emerge’	thv33
*s-r(y)ak	ha33 ‘night’	(form in source is for ‘dusk’)

5.11 *ʔ-N FORMS: OPTION 2

PLB forms with a glottal prefix and a nasal initial yield (13) tone in Na. The process occurs whether the prefix interacts with the nasal initial (*ʔ-ni¹ > hũ13) or the prefix is lost (*ʔ-məw¹ > mɔ13). This process is attested with PLB nasal, open, and glide forms. All of the proto-forms have PLB Tone 1.

PTB	Na	Naxi
*s-min (PLB *s- / ʔ-min ¹)	mi13 ‘ripe, ripen’	mi55
PLB *ʔ-ni ¹	hũ13 ‘red’	xy31
PLB *ʔ-məw ¹	mɔ13 ‘mushroom’	mu55

5.12 *N-PREFIX FORMS

When a nasal prefix is lost, generally the form will take the Na tone for its class: i.e., PTB stop form *m-pup yields (13) tone in Na, while PTB open form *m-hla yields (33) tone in Na.

However, when a nasal prefix precedes a velar initial, and the nasal prefix is lost, the Na form has (13) tone, as seen in PLB *m-ga³ > ɣa13 and *m-k-rəy¹ > ɣu13. This process is only attested with PTB open and glide syllables.

When the nasal prefix interacts with the initial, or the prefix becomes a separate syllable, Na forms have (33) tone. No examples of prefix preemption are attested.

	PTB	Na	Naxi
Prefix lost	*m-pup / PLB *pyap ^H *m-hla‘god, beautiful’ / PLB *hla ³ *m/s-nam / PLB *nam ^{1/2/3}	p ^h u13 [ɸ ^h u13] ‘overturn’ ɣa33 ɬa33 ‘god’ bu33 nu33 [Bu33 ɲu33] ‘odor’	n/a phv33 la31 bv33 nv31 ‘smelly’
Prefix lost, velar initial	*ga / PLB *m-ga ³ *rəy / PLB *m-k-rəy ¹	ɣa13 ‘help’ ɣu13 ‘hide’ (n.)	pa33 pa33 ɣu33
Prefix preempts	no example	no example	
Prefix interacts	*m-tsa / PLB *m-dzya ¹ *dzəy / PLB *m-dzəy ¹ *m-tsril / PLB *rəy¹	dzɿwæ33 mi33 ‘sparrow’ zɿu33 [zɿ33] ‘liquor’ zɿu13 [zɿ13] ‘saliva’	ndza33 zo33 zɿu33 tɕi55
Prefix becomes separate syllable	*m-ka / *m-ka-y	mu33 tɕ ^h ɿ31 ‘chin’	n/a

5.13 55 TONE

Very few words in the Luoshui dialect of Na have high (55) tone. The few words available for reconstruction all have voiceless initials, show a change in aspiration between PTB and Na, have a diphthong in the PTB form, and have high vowels in Na.

PTB	Na	Naxi
*kyəw / PLB *kyəw ¹	tɕ ^h i55 ‘sweet’	tɕhi31
*pu, *pwa / PLB unknown	p ^h u55/33 [ɸ ^h i55/33] ‘male animal’	n/a
*kwəy / PLB *k ^w əy ¹	k ^h u55 ‘nest’	khui31 (phy31)

(cf. *kwəy / PLB *k^wəy¹ → k^hu55 ‘nest’ and PLB *k^wəy² → k^hu33 ‘dog’)

6 Sound change from Proto-Tibeto-Burman to Na

This chapter shows the Na reflexes of the reconstructed Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) forms given in (Matisoff 2003b). Although a number of reconstructions of Tibeto-Burman are available, forms from (Matisoff 2003b) were used because this resource is the most comprehensive, including data only recently available; gives very detailed arguments for the analyses presented, as well as possible alternate analyses, when applicable; and has a user-friendly presentation with copious indices.

The present chapter in no way attempts an historical account of the sound changes from PTB to Na. Such an analysis is beyond the scope of this work, and remains for future research. Nevertheless, the Na reflexes of the reconstructed PTB forms are presented for the reader interested in comparative and historical Tibeto-Burman.

Some general patterns of sound change from PTB to Na can be observed. PTB voiceless stops split to yield voiceless aspirated and voiceless unaspirated stops in Na; likewise, voiceless affricates split to yield voiceless aspirated and voiceless unaspirated affricates. Matisoff notes, “Nothing in fact is more unstable in diachronic TB phonology than the voicing or aspiration of initial obstruents; there are innumerable TB word families with both voiced and voiceless allofams” (Matisoff 2003b:16), and this is certainly true in Na. I have noted in the footnotes likely Na reflexes of PTB proto-forms that are exceptions to the observed overall patterns of sound change.

As Na has a simpler syllable structure than PTB, complex onsets in PTB are invariably reduced in Na and codas are lost. The vowels change considerably between PTB and Na, and a very diverse group of PTB vowels can be attested for almost every Na vowel. The exact sequence of sound changes that bring about each Na vowel may now be lost to time.

6.1 BILABIAL, ALVEOLAR, AND VELAR STOP SERIES

The PTB voiceless stop series */p, t, k/ splits to yield the voiceless aspirated and voiceless unaspirated stop series in Na, while the PTB voiced stop series */b, d, g/ remains voiced. Data illustrating these sound changes are given in Table 6.1.

	PTB	Na
*p	*pur >> *pwar *pu, *pwa *m-pup *pat *plu PLB *pwanj ³	p ^h i33 li31 ‘butterfly’ p ^h u55/33 [Ḅ ^h i55/33] ‘male’, a33-p ^h ɣ33 [a33-Ḅ ^h ɣ33] ‘grandfather’ p ^h u33 [Ḅ ^h u33] ‘overturn’ gɯ31-p ^h i13 ‘vomit (v.)’, p ^h i13-bu33 [p ^h i13-bu33] ‘vomit (n.)’ p ^h u33 [Ḅ ^h i33] ‘white’ p ^h ɔ33 ‘open’
*p ¹	*p ^w al *pwa *pa:y	pi33 ‘snow’ pɔ33 (Shamanic) ² ‘husband’, ha31 tʂ ^h u33-pɣ33 ‘husband’ zɔ33-pɔ13 [zo33 pɔ13] ‘pregnant’
*b ³	*bəw *ba: r *byon *s-bu *blen *bat	bu31 ɣ33 [bu31 ɣ33] ‘fly (n.)’ bæ13 bæ33 ‘flower’ bi33 ‘to go; FUT’ ba33 ‘open’ bæ13 ‘pus’ bu33 nu33 [bu33 ɳu33] ‘odor’ ⁴
*t ⁵	*ta *taŋ ‘pine’ *tak	t ^h a33 PROH t ^h ɔ33 ʂu13 ‘pine needle’ t ^h a13 ‘sharp’

Table 6.1 Origins of the three stop series in Na

¹ Also, *bəw > pə33 pə33 ‘carry on one’s back’, *s-bal > pə31 mi13 ‘frog’, and *ʔu > pu33 [Ḅu33] ‘sit on egg.’

² The Shamanic forms are not part of common spoken Na. Although Dabaism is considered an important part of Na culture, some the Daba oral history reports that Dabaism came to the Na area after the Na were already living there. Thus, it is not clear whether the Shamanic forms represent forms only known to initiated Dabas, an older form of the Na language, or remnants of a different language entirely.

³ Perhaps also *p^wak > bɔ13 ‘pig’, *way ‘copula’ > bu33 [bu33] ‘poss., nom., rel.’ and *pwik or *wu > bu33 [bi33] ‘intestines.’

⁴ nu33 [ɳu33] is perhaps coming from *nam.

⁵ Perhaps also *daŋ > *doŋ > t^hu31 [t^h.ɣ31] ‘drink.’

*t	*toŋ *tip *tił >> *tul *ta	tu33 [tʉ33] ‘thousand’ ti13 ‘strike’ tɔ33 bu33 [tɔ33 bu33] ‘buttock’ lɔ33-tɔ33 ‘look’
*d ⁶	*dik *duŋ *dan >> *day *da *daŋ	du33 [dʃ33] ‘one’ dʉ33 qæ33 ‘wing’ ⁷ da31 ‘only’ qæ33 dɔ33 ‘stick (n.)’ ʃu33 du33 [ʃu33 dʉ33] ‘think’
*k	*kuk ‘return’ *gum > < *kum *kwəy *kwəy *kwa *krəy *krəw *kəw PLB *kəw2 *kriŋ *kram	k ^h u13 ‘year’ k ^h ɔ13 ‘kill’ k ^h u33 ‘dog’ k ^h u55 ‘nest’ k ^h wɔ33 bi13 k ^h u31 ts ^h u13 ‘foot’ k ^h ɣ33 ‘horn’ mu33 k ^h u33 [mʉ33 k ^h u33] ‘smoke’ k ^h u33 ‘steal’ k ^h u33 ‘thread’ k ^h wæ33 ‘fence / garden’
*k ⁸	*kim >> *kum *krəy	wɔ33-ku33 ‘pillow’ ku33-dʒi33 ‘bile’
*g ⁹	*gəw *ga: r	gɣ33 ‘nine’ gwɔ13 ‘sing’

Table 6.1 Origins of the three stop series in Na (cont’d)

⁶ Also, *ta > du55 [dʉ55] ‘big’, *tuk > da13 ‘cut down’, and perhaps *bwam >> *bwap > dɔ33 pæ33 ‘calf of leg.’

⁷ The Shamanic form for ‘wing’ is tɣ33 [tʉ33], the same as given for Sani (Matisoff 2003b).

⁸ Also, *gra:y > ku33 ‘star.’

⁹ Also, perhaps *d-wam ‘bear (n.)’ > gi33 (cf. Matisoff 2003b:299), *ʔ-gla² > qwæ31-gi33 ‘between’, *gak or *ka:k > gɔ33 lɔ13 ‘branch’, *kap > ɔa33 ‘crotch’, *glaŋ > ɔa33 na33 mi33 ‘eagle’, *kla >> *gla > gi33 ‘fall.’

6.2 POSTVELAR STOP SERIES

The Na postvelar series /q^h, q, ɣ/ is completely secondary and derived from the PTB velar series, as Matisoff notes is common in TB languages (Matisoff 2003b:20). Note, however, that Na is somewhat unusual in that the postvelar series includes a voiced counterpart, which is not found in most LB languages, although the voiced counterpart is common in Qiangic (Matisoff 2003b:20). For laboratory evidence of the voiced uvular stop, please see Figures B.12 and B.13 in Appendix B. *d-kruk > q^hɣ13 ‘six’ shows prefix loss (term as per Matisoff 2003b:93).

	PTB	Na
*k	*kuŋ >< *guŋ *d-kruk	q ^h ɣ33 ‘hole’, æ31-q ^h ɣ33 [ʔæ31-q ^h ɣ33] ‘cave’ q ^h ɣ13 ‘six’
*k	*ka:ŋ	qæ13 ‘burn’
*g	*ga	ɣa13 ‘help’

Table 6.2 Origins of the postvelar series in Na

6.3 NASAL SERIES

The origins of the Na nasal series is fairly straightforward. PTB *m yields Na /m/, while PTB *n yields Na /n/. The PTB distinction between *ny and *ŋ has been lost in Na—[ŋ] is an allophone of /ɲ/ in Na, where /ɲ/ → [ŋ] / ___ [+high, +back], [-high, -low, -back] (see §4.4). Prefix loss is attested for each of the three Na nasals, i.e., *s-min > mi13 ‘ripe, ripen’, *s-nak > na33 ‘black,’ and *d-ŋul > ɲɣ33 [ŋɣ33] ‘silver.’

	PTB	Na
*m ¹⁰	*mut *məw *məw *mi *min *miŋ *mey *ma *ma *maŋ ‘big, older’ *mwan >< *mwat *mra >< *mya *s-mi: t *s-maŋ *s-min	mɤ13 [ŋɤ13] ‘blow’ mɤ33 [ŋɤ33] , mɔ33-wɔ33 ‘heavens, sky’ mɔ13 ‘mushroom’ mi33 ‘female’ mi13 ‘ripe’ mɤ33 [ŋɤ33] ‘name’ mu33 [ŋu33] ‘fire’ a33-ma33 [ʔa33-ma33] ‘mother’ mə33- NEG- mɔ31 ‘old, elder’ mu31 qæ33 [ŋi31 qæ33] ‘castrate’ ma31 na33 ‘many’ mæ31-mæ13 ‘blink’ mɔ33 ‘corpse’ mi13 ‘ripe, ripen’
*n ¹¹	*nəw *naŋ *ni *niŋ *s-ney / *s-na:y *s-nak *s-ni	næ33 [ŋæ33] ‘milk’ nɔ33 2SG.PRO ni33 ‘two’ ni13 ‘way’ ni13 ‘near’ na33 ‘black’ nu31 mi13 [ŋu31 mi13] ‘heart’

Table 6.3 Origins of the nasal series in Na

¹⁰ Also, perhaps: *r-mu:k ‘foggy, dark’ > mu33 k^hu33 [ŋu33 k^hu33] ‘smoke’, mu33 gu33 [ŋu33 gu33] ‘thunder’, dʒi33-su33-mu33 k^hu33 [dʒi33-si33-ŋu33 k^hu33] ‘fog’ (lit.: dʒi33-su33 ‘fog’ + mu33 k^hu33 ‘smoke’), *mak >< *maŋ > zɯ13 mu33 [zɯ13 ŋu33], *m-ley >< *m-ləy > mu33-di33 [ŋu33-di33] ‘earth, land’, *may >< *mey >< *mi > mæ33 ɣɤ31 ‘tail’, *mow ‘woman’ > mi33 ‘female’ (also, mi31 zu13, mɤ31 zɔ13 [ŋɤ31 zɔ13], Shamanic hi33-mæ31).

¹¹ There is also one example of *ŋ > n: *ŋya > ni33 zɔ33 [ni33 zɔ33] ‘fish.’ It is not clear to me why the palatization following the nasal in PTB does not yield /ɲ/ in YN Na.

*n, *ny, *ŋ ¹²	*nəw *na *nəy PLB *s-myak ^H *ŋa *nyit *ŋa *ŋəw *d-ŋul	ɲɔ13 ‘milk’ ɲi33 ‘hear,’ ɲi33-q ^h ɿ33 ‘ear’ ɲi33 ‘day, ɲi33 mi33 ‘sun’ ɲa31-lu33 [ɲa31-[u33] ‘eye’ ɲa33 1SG.PRO zɯ31 ɲu33 [zɯ31 ɲu33] ‘sleep’ ¹³ ɲwɿ33 [ŋwə33] ‘five’ ɲu33 [ŋu33] ‘weep’ ɲɿ33 [ŋɿ33] ‘silver’
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Table 6.3 Origins of the nasal series in Na (cont’d)

6.4 ALVEOLAR OBSTRUENTS

The development of the Na alveolar obstruents from their PTB origins mirrors the development of the stops: *s > /s/, *z > /z/, *ts > /ts/ and /ts^h/, and *dz > /dz/. There are a few forms where voicing changes between PTB and Na: *zəy > tse33-lɿ33 [tse33-[ɿ33] ‘barley’ and PLB *s-yəy² > zi33 [z33] ‘grass.’ Prefix preemption (Matisoff 2003b:95) is attested in *s-hywəy > sɿ33 ‘blood’ and prefix loss is attested in *n-(t)syen > k^hu31 ts^hu13 ‘foot, claw’ and *m-d/tu:ŋ > dzu31 ‘sit.’

¹² Also, perhaps *yuy > lɔ31 ni33 ‘finger.’

¹³ zɯ31 [zɯ31] may be from *yip >> *yup ‘sleep.’

The analysis of *by > /dz/ is from (Matisoff 2003b:68), who notes that PTB palatized labial stops have changed position of articulation to further back positions, including becoming dental affricates, in some Loloish languages (Matisoff 2003b:68).¹⁴ ¹⁵ The Namuyi (ndzu55) and Lijiang Naxi (ndzu31) forms for *m-d/tu:ŋ, given in (Matisoff 2003b:288) following (Dai et al. 1992), have undergone homorganic nasal assimilation; in the Na reflex given here, this prenasalization does not occur, as in the Shixing (dzū55) and Hani Dazhai (dzɔ55) forms that also have initial voiced affricates as cited in Matisoff (Matisoff 2003b:288).

¹⁴ Matisoff, following Dai et al. (1992), gives dze13 as the YN Na cognate; as tones vary significantly in the various villages of Yongning township, it is not surprising that I have dze33.

¹⁵ This sound change is also attested in some varieties of Lisu and in some varieties of Tibetan (Graham Thurgood, p.c.)

	PTB	Na
*s	*sum *sa *sa *saŋ >< *suŋ *sik >< *siŋ *(t)si-t >< *tsut *sak *syey-s *s-hyway	sɔ33 [so33] ‘three’ sɣ33-k ^h u33 ‘vein’ (k ^h u33 is a CLS) sɛ33 [se33] ‘happy, pleasant’ sɔ31 [so31] ‘fragrant’ suw33 ‘tree / firewood’ suw13 ‘lung’ sɔ31 ts ^h u33 [so31 ts ^h i33], sɔ31 k ^h u33 [so31 k ^h i33] ‘breathe’ si33 [sz33] ‘know’ sɣ33 ‘blood’
*z	*za *za ² -mi ² *zum >< *zuŋ PLB *s-yəy ²	zɔ33 [zo33] ‘son’ zɔ33-mu33 [zo33-mu33] zɔ33 [zo33] ‘use’ zi33 [zɜ33] ‘grass’
*ts	*tsyat / *tsywar *n-(t)syen *tsa *tsa *tsi:t *ts(y)i(y)	ts ^h u13 ‘cut’ k ^h u31 ts ^h u13 ‘foot, claw’ ts ^h ɛ33 [ts ^h e33] ‘salt’ ts ^h u33 ‘hot’ ts ^h i13 [ts ^h ɜ13] ‘goat’ ¹⁶ ts ^h ɛ33 [ts ^h e33] ‘ten’
*ts, *z	*tsa *zəy	tsu33 ‘spicy’ tse33-lɣ33 [tse33-lɣ33] ‘barley’
*dz, *by, *m-d/t	*dziŋ *dzya *dzum >< *tsum *bya *byam *m-d/tu:ŋ	suw33-dzu33 ‘tree’ dzi33 [dzz33] ‘eat’ dzu33 ‘pair’ dze33-mi33 [dze33-mi33] ‘bee’ (Matisoff 2003b:68) dze33 [dze33] ‘fly (v.)’ (Matisoff 2003b:68) dzu31 ‘sit’

Table 6.4 Origins of the alveolar obstruents in Na

¹⁶ Note that YN Na also has the coordinative compound ts^hi13 yɔ33 [ts^hɜ13 yɔ33] ‘sheep’, which is composed of the independent forms ts^hi13 [ts^hɜ13] ‘goat’ and yɔ33 ‘sheep’; yɔ33 ‘sheep’ is given in Table 2.10. The forms given in footnote d, Matisoff 2003b:350 for Naxi and Namuyi appear to follow this same construction.

6.5 ALVEO-PALATAL OBSTRUENTS

The origins of the alveo-palatal obstruents are a bit less clear. First, as discussed in §2.2.1.3.2, there are some issues as to whether the alveo-palatal series exists in distinction from the retroflex series (i.e., the alveo-palatals could alternatively be analyzed as retroflexes followed by /i/). As per §2.2.1.3.2, I have chosen to analyze these two series as distinct. Na /ç/ and /ʃ/ are both reflexes of PTB *s; /ç/ is a reflex of PTB *s(y) while /ʃ/ is a reflex of PTB *sy; and /dʒ/ and /dʒ/ are both reflexes of PTB *dzy. These facts alone would support an analysis of the alveo-palatals and retroflexes as not distinct in Na. However, further comparison of the origins of the Na alveo-palatal and retroflex series supports the analysis of two distinct series in Na. The alveo-palatals /tʃ^h/ and /tʃ/ develop from PTB *k, *ky in a simple process of palatization, while the retroflexes /tʃ^h/ and /tʃ/ develop from PTB *ts. It is unfortunately not possible to compare the development of /ʒ/ and /ʒ/ as no clear Na reflexes beginning in /ʒ/ have been found. However, we can note that although Na /z/ develops from *z, /dʒ/ develops from *dz, and /dʒ/ develops from *dz / *dzy, we also have Na /z/ developing from *l / *r / *mr and /dʒ/ developing from *dzy, *s/m-gr. Thus, the retroflexes have at least partially developed from separate proto-phonemes. As mergers are certainly possible, by itself, this argument is not nearly strong enough to compel an analysis of separate alveo-palatal and retroflex series. The historical evidence can only indicate that at least at one point, the two series were distinct; for further discussion of the issue of one series versus two series, please see §2.2.1.3.2.

Prefix fusion (Matisoff 2003b:95) is attested in *r-gya > ɕi33 ‘hundred’ and prefix loss is attested in *s-kyu:r > tɕi33 ‘sour.’

	PTB	Na
*s,	*sit	tɕi31 ɕi33 ‘whistle’
*s(y),	*s(y)ar	ɕi33 mi33 ‘louse’
*ts(y),	*ts(y)i >< *zəy	ɕi33-ɕi33 ‘to urinate (child speak)’
*gy	*r-gya	ɕi33 ‘hundred’
	unknown	ʒ
*k, *ky	*m-ka / *m-ka-y *kyəw	mɤ33 tɕ ^h ɤ31 ‘chin’ tɕ ^h i55 ‘sweet’
*ky	*s-kyu:r	tɕi33 ‘sour’
*dz,	*dzyaŋ ‘be there’	dʒə33 ‘EXIST; have’
*dzy	*dzi	dʒi33-ʂwæ13 ‘dew’

Table 6.5 Origins of the alveo-palatal obstruents in Na

6.6 RETROFLEX OBSTRUENTS

The development of the Na retroflex obstruents from their PTB origins for the most part mirrors the development of the stops and the alveolar and alveo-palatal obstruents, with a few differences. PTB *s, *sy, *s- develop into Na /ʂ/, *ts splits to yield Na /tʂ/ and /tʂ^h/, and *dzy develops into /dz/.

However, the voiced retroflex fricative /z/ has developed from the resonants *l and *r. Matisoff, following (Okrand 1973), has an analysis of *mr > /z/, but it is possible that this is really a subset of *r > /z/ where the nasal in the complex onset has been lost, as complex onsets simplify in Na across the board (with the exceptions of glottals where rhinoglottophilia is at work, and the voiceless lateral fricative). Examples of PTB complex onsets that simplify in Na include: *kr > /k^h/ and /k/: k^hu31 ts^hu13 ‘foot’, k^hy33 ‘horn’, k^hu33 ‘thread’, k^hwæ33 ‘fence / garden’, ku33-dʒi33 ‘bile’ and *mw > /m/: mu31 kæ33 [m̄i31 qæ33] ‘castrate (an animal).’

PLB *s-rwəy¹ > ʂu31 ɠwæ55 = æ31 [ʂɿ31 ɠwæ55 = æ31] ‘yellow’ is another example of prefix preemption, while PLB *m-dzya > dzwæ33-mi33 ‘sparrow’ shows prefix loss.

More difficult to explain is *s/m-gr > /dz/, as in the example *s/m-grəy > lə33-dzæ31 ‘melted.’ Here, prefix loss has occurred for *s/m-, and it seems that the voiced velar stop is another instance of the palatization attested for the alveo-palatals /tɕ^h/ and /tɕ/, which develop from PTB *k, *ky, with voicing brought in by the *r > /z/.

	PTB	Na
*s, *sy, *s-	*səy *g-sik *sa *sya ‘flesh /meat’ *s-nis PLB *s-rwəy ¹	ʂu33 [ʂɿ33] ‘die’ ʂu13 [ʂɿ13] ‘new’ ʂu33 [ʂɿ33] ‘bright, clear’ ʂɛ33 [ʂɛ33] ‘meat’ ʂu33 [ʂɿ33] ‘seven’ ʂu31 ɠwæ55 = æ31 [ʂɿ31 ɠwæ55 = æ31] ‘yellow’
*l, *r, *mr	*ləy *b-ləy *s-b-ru:l PLB *ray *mraŋ	zɯ33 ‘four’ zɯ31 mi33 (fem.), zɯ31-wu33 [zɯ31-yu33] (masc.) ‘grandchild’ zɯ33 bæ33 ‘snake’ ¹⁷ zæ33 ‘laugh’ (Matisoff 2003b:42) zɰwæ33 ‘horse’ (Matisoff 2003b:82, following Okrand 1973)
*ts	*tsəy *tsap	tɕ ^h æ33-tɕ ^h æ33 ‘wash’ tɕ ^h wæ13 ‘insert’
*ts	*tsik	tɕæ13 ‘joint’
*dzy, *s/m-gr	*dzyi > *gyi PLB *m-dzya *s/m-grəy	dzæ33 ‘ride (an animal)’ dzwæ33-mi33 ‘sparrow’ lə33-dzæ31 ‘melted’

Table 6.6 Origins of the retroflex obstruents in Na

¹⁷ The Yongning Na form is clearly cognate with the Lijiang Naxi form ʂu31, but seems closer to some of the Qiangic forms, particularly Pumi Taoba and Pumi Jinghua forms, bæ35 re53 and bæ13 zɑ55, respectively, as well as Guiqiong tɕu53, Ersu bæ33 rɿ55, Namuyi bæ¹53, Shixing ba33 ro55, and Lüsü buu33 yu¹35 (given in Matisoff 2003b:417).

6.7 LABIODENTAL FRICATIVE

The labiodental fricative /f/ is extremely rare in Na, and no data are available for reconstruction. The two examples of from my lexical database are given in Table 6.7, and we can see that the labiodental fricative only occurs preceding the high back rounded vowel. Unfortunately, the PTB forms for these two examples are not available in (Matisoff 2003b), so we do not yet know the source of the Na labiodental fricative.

Bradley notes that /f/ is marginal in Lisu and in some dialects the labiodental fricative has been replaced by alveolar or velar fricatives (Bradley 2003:224). Lisu /f/ only appears preceding /u/ and /y/, and Bradley presents a possible analysis of [f] as an allophone of the glottal stop when it appears word-initially preceding these two vowels (Bradley 2003:225).

Likewise, Matisoff notes that the PTB source for the Lisu /f/ is *Ø and gives PLB *(ʔ)u3 ‘egg’ > Lahu u³³, Lisu (Central) hu³, Lisu (Nujiang) e⁵⁵ fu⁴⁴ ¹⁸(Matisoff 2003b:57), to which we can add Na ɣuɔ13. Thus, although Na, like Lisu, has a marginal /f/ which only appears preceding high rounded vowels, there is no evidence that the two labiodentals are in fact cognate.

	PTB	Na
	unknown	(statistically rare initial, no data available for reconstruction) fu13 ‘fan out (v.)’ fu33 ‘to like, to be happy’ (and several cognate expressions)

Table 6.7 Origins of the labiodental fricative in Na

¹⁸ The h / f variation in Lisu may be due to contact with southwestern varieties of Chinese, where the distinction between /h/ and /f/ is levelled in some contexts, which leaves a fairly straightforward change from PTB *ʔ to /h/.

6.8 VELAR AND GLOTTAL FRICATIVES

The origins of the velar and glottal fricatives in Na are somewhat complicated. *r > /ɣ/, as is commonly found in Lolo-Burmese languages (Matisoff 2003b:43), and *ʔ followed by /u/ also results in /ɣ/ in Na.

	PTB	Na
*r, *ʔu	*rəy *ʔu	ɣu13 ‘hide (n.)’ ɣwɔ13 ‘egg’
*h, *s-m, *n	*haŋ *s-mul *ni	hɑ33 ‘rice (cooked)’ hɔ̃33 ‘hair, fur’, zɪ31-hɔ̃33 ‘hair (body)’ hũ31/13 ‘red’
*ʔ	*ʔa *ʔa.r	ɑ33 [ʔɑ33] ‘kinship / vocative prefix’ ʔæ13 [ʔæ̃13] ‘chicken’

Table 6.8 Origins of the velar and glottal fricatives in Na

6.9 LATERALS

PTB *l and *ly straightforwardly develop into /l/ in Na. PTB *rak appears as lu33 mi33 [lu33 mi33] in Na, while PTB *rəy becomes ɣu13 in Na. Although this is a very small set of data with which to work, it tentatively appears that PTB *r splits to become Na /ɣ/ and /l/. The factors conditioning this split presently remain unknown. Na /l/ develops from a wide range of *C and *l combinations in PTB: *gl, *s/g-l, *m-hl, *s-l, *ʔ-l.

	PTB	Na
*l, *ly, *r	*luk (*g-lak) *lak *lep *la *la *laŋ PLB *laŋ ¹ *s-la ‘leaf / tea’ *lyak *rak	lu13 [[u13] ‘enough’ lɔ31 ‘hand’ p ^h i33 li31 ‘butterfly’ la33 ‘tiger’ la33 p ^h a13 ‘large leaf’ q ^h æ33 lɔ33 ‘(small) river’ lɔ33 ‘valley’ li13 ‘tea’ lu13 [[u13] ‘feed’ lu33-mi33 [[u33-mi33] ‘stone’
*gl, *s/g-l, *m-hl, *s-l, *ʔ-l	*gla *s/g-la *m-hla ‘god, beautiful’ *s-lam *ʔ-la ²	ʔi33 ‘musk deer’ ʔi33 ‘month / moon’ gɔ33 ʔa33 [gɔ33 ʔa33] ‘god’, ʔɔ31 ʔi55 [ʔɔ31 ʔi55] ‘soul’ ʔi31 ‘fathom’ ʔi33 k ^h wɔ31 ‘trousers’

Table 6.9 Origins of the laterals in Na

6.10 GLIDES

Na /w/ develops from PTB *w and two related PTB sounds, *g-w and *b(w), as well as the fairly unstable PTB *r, which we have already noted as being one of the precursors to Na /y/ and /l/ in section §6.8 and 6.9, respectively. Na /y/ develops from PTB *y in a straightforward manner.

	PTB	Na
*w, *g-w, w, *b(w), *r	*wa *wa *wa ‘man, husband’ *g-wa *b(w)ay *ram >< *rap	wɔ33 ‘village’ wu31 dze13 [yɔ31 dze13] ‘bird’ a33-wu33 [ʔə33-yu33] ‘uncle’ wu33-wu33 [yɔ33-yu33] ‘chew’ wæ33 ‘left (direction)’ wɔ13 ‘needle’
*y	*ra >< *ya *yaŋ	yɔ33 ‘right (side)’ yɔ33 ‘sheep’

Table 6.10 Origins of the glides in Na

6.11 ORIGINS OF THE NA MONOPHTHONGS /i, ε, æ, u, ʏ, u, ʏ, ɔ, a/

6.11.1 Origins of Na /i/

Some of the PTB origins for the Na high front unrounded vowel /i/ are straightforward, such as PTB *i; PTB *e which would indicate a slight raising from PTB to Na; the PTB diphthongs *ey and *əy which already show upward movement in the diphthongization; and the various palatized initials where the palatization on the consonant could become re-analyzed as a vowel over time. However, PTB origins are more difficult to explain: *u, *a, and *gla / *hla / *s-la / *s/g-la.

	PTB	Na
*i, *e,	*tip	ti13 ‘strike’
*ey,	*s-min	mi13 ‘ripe, ripen’
*əy, *u,	*mi	mi33 ‘female’
*a, *gla	*ni	ni33 ‘two’
/ *hla /	*niŋ	ni13 ‘way’
*s-la /	*sit	tɕi ɕi33 ‘whistle’
*s/g-la,	*ts(y)i >> *zəy	ɕi33-ɕi33 ‘to urinate (childspeak)’, dɕi33 ‘urine’ ¹⁹
various	PLB *ʔ-dzi	dɕi33-ɕwæ13 ‘dew’
palatized	*r-ni-l >> *s-ni-l	ɕi33-k ^h u33 ‘gums’
initials	*lep	p ^h i33 li31 ‘butterfly’
	*s-ney / *s-na:y	ni13 ‘near’
	*nəy	ɲi33 ‘day’, ɲi33 mi33 ‘sun’
	*pur >> *pwar	p ^h i33 li31 ‘butterfly’
	*pat	gɣ13-p ^h i13 ‘vomit (v.)’, p ^h i13-bu33 [p ^h i13 bu33] ‘vomit (n.)’
	*na	ɲi33 ‘hear’
	*s-na	ɲi33-q ^h ɣ33 ‘nose’
	*s-la ‘leaf / tea’	li13 ‘tea’
	*s/g-la	ʎi33 ‘month / moon’
	*gla	ʎi33 ‘musk deer’

Table 6.11 Origins of the high front unrounded vowel /i/

¹⁹ I had always thought that dɕi33 ‘urine’ must be a semantic extension of dɕi33 ‘water’, the form dɕi33 supports the PLB reconstruction of *tɕi² >> *N-(d)zəy² posited on the basis of Lahu (with the caveat that Na is usually considered somewhat outside LB proper), given in Matisoff 2003b:187.

*m-hla ‘god, beautiful’	ɔ̄31 ɬi55 [ʔɔ̄31 ɬi55] ‘soul’
*s-lam	ɬi31 ‘fathom’
*ʔ-la ²	ɬi33 k ^h wɔ̄31 ‘trousers’
*byon	bi33 ‘to go; FUT’
*r-gya	ɕi33 ‘hundred’
*s(y)ar	ɕi33 mi33 ‘louse’
*kyəw	tɕ ^h i55 ‘sweet’
*s-kyu:r	tɕi33 ‘sour’
*ŋya	ni33 zɔ̄33 [ni33 zɔ̄33] ‘fish’
*r(y)ap	hī13 ‘stand’
*syey-s	si33 [sɕ33] ‘know’
PLB *s-yəy ²	zi33 [zɕ33] ‘grass’
*dz(y)ay QUOT	tsi13 [tsɕ13] REP
*dzya	dzi33 [dzɕ33] ‘eat’

Table 6.11 Origins of the high front unrounded vowel /i/ (cont’d)

6.11.2 Origins of Na /ɛ/

The PTB origins of Na /ɛ/ are various, although most involve y-diphthongs with mid or low vowels: *əy, *(y)i(y) >> *yay, *ya, but PTB *a in PTB *tsa > ts^hɛ33 [ts^he33] ‘salt’ is also attested.

	PTB	Na
*əy,	*zəy	tse33-lɥ33 [tse33-lɥ33] ‘barley’
*(y)i(y)	*ts(y)i(y) >> *tsyay	ts ^h ɛ33 [ts ^h e33] ‘ten’
>>*yay,	*byam ¹	dze33 [dze33] ‘fly (v.)’
*ya, *a	*sya ‘flesh /meat’	ʂe33 [ʂe33] ‘meat’
	*tsa	ts ^h ɛ33 [ts ^h e33] ‘salt’

Table 6.12 Origins of the mid front unrounded vowel /ɛ/

6.11.3 ORIGINS OF NA /æ/

The PTB origins of Na /æ/ predominantly involve PTB low and mid vowels: *a, *ay, *əy, *əw, but PTB *i, *e, are also attested.

	PTB	Na
*a, * ay,	*ba: r	bæ31 bæ33 ‘flower’
*i, *e,	*ka:ŋ	qæ13 ‘burn’
*əy,	ʔa:r	æ̃13 [ʔæ̃13] ‘chicken’
*əw	*b(w)ay	wæ33 ‘left (direction)’
	*r(y)a >< *r(y)ay	zæ33 ‘laugh’
	*tsik	tʂæ13 ‘joint’
	*dzyi >< *gyi	dzæ33 ‘ride (an animal)’
	*s-mi: t (PLB mi:t ^L)	mæ31-mæ13 ‘blink’
	*blen	bæ13 ‘pus’
	*tsəy	tʂ ^h æ33-tʂ ^h æ33 ‘wash’
	*g-ləy	hæ̃33 ‘wind’
	*s/m-grəy	lə33-dzæ31 ‘melted’
	*nəw	næ33 [ŋæ33] ‘milk’

Table 6.13 Origins of the low front unrounded vowel /æ/

6.11.4 ORIGINS OF NA /u/

The PTB origins of Na /u/ come from disparate corners of the vowel space—*i, *e, *əy, *u, *a—and it is hard to see systematic correspondences.

	PTB	Na
*i, *e,	*dik	du33 [dɨ̄33] ‘one’
*əy, *u,	*kriŋ	k ^h u33 ‘thread’
*a	*sik	su33 ‘tree / firewood’ or *siŋ > su33 ‘firewood’?
	*tsi:t	ts ^h u13 ‘goat’
	*(t)si-t >> *tsut	su13 ‘lung’
	*dziŋ	su33-dzu33 ‘tree’
	*g-sik	ʂu13 [ʂɨ̄13] ‘new’
	*s-nis	ʂu33 [ʂɨ̄33] ‘seven’
	*m-tsril	zɨ̄u13 [zɨ̄13] ‘saliva’
	*n-(t)syen	k ^h u31 ts ^h u13 ‘foot, claw’
	*səy	ʂu33 [ʂɨ̄33] ‘die’
	*rəy	ɣu13 ‘hide’
	*krəy	k ^h u31 ts ^h u13 ‘foot’
	*krəy	ku33-dzi33 ‘bile’
	PLB *m-dzəy ¹	zɨ̄u33 [zɨ̄33] ‘liquor’
	PLB *s-rwəy ¹	ʂu31 Gwæ55 = æ31 [ʂɨ̄31 Gwæ55 = æ31] ‘yellow’
	*yu	zɨ̄u33 [zɨ̄33] ‘take’
	*pu, *pwa	p ^h u55/33 [p ^h ɨ̄55/33] ‘male animal’
	*plu	p ^h u33 [p ^h ɨ̄33] ‘white’
	*dzum >> *tsum	dzu33 ‘pair’
	*m-d/tu:ŋ	dzu31 ‘sit’
	*tsa	ts ^h u33 ‘hot’
	*tsa	tsu33 ‘spicy’
	*gra:y	ku33 ‘star’
	*mwan >> *mwat	mu31 qæ33 [mɨ̄31 qæ33] ‘castrate’
	*tsyat / *tsywar	ts ^h u13 ‘cut’

Table 6.14 Origins of the high back unrounded vowel /u/

6.11.5 ORIGINS OF NA /ɤ/

The PTB origins for Na /ɤ/ are mid-central and low: *wəy, *a, which are fairly close to Na /ɤ/.

	PTB	Na
*wəy,	*s-hywəy	sɤ33 'blood'
*a	*pwa	hɔ31 tɕ ^h u33-pɤ33 'husband'
	*wa	wɤ33 'village'
	*sa	sɤ33-k ^h u33 'vein'
	*m-ka / *m-ka-y	mɤ33 tɕ ^h ɤ31 'chin'

Table 6.15 Origins of the mid back unrounded vowel /ɤ/

6.11.6 ORIGINS OF NA /u/

The PTB origins for Na /u/ include PTB *u; *o, which is also highish, back, and rounded; and the central diphthongs *əw, *əy. However, they also include *i, *ey, *a, which are fairly distant from /u/ in the vowel space.

	PTB	Na
*u, *o,	*duŋ	du33 qæ33 [d̥u33 qæ33] ‘wing’
*əw,	*kuk ‘return’	k ^h u13 ‘year’
*əy, *i,	*kim >< *kum	wɔ33-ku33 ‘pillow’ (wɔ33 = ‘head’)
*ey, *a	*luk	lu13 [[u13] ‘enough’
	*m-pup	p ^h u33 [g ^h u33] ‘overturn’
	*s-b-ru:l	zɯ33 bæ33 ‘snake’
	*toŋ	tu33 [t̥u33] ‘thousand’
	*bəw	bu31 ɤ33 [ɸu31 ɤ33] ‘fly (n.)’
	*kəw	mu33 k ^h u33 [m̥u33 k ^h u33] ‘smoke’
	*ŋəw	ŋu33 ‘weep’
	PLB *kəw ²	k ^h u33 ‘steal’
	*kwəy	k ^h u33 ‘dog’
	*kwəy	k ^h u55 ‘nest’
	*ləy	zɯ33 ‘four’
	*b-ləy	zɯ31-mi33 (fem.), zɯ31-wu33 [zɯ31 ɣu33] (masc.) ‘grandchild’
	*ni	hũ ‘red’
	*s-ni	nu31 mi13 [n̥u31 mi13] ‘heart’
	*nyɪ:t	zɯ31 ŋu33 [z̥ɰ31 ŋu33] ‘sleep’
	*mey	mu33 [m̥u33] ‘fire’
	*wa ‘man, husband’	ɑ33-wu33 [ə33-ɣu33] ‘uncle’
	*wa	wu31 dze13 [ɣu31 dze13] ‘bird’
	*g-wa	wu33-wu33 [ɣu33-ɣu33] ‘chew’
	*bat	bu33 nu33 [ɸu33 n̥u33] ‘odor’
	*daŋ	ʂu33 du33 [ʂu33 d̥u33] ‘think’
	*rak	lu33-mi33 [[u33-mi33] ‘stone’
	*lyak	lu13 [[u13] ‘feed (animals)’

Table 6.16 Origins of the high back rounded vowel /u/

6.11.7 ORIGINS OF NA /ɣ/

The PTB origins for Na /ɣ/ are fairly straightforward: PTB *u, which is also high and back, and PTB *əw, a diphthong which rises from mid-center to high and back.

	PTB	Na
*u, *əw	*kuŋ >> *guŋ	q ^h ɣ33 ‘hole’, ǣ31-q ^h ɣ33 [ʔǣ31-q ^h ɣ33] ‘cave’
	*mut	mɣ13 [mɣ13] ‘blow’
	*d-kruk	q ^h ɣ13 ‘six’
	*krəw	k ^h ɣ33 ‘horn’
	*gəw	gɣ33 ‘nine’
	*məw	mɣ33 [mɣ33] ‘heavens, sky’

Table 6.17 Origins of the high back vowel /ɣ/

6.11.8 ORIGINS OF NA /ɔ/

Several of the PTB origins of Na /ɔ/ are fairly close in the vowel space: *u, which is high, back, and rounded, and *əw, which is a diphthong which rises from mid-center to high and back. However, a large percentage of the Na reflexes come from PTB *a, *a:y which do not suggest a clear path of development to Na /ɔ/.

	PTB	Na
*u, *əw,	*til >< *tul	tɔ33 bu33 ‘buttock’
*a, *a:y	*gum >< *kum	k ^h ɔ13 ‘kill’
	*sum	sɔ33 [so33] ‘three’
	*zum >< *zuŋ	zɔ33 [zo33] ‘use’
	*s-mul	hɔ33 ‘hair, fur’, zɪ31-hɔ33 ‘hair (body)’
	*məw	mɔ13 ‘mushroom’
	*nəw	ɲɔ13 ‘milk’
	*pwa	pɔ33 (Shamanic) ‘husband’
	PLB *pwaŋ ³	p ^h ɔ33 ‘open’
	*ta	tɔ33 ‘look’
	*taŋ ‘pine’	t ^h ɔ33-ʂu13 ‘pine needle’
	*da	qæ33 dɔ33 ‘stick (n.)’
	*maŋ ‘big, older’	mɔ31 ‘old, elder’
	*naŋ	nɔ33 2SG.PRO
	*s-maŋ	mɔ33 ‘corpse’
	*sak	sɔ31 ts ^h u33 [so31 ts ^h i33], sɔ31 k ^h u33 [so31 k ^h i33] ‘breathe’
	*saŋ >< *suŋ	sɔ31 [so31] ‘fragrant’
	*za	zɔ33 [zo33] ‘son’
	*dzyaŋ ‘be there’	dʒɔ33 ‘EXIST; have’
	*ra >< *ya	yɔ33 ‘right (side)’
	*ram >< *rap	wɔ13 ‘needle’
	*s-ryak >< *s-rik	hɔ33 ‘pheasant’
	(*g-lak) *lak	lɔ31 ‘hand’
	*laŋ	k ^h æ33 lɔ33 [q ^h æ33 lɔ33] ‘(small) river’
	PLB *laŋ ¹	lɔ33 ‘valley’
	*yaŋ	yɔ33 ‘sheep’
	*pa:y	zɔ33-pɔ13 [zo33-pɔ13] ‘pregnant’

Table 6.18 Origins of the mid back rounded vowel /ɔ/

6.11.9 ORIGINS OF NA /a/

Na /a/ develops directly from PTB *a, with the one attested exception of PTB *s-bu to Na /ba33/.

	PTB	Na
*u, *a	*s-bu	ba33 ‘open’
	*ta	t ^h a33 PROH
	*tak	t ^h a13 ‘sharp’
	*dan >< *day	da31 ‘only’
	*ga	ga13 ‘help’
	*ma	a33-ma33 [ʔa33-ma33] ‘mother’
	*ma	ma33- NEG-
	*mra >< *mya	ma31 na33 ‘many’
	*s-nak	na33 ‘black’
	*ŋa	ŋa33 1SG.PRO
	PLB *s-myak ^H	ŋa31-lu33 [ŋa31-[u33] ‘eye’
	*la	la33 ‘tiger’
	*la	la33 p ^h a13 ‘large leaf’
	*ra	ya33 q ^h a33 ‘buckwheat’
	*m-hla ‘god, beautiful’	ga33 ʔa33 ‘god’
	*haŋ	ha33 ‘rice (cooked)’
	*ʔa	a33 [ʔa33] ‘kinship / vocative prefix’

Table 6.19 Origins of the low back unrounded vowel /a/

6.12 ORIGINS OF THE NA DIPHTHONGS /wæ, wɤ, wə, wɑ /

6.12.1 Origins of Na /wæ/

The Na diphthong /wæ/ developed from PTB *a. It is unclear why the /u/ segment of the diphthong develops, but this data lends additional credence to Yang's (2009) analysis that the /wæ/ diphthong is phonologically-induced rather than a stable, historic element of Na.

	PTB	Na
*a	*kram	k ^h wæ33 'fence / garden'
	*tsap	tʂ ^h wæ13 'insert'
	*mraŋ	zɤwæ33 'horse'
	PLB *m-dzya	dzɤwæ33 mi33 'sparrow'

Table 6.20 Origins of the diphthong /wæ/

6.12.2 ORIGINS OF NA /wɤ/

The Na diphthong /wɤ/ developed from PTB *a, *ey. Both of the PTB vowels are in the low and mid range, and the second element of the Na diphthong /wɤ/ is a mid vowel, so this is consistent, although why the u-initial of the Na diphthong appears is still unclear.

	PTB	Na
*a, *ey	*kwa	k ^h wɤ33 bi13 'hoof'
	*ga: r	gɤwɤ13 'sing'
	*ŋa	ŋwɤ33 [ŋwə33] 'five'
	*rey	zɤwɤ33 'language'

Table 6.21 Origins of the diphthong /wɤ/

6.12.3 ORIGINS OF NA /wɔ/

As there is only one PTB-Na set for the Na diphthong /wɔ/, it is difficult to make a cogent analysis. Although the u-initial of the Na diphthong is present in the PTB form, we do not have evidence of how the /ɔ/ element of Na /wɔ/ came to be.

	PTB	Na
*u	*ɹu	ɣwɔ13 ‘egg’

Table 6.23 Origins of the diphthong /wɔ/

6.12.4 ORIGINS OF NA /wa/

The Na diphthong /wa/ is statistically extremely rare, with just two forms containing this diphthong in the lexical database. Neither of these lexical items, unfortunately, match forms in the voluminous (Matisoff 2003b). The Na lexical items may in fact be loans from Tibetan.

	PTB	Na
		(statistically rare diphthong, no data available for reconstruction)

Table 6.23 Origins of the diphthong /wa/

7 Introduction to Na morphosyntax

This section provides a discussion of the basic morphosyntactic elements of Na and provides a foundation for analyses in all subsequent sections. §7.1 describes phonological word in Na. §7.2 discusses grammatical word in Na, and §7.3 looks at the alignment of grammatical and phonological word in Na. §7.4 provides a justification of the word classes which will be employed in all subsequent sections. §7.5 gives an overview of the role of grammaticalization in Na morphosyntax.

7.1 PHONOLOGICAL WORD IN NA

CVT is both minimal syllable structure and minimal word structure, where C may be a glottal stop that appears when no other C fills the syllable-initial slot, for example æ13 [ʔæ13] ‘chicken.’ Na is a primarily head-modifying language, and in the rare cases where no C fills this slot, the syllable cliticizes to the previous syllable, as is attested in the example su33 p^hi33=æ31 (su33 p^hi33 ‘king’ + =æ31 PL) ‘kings.’ Note, however, that although in languages with stress as a supersegmental, lack of stress can be one criterion for analyzing a segment as a clitic, the tone in Na enclitics is generally retained. This may be due to the acoustic fact that each segment must have a pitch associated with it (regardless of whether pitch is phonemic in that language), but stress, which is a trifecta of pitch, volume, and length, is by nature marked, as three acoustic phenomena must be in place on the segment.

When there is a sequence GV where G is a semi-vowel glide within a phonological word, the GV sequence appears as a diphthong. Due to the automatic glottal stop that appears to preserve the minimal syllable of CVT in words that would otherwise be V-initial, one generally does not find GV sequences crossing the phonological word boundary, with the exception of the few enclitics.

7.2 GRAMMATICAL WORD IN NA

The grammatical word in Na is a root, or quite often, a compound. Affixes are limited. Prefixes include the aspectual markers $l\text{ə}33-$ ACCOMP- and $t^h\text{u}33-$ DUR-, and $m\text{ə}33-$ NEG-. Although $t^h\text{u}33$ PROH maintains status as a word in its own right, $m\text{ə}33-$ NEG- is more closely entwined with roots, and native speakers receive a clear reading that it is a bound prefix, and not an independent word in its own right, although it may have been so historically. $l\text{ə}33-$, an aspect marker indicating accomplishment (not perfective aspect, which is marked with $z\text{ə}33$), also should be considered an affix rather than an independent word. Both $m\text{ə}33-$ NEG- and $l\text{ə}33-$ ACCOMP- undergo vowel harmony (§4.7.6.3 and 4.7.6.4, respectively) with the roots to which they attach. Vowel harmony generally only occurs within a grammatical word (although note the rare cases discussed in §4.7.6.7 where vowel harmony occurs across word boundaries, i.e., $\eta\gamma33$ $l\text{ə}33$ $h\text{ə}33$ ‘silver and gold,’ although these seem to be conventionalized phrases). $t^h\text{u}33-$ DUR- is also a prefix, and is bound so closely to the root that speakers find it somewhat difficult to identify as a separate morpheme, although this may be partially due to the abstract nature of the concept of durative. However, $t^h\text{u}33-$ DUR- rarely undergoes vowel harmony, but this is due to the fact that high vowels generally do not participate in vowel harmony (see §4.7.6.5). This evidence from vowel harmony generally supports a fairly close alignment between grammatical word and phonological word in Na.

Suffixes are less common, and §8.1.4 provides a discussion of Na noun suffixes; verb suffixes are not attested in Na (§11.1.3). The ‘case’ markers (discussed in §10) deserve special attention. Unlike most of the ‘case’ markers, $bu33$ (in the strictly possessive usage), particularly in the possessive pronouns, and $ki33$ DAT are almost suffixal. Cross-linguistically, case adpositions becoming case suffixes is a common historical change and Na seems to be at the very beginning of this path. However, at present, these adpositions remain as separate words.

7.3 ALIGNMENT OF GRAMMATICAL WORD AND PHONOLOGICAL WORD IN NA

Languages vary cross-linguistically to the extent to which grammatical word and phonological word co-align (Aikhenvald 2002). If one considers the combinatorial possibilities of the alignment of grammatical word and phonological word, one obtains Table 7.1.

ONE TO ONE	ONE TO MANY
MANY TO ONE	MANY TO MANY

Table 7.1 Combinatorial possibilities for alignment of grammatical word and phonological word

Alignment of one grammatical word to one phonological word is attested in numerous monomorphemic words, such as b_{13} ‘pig.’ b_{13} is a complete grammatical word through being judged to be a fully natural word by native speakers; it is a complete phonological word through fulfillment of the minimal syllable structure of CVT.

Alignment of one grammatical word to more than one phonological word is attested in the many compounds and reduplicated forms of Na. The verb $t^{h\text{æ}31}\text{-}t^{h\text{æ}13}$ ‘mutually bite’ is a grammatical word, where the reduplication of monomorphemic $t^{h\text{æ}13}$ results in a reading of reciprocal action; as both iterations of $t^{h\text{æ}13}$ in the reduplicated verb fulfill the minimal syllable structure of CVT, this grammatical word is composed of two complete phonological words.

The question of whether more than one grammatical word can align with one phonological word is more complicated. The plural enclitic =æ31 can appear with a limited number of animate nouns, and is attested in the corpus in forms such as p^hæ33-tɕ^hi33=æ31 ‘men,’ the coordinate compound p^hæ13-tɕ^hi33-mu33-zɔ33=æ31 ‘men and young women,’ su31 p^hi33=æ31 ‘kings,’ wɔ31 bɔ33=æ31 ‘livestock,’ zɔ33-mu33-zɔ33=æ31 ‘children,’ hɪ33-mɔ33=æ31 ‘elders,’ and the coordinate compound a33-p^hɥ33-a33-su33=æ31 ‘ancestors.’ =æ31 is not a complete phonological word, as the C slot in the minimal syllable structure of CVT is not filled, so it encliticizes to the previous word. Although =æ31 is clearly its own morpheme by virtue of receiving a clear reading of ‘plural,’ it is not entirely clear whether it should be considered a grammatical word in its own right. Perhaps it should be considered closer to an affix because it is very selective as to with what it appears. I also did not elicit native speaker judgements as to whether this =æ31 receives the reading of being a complete grammatical word due to concerns about the interference in judgements of the plural suffix –men (们) in Chinese. However, =æ31 does not induce vowel harmony, as might be expected if it were suffixal rather than autonomous, as vowel harmony is frequently found with affixes, but rarely occurs across word boundaries (see §4.7.6.7). If we consider =æ31 to be a grammatical word, and if it attached to a monomorphemic word, we would have an example of more than one grammatical word aligned with one phonological word. However, =æ31 is only attested in the corpus with bimorphemic and polymorphemic phonological words, which exceed the minimum phonological word requirements, so we do not have an example of more than one grammatical word aligning with one phonological word. It is certainly possible that there may be a monomorpheme simply not found in the corpus to which the plural enclitic can attach. If this were the case, this would be an example of more than one grammatical word aligning with one phonological word.

The final possible combination shown in Table 7.1, that of more than one grammatical word aligning with more than one phonological word, is a superset of the former three possible combinations.

7.4 JUSTIFICATION OF NA WORD CLASSES

The open classes in Na are nouns and verbs. A noun in Na is a word that heads a noun phrase, or can act as an agent of a transitive clause as in (81), a subject of an intransitive clause (82), an object of a transitive clause (83), or as an oblique (84). Nouns are an open class, although there are closed subclasses of nouns (see §8.2.3). Morphologically, noun roots may be free (85) or bound, as in (86), where –mi33 is bound and only appears in compounds whether it is used in its ‘mother; female’ semantics or as the grammaticalized –AUG. Nouns are very occasionally marked for plural (87), and may be derived from verbs by suffixation with one of the nominalizers: –hi33, which is used for creating both general nominalizations (88) and agentive nominalizations (89), or –di33, which is used for creating both locative (90) and purposive nominalizations (91) (see §8.1.4.4, §16.2.1 on nominalizations). Na is fairly analytic, and nouns are not marked with inflectional morphology such as that for gender and number, and nouns do not take modal or aspectual markers. When nominals are created from verb roots, the verb root may take an aspectual prefix, as in (92).

(81)	t ^h i13	na31-di33	kwɔ33	p ^h æ31-tɕ ^h i33 = æ31	du33-ta13	t ^h u33
	so	Na -NOM _{Loc}	LOC	young guys = PL	all	3SG.PRO
	所以	摩梭地区	里	小伙子 = 们	全部	她

So, in all the Na areas, all of the young men
所以摩梭地区里头所有的小伙子们都

T:Gemu.10

fu33 yĩ33 zɥwæ13.

like CAUS INTS

喜欢 很

liked her.

喜欢她。

- (82) a31 yi33 ʂɛ33 a31 yi33 ʂɛ33 dzɔ33 lu33-ʂu31 ɕi31-na31-mi33 mǎ33-tɕɣ33
 long, long ago long, long ago TOP Luoshui lake NEG-become
 很久以前 很久以前 落水 湖 没-变成

Long, long ago, when Lugu Lake had not

很久很久以前，泸沽湖没有

T:ɕinami.1

su31 tɔ31 mǎ33-dzɔ33 su31 tɔ31.

still when NEG-EXIST still when

还 时候 没-有 还 时候

yet formed.

形成的时候。

- (83) tʰu33 =ʂ13 zɔ13 la33 tʰa13 du33-sɔ33 tʰu33 mǎ33-ki33.
 3SG.PRO = family lunch and such same 3SG.PRO NEG-give
 他 家 中午饭 和 那些 一样 他 没-给

The family didn't give him lunch and such.

他家中午和那些一样没给他。

T:ɕinami.15

- (84) wǎ33-ty31 du33 lu33 tɔ31 tɕʰa33 ha13 ɲɣ13 wɣ33-ty31 tɔ31
 mountaintop one CLS ADESS every night mountaintop ADESS
 山头上 一 量词 上面 每一个晚上 山头上 上面

On a mountaintop, every night they went to a mountaintop

在一个山头上每一个晚上去山头上

T:Gemu.23

gwɣ13 la33 tsʰɔ33 hu33.

sing and dance go

唱歌 和 跳舞 去

to sing and dance.

唱歌和跳舞。

- (85) ǎ13 chicken (generic)
 bɔ13 pig (generic)
 hɑ33 rice, food
 nɑ13 the Na
 sɔ33 incense
- (86) ɑ33-mi33 mother
 ku33-mi33 younger sister
 ze31-mi33 niece
 ǎ31-mi33 hen
 bɔ31-mi33 sow (n.)
 gi33-na55-mi33 black bear
 k^hi33-mi33 main entrance
 tɕ^hɔ31-mi33 large ladle
- (87) p^hǎ31-tɕ^hi33-mu33-zɔ33 = ǎ31 ʂ31-bu33 lɔ33-yi33 bi33 mə33-zɔ33.
 men-women = PL self labor go NEG-OBL
 男-女 = 们 自己 劳动 去 不用
 People don't need to go labor in the fields.
 T:Change.9
- (88) nu55 ɕi31 -hĩ33
 beautiful -NOM
 漂亮
 beautiful things
 漂亮的
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.12
- (89) lɔ33-yi33 -hĩ33
 labor -NOM_{Agt}
 劳动
 laborer(s)
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.4
- (90) nɑ31 -di33
 Na -NOM_{Loc}
 摩梭
 Na areas
 摩梭地区
 T:Gemu.10

(91) dzi33 -di33
 eat -NOM_{purp}
 吃
 things to eat
 吃的
 T:Muphadaba.12

(92) lə33-ʂu33 du33 -hi33
 ACCOMP-think -NOM
 想
 thoughts
 想的
 T:Fangzi.63

Verbs head predicates, may be either active (intransitive, transitive, ambitransitive, ditransitive, or reciprocal, §11.6) or stative (§11.5), take arguments, and may occur in serial verb constructions (§11.12). Verbs in Na do not take inflectional morphology, such as that for person, gender, or number. However, person and number may be identifiable through participant role projection (Agha 1993), as in Tibetan, and through the ways that verbal semantics and evidentiality interact with person (see §11.7). Verb roots are generally free, although they may be negated, and often can compound. Verbs are not possessable, and generally occur phrase-finally, although they may be followed by modals, evidentials, aspect markers, or interjections in some cases. Verbs may take aspect prefixes, modals, and/or aspect particles.

Matisoff (1973) finds nouns and verbs in Lahu which are isomorphic except for a regular, predictable change in tone. He accounts for these by postulating a PTB prefix which was subsequently lost, but left its legacy in the tone change. In Na, bu31 ‘steam (n.)’ and bu13 ‘steam (v.)’ show a similar pattern. However, despite my considerable attempts at elicitation, and the sizeable corpus collected, this pair is the only such example that I could find in Na. Verbs in Na, however, do show a considerable pre-disposition to having rising tone (13), so this may be the Na remnant of the PTB prefix postulated by Matisoff.

There are a limited number of adjectives, which are of two types: those that modify nouns within a noun phrase, and attributive adjectives, which act as predicates.

Closed classes in Na include classifiers, numerals, and postpositions.

Classifiers (see §9.4) identify a property of a noun such as shape, number, consistency, quantity, measure, or whether the noun is sentient, and may compound with nouns in certain cases. Classifiers include: *lu*³³, the generic classifier; *kɣ*¹³, used for round sticks; *kwɣ*³³, used for strands; *k^hu*³¹, used for long, narrow things; *k^hwɣ*³³, used for sections, strips, and pieces; *lu*³³, used for kernels; *tɯ*³¹ used for balls; *na*³³, used for long, flat, and stick-shaped things; *p^hæ*¹³, used for slices; *q^hwɣ*¹³, used for bowls; *tɕ^hɔ*¹³, used for ladles; *wɣ*³³, used for stacks; *wæ*³³, used for piles; *dzu*³³, used for large things which grow from the ground; *mi*³¹, used for flying things and some other animals; *pɔ*³³, used for small things which grow from the ground; *p^hɔ*¹³, used for some common four-legged animals; *yɣ*¹³, used for dogs; *dzu*³³, used for pairs; *wu*³³, used for one person; *ku*¹³, used for more than one person; *wɔ*³³, used for teams of oxen; *q^hɣ*³³, used for holes; *tsɔ*¹³, used for rooms; *ts^hi*¹³, used for sheepskin throws; *tɕi*³¹, used for the sound of whistles; *wɣ*³³, used for villages; *ɰi*³¹, used for units of cloth; *q^hwɣ*¹³, used for bowlfuls; *tɕ^hɔ*¹³, used for ladlefuls; *du*³³-*ta*¹³ ‘all’; *du*³³-*pi*¹³ ‘some’; *du*³³-*wɔ*³³ ‘a type of’; *du*³³-*hu*³³ ‘a little’; *tɕu*¹³ ‘many’; *ts^hɛ*³³ ‘ten’; *ɕi*³³ ‘hundred’; and *tu*³³ ‘thousand.’ The classifiers used to indicate time spans do not require head nouns: *dzu*³¹ *k^hɣ*³¹ ‘a while’; *dzæ*³³ ‘period of time’; *k^hu*¹³ ‘year’; *ɰi*³³ ‘day’; *ɕɣ*³³ ‘time’; *tɕ^hæ*¹³ ‘generation’; *ha*³³ ‘night’; and *zu*³³ ‘lifetime.’

Postpositions are a closed class which indicate location in relation to a noun. Postpositions include: *ga*³³ COM; *bi*³³ ‘on’; *kwɔ*³³ *lɔ*³³ INESS; *nu*³³ ABL; *qwæ*³¹-*gi*³³ ‘between’; *tɔ*³¹ ADESS; ALLAT; *t^hæ*³³ ‘under’; *wɔ*³³-*k^hwɣ*³¹ ‘on top’; and *wɔ*³³ *ta*³³ ‘before.’ These will be discussed in §10.

7.5 THE ROLE OF GRAMMATICALIZATION IN NA

Grammaticalization is a diachronic process by which a lexical item is adopted to perform a grammatical duty. As there is no historical data on Na and the forms used for grammatical duty have not undergone any phonological processes of reduction, there is in fact no way to know whether such forms have undergone semantic extension, bleaching, and such processes that are referred to with the term ‘grammaticalization’ or whether the forms have simply always been polysemous. I present these as, in fact, grammaticalizations, based on the considerable research on the cognitive bases of grammaticalization, and substantial cross-linguistic data on unidirectionality. However, a diachronic basis for these processes is perhaps less interesting than the clear semantic correlations between lexical and grammatical usages of individual words, with little or no phonological change.

One of the most striking aspects of these data is that judging by cross-linguistic studies of available paths of grammaticalization, in several cases, all or many of the stages along the grammaticalization path in Na are co-present. Lexical items change into grammatical markers, and yet each usage remains in the language and each retains its phonological shape. For example, processes e. and f. each have four stages, and yet all of these stages can still be attested for Na. This is fortunate, because as Na is not a written language, and there are no written records of previous incarnations of the language.

Process	Location
hĩ33 ‘person’ => -hĩ33 NOM _{Agt} => -hĩ33 NOM	§8.1.4.4.1
di33 ‘place’ => -di33 NOM _{Loc} => -di33 NOM _{Purp}	§8.1.4.4.2
ki33 ‘give’ => ki33 BEN => ki33 DAT (recipient, goal)	§10.5.2
dʒɔ33 EXIST/ LOC => dʒɔ33 PROG and TOP	§13.4
bi33 lexical verb => bi33 AUX (movement to a location) => bi33 FUT.IMM	§13.8.1
hɔ33 (desire) => hɔ33 (willingness) => hɔ33 (intention) => hɔ33 FUT.DES (prediction)	§13.8.2
ku13 AUX (ability) => ku13 FUT.ABL (prediction)	§13.8.3
hu33 AUX (movement to a location) => hu33 FUT.REM (remote)	§13.8.4
kwɔ33 LOC (spatial) => kwɔ33 LOC (temporal), CONCERN, SOURCE	§10.5.1
pɔ13 ‘take’ => pɔ13 ‘use’ => pɔ13 INSTR	§10.5.4
gi13 ‘following, behind’ (spatial) => gi13 ‘following, after’ (temporal)	§10.6.2
tɔ31 ADESS => COMP AND tɔ31 ALLATIVE => temporal adposition (‘at the time’) AND patient	§10.5.5

Table 7.2 Overview of grammaticalization processes in Na

Process	Location
t ^h u33 ‘arrive’ => ALLATIVE => temporal adposition (‘until’) AND t ^h u33 ‘arrive’ => ‘become’	§10.5.7
qwæ31 gi33 ‘center’ => qwæ31 gi33 ‘between’	§10.6.3
wɔ33 ‘head’ => wɔ33 ‘on’	§10.7.7
wɔ33 ta33 ‘before’ (spatial) => wɔ33 ta33 ‘before’ (temporal)	§10.7.10
la33 ‘hit’ => pro-verb	§11.8
tsi13 ‘say’ => REP	§14.2
pi33 ‘say’ => QUOT	§14.3
QW + EXIST/LOC/PROG => CMKN	§14.5
nuu33 ABL => AGTV => EMPH	§10.x
zɔ33 ‘child’ => DIM	§8.1.4
unknown => t ^h u33- DUR-	
unknown => lə33- ACCOMP-	
zɰwæ13 ‘be strong’ => zɰwæ13 INTS	
ʂu33 du33 ‘think’ => ʂu33 du33 VOLITIVE	§12.6
k ^h u13 ‘put, place’ => k ^h u13 CAUS	§11.11.1
tɕi33 ‘put’ => tɕi33 CAUS	§11.11.2
yĩ33 ‘make, do’ => yĩ33 CAUS	§11.11.3

Table 7.2 Overview of grammaticalization processes in Na (cont’d)

8 The noun class

8.1 NOUN STRUCTURE

Na has OV constituent order in unmarked, non-idiomatic, pragmatically-neutral constructions, and is a primarily suffixing language. Grammatical relations are primarily indicated by word order; an agentive marker and a patient marker appear in non-canonical constituent orders and for discourse-related reasons, as will be discussed in §10.

Na shows a strong preference for monomorphemic words and compounds. The only commonly attested noun prefix is the kinship prefix/vocative $\alpha 33-$, as discussed in §8.1.1, although several verb prefixes occur, such as $m\alpha 33-$ NEG-, $l\alpha 33-$ ACCOMP-, $t^h u 33-$ DUR-, and the directional prefixes.

Following the noun root, one of several suffixes may appear: $-mi 33$ -FEM or $-z\alpha 33$ -MASC (note that these are not grammatical gender markers, but instead, can be used fairly productively to indicate gender on animates) (§8.1.4.1), $-mi 33$ -AUG or $-z\alpha 33$ -DIM (§8.1.4.2), $-m\alpha 13$ ‘dear’ (§8.1.4.3), the general and agentive nominalizer $-h\bar{i} 33$ (§8.1.4.4.1), the locative and purposive nominalizer $-di 33$ (§8.1.4.4.2). The plural enclitic $=\alpha 31$ takes the outer slot in the noun morphological structure (§8.1.4.5).

Unlike languages with case and/or agreement marking, there is no immediate and overt indicator that a word is in fact a noun, and there is no canonical segmental or supersegmental structure for a noun. However, the affixes and the enclitic are reliably selective for the category ‘noun.’

(kinship prefix) + root(s) + (suffixes: -AUG/-DIM, -MASC/-FEM, $-m\alpha 13$, the nominalizers: -NOM, $-NOM_{AGT}$, $-NOM_{LOC}$, $-NOM_{PURP}$) + (enclitic: $=\alpha 31$)

8.1.1 Kinship prefix

The only common noun prefix attested in the corpus is the kinship prefix/vocative $\alpha 33-$, as shown in the examples in (93). The prefix $\alpha 33-$ undergoes vowel harmony with the root, as discussed in §4.7.6.2, and thus can also appear as the allomorphs $\text{æ}33-$, $\text{ɛ}33-$, and $-\text{ə}33-$.

(93) Na kinship terms

$\alpha 33-\text{m}\text{ə}13$	grandmother
$\alpha 33-\text{mu}33$	older sibling
$\alpha 33-\text{mu}33-\text{ku}33-\text{mi}33$	sibling
$\alpha 33-\text{p}\text{ə}31$	uncle: father's elder or younger brother
$\alpha 33-\text{d}\text{a}33$	father
$\alpha 33-\text{l}\text{a}31$	great, great grandparents
$\alpha 33-\text{m}\text{a}33 / \text{æ}33-\text{mi}33$	mother or mother's sister
$\alpha 33-\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{y}33$	grandfather (father of mother or father)
$\alpha 33-\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{y}33-\alpha 33-\text{s}\text{u}33$	ancestors
$\alpha 33-\text{w}\text{u}33$	uncle: elder or younger brother of mother or father
$\alpha 33-\text{t}\text{ɛ}i31$	aunt, father or mother's younger sister
$\alpha 33-\text{d}\text{ə}33$	friend (generic term)
$\alpha 33-\text{s}\text{u}33$	great grandmother
$\alpha 33-\text{z}\text{u}33$	grandmother
$\alpha 33-\text{z}\text{u}33-\text{m}\text{ə}33$	elder (female)
$\alpha 33-\text{ɕ}\text{x}13$	girlfriend (derogatory)

8.1.2 Root(s)

The root then appears. Derivational morphology is attested, but inflectional morphology is not. Compounding, along with suffixation, are the most common morphological processes in Na. The compounding of a classifier to a root is fairly common, as can be seen in Table 8.5: $N_1 + \text{CLS} \rightarrow N_2$. This is particularly common in cases where the classifier denotes shape, so that the semantics of the resulting noun indicates shape. The addition of the classifier to the root should be considered compounding rather than suffixation because the classifier is a free form that can, and often does, stand alone; and because the classifier must remain adjacent to the noun root when compounding takes place.

8.1.3 Compounding

An overview of the various nominal compounds, their structures, and the types of resulting compounds is given in *Table 8.1: Overview of compounding processes*.

Componential structure	Type
$[N N]_N$	Endocentric
$[N N]_N$	Coordinate
$[N \text{ ADJ}]_N$	Endocentric
$[N \text{ CLS}]_N$	
$[V N]_N$	Endocentric
$[N V]_N$	Exocentric

Table 8.1: Overview of compounding processes

Table 8.2 shows examples of Na endocentric $N_1 + N_2 \rightarrow N_3$ compounds found in the corpus, where N_2 is the head and N_3 is a hyponym of N_2 . This can be seen clearly in examples like $\text{ã}31\text{-}\gamma\omega313$ ‘chicken egg,’ where N_2 $\gamma\omega313$ ‘egg’ heads the compound, and N_3 $\text{ã}31\text{-}\gamma\omega313$ ‘chicken egg’ is a hyponym of ‘egg’; $\text{b}31\text{-}\gamma\omega13$ ‘pigskin,’ where N_2 $\gamma\omega13$ ‘skin’ heads the compound, and N_3 $\text{b}31\text{-}\gamma\omega13$ ‘pigskin’ is a type of skin; $\text{b}31\text{-}\text{ɣ}33$ ‘pork,’ where N_2 $\text{ɣ}33$ ‘meat’ heads the compound, and N_3 $\text{b}31\text{-}\text{ɣ}33$ ‘pork’ is a type of meat.

The hyponymic relationship between N_2 and N_3 between is lost in the final example in the series, $\text{mu}33\text{-}\text{ɕ}31$ ‘flame,’ where N_1 $\text{mu}33$ ‘fire’ compounds to N_2 $\text{ɕ}31$ ‘tongue’ to form N_3 $\text{mu}33\text{-}\text{ɕ}31$ ‘flame.’ This is due to the fact that the compound does not have pure semantic compositionality, rather a metaphor is established. Yet the visual allusion is clear, as both tongue and flame share an elongated shape and flicking movement.

N	+	N	→	N
æ̃13 chicken 鸡	+	ɣwɔ13 egg 蛋	→	æ̃31-ɣwɔ13 chicken egg 鸡蛋
bɔ13 pig 猪	+	ɣu13 skin 皮	→	bɔ31-ɣu13 pigskin 猪皮
bɔ13 pig 猪	+	ʂɛ33 meat 肉	→	bɔ31-ʂɛ33 pork 猪肉
la33 tiger 老虎	+	ɲɔ13 milk 奶	→	la33-ɲɔ31 tiger milk 老虎奶
la33 tiger 老虎	+	ɣu13 skin 皮	→	la33-ɣu31 tigerskin 老虎皮
dze31-mi33 bee 蜜蜂	+	k ^h u33 nest 窝	→	dze31-mi33-k ^h u33 hive 蜂房
k ^h u31 ts ^h u13 foot 脚	+	ku33 tu33 back 背	→	k ^h u31 ts ^h u13-ku31 tu13 instep 脚背
æ̃13-ɣwɔ13 egg 蛋	+	wu31 ku13 skin 皮	→	æ̃31-ɣwɔ13-wu31 ku13 eggshell 蛋壳
æ13 cliff 悬崖	+	wɔ33 head 头	→	æ31-wɔ33 cliff 悬崖
æ̃13 cliff 悬崖	+	ʂæ33 mountain 山	→	æ̃31-ʂæ33 stone mountain 石头山
bæ31 bæ13 flower 花	+	ts ^h u31 ts ^h u13 leaf 叶子	→	bæ31 bæ13-ts ^h u31 ts ^h u13 petal 花瓣
bæ31 bæ13 flower 花	+	wɔ33 lɿ31 head 头	→	bæ31 bæ13-wɔ33-lɿ31 bud 蓓蕾

Table 8.2: $N_1 + N_2 \rightarrow N_3$ (endocentric)

N	+	N	→	N
bæ33-mi33 duck 鸭子	+	ʂɛ33 meat 肉	→	bæ33-mi33-ʂɛ33 duck meat 鸭肉
bɔ13 pig 猪	+	gu33 trough 槽	→	bɔ31-gu33 pig trough 猪槽
dze31-mi33 bee 蜜蜂	+	dze33 sugar 糖	→	dze31-mi33-dze33 honey 蜂蜜
ts ^h i13 goat 山羊	+	pɣ33 lɔ33 breeding goat	→	ts ^h i13-pɣ33 lɔ33 non-castrated goat 不阉割的公羊
mu33 fire 火	+	çi31 tongue 舌头	→	mu33-çi31 flame 火焰

Table 8.2 (cont'd): $N_1 + N_2 \rightarrow N_3$ (endocentric)

In the coordinate compounds given in Table 8.3, neither N_1 nor N_2 heads the compound—both have equal status. In these, there is a tendency for both N_1 and N_2 to be hyponyms of N_3 .

N	+	N	→	N
ɑ33-p ^h ɥ33 grandfather 爷爷	+	ɑ33-su33 grandmother 奶奶, 外婆	→	ɑ33-p ^h ɥ33-ɑ33-su33 ancestors 祖先
zɔ33 son 儿子	+	mu33 daughter 女儿	→	zɔ33-mu33 child 小孩儿
k ^h u31 ts ^h u13 foot 足	+	lɔ31-k ^h wɣ33 hand 手	→	k ^h u31 ts ^h u13-lɔ31-k ^h wɣ33 limbs 肢体

Table 8.3: $N_1 + N_2 \rightarrow N_3$ (coordinate)

The following compounds are endocentric compounds, where N_1 is the head and ADJ modifies N_1 . N_2 , the resulting compound, is a hyponym of N_1 , which can be seen in examples such as dʒi33 ‘water’ + ts^hi13 ‘hot’ yields dʒi33-ts^hi13 ‘boiled water,’ where dʒi33-ts^hi13 is a kind of water; dʒi33 ‘water’ + q^hæ33 ‘cold’ yields dʒi33-q^hæ33 ‘cold water,’ where dʒi33-q^hæ33 is a kind of water; ʔi33 bi31 ‘radish’ + hū13 ‘red’ yields ʔi33 bi31-hū31 ‘carrot,’ where ʔi33 bi31-hū31 is a type of radish.

N	+	ADJ	→	N		
dʒi33 water 水	+	ts ^h i13 hot 熱	→	dʒi33-ts ^h i13 boiled water 开水		
dʒi33 water 水	+	q ^h æ33 cold 冷	→	dʒi33-q ^h æ33 cold water 冷水		
ʔi33 bi31 radish 萝卜	+	hū13 red 红	→	ʔi33 bi31-hū31 carrot 红萝卜		
lu33 rock 石头	+	pɤ33 big 大	+	mi33 -AUG	→	lu33-pɤ33-mi33 boulder 大石头
mu33 fire 火	+	pɔ33 bright	→	mu33-pɔ33 blaze 火光		
ɲa13 eye 眼睛	+	na33 black 黑	→	ɲa31-na33 pupil of the eye 瞳孔		
næ33 milk 奶	+	tɕi33 sour 酸	→	næ33-tɕi33 yogurt 酸奶		
ɲi33 day 天	+	ʔi31 ku33 middle 中间	→	ɲi33-ʔi31 ku33 daytime 白天		
wɤ33 mountain 山	+	ʂwæ33 tall 高	→	wɤ33-ʂwæ33 high mountain 高山		

Table 8.4: $N_1 + ADJ \rightarrow N_2$ (endocentric)

Yang (2009) notes the availability of the construction $N_1 + \text{CLS} \Rightarrow N_2$ for compounding in Na. In the following data extracted from texts that I have collected, one can see differences in the way that $N_1 + \text{CLS} \Rightarrow N_2$ compounding works in Na and in Mandarin. In Mandarin $N_1 + \text{CLS} \Rightarrow N_2$ compounds, the resulting N_2 compounds always give a collective or plural reading (Li and Thompson 1981:82), but this is not the case at all in Na. Furthermore, in Mandarin $N_1 + \text{CLS} \Rightarrow N_2$ compounds, N_1 can appear by itself, but in Na, one gets judgments of questionable grammaticality for many of the words if the classifier is removed.

Although Na classifiers can categorize nouns based on a number of semantic properties: shape, being alive, number, measure, time, quantification, and number (see §9.4), the classifiers in $N_1 + \text{CLS} \rightarrow N_2$ compounds attested in the corpus nearly all categorize based on shape: $k^h w\gamma 33$ ‘section, strip, piece’; $l\gamma 33$ ‘kernel, round’; $\text{t}\text{u}31$ ‘ball’; $p^h \text{æ}13$ ‘slice’; $q^h \gamma 33$ ‘hole’; and $w\gamma 33$ ‘stack.’ The only exception to this observation is $dzu 33$, which is used with trees. It may be that this classifier is in fact selecting based on shape to some extent (i.e., trees have a characteristic shape), but there is an additional semantic dimension to it, such that it can be used with trees and tall flowers, but not other items with roughly the same shape.

a.

dzu33 CLS.tree				
su33	+	dzu33	→	su33-dzu33
wood		CLS		tree (tso43)
木头				树
$t^h \text{ɔ}33$	+	dzu33	+	$-z\text{ɔ}33$
pine		CLS		-DIM
松				pine tree seedling
				松树苗

Table 8.5: $N_1 + \text{CLS} \rightarrow N_2$

b.	k^hwɿ33 CLS.section, strip, piece			
	mi33	+	k ^h wɿ33	→ mi33-k ^h wɿ33
	scar		CLS	scar
	伤疤			伤疤
	wɔ33	+	k ^h wɿ33	→ wɔ33-k ^h wɿ33
	head		CLS	head
	头			头
c.	lɿ33 CLS.kernel, round			
	nɿ31	+	lɿ33	→ nɿ31-lɿ33
	soy		CLS	soybean
	黄豆			黄豆
	ɲa13	+	lɿ33	→ ɲa31-lɿ33
	eye		CLS	eye (tso285)
	眼睛			眼睛
	pi13	+	lɿ33	→ pi13-lɿ33
	bran		CLS	wine lees (tso269)
	糠			酒糟
	tɕɛ33	+	lɿ33	→ tɕɛ33-lɿ33
	barley		CLS	barley
	大麦			大麦
	tɕ ^{hi} 33	+	lɿ33	→ tɕ ^{hi} 33-lɿ33
	mulberry		CLS	mulberry
	桑			桑
	wɔ33	+	lɿ33 ¹	→ wɔ33-lɿ33
	head		CLS	head (tso277)
	头			头
d.	ɬu31 CLS.ball			
	ha33	+	ɬu31	→ ha33-ɬu31
	rice, food		CLS	ball of rice, ball of food (tso114)
	饭			饭团

Table 8.5 (cont'd): N₁ + CLS → N₂

¹ Note that this noun can compound with either k^hwɿ33 or lɿ33.

e.	p^hæ13 CLS.slice				
	ã13	+	p ^h æ13	→	ã31-p ^h æ13
	cliff		CLS		cliff, hill (gemu47)
	悬崖				悬崖
	dzi33	+	p ^h æ13	→	dzi33-p ^h æ13
	water		CLS		ice
	水				冰, 冰水
f.	q^hɣ33 CLS.hole				
	ã13	+	q ^h ɣ33	→	ã31-q ^h ɣ33
	cliff		CLS		cave (çinami21)
	悬崖				山洞
	ni33	+	q ^h ɣ33	→	ni33-q ^h ɣ33
	fish		CLS		fish nest (tso153)
	鱼				鱼窝
g.	wɣ33 CLS.stack				
	dze33	+	wɣ33	→	dze33-wɣ33
	money		CLS		wealth (çinami6)
	钱				财富

Table 8.5 (cont'd): N₁ + CLS → N₂

Table 8.6 shows an endocentric compound, where N₁ is the head, and N₂ is a type of N₁. Here t^hæ31-t^hæ13 ‘be itchy’ is a reduplicated verb; reduplicating a verb gives a reading of reciprocal or back and forth action (cf. §11.6.5). This is the only example of a compound with the structure V + N₁ → N₂ in the data which I collected.

V	+	N	→	N
t ^h æ31-t ^h æ13	+	yi13	→	t ^h æ31-t ^h æ13-yi13
be itchy		pimple		rash
痒痒的				疹子

Table 8.6: V + N₁ → N₂ (endocentric)

Although the $N_1 + v \rightarrow N_2$ compounds given in Table 8.7 are all exocentric, the meaning of N_2 remains somewhat idiosyncratic. The last two examples are of the structure $N_2 = \text{one who does } v \text{ to } N_1$. For example, $ha33-tɕɿ33-k^h u31$ ‘cockroach’ is one who steals uncooked rice, and $zɿu33-lu13$ ‘earthquake’ is that which moves a building. The first two examples pattern differently: $ɲa31-tɔ33$ ‘daylight’ is when the eye can see. The connection between ‘pot’ + ‘strike’ \rightarrow ‘business’ is less clear.²

N	+	v	\rightarrow	N
$ɲa13$ eye 眼睛	+	$tɔ33$ see 看见	\rightarrow	$ɲa31-tɔ33$ daylight 日光
$wu33$ pot 鍋	+	$la13$ strike 打	\rightarrow	$wu33-la31$ business 生意
$ha33-tɕɿ33$ uncooked rice 大米	+	$k^h u31$ steal 偷	\rightarrow	$ha33-tɕɿ33-k^h u31$ cockroach 蟑螂
$zɿu33$ building	+	$lu13$ move 移动	\rightarrow	$zɿu33-lu13$ earthquake 地震

Table 8.7: $N_1 + v \rightarrow N_2$ (exocentric)

² This may be in reference to the Chinese custom that in small business, the person conducting business will walk through town making a distinctive noise, i.e., the knife-sharpener will travel through the area striking a wooden block in a certain rhythm, a pot mender has another sound, someone who sells small household goods like scrub brushes has another sound, and the tofu vendor yet another sound.

8.1.4 Suffixes

8.1.4.1 -FEM/–MASC

Na does not have grammatical gender. However, -FEM –mi33 and various –MASC (reflexes of PTB *uncle and *grandfather) and -zɔ33 ‘son’ can be used to indicate gender on animates such as people and animals. The -FEM/–MASC –mi33 and -zɔ33 also are grammaticalized into –AUG/–DIM markers respectively, as will be discussed in §8.1.4.2.

mi33 is a root meaning ‘mother; female’ and is attested in words for various female relations, as shown in example (94).

- (94)
- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| ɑ33-mi33 | mother |
| ɑ33-mi33 duu33 | aunt (mother’s elder sister) |
| ɑ33-mi33 tɕi13 | aunt (mother’s younger sister) |
| tɕ ^h u33-mi33 | wife |
| ku33-mi33 | younger sister |
| ze31-mi33 | niece |
| zu31-mi33 | granddaughter |

It is also found in nu31-mi33 ‘girl,’ and in names for women in Na mythology, such as ts^hɣ31 hɕ55 tɕɕ33 tɕɕ33 mi33 ‘Tshodzedzemi.’ Although this suffix appears in women’s names in Na mythological narratives, Na today request Tibetan Buddhist lamas to name their children, with the result that Na have Tibetan names. The pronunciation of these Tibetan-origin names, however, may be somewhat influenced by the phonologies of Yunnanese or Mandarin.

-mi33 is used to indicate the female of a variety of animal species, as can be seen in example (95).

- (95)
- | | |
|-------------------------|------------|
| æ̃31-mi33 | hen |
| bɔ31-mi33 | sow |
| k ^h u33-mi33 | female dog |
| yi33-mi33 | cow (f.) |
| zwæ33-mi33 | mare |

-mi33 also appears in the generic for some animals, where no indication of the animal's sex is understood. Examples of this usage are given in (96). In some of these cases, mi33 may be the augmentative (i.e., qa33 na33-mi33 'hawk, eagle'), but in other cases, there is no reason to believe that -mi33 is an augmentative (i.e., ci33-mi33 'louse').

- (96) bæ33-mi33 duck
 bæ33-hõ31-mi33 wild goose³
 ci33-mi33 louse
 dwɤ33-mi33 fox
 dze33-mi33 bee
 dʒi33-mi33 water buffalo
 kɔ33 sɔ31-mi33 peacock
 qa33 na33-mi33 hawk, eagle
 tʰa31 zwæ33-mi33 donkey

zɔ33 is a root with the most basic meaning of 'son; male.' Examples of -zɔ33 in compounds where -zɔ33 gives the reading 'son,' or by semantic extension, 'child' more generally, are shown in (97).

- (97) zɔ33-hɔ33 little boy
 zɔ33-mu33 child
 zɔ33-pɔ13 be pregnant (lit. 'child' + INSTR)

³ Clearly derived from bæ33 mi33 'duck.'

-zɔ33 is not used more generally for male kinship terms in the way that -mi33 is used for female kinship terms. Male kinship terms, and words denoting males of various animal species, generally are formed using wu33, p^hu33 and bu31, which are the Na reflexes of PTB *pəw ‘grandfather’ (Matisoff 2003b:178, 183) and *b^waŋ >< p^waŋ ‘uncle/senior male relative’⁴ (Matisoff 2003b:269). Note, however, that Na has a number of different reflexes of these PTB roots: PTB *pəw ‘grandfather’ appears as pɔ31 in ‘paternal uncle,’ as pɣ33 in ‘husband,’ and as p^hɣ33 in ‘grandfather.’ We can also note that wu33 [ɣ33] is also the CLS used to indicate one person; this CLS is grammaticalized from PTB *b^waŋ >< p^waŋ ‘uncle.’ Examples of male kinship terms and words for male animals using these morphemes are given in (98) and (99), respectively.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (98) | ɑ33-wu33 | uncle |
| | zɛ31-wu33 | nephew |
| | zɹ31-wu33 | grandson |
| | ɑ33-pɔ31 | paternal uncle |
| | hɑ31 tɕ ^h u33-pɣ33 | husband |
| | ɑ33-p ^h ɣ33 | grandfather (maternal or paternal) |
| (99) | k ^h u33-bu33 | male dog |
| | yi33-bu31 | bull |
| | bɔ31-p ^h u33 | pig (male) |

However, male kinship terms do not always employ the morphemes p^hu33 or bu31, as can be seen in the examples given in (100).

- | | | |
|-------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| (100) | ɑ33-dɑ33 | father |
| | gi31 zi33 | younger brother or male cousin |

⁴ Comparative data given in HPTB for *b^waŋ >< p^waŋ show variation between a bilabial stop and *w- for the initial; Na patterns with the Nung, Lashi, Zaiwa, Yi, and Lisu data [HPTB:269] for *w.

-zɔ33 appears as a suffix in male names in Na mythology, as in (101). Na now receive Tibetan names through the influence of Tibetan Buddhism, so -zɔ33 is not typically used in contemporary names.

(101) tshɔ31 du33 lu33 yi33-zɔ33 Tsodeluyizo

-zɔ33 appears as a suffix in mythological narratives; in these examples, speakers were not sure whether the lexical items referred to types of birds (perhaps mythological, no longer extant, or now commonly referred to by other names) or were names of specific avian characters in the narrative. My consultant felt that the first in the list, bæ33 na31-zɔ33, referred to a duck or type of duck, based on the isomorphism between the initial syllable and the first syllable of bæ33-mi33 ‘duck.’

(102)	bæ33 na31-zɔ33	baenazo (name of a duck or a type of duck)
	ku31 na33-zɔ33	kunazo (name of a bird or a type of bird)
	ku33 p ^h ɣ31-zɔ33	kuphezo (name of a bird or a type of bird)
	qæ33 p ^h ɣ33-zɔ33	gaephezo (name of a bird or a type of bird)

-zɔ33 also appears as a suffix in the term pi33 li33 pi33 t^hstɔ31 -zɔ33 ‘pilipitsizo,’ a term of humility used by the Na to refer to themselves, which can also be used as an insult.

8.1.4.2 –AUG/-DIM

The augmentative –mi33 is derived from the root meaning ‘mother; female’ and the diminutive -zɔ33 is derived from the root meaning ‘son; male.’ In Na, the augmentative and diminutive meanings of these suffixes are often quite semantically bleached, so that words such as ni33 zɔ33 ‘fish’ do not contain the meaning of smallness.

(103)	gi33-na55-mi33	black bear
	du31 ə33-mi33	wild person (of legend)
	dzi33-mi33	river (large)
	di33-mi33	the plains
	k ^h i33-mi33	main entrance
	twæ33-mi33	big puddle
	lɔ31-mi33	thumb
	tɕ ^h ɔ31-mi33	large ladle
(104)	æ31-tsu33-zɔ33	newborn chick
	bæ31-bu55-zɔ33	newborn pig
	k ^h u33-ni13-zɔ33	newborn puppy
	zɤwæ33-kɤ13-zɔ33	newborn horse
	mu31-zɔ13	young girl
	ni33-zɔ33	fish
	yi33-zɔ33	calf
	lɑ33-zɔ33	baby tiger
	t ^h ɔ33-dzu33-zɔ33	pine tree sapling
	su31-t ^h i13-zɔ33	small knife
	pi31-mi33-zɔ33	small axe
	q ^h æ33 lɔ33 zɔ33-zɔ33	stream, brook, rivlet
	tɕ ^h ɔ31-zɔ33	small ladle

8.1.4.3 -mɔ13

mɔ13 ‘old’ can also appear as a suffix meaning ‘dear (indicates respect)’, although this suffix is not very productive. Examples of suffixation with -mɔ13 are given in (105), where one can see that it appears mostly with various terms for elders, as well as in hĩ33-mɔ33-sɣ13 ‘age spot, liver spot’ (person + dear + mole) and, interestingly, in tɔ33-kʰu33-mɔ31 ‘Tibetan mastiff’ (n/a + dog + dear).

(105)	mɔ13	old
	ɑ33-mɔ13	grandmother
	hĩ33-mɔ33	elder
	tsʰɔ31-mɔ13	elder (male)
	ɑ33-zu33-mɔ33	elder (female)
	hĩ33-mɔ33-sɣ13	age spot, liver spot
	tɔ33-kʰu33-mɔ31	Tibetan mastiff

8.1.4.4 NOMINALIZERS: -NOM, -NOM_{AGT}, -NOM_{LOC}, -NOM_{PURP}

There are two nominalizers, -hĩ33 and -di33: -hĩ33 acts as both a general nominalizer and an agentive nominalizer, and -di33 acts as both a locative nominalizer and a purposive nominalizer. These nominalization processes are quite productive in Na.

8.1.4.4.1 hĩ33 ‘person’ => -hĩ33 NOM_{AGT} => -hĩ33 NOM

hĩ33 means “person/people” in Na. Example (106) illustrates this usage.

(106)	hĩ33	tʰu33	tʰu33-ni13	ku13	zɔ33.
	person	this	this way	FUT.ABL	CRS
	人	这	这样	会	了

This type of person will be like this.

这样人会这样的。

T:Tso deluyizo.103

hĩ33 has grammaticalized from simply being a lexical item into an agentive nominalizer. Examples of hĩ33 as an agentive nominal marker are given in example (107) and (108). In example (107), hĩ33 appears following the verb lĩ33-yi33 ‘labor’ to form the agentive nominal lĩ33-yi33-hĩ33 ‘laborer(s).’ In example (108), hĩ33 appears following the verb phrases bu33 dzæ33 ‘ride a yak’, la33 dzæ33 ‘ride a tiger’, and ẓwæ33 dzæ33 ‘ride a horse’ to form the agentive nominals bu33 dzæ33-hĩ33 ‘yak rider’, la33 dzæ33-hĩ33 ‘tiger rider’, and ẓwæ33 dzæ33-hĩ33 ‘horse rider.’

- (107) lĩ33-yi33 -hĩ33
 labor -NOM_{Agt}
 劳动 -者
 laborer(s)
 劳动者
 ET:Tso deluyizo.4

- (108) bu33-dzæ33 -hĩ33, la33-dzæ33 -hĩ33, ẓwæ33-dzæ33 -hĩ33
 yak-ride -NOM_{Agt} tiger-ride -NOM_{Agt} horse-ride -NOM_{Agt}
 牦牛-骑 -者 老虎-骑 -者 马-骑 -者
 the yak rider, the tiger rider, the horse rider
 骑牦牛的人, 骑老虎的人, 骑马的人
 ET:Yzt.12

hĩ33 has then been grammaticalized even further—hĩ33 NOM_{Agt} has been semantically extended beyond being an agentive nominalizer, where hĩ33 still has the reading ‘person who does X,’ to usage as a general nominalizer. This general nominalizer usage is illustrated in example (109), where any concept of ‘person’ is lost. Thus, -hĩ33 -NOM can appear on both animates, as above in (108), and inanimates, as in (109).

- (109) lə33-ẓwɤ33 -hĩ33
 ACCOMP-say -NOM
 说 -的
 words
 说的
 ET:Fangzi.63

8.1.4.4.2 di33 ‘earth; place’ => -di33 NOM_{Loc} => -di33 NOM_{Purp}

di33 ‘earth; place’ grammaticalized into a locative nominalizer, and then further grammaticalized into a purposive nominalizer (see §8.1.4.4.1 and 8.1.4.4.2). Example (110) shows di33 ‘place’:

- (110) nɔ13 zɔ33 lə33-zu33 zɔ33 di33-kwɔ33 bu33 mu33-zɔ33 ɣa33
REFL son ACCOMP-take CSM earth-LOC POSS young woman COM
自己 儿子 拿 了 地里 的 姑娘
She said, “It is not possible for my son to court
她说他们家的儿子不可能和
T:Gemu.26

se33-se33 tsɿ31 mə33-yĩ33 pi33.
court okay NEG-can QUOT
恋爱 行 不-会
a regular girl.”
民间的女孩子恋爱。

-di33 has grammaticalized from the noun ‘earth, place’ into a locative nominalizer, as shown in example (111).

- (111) zu33-di33 tu33 mə33-ni33 nɔ33 wɿ33-di33 tu33
warm- NOM_{Loc} plant NEG-COP 2SG.PRO mountain- NOM_{Loc} plant
热的地 播种 不-是 你 山地 播种
The heavens said, “If it’s not a warm place you can’t plant them, in the mountains,
说, “除了热的地方以外, 高山的,
T:Tsoyeluyizo.254

tʰa33 hɔ̃33 pi33.
PROH go.IMP QUOT
don’t plant them.”
你不可以种。”

The semantics of -di33 is then further extended, so that it can be used as a purposive nominalizer, where there is no longer any notion of ‘place.’ This usage can be seen in example (112).

- (112) dzi33 -di33
 eat -NOM_{PURP}
 吃 -的
 things to eat
 吃的
 T:Muphadaba.12

8.1.4.5 ENCLITIC =æ31 PL

The enclitic =æ31 PL is not very productive, and appears exclusively with animates, either human or animal. It is attested marking human referents such as the coordinate compound p^hæ31-tɕ^hi33-mu33-zɔ33 =æ31 ‘men and women’ (113); animal referents such as wɔ31 bɔ33 =æ31 ‘livestock’ (114); and deities such as ɔa33 ʈa33 =æ31 ‘gods’ (115).

Use of the enclitic =æ31 PL to indicate plural is just one of a number of strategies by which quantification is indicated in Na (see §9.5), and it may be because of the diversity of options available that marking with the plural enclitic =æ31 is not very productive.

- (113) p^hæ31-tɕ^hi33-mu33-zɔ33 =æ31 ʂ31-bu33 lɔ33-yi33 bi33 mɔ33-zɔ33.
 men-women = PL self labor go NEG-OBL
 男-女 = 们 自己 劳动 去 不用
 People don't need to go labor in the fields.
 T:Change.9

- (114) zɯ33-t^hæ33 dʒɔ33 wɔ31 bɔ33 =æ31 ki33 ha33 ki33 di33 tsɔ33-kwɤ33
 north room TOP livestock = PL DAT food give REL kitchen
 北房 动物 = 们 饭 给 灶
 The north room
 北边的房子
 T:Fangzi.17

du33 lu33 ku31 tsɔ33-kwɤ33 du33 lu33 t^hu33-tʂæ13.
 one CLS make kitchen one CLS DUR-set up
 一个 做 灶 一个 装上
 has a kitchen to prepare food for the livestock, a hearth is set up.
 要修一个给动物煮饭的灶，安装一个火塘。

- (115) t^hu33 dzɔ33 ɣa33 ɬa33 = ə33 mə33-ni33, ʔ31-sɿ33 ku31 bu33
 this TOP Buddhist god = PL NEG-COP 1INC.PRO POSS
 这 佛教的神 = 们 不-是 我们 的

This isn't a Buddhist god, this is our
 这个不是佛教的神，这个只是我们的

T:Yongzhutser.15

shanshen (loan) ni33.

mountain god COP

山神 是

mountain god.

山神。

Noun marked enclitic =ə31	Reference ID
p ^h ə31-tɕ ^h i33 = ə31 'men'	T:Change.6
p ^h ə31-tɕ ^h i33- mu33 zɔ33 = ə31	T:Change.9
su31 p ^h i33 = ə31 'kings'	T:Fangzi.6
ɑ33-p ^h y33-ɑ33-su33 = ə31 'ancestors'	T:Fangzi.24
zɔ33-mu33-zɔ33 = ə31 'children'	T:Fangzi.19
wɔ31 bɔ3 = ə31 'livestock'	T:Fangzi.17
ɣa33 ɬa33 = ə33 'deities'	T:Yongzhutser.15

Table 8.8: Nouns attested with the enclitic =ə31 PL

There are numerous places where a plural can be understood, and yet the enclitic =æ31 PL does not appear, as in examples (116), (117), (118), and (119).

- (116) ɿ31-bu33 zɔ33-k^hwɿ33 dzɿ13-pɿ33 lə33-gu31 hī33-bæ55 dzɿ13-pɿ33
 REFL.POSS building very good ACCOMP-fix guest very good
 自己 房子 特别好 修 客人 特别好
 We fixed our buildings to excellent condition, and take
 T:Change.7

lə33-wɔ33 mæ33.
 ACCOMP-care for
 照管
 good care of guests.

- (117) bɔ13 du33-ta13 æ31-q^hɿ33 du33 lu33 kwɔ33 tɕ^hi33 lə33-hu33.
 pig all cave one CLS LOC enter ACCOMP-go
 猪 全部 山洞 一 个 里 钻 去
 all of the pigs went into a cave
 全部的猪钻到一个山洞里去
 ET:çinami.21

- (118) t^hu33 bu33 mɿ33 na31-di33 kwɔ33 p^hæ31-tɕ^hi33 ni33 zɛ33
 3SG.PRO POSS name Na-NOM_{Loc} LOC young guys COP CRS
 她 的 名字 摩梭-地 里 小伙子们 是 了
 Her name in the Na areas was known
 她的名字在摩梭地区是
 T:Gemu.15

du33-ta13 t^hu33 si33.
 all 3SG.PRO know
 全部 她 知道
 by all of the Na youth.
 小伙子们的话全部知道它。

- (119) t^hi13 hī33 tɔ31 k^hu33-p^hæ33-tɕi13 tɔ31 fu33-fu33 la33
 so people PAT young people PAT court etcetera
 所以 人 年轻人 恋爱 等
 So, (she also protects) young people courting and such things
 所以她也保护年轻人恋爱和这些
 ET:Gemu.51

8.1.4.6 Lexical borrowing

Another notable morphological process is lexical borrowing from Chinese (primarily through Yunnanese, but also from Mandarin in recent years as satellite dishes yield television reception and increased contact with Han through tourism, education, work in Han areas, and changes in transportation infrastructure, see §1.6). Yang (2009) provides an excellent overview of recent borrowings. There are also loans from Tibetan (§4.8.2), primarily in the semantic realms of religion and cosmology, due to the strong tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. There may also be loans from other ethnic minority languages in the area, but this area currently needs more research.

8.2 TYPES OF NOUNS

Noun phrase types found in Na are proper nouns; common nouns, which most typically take the form of a monomorphemic root, a compound of one of the types discussed in §8.1.3, or a nominalization of the types discussed in §8.1.4.4; the closed classes of pronouns, possessive pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, indefinite pronouns, and relative pronouns; possessive noun phrases, demonstrative noun phrases, quantifier noun phrases, interrogative noun phrases, adjectival phrases, and compound noun phrases.

As discussed in §7.4 on justification of word classes, the primary word class distinction in Na is noun versus verb. The language can be thought of as more verb-centered than noun-centered, as Na is a zero anaphora language, so that a sentence can be grammatically acceptable even without surface expression of nominal arguments, as seen in (120), if the subject and/or object can be understood from discourse context. In fact, appearance of an NP often signals shift in topic, change in speaker, and the like (DuBois 1987); and agentive marking with agentive *nuu33* and patient *tɔ31* are used for disambiguation, prototypically in marked word orders and when zero anaphora creates ambiguity between agent and patient (see §10).

- (120) a33-p^hɔ13 lə33-bu33 lə33-dzi33.
 outside ACCOMP-roast ACCOMP-eat
 外面 烧 吃
 Once outside, (he) roasted it and ate it.
 外面烧了吃。
 T:çinami.27

As Na traditionally have lived in large, extended, clan-based households, the kinship terms (§8.1.1) are more commonly used than in the West.⁵

8.2.1 Proper nouns

Proper nouns are a class of words which indicate a specific referent rather than a class of referents. The examples in (121) are proper nouns found in Na.

- (121a.) na13
 the Na
 纳
 the Na
 纳人
- (121b.) ku31 -mu33
 (name) girl
 (名) 女
 Gemu⁶
 格姆

⁵ Household structure is changing very rapidly in some Na areas: children go to boarding schools, young people go to cities, primarily in adjacent areas of Yunnan and Sichuan, to work in road-building projects, as shop assistants, maids, and cooks, and to learn how to run guesthouses, and the traditional extended households split into smaller units. It is also clear that large households are complicated to upkeep. In such families, the amount of work that goes into the preparation of meals for so many family members is quite astounding. My consultant insightfully emphasizes the understanding of psychology that it takes for a head of household to keep such a family running harmoniously.

This practice of splitting households is not entirely new. Some households split during the privations of the Cultural Revolution, as maintaining such large households in times of famine proved impossible. Splitting households may also have served to insulate some branches of a family from the severe punishments meted out by the Communists to those deemed to be of anti-revolutionary status.

(121c.) hi33-di33
 rest-NOM_{Loc}
 休息-地
 Yongning⁷
 永宁

(121d.) lu33 -ʂu31 ɕi13 -na31 -mi33
 valley start lake black -AUG
 谷 开始 湖 黑
 Lugu Lake⁸
 泸沽湖

8.2.2 Common nouns

Common nouns are an open class of words. The common noun indicates a class of referents rather than a specific referent. Na has a strong disposition for a noun to appear when it is first introduced into the discourse, and for the argument to appear as a pronoun or through zero anaphora in adjacent subsequent discourse. Example (122) shows several common nouns found in Na.

(122)	bɔ13	pig (generic)
	ha33	rice, food
	zɔ33-hɔ33	child
	mɔ33-wɔ33	heavens
	zwaɛ33	horse (generic)

⁶ Gemu is the goddess for whom Gemu Mountain was named; Gemu Mountain is of spiritual and mythological importance to the Na (see the narrative text entitled *Gemu*). “Circling the Mountain Day,” along with New Year’s, are the two most important Na holidays. On Circling the Mountain Day, the twenty-fifth day of the seventh lunar month, Na circumambulate up Gemu Mountain. Na women go to a particular cave on the mountain to pray to Gemu for fertility.

⁷ Yongning is the historical capital of the Na areas.

⁸ Lugu Lake lies partly in Yunnan province, partly in Sichuan province; a number of Na villages lie on Lugu Lake.

8.2.3 Closed classes

Na nominal closed classes consist of various types of pronouns: personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, relative pronouns, and indefinite pronouns. These are discussed in §8.2.3.1 (personal pronouns), §8.2.3.2 (possessive pronouns), §8.2.3.3 (demonstrative pronouns), §8.2.3.4 (interrogative pronouns), §8.2.3.5 (relative pronouns), and §8.2.3.6 (indefinite pronouns).

8.2.3.1 *Personal pronouns*

Personal pronouns are deictics that refer to the participants in a speech act: I, you, s/he/it, we, you (plural), or they, and which can substitute for a noun phrase. Na only has free-standing personal pronouns, and does not have pronominal inflection. Gender is not encoded in the pronominals, and 3SG.PRO can be used to refer to males or females. 3SG.PRO is isomorphic with the proximate demonstrative (§8.2.3.3), as is common both in Tibeto-Burman languages and cross-linguistically.

In Na, the plural personal pronouns are formed by suffixing -sɣ33 ku31 to the singular forms. Synthetic plurals of this type are an areal feature of Southeast Asian languages. There is both 1EXC.PRO (3SG.PRO and 1SG.PRO) and 1INC.PRO (2SG.PRO and 1SG.PRO). 1EXC.PRO is constructed by adding -sɣ33 ku31 to jɔ33 1SG.PRO; 1INC.PRO is constructed by adding -sɣ33 ku31 to ʒ33 REFL. Matisoff (2003a:214) notes that Lolo-Burmese does not have an inclusive/exclusive division.

ɲa33	1SG.PRO
nɔ33	2SG.PRO
tʰu33	3SG.PRO
ɲa33-sɣ33 ku31	1EXC.PRO
ʕ31-sɣ33 ku31	1INC.PRO
nɔ33-sɣ33 ku31	2PL.PRO
tʰu33-sɣ33 ku31	3PL.PRO

Table 8.9 Na personal pronouns

Examples (123) through (129) illustrate the usage of the personal pronouns. ʕ31-sɣ33 ku31 1INC.PRO is frequently used to refer to the Na people in narrative excursis, as in example (126).

1SG.PRO:

- (123)

ɲa33	gu31-dzɣ13	hĩ33	ni33.
1SG.PRO	Geze	person	COP
我	格则	人	是

I am a Geze (family name).

T:Intro.1

2SG.PRO:

- (124)

tʰi33 dzɔ33	nɔ33	sɔ33	qæ13	dzɔ33	mi33 lɔ33	lɔ33-la13.
so	2SG.PRO	incense	burn	PROG	prayer	ACCOMP-strike
所以	你	香	烧		祈求	

So, you say a prayer while you burn the incense.

所以你烧香的时候说你的祈求。

T:Fangzi.62

3SG.PRO:

- (125)

t ^h u33	a31 wu55	zwæ13
3SG.PRO	good-looking	INTS
她	好看	很

 She was very beautiful...
 她很好看...
 ET:Gemu.2

1INC.PRO:

- (126)

ʒ31-sɿ33 ku31	a31 yi33 ʂɛ33	ya33 q ^h a33	la33	t ^h æ13	lə33-qæ13	zɔ33	ku13.
1INC.PRO	long, long ago	buckwheat	and	such	ACCOMP-burn	CRS	ABLT
咱们	很久以前	荞麦	和	那些	烧	了	会

 long, long ago we would burn buckwheat and such
 我们以前荞麦和那些会烧掉的。
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.189

1EXC.PRO:

- (127)

ɲa33-sɿ33 ku31	a33-mu33-ku33-mi33	ma31 na33	dʒɔ33.
1EXC.PRO	sibling	very many	EXIST
我们	姐妹兄弟	很多	有

 We have a lot of siblings.
 T:Intro.7

2PL.PRO:

- (128)

nɔ33-sɿ33 ku31	t ^h u31-ni13	yī33	a31-ku13?
2PL.PRO	this way	do	QM-ABLT
你们	这样	做	吗-会

 can you people from over there do it like this?
 你们那里会不会做这样的?
 ET:Yongzhutser.12

3PL.PRO:

- (129)

t ^h u33-sɿ33 ku31	lu33-ʂu31	bi33	hɔ33.
3PL.PRO	Luoshui	go	FUT.DES

 ‘They will go to Luoshui.’
 E:

Although t^hu33-sɿ33 ku31 3PL.PRO appears consistently and unremarked upon in elicited paradigms, it is not actually attested in the narrative corpus: t^hu33-tɕ^hi33 appears in the corpus when a third person plural is needed. Yang (2009) receives a reading that is t^hu33-tɕ^hi33 less formal than t^hu33-sɿ33 ku31, although my consultant in Luoshui did not receive this reading, but rather, attributed the difference between the two forms as t^hu33-tɕ^hi33 refers to a larger number, while t^hu33-sɿ33 ku31 refers to a few.

3PL.PRO.FAM:

- (130) *cheng* (loan) kwɔ33 t^hu33-tɕ^hi33 a33-tso33 dzɔ33 lə33-dzɔ33 zɛ33.
 city LOC 3PL.PRO.FAM whatever EXIST ACCOMP-EXIST CSM
 成 理 他们 什么 有 有 了
 whatever they have in the city, we have it all.
 ET:Change.5

Personal pronouns have the same form whether they are functioning as agents (131), subjects (132), or direct objects (133), (134). Grammatical relations instead primarily are indicated by constituent order (§10.2), though the agentive marker nu33 or patient marker tɔ31 may appear as postpositions (see §10.3, 10.4) when alternative constituent orders appear for discourse-motivated reasons. When appearing as obliques, pronouns will be followed with the relevant postpositional ‘case’ marker (see §10.5).

- (131) t^hu33 t^hu33 ni33 ni31 su31 ɣɣ33 da13
 3SG.PRO everyday yet hemp cloth sew
 她 每一天 麻布 织
 Everyday (when) she sewed hemp cloth...
 她织麻布...
 ET:Gemu.3

- (132) t^hu33 a31 wu55 zɰwæ13 lɔ31-yĩ33-zu31-yĩ33 la33 a33-tso33-ma33-ni33
 3SG.PRO good-looking INTS work and whatever
 她 好看 很 劳动 和 什么
 She was very beautiful; she excelled in work
 她很好看, 劳动和一切事情
 T:Gemu.2

hu13 zwa13.
 strong INTS
 厉害 很
 and such.
 很厉害。

(133) hi33 ya33 p^ha31-tɕ^hi33 t^hu33 wu33 t^hu33 li33
 person wealthy man this CLS 3SG.PRO see
 人 富裕 男人 这 量词 他 看
 The well-to-do man saw him...
 这个富裕的男人看他的样子...
 ET:cinami.34

(134) p^ha31-tɕ^hi33 = a31 du33-ta13 t^hu33 fu33 yĩ33 zwa13.
 young guys = PL all 3SG.PRO like CAUS INTS
 小伙子 = 们 全部 她 喜欢 很
 all of the young men liked her.
 小伙子们都喜欢她。
 ET:Gemu.10

8.2.3.2 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns are formed by placing the possessive marker bu33 after the pronoun.

ɲa33 bu33	1SG.POSS
no33 bu33	2SG.POSS
t ^h u33 bu33	3SG.POSS
ɲa33-sɻ33 ku31 bu33	1EXC.POSS
ɕ31-sɻ33 ku31 bu33	1INC.POSS
no33-sɻ33 ku31 bu33	2PL.POSS
t ^h u33-sɻ33 ku31 bu33	3PL.POSS

Table 8.10 Na possessive pronouns

- (135) jɑ33 bu33 tʰɑ33 = ə31
 1SG.PRO POSS book
 我 的 书
 my books
 我的书
 ET:Muphadaba.18
- (136) nɔ33 bu33 tʰɑ33 = ə31
 2SG.PRO POSS book
 你 的 书
 your book
 你的书
 ET:Muphadaba.14
- (137) tʰu33 bu33 mɤ33
 3SG.PRO POSS name
 她 的 名字
 her name
 她的名字
 ET:Gemu.15
- (138) ʂ31-sɤ33 ku31 bu33 mɤ33-di33
 1INC.PRO POSS land
 咱们 的 土地
 our land
 我们的土地
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.165

8.2.3.3 *Demonstrative pronouns*

Demonstrative pronouns are deictics which indicate spatial relationships with the speaker. Na does not have articles, and demonstrative pronouns also can serve to mark a noun phrase as definite. Na has three demonstrative pronouns: the proximate/neutral demonstrative $t^h\text{u}33$, which is isomorphic with the 3SG.PRO (see §8.2.3.1), the distal demonstrative $\text{du}31$, and the emphatic demonstrative $g\text{x}55$. Demonstrative pronouns can refer to animates, either human (139) or animal (140), and inanimates (141), and usually are followed by a classifier. Na does not have articles, but demonstratives serve to mark a noun phrase as definite. The proximate demonstrative $t^h\text{u}33$ is far more common than the distal demonstrative $\text{du}31$. This may be because many of the instances that $t^h\text{u}33$ appears, it is tracking the referent through the discourse, much as a definite article does in some other languages, rather than giving a strong reading of spatial relationship.

3SG.PRO is isomorphic with the proximate demonstrative, but one can clearly see the distinction in usage between the two. In example (139), $t^h\text{u}33$ is the proximate demonstrative, not the 3SG.PRO, because a classifier appears following $t^h\text{u}33$. If the classifier $\text{lu}33$ did not appear, one might get the reading, “the little boy, he...,” but $z\text{o}33\text{-}h\text{s}33\ t^h\text{u}33\ \text{lu}33$ reads “the little boy.”

- (139) $t^h\text{i}13$ $z\text{o}33\text{-}h\text{s}33$ $t^h\text{u}33$ $\text{lu}33$ $\text{b}\text{o}13$ $g\text{i}13$ $t\text{c}^h\text{o}31$ $\text{æ}31\text{-}q^h\text{y}33$ $k\text{w}\text{o}33\text{-}l\text{o}31$
 so child this CLS pig behind follow cave INESS
 所以 孩子 这 个 猪 后面 跟在 山洞 里边
 So the boy followed behind
 所以那个男孩儿跟在后面钻
 T:ɕinami.23
- $l\text{o}33\text{-}h\text{u}33$ $dz\text{o}33$.
 ACCOMP-go PROG
 去
 entering the cave.
 进山洞里头。

- (140) my31-su33-ŋa13 du33-tu33-tu33 my13-lə33-k^hu31 nɔ33
morning pull back and forth.ITER dusk until
早晨 拉来拉去 下午 才

He pulled it from morning to afternoon,
从早晨一直拉到下午
T:cinami.45

ni33 zɔ33	t ^h u33	mi31	lə33-tu33	ɑ33-p ^h ɔ13	pɔ31-ts ^h u33.
fish	this	CLS	ACCOMP-pull	outside	bring
鱼	这	量词	拉	外面	拿来

until he pulled the fish outside.
才把这条鱼拉到外面来。

- (141) t^hu33 zɣwæ33 qwɣ33 bi13 kwɣ13 su33 ə33 t^hu33 kwɣ33 zɔ31 nɔ33 bu33
this horse footprint fall pearl this CLS now ASSOC
这 马 脚印 丢 珍珠 这 串 现在 的

That string of pearls thrown into the hoofprint
那一串扔在马脚印的珍珠
T:Gemu.45

çi13	kwɔ33	bu33	wɣ33-tɔ31	tsɣ31.
lake	LOC	POSS	island	become
湖	里	的	海岛	成为

became the island in present-day Lugu Lake.
成了现在的泸沽湖的海岛。

- (142) yiban (loan) gɣ55 zu33-mi33 t^hu33 lu33 ts^hu31 = ɑ31 dzɔ33
usually this hearth room this CLS build = CMKN
一般 这 祖屋 这 个 修

Usually, when building the hearth room
一般修这个祖屋的时候
ET:Fangzi.6

Demonstrative adverbs

here/there: t^hu33 dzɿ55 ‘here’

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|--------------------|-------|-------|------------|------|------|------|-------|
| (143) | t ^h u33 dzɿ55 | t ^h u33 | dzɔ33 | zɿæ33 | qɿɿ33 bi13 | du33 | lu33 | ta31 | tɔ33. |
| | here | until | TOP | horse | hoofprint | one | CLS | only | see |
| | 这边 | 到 | | 马 | 脚印 | 一 | 量词 | 才 | 看见 |

Up to this point she only saw one hoofprint.

到这边的时候看见只有一个马的脚印。

T:Gemu.38

du31 ‘there’:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|------|------------|---------|---------------|------------------|-----------|
| (144) | t ^h u33-ni13 | zɔ33 | ɿɿ33 | gu33 | ɔ31 sɿ33 ku31 | ɛ31-ki31 | zɔ33 pa33 |
| | this way | ADVB | hemp cloth | shuttle | 1INC.PRO | isn’t that right | shuttle |
| | 这样 | | 麻布 | 槽 | 咱们 | 是不是 | 槽 |

This way, don’t we have a kind of shuttle for weaving hemp cloth,

我们有一个织麻布的槽, 是不是,

T:Tsoyeluyizo.238

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|-------|------|-------------------------|-------|------|------|--------------------|------|------|
| du33 | lu33 | dzɔ33 | ku13 | t ^h u33-ni13 | du31 | su33 | ki33 | t ^h u33 | su33 | ki33 |
| one | CLS | EXIST | ABLT | this way | there | pass | DAT | here | pass | DAT |
| 一 | 量词 | 有 | 会 | 这样 | 那边 | 贯串 | | 这边 | 贯串 | |

that can be passed back and forth

拿这个槽在麻布上贯串过来,

t^hæ33 ni33.

often COP

经常 是

[through the weft].

贯串过去。

8.2.3.4 Interrogative pronouns

ni13	who
ɑ33-tso33	what
ɑ33-tshɛ33	why, how, what
q ^h ɑ33-ni13	how
q ^h ɑ33-da33	when
zu31-kwo33	where
zu31-bæ13	which

Table 8.11 Na interrogative pronouns

In Na interrogatives, the interrogative pronoun appears in the same constituent slot that the noun phrase for which it fills in would take; there is no *wh*-movement.

The Na interrogative pronouns are based on several forms: ni13 ‘who,’ ɑ33 qw, q^hɑ33 ‘however many,’ and zu31 qw.

Thus, ɑ33-tso33 ‘what’ is a compound of ɑ33 qw and tso33, which when reduplicated as tso33-tso33 means ‘thing,’ and ɑ33-tshɛ33 ‘why, how, what’ is a compound of ɑ33 and tshɛ33 n/a, where ɑ33 has undergone anticipatory vowel harmony with the front vowel /ɛ/ in tshɛ33 so that the form appears as ɑ33-tshɛ33.

q^hɑ33-ni13 ‘how’ seems to be a compound of q^hɑ33 ‘however many’ and ni13 ‘who,’ although the semantics are non-compositional and opaque; q^hɑ33-da33 ‘when’ is a compound of q^hɑ33 ‘however many’ and da33 n/a.

zu31-kwo33 ‘where’ is a compound of zu31 qw and kwo33 LOC, and zu31-bæ33 ‘which’ is a compound of zu31 qw and bæ33 ‘type, kind.’ zu31-kwo33 commonly appears as [zo31-kwo33]; it appears as zu31-kwo33 only in extremely careful speech. zu31 likely is undergoing anticipatory vowel harmony with the /ɔ/ in kwo33 so that it appears as [zo31].

- (145) ni13 ha33 dzi33 ho33?
 who food eat DES
 谁 饭 吃 要
 Who wants to eat?
 谁要吃饭?
 E:020305.16
- (146) t^hu33 tɕ^hwɿ33 ni13 ɣa33 dzi33?
 3SG.PRO dinner who COM eat
 他 晚饭 谁 跟 吃
 With whom does he eat dinner?
 他跟谁吃晚饭?
 E:020305.18
- (147) t^hu33 wu31 ts^hɿ13 a33-tso33 dzi33 fu33?
 3SG.PRO dish what eat like
 他 菜 什么 吃 喜欢
 What kind of food does he like to eat?
 他喜欢吃什么样的菜?
 E:020305.14
- (148) t^hi13 duu33-huu33 a33-tsh^hɛ33 ze33 ʂu33 du33.
 so a little what CRS think
 所以 一点 怎么 了 想
 So, he thought, “What is going on?”
 所以，他想，“怎么了？”
 T:ɕinami.35
- (149) na33 q^ha33-ni13 yi33 zo33 ni33 pi33.
 1SG.PRO how do should CERT.STR QUOT
 我 该怎么样 做 应该
 what should I do?”
 我应该怎么样去做呢?
 ET:Muphadaba.18
- (150) t^hu33 q^ha33-ni13 tɕ^hwɿ33 ku33?
 3SG.PRO how dinner make
 他 怎么 晚饭 做
 How does he make dinner?
 他怎么做晚饭?
 E:020305.20

(151) t^hu33 q^ha33-da33 tɕ^hwɿ33 dzi33?
 3SG.PRO when dinner eat
 他 什么时候 晚饭 吃
 When does he eat dinner?
 他什么时候吃晚饭?
 E:020305.11

(152) t^hu33 zu31-kwɔ33 tɕ^hwɿ33 dzi33 dʒɔ33?
 3SG.PRO where dinner eat EXIST
 他 那里 晚饭 吃
 Where does he eat dinner?
 他在那里吃晚饭?
 E:020305.17

(153) t^hu33 wu31 ts^hɿ13 zu31-bæ13 dzi33 fu33?
 3SG.PRO dish which eat like
 他 菜 那一种 吃 喜欢
 Which dish does he like to eat?
 他喜欢吃那一种菜?
 E:020305.15

The use of interrogative pronouns is just one method of question formation in Na (see §15.3 for the other question formation strategies).

8.2.3.5 *Relative pronouns*

Na relative constructions use interrogative pronouns to act as relative pronouns. These include a33-tɕɔ33 ‘what, whatever’ (154), (155), (156), (157), and (158), zu31-kwɔ33 ‘where, wherever’ (159), and q^ha33 ni13 ‘how’ (161). Use of zu31 is slightly productive, as can be seen in the temporal expressions zu31-ku33 ‘whatever time’ and zu31-ji33 ‘whatever day’ given in example (160). Grammaticalization pathways tend to extend from spatial semantics to temporal semantics, so it is likely that this WH-morpheme extended from zu31-kwɔ33 ‘where, wherever,’ which solely designates location in space, to use in zu31-kwɔ33 ‘where, wherever,’ which designates location rather than vice-versa.

(154) t^hu33 ɣɣ33-da13 tɔ31 ɲa31-ly33 kwɔ33 a33 tsɔ33 tɔ33 dʒɔ33
 3SG.PRO sew hemp cloth at the time eyes LOC whatever see PROG
 她 织麻布 的时候 眼睛 里 什么 看见

When weaving hemp cloth, whatever she was looking at,
 她织麻布的时候，眼睛里看见什么，
 T:Gemu.4

lɔ33-da13 zɔ33 p^hi33 kwɔ33 t^hu33-k^hu13 wɔ33.
 ACCOMP-sew CSM hemp cloth LOC DUR-put ABLT
 织 麻布 里 放 能

she could embroider on the hemp cloth.
 都可以织在麻布上。

In example (155), the expression a33-tso33 duu33 wu33 is composed of the relative pronoun a33-tso33 ‘what’ + the indefinite pronoun duu33 wu33 ‘someone’ (see §8.2.3.6 for discussion of Na indefinite pronouns), so that a33-tso33 duu33 wu33 literally means ‘what one, what someone.’ I have translated this colloquially as ‘who.’ The analysis of a relative pronoun a33-tso33 ‘what’ + indefinite pronoun duu33 wu33 ‘someone’ is supported by the loose translation in Chinese, provided by my Na native speaker consultant, where a33-tso33 duu33 wu33 is translated as 什么人 ‘what person’ rather than the more natural-sounding 谁 ‘who.’

(155) t^hi13 t^hu33 duu33 mɣ31-zɔ33 la33 nu55 ɕi31 la33 a31 wu55 hi33 dʒɔ33
 so this type girl etc. beautiful and good-looking person TOP
 所以 这 样 姑娘 漂亮 和 好看 人

So, there was this girl, a very beautiful person; he wondered who
 所以他想这样漂亮和好看的姑娘是
 T:Gemu.19

a33-tso33	duu33	wu33	ni33	ʂu33 du33.
what	one	CLS	COP	think
什么	一	个	是	想

she was?
 什么人呢?

- (156) zɯ33-tu33 a33-tso33 mɔ33-du33
 family QW NEG-obtain
 家庭 没-得到
 (when) the family doesn't have anything at all yet
 既是什么都没有得到
 ET:Fangzi.2

(157) has two instances of the relative pronoun a33 tso33 ‘whatever’: nɔ33 a33-tso33 dzi33 ‘whatever you eat’ and a33-wɔ33 a33-tso33 du33 k^hwɔ33 dzi33 ‘whatever bowl of something is eaten at home.’

- (157) nɔ33 a33-tso33 dzi33 dzɔ33 a33-wɔ33 a33-tso33 du33 k^hwɔ33 dzi33
 2SG.PRO whatever eat TOP home whatever one CLS eat
 你 吃 家 一 吃
 whatever you eat, whatever is eaten at home,
 你吃什么家里吃任何东西
 ET:Fangzi.24

dzɔ33 a33-p^hy33-a33-su33 ki33 su31 wɔ33-ta33 tʂ^hu33 dɔ31
 TOP ancestors BEN first before “chudu”
 祖先 首先 “chudu”
 first one must do a “chudu” blessing for one’s ancestors...
 都首先要向祖先和神灵做chudu...

- (158) t^hi13 nɔ33 a33-tso33 mi33 lɔ33 la13
 so 2SG.PRO whatever prayer say a prayer
 所以 你 求什么 祈求 说祈求
 So whatever prayer you say...
 所以你祈求什么的时候...
 ET:Fangzi.63

Example (159) shows the relative pronoun zu31-kwɔ33 in sɣ31 tʂ^hɣ31 zu31-kwɔ33 gɣ33 dzɣ13 ‘wherever there was good landscape’ and in wɣ33 la33 t^hæ13 sɣ31 tʂ^hɣ31 zu31-kwɔ33 dzɣ13 ‘mountains and such, wherever there was good landscape.’

(159) zɯ33-tʰu13 nɔ33 tʰi13 zɯ31 mu33 ku33 tʰu33 nu33 dzɔ33
 separate families so Zhimuku 3SG.PRO AGTV COMPL
 分家 的话 所以 Zhimuku 她

In splitting families, Zhimuku said, “(I) want for myself
 听说分家的话, Zhimuku
 T:Tsodeluyizo.9

sɤ31 tʂʰɤ31 zɯ31-kwɔ33 gɤ33 dzɤ13 dzɔ33... wɤ33 la33 tʰæ13
 landscape wherever this good EXIST mountain and such
 山水 哪里 好 山 和 那些

wherever has the best landscape,... mountains and such, wherever has
 把山水, 哪里

sɤ31 tʂʰɤ31 zɯ31-kwɔ33 dzɤ13 dzɔ33 nɔ13 ni33 pi33.
 landscape wherever good TOP REFL want QUOT
 山水 哪里 好 自己 要

the best landscape,” (they) say.
 最好, 换成自己的。

(160) gɤ55 tʰu33 zɯ31-ku33 zɯ31-ni33 dzɤ13 hɔ33
 this 3SG.PRO whatever-time whatever-day good FUT.DES
 哪一个时辰 哪一天 好

Which time, which day will be good...
 哪一天, 哪一个时辰会是最好的...
 ET:Fangzi.26

(161) shows qʰa33 ni13 ‘how’ used as a relative pronoun in the phrase ha33 dzi33
 dzi33 tʰu33 lɔ33 qʰa33 ni13 ‘how to eat food and drink water.’

(161) kɔ31 pɔ33 zɯ33 sɔ31 ha33 dzi33 dzi33 tʰu33 lɔ33 qʰa33-ni13 zɔ31-ku33.
 livestock raise teach food eat water drink style how ought
 牲畜 养 教 饭 吃 水 喝 方式 怎么样 应该

He taught us how we ought to raise livestock, eat food, and drink water.
 他教人养牲畜, 教人应该会怎么样的吃饭喝水的方式。
 T:Yongzhutser.19

8.2.3.6 Indefinite reference

8.2.3.6.1 duu33 + CLS

In Na, duu33 ‘one’ followed directly by a classifier used anaphorically is roughly equivalent to an indefinite pronoun. In example (162), duu33 ‘one’ + wu33, a classifier which is only used to refer to one person, so the information about the referent of the indefinite pronoun is equivalent to English ‘someone.’ Here, a house which has not yet been blessed by a daba or lama, is described as like ‘someone sleeping,’ as the spirit which animates it has not yet been awakened. Note that the classifier used here, wu33, can only be used with a person (see §9.4.4): this classifier not only selects for semantic class (animate human), but also for number (singular).

- (162) tʰi13 tsʰu13 tɔ31 dzɔ33 lə33-zu31 ɲu33 ni33 duu33 wu33 ni33.
 so build when TOP ACCOMP-sleep COP one CLS COP
 所以 建 的时候 睡着 一 个 是
 So, during building, it’s like someone sleeping.
 所以修建的时候，他是一个睡着了的一个。
 T:Fangzi.47

However, as classifiers select for semantic class (see §9.4), in some cases, more information about the referent is given than in indefinite pronouns in English. For example, in (163), more information is transmitted in the Na than would be in an English indefinite pronoun. Na has duu33 ‘one’ + qʰwɔ33 ‘bowl’ to form the indefinite reference duu33 qʰwɔ33 ‘a bowl of something’ (i.e., something to eat), whereas English must render this periphrastically with a phrase such as ‘a bowl of something’ rather than being able to productively create an indefinite reference to suit the occasion. Note, however, that since Na classifiers vary greatly as to their specificity (i.e., lu33 is a generic classifier, kʰwɔ33 can be used with anything that can come in sections, strips, or pieces, such as a piece of cloth, a name, or a section of land, while qʰwɔ33 is used only with bowlfuls), the specificity of Na indefinite reference varies greatly.

(163) ja33-tsi31 tæ33-tæ33 zɔ33 tʰæ33 nu33 ja33 nu33
 eyes and eyebrows horizontal.INTSF ADVB often EMPH 1SG.PRO AGTV
 眼睛和眉毛 横的 的 经常 我

A horizontal-eyed (person) often (thinks), “Won’t I
 做这样一点生意眼睛横的人经常想

T:Tsoedeluyizo.102

ma33-ni33 nɔ33 bu33 du33 qʰwɿ33 dzi33 zɔ33 ni33 nɔ31
 NEG-COP 2SG.PRO POSS one CLS eat PERF CERT.STR QM
 不是 你 的 一 量词 吃 了 吗

eat a bowl of yours (in order) to do business
 今天是不是吃掉你的

tsʰu33-ni33 wu33 la13 du33 qʰwɿ33 tʰu33-yĩ33 zɔ33.
 today business one CLS DUR-make PERF
 今天 生意 一 量词 做 了

today?”

一块儿，呢？

8.2.3.7 Definite reference

tʰu33 demonstrative makes a noun phrase definite. Use of tʰu33 is not obligatory;
 it is optionally used for disambiguation.

9 Structure of noun phrases

9.1 CONSTITUENT ORDER

In noun phrases, modifying elements generally follow the noun head. These modifying elements include adjectives, the intensifier *zɰæ13*, demonstratives, numerals, relative clauses, classifiers, and case markers. Thus, the basic constituent order for noun phrases is: NP → N_h + (ADJ) + (INTS) + (DEM/NUM) + (CLS) + (POSS) + (CASE), where DEM and NUM are not crucially ranked. This is consistent with the constituent order typically found in OV languages. Although a noun phrase with all of these modifying elements is not attested in the corpus of narrative texts, the examples discussed in this section show clearly which slot each modifying element takes in the noun phrase. It is perhaps not surprising that DEM and NUM are not crucially ranked with respect to one another, because sometimes *du33* acts as the numeral ‘one’ and sometimes acts as a demonstrative indicating indefinite reference (see §8.2.3.6).

Constituent order of N_h + ADJ + INTS + NUM + CLS is shown in (164, 165).

- (164) ni33 zɔ33 du55 zɰæ13 du33 mi31
fish big INTS one CLS
鱼 大 很 一 量词
a very big fish
很大的一条鱼
ET:çinami.24

- (165) hī33 ɣæ33 zɰæ13 du33 zɰu33
person wealthy INTS one family
人 富裕 很 一 家
a very well-to-do family
一家很富裕的人
ET:çinami.5

Constituent order of $N_h + DEM + CLS$ is shown in (166).

- (166) Ga33 ɬa33 tʰu33 wu33
god this CLS
神 这 量词
this god
这个神
ET:Gemu.25

Constituent order of $N_h + NUM + CLS$ is shown in (167).

- (167) zɔ33-hɔ33 ni33 lu33
child two CLS
小孩子 两 量词
the two children
两个小孩儿
ET:ɕinami.54

Constituent order of $N_h + DEM + NUM + CLS$ is shown in (168).

- (168) zɔ33-hɔ33 tʰu33 ni33 lu33
children this two CLS
小孩子 这 两 量词
these two children
这两个小孩儿
ET:ɕinami.58

Constituent order of $N_h + NUM + CLS + CASE$ is shown in example (169).

- (169) wɔ33-ty31 du33 lu33 tɔ31
mountaintop one CLS ADESS
山头上 一 量词 上面
on a mountaintop
在一个山头上
ET:Gemu.23

Adjectives in the noun phrase are fairly rare; it is more common to have a noun phrase consisting of N + DEM/NUM + CLS and the adjectival meaning appearing as an attributive adjectival verb as in examples (170, 171, 172). In (170), t^hu33 =ɤ13 ‘his family’ is the possessor of the inalienable possessum p^hæ31 tɕ^hi33 t^hu33 wu33 ‘this man’ with the inabsoluble possidend nu31 mi13 ‘heart.’ The NP [t^hu33 =ɤ13 [p^hæ31 tɕ^hi33 t^hu33 wu33 [nu31 mi13]]] is the subject of the stative verb dza33 ‘to be base,’ which is modified with the intensifier zɰwæ13.

- (170) t^hu33 =ɤ13 p^hæ31-tɕ^hi33 t^hu33 wu33 nu31 mi13 dza33 zɰwæ13.
 3SG.PRO = family man this CLS heart base INTS
 他 家 男人 这 量词 心 差 很
 The man of the family was base.
 他家这个男人心很差。
 T:ɕinami.8

- (171) t^hu33 a31 wu55 zɰwæ13
 3SG.PRO good-looking INTS
 她 好看 很
 She was very beautiful
 她很好看
 ET:Gemu.2

- (172) sɣ33 tɕ^hɣ31 t^hu33 k^hwɣ33 la31 gɣ33
 landscape this CLS remote
 山水 这 块 偏僻
 this section of landscape is remote
 这块地方的山水很偏僻
 ET:Yongzhutser.1

9.2 Determiner noun phrases

One of the most common types of noun phrase in the Na narrative text corpus is the determiner noun phrase. There is significant heterogeneity among the structures available to the determiner noun phrase, as can be seen in *Table 9.1: Attested constituent orders for DET NP in Na*.

In Na, articles are not attested. Determiners, in the form of demonstratives, however, are frequently used.

N + DEM/NUM + CLS
DEM + NUM + CLS
N + DEM + NUM + CLS
DEM
DEM + N + CASE
DEM + N + DEM + CLS (marked)

Table 9.1 Attested constituent orders for DET NP in Na

9.2.1 N + DEM + CLS

The most common constituent order for DET NP in Na is N + DEM + CLS. This constituent order can be seen in (173), where *zɔ33-hɔ33* ‘child’ is followed by the demonstrative *tʰu33* ‘this,’ which in turn is followed by the generic classifier *lu33*.

- (173) *zɔ33-hɔ33* *tʰu33* *lu33*
 child this CLS
 孩子 这 个
 the boy
 那个男孩儿
 ET:ɕinami.23

This same word order is seen in (174), where *zɯ33 mi33* ‘hearth room’ is followed by the demonstrative *tʰu33* ‘this,’ which in turn is followed by the generic classifier *lu33*.

- (174) *zɯ33-mi33 tʰu33 lu33*
 hearth room this CLS
 祖屋 这 个
 the hearth room
 这个祖屋
 ET:Fangzi.3

9.2.2 DEM + NUM + CLS

- (175) *tʰu33 ni33 lu33*
 this two CLS
 这 两 量词
 these two (children)
 这两个
 ET:cinami.59

- (176) *tʰu33 tsʰɛ13 kʰu13*
 these ten years
 这 十 年
 these (past) ten years
 ET:Change.1

- (177) *tʰu33 qa33 kʰu13*
 this several years
 这 几 年
 these (last) few years
 ET:Change.6

9.2.3 N + DEM + NUM + CLS

- (178) *zɔ33-hɔ33 tʰu33 ni33 lu33*
 children this two CLS
 小孩子 这 两 量词
 these two children
 这两个小孩儿
 ET:cinami.55

- (179) zɯ31 wɔ33 tʰu33 ni33 pʰɔ13
 ploughing oxen this two CLS
 耕牛 这 两 量词
 these two oxen were harnessed to plow.
 这两头耕牛
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.20

9.2.4 DEM

The demonstrative tʰu33 ‘this’ can appear by itself to refer back anaphorically to matters in the previous discourse. This usage is perhaps more pertinent to discourse style than syntactic structure, but it is noted here as a common usage.

- (180) tʰu33 tʰi13 a33-wɔ33 kwɔ33 dzɔ33 mi31 zu13 ni33 pɛ31 ʃ31-bu33
 this so home LOC TOP women COP then REFL.POSS
 这 所以 家 里 女人 是 自己
 About this, at home, women
 这个，所以家里是女人是
 ET:Saozi.10

lɔ33 dzɔ31 ʃ31-bu33 lə33-yĩ33,
 work then REFL.POSS ACCOMP-do
 工作 自己 做
 do their own work...
 自己工作是自己做掉的...

- (181) tʰu33 dzɔ33 ɲa33-sɣ31 ku31 ki33 dzɔ33 sɣ33 tʃʰu31 tʰu33 kʰwɣ33 la31 gɣ33
 this TOP IEXC.PRO DAT TOP landscape this CLS remote
 这 我们 山水 这 块 偏僻
 About this, our place, this section of mountain and rivers, is remote...
 这是，我们这块地方的山水很偏僻...
 ET:Yongzhutser.1

9.2.5 DEM + N + ‘CASE’

- (182) tʰu33 tsu33 tæ33 kwɔ33
 this foundation LOC
 这 地基 里
 in this foundation
 这个地基里
 ET:Fangzi.4

- (183) t^hu33 my33-di33 kwɔ33
 this earth LOC
 这 土地 里
 on this land
 在这块土地里
 ET:çinami.3

9.2.6 DEM + N + DEM + CLS

DEM + N + DEM + CLS, shown in examples (184), (185), and (186), is a marked word order.

- (184) t^hu33 ni33 zɔ33 t^hu33 mi31
 this fish this CLS
 这 鱼 这 量词
 this fish
 这条鱼
 ET:çinami.41

- (185) t^hu33 my33-di33 t^hu33 k^hwɣ33
 this land this CLS
 这 土地 这 量词
 this piece of land
 这块土地
 ET:Tsoḍeluyizo.180

- (186) t^hu33 zu33-mi33 t^hu33 lu33
 this hearth room this CLS
 这 祖屋 这 个
 the hearth room
 祖屋
 ET:Fangzi.45

9.3 ADJECTIVAL PHRASES

The constituent order for Na adjectival phrases $AP \rightarrow N + ADJ$, which is consistent with Na's OV constituent order. Example (187) shows this order: the noun *ni33 zɔ33* 'fish' appears first in the adjectival phrase, followed by the adjective *du33* 'big,' the intensifier *zɣwæ13*, the numeral *du33* 'one,' and the classifier *mi31*.

- (187) *ni33 zɔ33 du55 zɣwæ13 du33 mi31*
 fish big INTS one CLS
 鱼 大 很 一 量词
 a huge fish stuck
 很大的一条鱼
 ET:cinami.24

- (188) *su33-dzu33 tʰu33 zɣwæ13 ʂwæ33 tʰu33 sɔ33 dzu33 tʰi33-di33.*
 tree this INTS tall this three CLS DUR-EXIST.P
 树 这 很 高 这 三 量词 有
 There were three very tall trees.
 这个树木有三棵很高的。
 T:Tsoyeluyizo.218

In example (189), one can see that the verb-like nature of Na adjectives: *ʂæ33* 'long' can be marked with *lɔ33-* ACCOMP- in the way that verbs can. The intensifier *zɣwæ13* is also attested marked with *lɔ33-* ACCOMP- here.

- (189) *zɣ13-mi33 lɔ33-ʂæ33 lɔ33-zɣwæ13 zɔ33*
 road ACCOMP-long ACCOMP-INTS CRS
 路 长 了
 the road is long and far away
 路太长，太远了
 ET:Tsoyeluyizo.135

- (190) *ε33 kʰu31 tʰu33 lu33 pʰɔ13 dzɔ33 tʰu33 du55-du55 ku13*
 turnip this CLS plant TOP this big.INTSF ABLT
 圆根 这 量词 播种 这 大大 会
 planting these turnips, they could become this big
 这个圆根播种去来这么大的
 ET:Tsoyeluyizo.261

9.4 THE CLASSIFIER SYSTEM

In Na, as in Mandarin, whenever an amount is specified, a classifier must be used. Each classifier, with the exception of the generic classifier, is used with a group of nouns that share semantic properties:

- The generic classifier
- Shape
- Living things
- Selection for number
- Auto-classifiers
- Measure
- Time
- Quantification
- Number

There is a generic classifier that is used in Na, which is shown in the examples in §9.4.1. Examples of shapes that act as the basis for class in Na are long, flat, stick-like shape; slice; ball; and strip; these are shown in the example in §9.4.2. Examples of kinds of living things that form sortal classes are large things growing from the ground; small things growing from the ground; flying things; and some common four-legged animals; these are shown in the examples in §9.4.3. Examples of selection for number acting as a basis for sortal class in Na are one person; more than one person; a group; and a pair; these are shown in the examples in §9.4.4. There also are auto-classifiers as in the examples in §9.4.5, classifiers for measure as in the examples in §9.4.6, classifiers for time as in the examples in §9.4.7, classifiers for quantification as in the examples in §9.4.8, and classifiers for round number as in the examples in §9.4.9. Many of these classifiers clearly have been grammaticalized from nouns and verbs. Compounding of shape classifiers to nouns is a fairly productive morphological process (see §8.1.3).

9.4.1 The generic classifier

This classifier can be used with typologically diverse nouns that have not been assigned a specific classifier. It can also sometimes be used in place of other classifiers, although the listener may judge this as less articulate than using the specific classifier.

CLS	Type of Noun	Examples	Reference ID
lu33	generic / multi-use	æ31-q ^h ɣ33 du33 lu33 ‘a cave’	T:çinami.21
		bɔ31-gu33 t ^h u33 lu33 ‘this pig trough’	T:çinami.52
		wɔ33-tɔ31 du33 lu33 ‘a mountain top’	T:Gemu.23
		q ^h wɣ33-bi13 du33 lu33 ‘a hoofprint’	T:Gemu.38
		k ^h u31 t ^h u33 lu33 ‘this nest’	T:Tsodeluyizo.38
		ε33 k ^h u31 t ^h u33 lu33 ‘these turnips’	T:Tsodeluyizo.261
		hwa31 li33 sɔ33 lu33 ‘three cats’	T:Tsodeluyizo.266
		mɣ31-zɔ13 du33 lu33 ‘a girl’	T:Fangzi.30

9.4.2 Shape

CLS	Type of Noun	Examples	Reference ID
gɣ13	round sticks	yɣ33 du33 gɣ13 ‘one cigarette’	E:
kwɣ33	strand	su33 = ɤ33 du33 kwɣ33 ‘a strand of pearls’	T:Gemu.43
k ^h u31	long, narrow, flexible things	q ^h æ33 lɔ33 du33 k ^h u31 ‘one river’ (河) dʒi33-mi33 du33 k ^h u31 ‘one river’ (江) dʒi31-ki33 du33 k ^h u31 ‘one belt’ snakes (snakes can also take mi33)	E: E: T:Gemu.14 E:
k ^h wɣ33	section, strip, piece	ɬa13 pɣ31 du33 k ^h wɣ33 ‘a bit of excess’ lu33-ʂu31 t ^h u33 k ^h wɣ33 ‘this strip of Luoshi’ ɬi33-di33 ku31 mu33 k ^h u33 t ^h u33 k ^h wɣ33’ ‘this section of the foot of Yongning’s Gemu (mountain)’ mu33 t ^h u33 k ^h wɣ33 ‘this name’ hwæ33 p ^h æ13 du33 k ^h wɣ33 ‘a piece of cloth’	T:ɕinami.9 T:ɕinami.59 T:Gemu.1 T:Mupha.33 E:
lɣ33	kernel	hɪ33-tɕ ^h i33-hɪ33-tʂɣ33 du33 lɣ33 ‘a trace of humanity’	T:Tso deluyizo.46
ɬu31	ball	ha33-ɬu31 du33 ɬu31 ‘a ball of rice’	T:Tso deluyizo.114
na33	long, flat and stick-shaped things	qwæ33 du33 na33 ‘one bed’ k ^h i33 du33 na33 ‘one door’ Blades: si31-t ^h i13 du33 na33 ‘one knife,’ si31 t ^h i13-zɔ33 du33 na33 ‘one small knife’ pi31-t ^h a13 gɣ33 na33 ‘nine axes’	T:Fangzi.14 E: E: T:Tso deluyizo.186
p ^h æ13	slice	Meat, tiles: ŋwɣ33-p ^h æ13 du33 p ^h æ13 ‘one roof tile’ gu33-p ^h æ13 du33 p ^h æ13 ‘one wooden tile’ k ^h ɔ33 p ^h ɣ33 du33 p ^h æ13 ‘a field of grass’ ni33 zɔ33-ʂe33 du33 p ^h æ13 ‘a slice of fish’	E: E: T:ɕinami.2 T:ɕinami.26
qwɣ13	bowl	la33 ɲɔ13 du33 qwɣ13 ‘a bowl of tiger milk’	T:Tso deluyizo.172

CLS	Type of Noun	Examples	Reference ID
tɕ ^h ɔ13	ladle	dzi33 du33 tɕ ^h ɔ13 ‘a ladle of water’	T:Fangzi.30
wɤ33	stack	ʃu33 t ^h u33 gɤ33 wɤ33 ‘these nine stacks of branches’	T:Tsodeluyizo.190
wæ33	pile	mu33 t ^h u33 wæ33 ‘this fire’ sɔ33 du33 wæ33 ‘a pile of pine incense’	T:Fangzi.34 T:Mupha.34

9.4.3 Living things

CLS	Type of Noun	Examples	Reference ID
dzu33	large things that grow from the ground	su33-dzu33 du33 dzu33 ‘one tree’ very tall flowers	T:Fangzi.6 E:
mi31	flying things and some other animals	læ31 ɣæ33 t ^h u33 mi31 ‘this crow’ ni33 zɔ33 du33 mi31 ‘a fish’ birds; chickens, cats, snakes (snakes can also take k ^h u31)	T:Tsodeluyizo.28 T:ɕinami.37 E:
pɔ33	small things that grow from the ground	small trees (saplings), most flowers, vegetables	E:
p ^h ɔ13	some common four-legged animals	zɤ33 wɔ33 t ^h u33 ni33 p ^h ɔ13 ‘these two oxen’ dogs, horses, cows, pigs, yaks	T:Tsodeluyizo.20 E:
ɣɤ13	dogs	k ^h u33-mi33 ni33 ɣɤ13 ‘two dogs’	T:Tsodeluyizo.126

9.4.4 Selection for number

CLS	Type of Noun	Examples	Reference ID
dzu33	a pair	tɔ31-mi13 du33 dzu33 ‘a pair of pillars’ chopsticks, things that come in pairs	T:Fangzi.6 E:
ku13	more than one person	a33-mu33-gu33-mi33 ts ^h ɛ33 ku13 ‘ten siblings’ ni33 ku13 ‘the two (people)’ a33-da33-a33-mi33 ni33 ku13 ‘the two parents’	T:Intro.6 T:Gemu.22 T:Tsodeluyizo.145
wu33	one person ¹	p ^h æ31-tɕ ^h i33 t ^h u33 wu33 ‘this man’ la33 mɣ33 la33 du33 wu33 ‘a lama, etc.’	T:ɕinami.8 T:Fangzi.39
wɔ33	team of oxen	zɣ33 wɔ33 gɣ33 wɔ33 ‘nine teams of oxen’	T:ɕinami.44

9.4.5 Auto-classifiers (term as per Matisoff 2003)

Auto-classifiers are those for which $N = CLS$. A few of these classifiers can also be used with semantically-related nouns, such as the classifier tsɔ13, which can be used with zu33 wɔ31 ‘bedroom’ as well as tsɔ13 ‘room.’ Several of these classifiers are only approximately auto-classifiers as the classifier is a part of the noun rather than the full noun – for example, the classifier ts^hi13 ‘sheep’ for ts^hi31-ɣu13 ‘sheepskin’ and the classifier tɕi31 for tɕi31 ɕi33 ‘whistle.’

Additionally, in the $N_1 + CLS \Rightarrow N_2$ morphological process (§8.1.3), N_2 often takes the classifier that is compounded to N_1 . For example: su33 ‘wood’ + dzu33 (CLS) = > su33-dzu33 ‘tree.’ The N_2 su33-dzu33 ‘tree’ takes the classifier dzu33: su33-dzu33 du33 dzu33 ‘one (CLS) tree’. Also: ni33 ‘fish’ + q^hɣ33 (CLS) = > ni33-q^hɣ33 ‘fish nest.’ The N_2 ni33-q^hɣ33 ‘fish nest’ takes the classifier q^hɣ33: ni33-q^hɣ33 t^hu33 du33 q^hɣ33 ‘this one (CLS) fish nest.’

¹ However, note that children are usually referred to (whether singular or plural) with the generic classifier rather than with ku33 or wu33. For copious examples, refer to the ɕinami text.

CLS	Type of Noun	Examples	Reference ID
tsɔ13	room	tsɔ13 du33 tsɔ13 ‘one room’ zɯ31 wɔ33 du33 tsɔ13 ‘one bedroom’	T:Fangzi.21 E:
tsʰi13	sheepskin throw	tsʰi31-ɣu13 du33 tsʰi13 ‘one sheepskin’ (literally, “one sheep of sheepskin”)	E:
tɕi31	whistle	tɕi31 ɕi33 gu33 tɕi31 kʰu13 ‘whistle nine times’	T:Tso deluyizo.195
wɤ33	village	na31-wɤ33 du33 wɤ33 ‘a Na village’	T:Yzt.2

9.4.6 Measure

CLS	Type of Noun	Examples	Reference ID
ʰi31	unit of cloth	tsʰɛ33 qʰa33 ʰi31 ‘ten-odd measures (of cloth)’	T:Gemü.3
qʰwɤ13	various liquids and foods	la33 ɲɔ13 du33 qʰwɤ13 ‘a bowl of tiger’s milk’ ha33 du33 qʰwɤ13 ‘a bowl of rice’	T:Tso deluyizo.172 E:
tɕʰɔ13	water	dzi33 du33 tɕʰɔ13 ‘a ladle of water’	T:Fangzi.30

9.4.7 Time

As in Yao (Caron 1987:158) and Lahu (Matisoff 2003a:215), some classifiers can appear without a head noun. While Caron finds only two such classifiers in Yao, Matisoff finds numerous time and round number classifiers which can occur without a head noun (Matisoff 2003a:215). Na patterns like Lahu in that many time and round number classifiers do not require a head noun.

CLS	Type of Noun	Examples	Reference ID
dzu31 k ^h ɣ31		du33 dzu31 k ^h ɣ31 ‘a while’	T:Gemu.6
dzæ33		t ^h u33 dzæ33 ‘this period of time’	T:ɕinami.49
k ^h u13		t ^h u33 ts ^h ɛ33 k ^h u13 ‘these ten years’	T:Change.1
ni33		du33 ni33 ‘one day’	T:Tsodeluyizo.179
ɕɣ33		t ^h u33 ɕɣ33 ‘this time’	T:Tsodeluyizo.129
tɕ ^h æ13		du33 tɕ ^h æ13 ‘a generation’	T:Gemu.49
ha33		sɔ33 ha33 ‘three nights’	T:Tsodeluyizo.47
zu33		du33 zu33 ‘a lifetime’	T:Gemu.49

9.4.8 Quantification

Note that many of the quantification classifiers have the structure *du33* ‘one’ + CLS as in Lahu (Matisoff 2003a:215) and Mandarin.

CLS	Type of Noun	Examples	Reference ID
<i>du33-ta13</i>		<i>dze33 du33-ta13</i> (literally ‘all money’); ‘good money’	T:Change.8
<i>du33-pi13</i>		<i>tʰu33 ni13 du33-pi13</i> ‘some of these’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.13
<i>du33-wə33</i>		<i>wu31 dze33 du33-wə33</i> ‘a type of bird’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.81
<i>du33-hu33</i>		<i>dzi33-di33 du33-hu33</i> ‘a little bit to eat’	T:çinami.17
<i>tɕu13</i>		<i>hi33 tʰu33 tɕu13</i> ‘(these) many people’	T:Yzt.4

9.4.9 Round number

CLS	Type of Noun	Examples	Reference ID
<i>tu33</i>		<i>qʰa33 tu33</i> ‘several thousand’	T:Fangzi.55
<i>tsʰɛ33</i>		<i>tʰu33 tsʰɛ33 kʰu13</i> ‘these ten years’	T:Change.1
<i>çi33</i>		<i>gɣ33 çi33</i> ‘nine hundred’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.186

As in Vietnamese (Goral 1978:12–13) and Yao (Caron 1987:156), classifiers in Na can be used anaphorically, as can be seen in example (191).

(191)	<i>su33-dzu33</i>	<i>tʰu33</i>	<i>zɰwæ13</i>	<i>ɕwæ33</i>	<i>tʰu33</i>	<i>sɔ33</i>	<i>dzu33</i>	<i>tʰi33-di33</i> .
	tree	this	INTS	tall	this	three	CLS	DUR-EXIST.P
	树	这	很	高	这	三	量词	有

There were three very tall trees.

这个树木有三棵很高的。

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.218

(192)	tɕɔ31	ku33	tʰu31	du33	dzu33	ku31	na33	zɔ33	la33
	first			one	CLS	Kunazo			and
	首先的			一	量词	Kunazo			和

In the first one, Kunazo and Baenazo live.

首先一棵树是住Kunazo和Baenazo。

T:Tsodeluyizo.219

bæ33	na31	zɔ33	ha13	ni33.
Baenazo			live	CERT.STR
Baenazo			住	

Baenazo live.
Baenazo。

9.5 QUANTIFICATION

Na has a fairly diverse set of strategies by which quantity can be indicated. These strategies are: discourse context (§9.5.1), marking with the enclitic =æ31 (§9.5.2, also see §8.1.4.5), plural marking on pronominals (§9.5.3), and the use of quantifiers (§9.5.4), measure classifiers (§9.5.5), and numerals (§9.5.6).

9.5.1 Discourse context

Na tends not to represent morphosyntactically what can be understood on a pragmatic level from the discourse context. Thus quantity sometimes is understood from discourse context rather than formatly marked. Example (193) is a marvellously clear example of plural being understood from the discourse context. Example (193) is extracted from a section of a creation narrative which enumerates the ways that the protagonist and his wife managed to bring various animals to earth from the heavens. The listener knows from discourse context that at least two of each of the animals must be brought to earth, as the animals are for breeding. However, no plural marking or quantification is given, the plural is solely from context.

(193)	hwa31 li33	t ^h u33	dʒɔ33	kɔ31 pɔ33	gi13	p ^h ɔ33	lɔ33-hu33.
	cat	this	TOP	livestock	after	escape	ACCOMP-go
	猫	这		牲畜	后面	逃跑	去

Cats, these escaped by following livestock.

猫，这个是跟着牲畜跑去的。

T:Tsoyeluyizo.264

The following are additional examples where plural is indicated by discourse context rather than lexically or morphosyntactically.

(194)	ɔ̄31-bu33	zɔ33 k ^h wɔ33	dʒɔ13 pɔ33	lɔ33-gu31	hĩ33-bæ55	dʒɔ13 pɔ33
	REFL.POSS	building	very good	ACCOMP-fix	guest	very good
	自己	房子	特别好	修	客人	特别好

We fixed our buildings to excellent condition, and take

T:Change.7

lɔ33-wɔ33 mæ33.

ACCOMP-care for

照管

good care of guests.

(195)	t ^h u33	bu33	my33	na31-di33	kwɔ33	p ^h æ31-tɕ ^h i33	ni33	zɛ33
	3SG.PRO	POSS	name	Na--NOM _{LOC}	LOC	young guys	COP	PERF
	她	的	名字	摩梭-地	里	小伙子们	是	

Her name in the Na areas was known

她的名字在摩梭地区是

T:Gemu.15

du33-ta13 t^hu33 si33.

all 3SG.PRO know

全部 她 知道

by all of the Na youth.

小伙子们的话全部知道它。

9.5.2 Plural enclitic

The plural enclitic =æ31 can attach to some nouns to indicate a plural. Encliticization with =æ31 PL is not a very productive process, however, and the nouns to which it can attach are limited to a restricted group of animates (see §7.1, 7.3, 8.1.4.5).

In example (196), one can see that the plural enclitic can appear with a non-specific referent, here p^hæ31 tɕ^hi33- mu33 zɔ33 = æ31 ‘people.’

(196)	p ^h æ31-tɕ ^h i33-mu33-zɔ33 = æ31	ɕ31-bu33	lɔ33-yi33	bi33	mə33-zɔ33.
	men-women = PL	REFL.POSS	labor	go	NEG-OBL
	男-女 = 们	自己	劳动	去	不用
	People don't need to go labor in the fields.				
	T:Change.9				

9.5.3 Plural marking on pronominals

As discussed previously in §8.2.3.1, the plural pronouns are formed by attaching sɿ33 ku31 to the singular pronouns, so that ɲa33 1SG.PRO → ɲa33-sɿ33 ku31 1EXC.PRO, ɕi3 REFL → ɕi31-sɿ33 ku31 1INC.PRO, nɔ33 2SG.PRO → nɔ33-sɿ33 ku31 2PL.PRO, and t^hu33 3SG.PRO → t^hu33-sɿ33 ku31 3PL.PRO. This process of plural marking is not productive, and is limited to these personal pronouns. Please see §8.2.3.1 for examples.

9.5.4 Quantifiers

Na quantifier noun phrases take the constituent order NOUN HEAD + QUANT, where quantifiers form a subclass of classifiers (see §9.4.8). Na quantifiers can appear with no overt noun head, although this is somewhat less common. *Table 9.2: Na Quantifiers* provides an overview of the Na quantifiers.

Some of the Na quantifiers have fairly transparent etymologies: du33-hu33 ‘a little,’ du33-pi13 ‘a little, some,’ and du33-ta13 ‘all’ are all constructed with du33 ‘one’; dzæ33-pi13 ‘lots’ and du33-pi13 ‘a little, some’ share the morpheme pi13; dzæ33 ‘much’ and dzæ33-pi13 ‘lots’; the interrogative/relative pronoun q^ha33 ‘how, however many, several’ and q^ha33-yɿ13 ‘lots’; a33-tso33-mə33-ni33 ‘nothing’ is a compound from the interrogative/relative pronoun a33-tso33 ‘what, whatever’ + mə33 NEG- + ni33 COP, and pɿ33 tɔ31-mə33-dzɔ33 ‘nothing at all’ is a compound from the quantifier pɿ33 tɔ31 ‘all’ + mə33-NEG- + dzɔ33 EXIST. The etymologies for yi31 ha13 ‘all’, ma31 na33 ‘many,’ and pɿ33 tɔ31 ‘all’ are opaque.

pɿ33 tɔ31	all
yi31 ha13	all
du33-ta13	all
q ^h a33-yɿ13	lots
dzæ33-pi13	lots
ma31 na33	many
dzæ13	much
du33-pi13	a little, some
du33-hu33	a little
a33-tso33-mə33-ni33	nothing
pɿ33-tɔ31-mə33-dzɔ33	nothing at all

Table 9.2 Na quantifiers

QP → N_h + QUANT

N_h + QUANT

(197) ni33 zɔ33 pɤ33 tɔ31
 fish all
 鱼 都
 all fish
 鱼全部
 ET:Tsoodeluyizo.14

(198) tɥ33 di33 yi31 ha13
 wings EXIST.P all
 翅膀 有 全部
 everything with wings
 全部有翅膀的
 ET:Tsoodeluyizo.10

Example (199) shows the quantifier du33-ta13 ‘all’ occurring with no overt head.

(199) na13 bu33... na13 bu33 zu33-tu33 kwɔ33 du33-ta13 tɔ31 tsa33
 Na POSS Na POSS family LOC all COMP be important
 纳 的 纳 的 家庭 理 都 比较 重要
 In Na families,
 在纳的家庭里比全部
 T:Fangzi.1

= a33 dzɔ33 zu33-mi33 t^hu33 lu33 ni33.
 =CMKN hearth room this CLS COP
 祖屋 这 个 是
 more important than anything is the hearth room.
 最重要的是这个祖屋。

(200) dzɛ33 la33 q^ha33-yɤ13 dzɔ33.
 money etc. lots EXIST
 钱 等等 很多 有
 They had a lot of money and such.
 钱，等等有很多。
 T:ɕinami.7

Example (201) has the quantifier phrase $h\ddot{i}33-w\ddot{v}33\ l\ddot{a}33\ dz\ddot{a}33-pi13$ ‘lots of villages,’ where the noun head $h\ddot{i}33-w\ddot{v}33\ l\ddot{a}33$ precedes the quantifier $dz\ddot{a}33-pi13$ ‘lots.’

(201)	$h\ddot{i}33-w\ddot{v}33$	$l\ddot{a}33$	$dz\ddot{a}33-pi13$	$t^h\ddot{u}33-di33$.
	village	etc.	lots	DUR-EXIST.P
	村镇	等等	很多	有

There were many villages.
 有很多村镇。
 T:cinami.4

(202)	$ɲ\ddot{a}33-s\ddot{v}33\ ku31$	$\alpha33-mu33-ku33-mi33$	$ma31\ na33$	$dz\ddot{o}33$.
	1EXC.PRO	sibling	very many	EXIST
	我们	姐妹兄弟	很多	有

We have many of siblings.
 T:Intro.7

Example (203) contains the quantifier phrase $dz\ddot{e}33\ l\ddot{a}33\ t^h\ddot{a}13\ du33-pi13$ ‘some money and such’; this quantifier consists of two morphemes, where the first morpheme is $du33$ ‘one.’ This structure is a common areal feature.

(203)	$dz\ddot{e}33$	$l\ddot{a}33$	$t^h\ddot{a}13$	$du33-pi13$
	money	and	such	some
	钱	和	那些	一些
	some money and such			
	一些钱和那些			
	ET:Fangzi.11			

(204)	$\xi31-s\ddot{v}33\ ku31$	$pi33\ li33\ pi33\ t^h\ddot{s}u31\ z\ddot{o}31$	$ki33$	$dz\ddot{o}33$	$\ddot{a}13$	$l\ddot{a}33$	$t^h\ddot{a}13$
	1INC.PRO	pilipitsizo	DAT	TOP	chicken	and	such
	咱们	pilipitsizo	给		鸡	和	些
	(Given) to us people, chickens and such, (of) things with wings,						
	分给我们人类的, 有翅膀的, 只有鸡和那些,						
	T:Tso deluyizo.13						

$t\ddot{y}33-di33-h\ddot{i}33$	$t^h\ddot{u}33-ni13$	$du33-pi13$	$ta31$	$ki33$	$dz\ddot{e}33$	$ku13$	$t^h\ddot{u}33-ni13$
wings-EXIST.P-NOM	this kind	some	only	give	fly	ABLT	this kind
翅膀-有-的	这样	一些	才	给	飞	会	这样
only some of these (chickens) were given;							
一些这样的是给的,							

du33-pi13	ta31	ki33.
some	only	give
一些	才	给

(of) things that can fly, only (chickens) were given (to us).

会飞这样一些，才分给我们。

- (205) hī33-mɔ13 bu33 tʰu33-kʰu13 dzɔ33 du33-pi13 dzɤ13 ku13 pi33 ni33
 elders POSS DUR-place TOP a little good FUT.ABL QUOT CERT.STR
 老人 的 放 一点 好 会

(They) say putting a bit of elders' [hair inside one's headdress] will be good;

听说放一点老人的（头发在里边），

T:Saozi.7

pa13	dzɤ13	kʰu33	sɔ33	hwɤ31	gɤ31	hī33-mɔ13	tʰu33-ni13	dzɔ33
maybe	good	CAUS	after	these	elders	this way	TOP	
可能	好		以后		老人	这样		

maybe (this) brings good, it is said that afterwards, these elders in this way

这些老人

zu33	ʂæ33	ha31	yɤ33	hu33	ku13	ni33	tsi13.
long life		peace	go	FUT.ABL	CERT.STR	REP	
长寿		平安	去	会		说	

will (help) (you) live long (and) peacefully.

会让你长寿和平安的。

- (206) ɕi31 dzi13 la33 lɔ13 la33 du33 pi13
 coals and ash etc. a little
 炭 和 灰 等等 一点

a bit of coals and ashes

一点炭和灰

ET:Fangzi.28

- (207) dzi33-di33 du33-hu33 ta31 dzɔ33.
 eat-NOM_{PURP} a little only EXIST
 吃-的 一点点 才 有

There was only a tiny bit to eat.

吃的只有一点点。

T:ɕinami.17

- (208) $\text{æ}31\text{-t}\text{ɕ}i13$ $\text{p}\text{x}33$ $\text{t}\text{ɔ}31$ $\text{m}\text{ə}33\text{-d}\text{z}\text{ɔ}33$
 chick all NEG-EXIST
 小鸡 都 没-有
 (he) didn't have even a baby chick
 连一只小鸡都没有
 ET:Tsoedeluyizo.248

Example (209) contains the quantifier phrase $\text{d}\text{z}\text{ɛ}33$ $\text{l}\text{a}33$ $\text{t}\text{a}13\text{-p}\text{x}31$ $\text{d}\text{u}33$ $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{w}\text{x}33$ ‘a little more money and such.’ Note that the modifiers $\text{l}\text{a}33$ ‘and such’ and $\text{t}\text{a}13$ $\text{p}\text{x}31$ ‘more’ follow the noun $\text{d}\text{z}\text{ɛ}33$ ‘money,’ which in turn is followed by the quantifier $\text{d}\text{u}33$ $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{w}\text{x}33$ ‘a little.’

- (209) $\text{d}\text{z}\text{ɛ}33$ $\text{l}\text{a}33$ $\text{t}\text{a}13$ $\text{p}\text{x}31$ $\text{d}\text{u}33$ $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{w}\text{x}33$ $\text{d}\text{z}\text{ɔ}33$ $\text{a}31\text{-y}i33$ $\text{ɕ}\text{u}33$ $\text{d}\text{u}33$.
 money etc. more one CLS have maybe want
 钱 等 更多 一 点 有 可能 想
 Perhaps he wanted a bit more money.
 可能想有更多一点的钱。
 T:ɕinami.9

Example (210) shows the quantifier phrase $\text{h}i33$ $\text{y}\text{æ}33$ $\text{z}\text{w}\text{æ}13$ $\text{d}\text{u}33$ $\text{z}\text{u}33$ ‘a family of very wealthy people.’ The modifiers $\text{y}\text{æ}33$ ‘wealthy’ and $\text{z}\text{w}\text{æ}13$ ‘very’ follow the noun $\text{h}i33$ ‘people,’ and the quantifier $\text{d}\text{u}33$ ‘one’ and the sortal classifier $\text{z}\text{u}33$ then follow.

- (210) $\text{h}i33$ $\text{y}\text{æ}33$ $\text{z}\text{w}\text{æ}13$ $\text{d}\text{u}33$ $\text{z}\text{u}33$
 person wealthy INTS one family
 人 富裕 很 一 家
 well-to-do family
 一家很富裕的人
 ET:ɕinami.5

- (211) $\text{t}\text{s}^{\text{h}}\text{ɛ}33$ $\text{q}^{\text{h}}\text{a}33$ $\text{t}\text{i}33$
 ten several CLS
 十 几 丈
 several tens of measures of cloth
 十几丈
 ET:Gemu.3

(212) dʒi33 du33 tɕʰɔ13
 water one CLS
 水 一 瓢
 a ladle of water
 一瓢水
 ET:Fangzi.30

(213) tʰu33 qa33 kʰu13
 this several years
 这 几 年
 these (last) few years
 ET:Change.6

9.5.5 Measure and time classifiers

NUM + CLS (measure or time)

(214)

du33	ni33	dʒɔ33	bɔ13	lu13	kwɔ33
one	day	TOP	pig	feed	LOC
一	天		猪	放	里

 one day, while feeding the pigs
 有一天放猪的时候
 ET:çinami.21

(215) qa33 tɕʰæ13
 many generation
 多 代
 several generations
 几代人
 ET:çinami.42

(216) du33 dzu31 kʰɿ31
 one time
 一 会儿
 in a moment
 很快
 ET:çinami.48

(217) du33 zu33
 one lifetime
 一 辈子
 a lifetime
 一辈子
 ET:Gemu.29

(218) t^hu33 sɣ33
 this time
 这 次
 this time
 这次
 ET:Tso deluyizo.129

9.5.6 Numerals

du33	one
ni33	two
sɔ33	three
zu33	four
ŋwɣ33	five
q ^h ɣ13	six
sɯ33	seven
hɔ13	eight
gɣ33	nine
ts ^h ɛ33	ten

Table 9.3 Na numerals

The Na numerals from one to ten are given in *Table 9.3: Na numerals*. Nearly all of these cardinal numbers are attested in the naturalistic corpus, and are given, as available, in examples (219) through (225). It should be noted *duu33* ‘one’ is particularly prevalent in Na discourse because it occurs in a variety of quantifiers (see §9.4.8), as well as in the delimitative, semelfactive, and iterative aspects (§13.5–13.7), in addition to occurring in indefinite reference constructions (§8.2.3.6).

Yunnanese and Mandarin are the *linguas franca* commonly used in trade, and Na speakers frequently use Yunnanese or Mandarin numerals in place of their Na counterparts while speaking Na in daily life. This is not due to a lack of fluency in Na, but rather, a general preference in code choice, and is particularly prevalent in speakers under the age of roughly fifty-five.

Example (219) contains another quantifier phrase, *zɔ33-hɔ33 duu33 lu33*, ‘one child.’ The noun *zɔ33-hɔ33* ‘child’ appears first, followed by the numeral *duu33* ‘one,’ which in turn is followed by the generic classifier *lu33*.

(219) *zɔ33-hɔ33 duu33 lu33*
 child one CLS
 孩子 一 个
 one young boy
 一个小男孩儿。
 ET:ɕinami.11

In example (220), there is a simple quantifier noun phrase, *zɔ33-hɔ33 ni33 lu33*, ‘two children.’ In Na, the quantifier follows the noun that it is quantifying. Thus, the noun *zɔ33-hɔ33* ‘child’ appears first, followed by the quantifier *ni33* ‘two’, which in turn is followed by the classifier *lu33* which is required for the sentence to be grammatical in Na.

- (220) zɔ33-hɔ33 ni33 lu33
 child two CLS
 小孩子 两 量词
 (the) two children
 两个小孩儿
 T:ɕinami.54
- (221) sɔ33 ni33 sɔ33 ha33
 three day three night
 三 天 三 夜
 three days and three nights
 三天三夜
 ET:Tsoḍeluyizo.47
- (222) hwa31 li33 sɔ33 lu33 la33 zu33 lu33
 cat three CLS and four CLS
 猫 三 量词 和 四 量词
 three or four cats
 三个, 四个的猫,
 ET:Tsoḍeluyizo.266
- (223) ʃu33 k^hu13
 seven year
 七 年
 seven years
 七年
 ET:Tsoḍeluyizo.63

Example (224) contains the quantifier phrase zɤ33-wɔ33 gɤ33 wɔ33 ‘nine pairs of oxen.’ The noun zɤ33-wɔ33 ‘oxen’ is followed by the quantifier gɤ33 ‘nine’ and then the classifier wɔ33, which is used for teams of oxen.

- (224) zɤ33-wɔ33 gɤ33 wɔ33
 oxen nine CLS
 公牛 九 对
 nine pairs of oxen
 九对公牛
 ET:ɕinami.44

(225) nɑ33 ə13 a33-wə33 hī33 ts^hɛ33 q^ha33 ku13 dʒə33.
 1SG.PRO family family person ten more than CLS EXIST
 我 家 家 人 十 多 位 有

My family has more than ten people.

T:Intro.5

ɕi33	hundred
du33 tu33	one thousand
du33 mə31	ten thousand

Table 9.4 Na larger numerals

(226) gɤ33 ɕi33
 nine hundred
 九 百
 nine hundred
 九百
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.186

In areas where there has been much contact with the Han, in daily life speakers often use Chinese loans for numbers, i.e., while playing poker or discussing prices. This tendency is much stronger in younger speakers than in older speakers.

9.6 POSSESSION

Na uses three types of possession: alienable possession, inalienable possession, and inabsoluble possession. Alienable possession is used when the relationship between possessor and possidend cannot be assumed from the nature of the two; inalienable possession is used when the relationship between possessor and possidend is assumed. Different languages instantiate different world views as to what types of possessor and possidends can be assumed to have a possessive relationship. Alienable possession is discussed in §9.6.1, inalienable possession is discussed in §9.6.2, and inabsoluble possession is discussed in §9.6.3. *Table 9.5 Overview of possession types* shows the three types of possession, their forms, the noun categories that take each type of possession, and provides a reference to a table with examples.

The possessive marker *bu33* also is used in associative and non-relative attributive constructions, as will be discussed in §16.2.4.2 and 16.2.4.3, respectively.

	Alienable possession	Inalienable possession	Inabsoluble possession
Structure	[NP ₁ <i>bu33</i> NP ₂]	[NP ₁ NP ₂]	[NP]
Noun categories	Inanimate possidend Kinship terms when NP ₁ is lexical	Kinship terms when NP ₁ is pronominal Animal body parts	Human body parts
Examples	Table 9.6	Table 9.7	Table 9.8

Table 9.5 Overview of possession types

In Na, the type of possession used primarily is determined by the possidend. If the possidend is inanimate, alienable possession is used. If the possidend is an animal body part, inalienable possession is used. If the possidend is a human body part, inabsoluble possession is used. However, the type of possession used also depends on the possessor. Kinship terms with lexical possessors generally take alienable possession, while kinship terms with pronominal possessors generally take inalienable possession.

Note that possession in Na is highly entwined with the animacy hierarchy: inabsoluble possession is used with items that are highest on the animacy hierarchy, such as human body parts; alienable possession is used with items intermediary on the animacy hierarchy, such as animal body parts; and inalienable possession is used with items which are fully inanimate.

9.6.1 Alienable possession

In Na, alienable possession is used when the possidend is inanimate. Alienable possession takes the structure [NP₁ bu33 NP₂], where NP₁ is the possessor and NP₂ is an inanimate possidend, creating a dependent-marked structure. As shown in *Table 9.6 Examples of alienable possession*, the possessor can be a pronoun or an NP, and may be either animate or inanimate. The possidend must be inanimate, although in two cases, body parts are attested as possidends. It should also be noted that discourse factors can play a role in whether alienable or inalienable possession appears. Examples of both of these situations will be discussed shortly.

Structure	Example	Reference ID
NP + KINSHIP	a33-mi33 bu33 a33-mu33-ku33-mi33 ‘mother’s siblings’	T:Intro.6
	lu33-ʂu31 la33 na13 bu33 a33-p ^h ɣ33-a33-su33 ‘ancestors of Luoshui and the Na’	T:cinami.61
	ga33 ʈa33 t ^h u33 wu33 bu33 a33-mi33 ‘the god’s mother’	T:Gemu.25

Table 9.6 Examples of alienable possession

Structure	Example	Reference ID
PRO + INANIMATE	ᅔ31-sᄁ33 ku31 bu33 my33-di33 ‘our land’	T:Tsodeluyizo.165
	nᅔ33 bu33 t ^h a33 = ə31 ‘your book’	T:Mupha.14
	nᅔ31 bu33 du31 pu33 t ^h u33 lu33 ‘(his) own implements’	T:Mupha.9
	t ^h u33 bu33 hᅔ31 tu13 ‘her favor’	T:Saozi.29
	nᅔ33 nᅔ31 bu33 lᅔ33-zwᄁ31-hī31 ‘your own words’	T:Fangzi.63
NP + INANIMATE	la33 bu33 ɲᅔ13 ‘tiger milk’	T:Tsodeluyizo.161
ANIMATE + INANIMATE	a33-zᄁ33 bu33 ɠwæ33 du33 na33 ‘a grandmother’s bed’	T:Fangzi.14
INANIMATE + INANIMATE	ya33 q ^h a33 bu33 ɣæ13 ‘buckwheat seed’	T:Tsodeluyizo.229
	zu33-mi33 bu33 tsu33 tæ33 ‘the hearth room’s foundation’	T:Fangzi.3
	zu31-mi33 bu33 su33 kwᄁ33 ‘the hearth room’s logs’	T:Fangzi.6
	tᅔ31-mi13 du33 lu33 zᅔ33, tᅔ31-mi13 du33 lu33 mu13 bu33 tᅔ31-mi13 ‘a male pillar, a females’ pillar’	T:Fangzi.7
	zu33-mi33 bu33 k ^h i33 ‘hearth room’s door’	T:Fangzi.12
	a33-wᅔ33 du33-ta13 bu33 ‘everyone’s home’ a33-wᅔ33 t ^h u33 zu33 bu33 kwᄁ33 ‘this home’s hearth’	T:Fangzi.27
	sᅔ33 t ^h a33 bu33 mu33 k ^h u33 ‘chorten’s smoke’	T:Fangzi.61
	na13 bu33 q ^h wæ33 ‘the traditions of the Na’	T:Yzt.5
INANIMATE + BODY PART	zu33-mi33 bu33 bi33 mi33 ‘hearth room’s stomach’	T:Fangzi.43

Table 9.6 Examples of alienable possession (continued)

Examples (227) and (228) show that when kinship terms are possessed by a lexical noun phrase rather than by a pronoun, they take alienable possession. In (227), the possessor *lu33-ɕu31 la33 na13* ‘Luoshui and the Na’ is followed by the possessive marker *bu33*, which in turn is followed by the possessum, the coordinate compound *a33-p^hy33-a33-su33* ‘ancestors,’ to create the possessive noun phrase *[[lu33-ɕu31 la33 na13 bu33] a33-p^hy33-a33-su33]* ‘ancestors of Luoshui and the Na.’

- (227) *lu33-ɕu31 la33 na13 bu33 a33-p^hy33-a33-su33*
 Luoshui and Na POSS ancestors
 落水 和 摩梭 的 祖先
 the ancestors of Luoshui and the Na
 落水和摩梭的祖先
 ET:ɕinami.61

In example (228), the genitive *ga33 ɬa33 t^hu33 wu33* ‘this god’ is followed by the possessive marker *bu33* which in turn is followed by the possessum, *a33-mi33* ‘mother’ to create the possessive noun phrase *[[ga33 ɬa33 t^hu33 wu33 bu33] [a33-mi33]]* ‘the god’s mother.’

- (228) *ga33 ɬa33 t^hu33 wu33 bu33 a33-mi33*
 god this CLS POSS mother
 神 这 量词 的 母亲
 this god’s mother
 这个神，他家的母亲
 ET:Gemu.25

Possessive noun phrases also can be constructed using possessive pronouns. In such a construction, the possessive pronoun is followed by a possessum, as in example (229), where the third person possessive pronoun *t^hu33 bu33* ‘her’ is followed by the possessum *my33* ‘name’ to create the possessive construction *t^hu33 bu33 my33* ‘her name.’

(229) t^hu33 bu33 my33
 3SG.PRO POSS name
 她 的 名字
 her name
 她的名字
 ET:Gemu.15

Example (230) is somewhat exceptional, and thus is particularly worthy of note. In (230), the narrator is explaining that the hearth room, more largely symbolic of the Na family, receives its stomach or soul when it is blessed by a daba or lama. Although one might generally conceive of a hearth room as an inanimate, the attribution of a stomach or soul is animistic. Nevertheless, this construction takes alienable possession, presumably because a hearth room is not canonically animate.

(230) t^hi13 ny33 hæ13 la33 t^hu33 t^hu33-k^hu13 t^hu33 dzo33 zu33-mi33 bu33
 so silver gold and this DUR-put this TOP hearth room POSS
 所以 白银 黄金 和 这 放 这 祖屋 的
 Placing gold and silver and such, these are the hearth room's
 所以金和银和这些放进去是祖屋
 T:Fangzi.43

bi33 mi33	kwɔ33-lɔ31	pu33 hɔ13	la33	t ^h æ13	t ^h u33-k ^h u13	ni31 ku31	ni33
stomach	INESS	neizang	and	such	DUR-put	be like	CERT.STR
肚子	里面	内脏	和	那些	放		

stomach, innards and such, it's like
 的肚子里和内脏和

nu31 mi13 la33 t^hæ13 t^hu33-k^hu13 ni31 ku31 ni33.
 heart and such DUR-put be like CERT.STR
 心 和 那些 放
 putting in the heart and such.
 心脏那些放进去的意思。

Discourse factors play a role in whether inalienable or alienable possession is used in Na. In example (231), the narrator seems to feel the possessive marker is unnecessary when he repeats himself in the second half of the phrase. A similar example is found in (232), where ‘your words’ takes alienable possession, but ‘your thoughts’ takes inalienable possession. Note that in both cases alienable possession is followed by inalienable possession, and not the reverse.

Na tends not to represent syntactically information that is clearly available at the pragmatic level through discourse context (i.e., zero anaphora, aspect markers and evidentials are available to adjacent successive sentences), and this is just another way that Na does not represent syntactically information that is already understood from context.

(231)

tʰi13	kwɿ33	kʰu33	a33-zu33	bu33	gwæ33	du33	na33	a33-zu33	bu33
so	hearth	CIS	grandmother	POSS	bed	one	CLS	grandmother	POSS
所以	火塘	旁边	奶奶	的	床	一	张	奶奶	的

 So next to the hearth, one can put a bed for grandmother,
 所以火塘旁边会做一张奶奶的床,
 T:Fangzi.14

gwæ33	du33	na33	yĩ33	ku13	a33-zu33	gwæ33	du33	na33	tʰu33-tʂa33.
bed	one	CLS	make	can	grandmother	bed	one	CLS	DUR-set up
床	一	张	做	会	奶奶	床	一	张	装上

 set up a bed for grandmother.
 装上一张奶奶的床。

(232)

tʰi13	no33	a33-tso33	mi33	lo33	la13	dzɔ33	tʰi13	no33
so	2SG.PRO	whatever	prayer	say a prayer	TOP	so	2SG.PRO	2SG.PRO
所以	你	求什么	祈求	说祈求		所以	你	你

 So whatever prayer you say, your own
 所以你祈求什么的时候，你自己
 ET:Fangzi.63

no31-bu33	lo33-zwɿ31-hĩ33	tʰi13	no33	lo33-su33	du33-hĩ33
REFL.POSS	ACCOMP-say-NOM	so	2SG.PRO	ACCOMP-think-NOM	
自己的	说-的	所以	你	想-的	

 words and thoughts...
 说的和自己想的...

9.6.2 Inalienable possession

The classes of nouns in Na that take inalienable possession are kinship terms and animal body parts. Human body parts take inabsoluble possession, as will be discussed in §9.6.3. Inalienable possession takes the structure [NP₁ NP₂], where NP₁ is the possessor and NP₂ is the possidend. No possessive marker is used; the juxtaposition of the possessor and possidend indicates the possessive relationship. When the possidend is a kinship term, both pronominal and lexical possessors are attested, but pronominal possessors are far more common. (Kinship terms with lexical possessors generally take alienable possession, as discussed in §9.6.1). Examples of inalienable possession are given in *Table 9.7 Examples of inalienable possession*.

Structure	Example	Reference ID
PRO + KINSHIP	ɲa33 a33-wɔ13 ‘my family’	T:Intro.2
	nɔ33 zɔ33 ‘your son’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.118
	t ^h u33 a33-mi33 ‘her mother’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.129
	nɔ13 zɔ33 ‘(her) own son’	T:Gemu.26
NP + KINSHIP (less common)	du33 zu33 a33-mɔ13 du33 wu33 ‘a family’s grandmother’	T:cinami.50
ANIMAL + BODY PART	la33-zɔ33 wɔ33 ‘baby tiger’s head’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.169
	zɰæ33 wɔ33-ly33 ‘horse head’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.277
NP + BODY PART	ɬi33-di33 ku31 mu33 k ^h u33 t ^h u33 k ^h wɣ33 ‘the foot of Yongning’s Gemu (mountain)’	T:Gemu.1

Table 9.7 Examples of inalienable possession

Examples (233, 234, 235) illustrate that when a personal pronoun is the possessor, kinship terms take inalienable possession. When a lexical noun is the possessor, kinship terms can take alienable possession (236) or inalienable possession (237).

(233) ɲa33 a33-wɔ13
 1SG.PRO family
 我 家
 my family
 ET:Intro.2

(234) nɔ13 zɔ33
 REFL son
 自己 儿子
 (my) own son
 他们家的儿子
 ET:Gemu.26

(235) tʰu33 a33-mi33
 3SG.PRO mother
 她 母
 her mother
 她的妈妈
 ET:Tsoḍeluyizo.129

(236)	a33-mi33	bu33	a33-mu33-ku33-mi33	tsʰɛ33	ku13	dʒɔ33.
	mother	POSS	older sibling-younger sister	ten	CLS	EXIST
	母	的	姐妹兄弟	十	位	有

My mother has ten siblings.
 T:Intro.6

(237) du33 zɯ33 a33-mɔ13 du33 wu33
 one family grandmother one CLS
 一 家 老大妈 一 量词
 the grandmother of one family
 一家老大妈
 ET:çinami.50

Animal body parts take inalienable possession, as can be seen in examples (238) and (239). Note that in the example of ‘horse head,’ as it describes a horse head that has been separated from the horse, there no longer really is a direct relationship of possession.

(238) lɑ33-zɔ33 wɔ33
baby tiger head
小老虎 头
the baby tiger’s head
小老虎的头
ET:Tsodeluyizo.169

(239) zɿwæ33 wɔ33-lɿ33
horse head
马 头
a horse head
马的头
ET:Tsodeluyizo.277

Example (240) shows k^hu33 ‘foot’ used metaphorically to refer to the base of a mountain, just as in the English expression ‘foot of the mountain.’ k^hu33 ‘foot’ does not appear as an inabsoluble possidend; but rather, appears with inalienable possession. This is necessarily the case as the example is from the first sentence of a narrative, so the possessor of the foot has not been established in previous discourse. One wonders whether this metaphorical use precludes an inabsoluble possidend due to the semantically bleached nature of both body part and possession in the metaphorical usage; this remains for future research. Nevertheless, it is notable that k^hu33 ‘foot’ does not take alienable possession, as would be expected with inanimate possidends; it seems to retain a certain amount of the ‘body parts’ semantics.

(240)	a31 yi33 ʃe33	a31 yi33 ʃe33	dʒɔ33	ʰi33-di33	ku31 mu33	k ^h u33
	long, long ago	long, long ago	TOP	Yongning	Gemu	foot
	很久以前	很久以前		永宁	格姆	脚

Long, long ago at the foot of Yongning's Gemu Goddess Mountain...

很久，很久以前的时候永宁女神山的脚下，那个地方...

ET:Gemu.1

An unusual example is (241), where nu31 mi33 ‘girl’ takes inabsoluble possession, even though kinship terms usually take inalienable possession, while zɔ33 ‘son,’ in a parallel clause of the same sentence, does take inalienable possession.

(241)	t ^h i13	mɔ33-wɔ33	hu33	ts ^h u33-ni33	dʒɔ33	t ^h i13	nu31 mi33
	so	heavens	go	today	TOP	so	girl
	所以	天上	去	今天		所以	姑娘

So (he) went to the heavens (and said), “Today, (your) girl will have (her) skirt-wearing

所以去了天上，说你的侄女

T:Tsoyeluyizo.118

t ^h æ33-ki13	hɔ33	no33	zɔ33	ʰi33-ki13	hɔ33	pi33.
skirt-wearing ceremony	FUT.DES	2SG.PRO	son	pants-wearing ceremony	FUT	QUOT
穿裙子的仪式	要	你	儿子	穿裤子的仪式	要	

ceremony, your son will have (his) pants-wearing ceremony.”

要举行十三岁的仪式，你的儿子要穿裤子了。

9.6.3 Inabsoluble possession

Haspelmath (2008) following Nichols and Bickel (2005a) discusses possidend nouns, a type of noun found in some languages in which the noun must be possessed, and does not appear as an unpossessed noun. Two types of possidend nouns are then given, absolute possidend nouns (following Lehmann 1998:51)—in which the possessed noun must take a derationalizing marker in order to be used absolutely—and inabsoluble possidend nouns—nouns which are so uncommonly not possessed that no possessive marker is used.

Inabsoluble possession takes the structure [NP], where the NP is the possidend. In Na, the only class of nouns which take inabsoluble possession is human body parts, as can be seen in the examples given in *Table 9.8: Examples of inabsoluble possession*.

Example	Reference ID
lɔ31 ‘(his) hands’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.132
lɔ31-zu33 ‘(her) fingers’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.258
hæ33 pɣ33 ‘(her) hair’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.252
p ^h æ33-q ^h wæ31 ‘(his) face’	T:cinami.34
na33 zu31 ‘(her) private parts’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.280
ɲa31-lɣ33 ‘(her) eyes’	T:Gemu.4
ʃ31 ɬi55 ‘(her) soul’	T:Gemu.47

Table 9.8 Examples of inabsoluble possession: Body parts

There are, nevertheless, several exceptions, where human body parts are attested with either alienable or inalienable possession. Example (242) shows an interesting case where cultural considerations motivate usage of alienable possession for the human body part wɔ33-hɔ33 ‘hair.’

- (242) hɪ33-mɔ33 t^hæ13 bu33 wɔ33-hɔ33
 elders and such POSS hair
 老人 那些 的 头发
 elders’ and such peoples’ hair
 老人那些的头发
 ET:Saozi.1

Na women have a tradition of wearing a headdress made from the hair of their female ancestors, symbolizing the continuity of the lineage and one's relationship with one's ancestors. Traditionally, the ancestors' hair was supplemented with hair from horse tails, as it is difficult to keep the human hair arranged for generations. Today, black yarn rather than hair from horse tails supplements the human hair, as the dense horse hair is very heavy (local estimates are that a single headdress with horse hair weighs approximately ten pounds), and the less heavy yarn is more comfortable. Here, *wɔ33-hɔ33* 'hair' takes alienable possession, not inabsoluble possession, because the hair has been separated from its original owners, and thus is clearly alienable.

Example (243) shows another case where a human body part takes alienable possession. This sentence is extracted from a section of narrative that tells of how a deity has mistreated *Gemu*, a mortal woman, in a romantic affair. Here, he feels remorse for the pain that he has caused her, and gives her a string of pearls. Given this discourse context, there is no ambiguity that the deity is the agent of the sentence. Thus, it is not the case that alienable possession rather than inabsoluble possession is occurring to resolve ambiguity (and in such a case, one might expect inalienable possession to occur over alienable possession). One surmises that *ɣwæ33 lu31* 'neck' takes alienable possession rather than inabsoluble possession to yield an emphatic reading is created by using *nɔ31-bu33* REFL.POSS, but this issue requires further investigation.

- (243) *nɔ31-bu33* *ɣwæ33 lu31* *kwɔ33* *suu33 ɔ33* *duu33* *kwɔ33* *zu31* *zɔ33*
 REFL.POSS neck LOC pearl one CLS take PERF
 自己的 脖子 里 珍珠 一 串 拿 了
 He took a string of pearls from around his own neck
 他把自己脖子上面的
 T:*Gemu.43*

ku31 mu33 ki33 kwɿ13.

Gemu DAT throw

格姆 扔

and threw it in front of Gemu.

一串珍珠扔在格姆的面前。

9.7 NOUN PHRASE COORDINATION

Na noun phrases can be conjoined through asyndesis or through marking with the postpositive conjunctive coordinator *la*33. These coordination strategies are shared to some extent with those for conjoining verb phrases or clauses. Asyndesis also conjoins verb phrases (§11.13) or clauses (§16), while the conjunctive coordinator *la*33 conjoins verb phrases (§11.13.1.2), but not clauses (§16). Noun phrases can be disjoined through use of the postpositive disjunctive coordinator *ma*33 *ni*31 or through use of the conjunctive coordinator *la*33, where the reading of conjunction or disjunction is obtained from the discourse context. These strategies for disjunction differ from those used for verb phrase disjunction and clausal disjunction. Table 9.9 provides an overview of noun phrase conjunction and disjunction in Na.

9.7.1 Asyndetic coordination

In Na, a common strategy for conjoining noun phrases is asyndesis. In asyndetic conjunction, the two or more conjoined noun phrases are juxtaposed with no formal marking of conjunction. This structure can be represented thus: $[[NP] [NP]]_{NP}$.

- (244) [bu33-dzæ33-hĩ33,] [la33-dzæ33-hĩ33,] [zɿwæ33-dzæ33-hĩ33,]
yak-ride-NOM_{Agt} tiger-ride-NOM_{Agt} horse-ride-NOM_{Agt}
牦牛-骑-者 老虎-骑-者 马-骑-者
the yak rider, the tiger rider, the horse rider,
骑牦牛的人, 骑老虎的人, 骑马的人,
ET:Yzt.12

[t ^h u31-ni13	du33-wɔ31	dzæ33-hĩ33]	t ^h u33-ta33	la33	ku33
this way	a type	ride-NOM _{Agt}	DUR-come off	ABLT	
这样	一种	骑-者	掉起来	会	
and one who rides this way, able to (ride) coming off ²					
还有一种是骑这样的人					

9.7.2 Monosyndetic conjunctive coordination with la33

Just as ‘asyndesis’ refers to conjunctive coordination without a formal marker of conjunction, ‘monosyndesis’ refers to conjunctive coordination marked with one coordinator. In monosyndesis, the conjunctive coordinator is la33, which is postpositive—that is, appears following its coordinand. Na monosyndetic coordination has the structure A-CO B, where A and B are noun phrases and CO represents the conjunctive coordinator la33, which can also be represented thus: $[[NP\ la33]\ NP]_{NP}$.

² The speaker mimed a person riding very low, with his upper body leaning over the side of the horse.

Type of coordination	Method of coordination	Formal structure	Na forms	Reading
Conjunctive	Asyndetic / natural conjunction	A, B, C	A, B, C = common nouns, nominalizations, or enumerative expressions	'A, B, and C'
	Monosyndetic / accidental conjunction	A-CO B-CO C	A, B, C = any type of noun phrase; CO = la33	'A, B, and C'
	Representative coordination	A-CO B-CO C-CO	A, B, C = noun phrase; CO = la33	'A, B, C, and such'
	Coordinator omission	A, B-CO C	A, B, C = noun phrase; CO = la33	'A, B, and C'
	Coordinate compound	A-B	A, B = common nouns	'A and B' or a single referent historically derived from 'A and B'
	Emphatic / summary coordination	A-CO B-CO C-CO QUANT <i>or</i> A, B, C-CO QUANT	A, B, C = noun phrase; CO = la33; QUANT = du33-ta13	'A, B, and C all...'
	Emphatic disjunction / emphatic negative / summary coordination	A-CO B QUANT + NEG-V <i>or</i> A, B QUANT + NEG-V	A, B = noun phrase; CO = la33; QUANT = du33-sɔ33; NEG = mɔ33-; V = verb	'A and B do not V at all...'
Disjunctive	Disjunctive coordination 1	A-CO B	A, B = noun phrase; CO = mɔ33 ni31	'A or B'
	Disjunction coordination 2	A-CO B	A, B = noun phrase; CO = la33	'A or B'

Table 9.9 Overview of the methods, structures, and forms of noun phrase conjunction and disjunction in Na

How do we know that the structure in Na is A-CO B and not A CO-B? Several pieces of evidence suggest that A-CO B is the correct analysis. First, the coordinator *la33* forms a phonological phrase with the preceding coordinand such that a speaker will usually pause between saying the first clause marked with the coordinator *la33*, and the second clause, i.e., A-CO...B, where ‘...’ represents a pause, rather than vice-versa. Second, in representative coordination, *la33* may end a phrase with no noun phrase following it. Additionally, although this does not constitute evidence for the coordinative structure, it should be noted that the constituent order A-CO B, where CO is postpositive, is consistent with the OV constituent order of Na.

Example (245) shows a simple monosyndetic coordination. In (246), the conjunctive coordinator *la33* conjoins the non-relative attributive phrases *my33-wɔ33 bu33 zu33 mæ31-tshu13-di33* ‘heaven’s rainbows’ and *my33 bu33 tɕi33* ‘heaven’s clouds’ to form the compound noun phrase *my33-wɔ33 bu33 zu33 mæ31-tshu13-di33 la33 my33 bu33 tɕi33* ‘heaven’s rainbows and heaven’s clouds.’

(245) [[zɔ33 **la33**] [my13]
 son and daughter
 儿子 和 女儿
 son and daughter
 儿子和女儿
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.119

(246) [[my33-wɔ33 bu33 zu33 mæ31-tshu13-di33 **la33**] [my33 bu33 tɕi33]]
 heavens NRA rainbow-NOM_{Loc} and heavens NRA cloud
 天上 的 彩虹 和 天 的 云彩
 heaven’s rainbows and heaven’s clouds
 天上的彩虹和天上的云彩
 ET:Gemu.5

In (247), *la33* conjoins the noun phrases *nu31-mi33 ja33-tsu33-mi33* ‘vertical-eyed young woman’ and *ja33-tæ33-mi33* ‘horizontal-eyed woman.’³ Note that the structure of this coordination actually is ambiguous. The *-mi33* in *ja33-tsu33-mi33* and *ja33-tæ33-mi33* has several uses (cf. §8.1.4.1, 8.1.4.2); here, it indicates a female, while nominalizing the modifiers ‘vertical-eyed’ and ‘horizontal-eyed.’

- (247) *nu31-mi33 ja33-tsu33-mi33 la33 ja33-tæ33-mi33*
 girl vertical-eyed woman and horizontal-eyed woman
 姑娘 眼睛竖的女人 和 眼睛横的女人
 a vertical-eyed young woman and a horizontal-eyed young woman
 一个眼睛竖的和 一个眼睛横的女人
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.97

This coordination can be parsed as:

- (248) $[[\text{nu31-mi33 } \text{ja33-tsu33-mi33} \quad \text{la33}] \quad [\text{ja33-tæ33-mi33}]]_{\text{NP}}$
 $[[\text{girl} \quad \text{vertical-eyed woman} \quad \text{and}] \quad [\text{horizontal-eyed woman}]]_{\text{NP}}$
 $[[\text{NP} \quad \text{la33}] \quad [\text{NP}]]_{\text{NP}}$

or as:

- (249) $[\text{nu31-mi33} \quad [[\text{ja33-tsu33-mi33} \quad \text{la33}] \quad [\text{ja33-tæ33-mi33}]]]_{\text{NP}}$
 $[\text{girl} \quad [[\text{vertical-eyed woman} \quad \text{and}] \quad [\text{horizontal-eyed woman}]]]_{\text{NP}}$
 $[\text{NP} \quad [[\text{NP} \quad \text{la33}] \quad [\text{NP}]]]_{\text{NP}}$

or with *nu31-mi33* understood in the second conjunct:

- (250) $[[\text{nu31-mi33} \quad \text{ja33-tsu33-mi33} \quad \text{la33}] \quad [(\text{nu31-mi33}) \quad \text{ja33-tæ33-mi33}]]_{\text{NP}}$
 $[[\text{girl} \quad \text{vertical-eyed woman} \quad \text{and}] \quad [(\text{girl}) \quad \text{horizontal-eyed woman}]]_{\text{NP}}$
 $[[\text{NP} \quad \text{la33}] \quad [(\text{NP}) \quad \quad]]_{\text{NP}}$

³ This example is extracted from the creation myth “Tsodeluyizo” (see §x.x), where ‘vertical-eyed woman’ and ‘horizontal-eyed woman’ are used allegorically to represent a highly ethical woman and a common woman who acts with self-interest, respectively. A ‘vertical-eyed woman’ would have one eye positioned above the other on her face, while a ‘horizontal-eyed woman’ has eyes positioned in the normal human way. The unusualness of having vertical eyes suggests the rareness of highly ethical people in the mortal world.

Although nu31-mi33 is not grammatically necessary because ɲa33-tsu33 and ɲa33-tæ33 are both nominalized with -mi33, it adds the reading of a younger woman, of marriageable age.

9.7.3 Representative coordination

Na has a coordinative structure where each coordinand is marked with la33, as can be represented A-CO B-CO ... or [[NP la33] NP la33 ...]_{NP}. ‘Bi/multisyndetic conjunction’ refers to conjunctive coordination marked with two or more coordinators, where the number of coordinators equals the number of coordinands. At first glance, the Na structure appears to be bi/multisyndetic conjunction, as each coordinand is marked. However, in Na, there is a distinct difference in meaning between monosyndetic coordination and this type of coordination where each coordinand is marked with la33. In monosyndetic conjunction, the coordinands are simply conjoined, but in coordinations where each coordinand is marked with la33, the last la33 in the coordinative structure receives the reading of ‘etcetera.’ This change in reading indicates that the Na structure is in fact a type of coordination called representative coordination, in which the coordinands are understood to be representative of a larger class of similar nouns (Haspelmath 2007:24). Thus, the Na A-CO B-CO ... construction structurally is bi/multisyndetic, but semantically it is a representative coordination, as the final la33 gives a reading of ‘etcetera, and such.’

A simple example of representative conjunction is presented in (251). (252) shows representative coordination within a non-relative attributive. In this example, [[bæ13 bæ33 la33] [p^hi33 li31 la33] [wu31-dzɛ33 la33]] ‘flowers, butterflies, and birds and more,’ the nouns bæ13 bæ33 ‘flowers’ and p^hi33 li31 ‘butterflies’ are conjoined by the conjunction la33, which in turn are conjoined with the noun wu31-dzɛ33 ‘birds’ with a second instance of the conjunction la33. A third instance of la33 at the end of the series indicates ‘etcetera, and such.’ This entire compound noun phrase is part of a non-relative attributive, dʒi33 t^hæ33-kwɔ33 bu33 [[bæ13 bæ33 la33] [p^hi33 li31 la33] [wu31-dzɛ33 la33]], where bu33 is the non-relative attributive marker. No verb appears or is understood in example (252); example (252) actually is a sentence fragment, but is perfectly communicative in the context of the narrative text from which it was taken.

- (251) [[çi31 dʒi13 la33] [lɔ13 la33]] du33-pi13 qwæ31 qwæ13
 coals and ash etc. a little dig up
 炭 和 灰 等等 一点 挖
 (Go to the ancestral home) and dig up a bit of coals and ashes and such
 (去老家) 挖一点炭和灰等等
 ET:Fangzi.28

- (252) dʒi33 t^hæ33-kwɔ33 bu33 [[bæ13 bæ33 la33] [p^hi33 li31 la33]]
 ground underneath NRA flower and butterfly and
 地 下里 的 花 和 蝴蝶 和
 Flowers, butterflies, birds, and such things
 地下的花和蝴蝶
 T:Gemu.7

[wu31-dzɛ33 la33.]
 bird etc.
 鸟 等
 on the ground.
 和鸟, 等等。

As is the case for markers of representative coordination, ɭa33 can also appear in structures where no coordination is occurring. In such cases, ɭa33 appears following a single noun, and simply means ‘etcetera,’ indicating that the noun represents a larger class of similar nouns. (253) is an example of this usage of ɭa33. Here, one can see that q^ha33-yɿ13 is a quantifier meaning ‘a lot, lots’ and is not conjoined to dzɛ33 ‘money.’ ɭa33 in this example receives a clear reading of ‘etcetera’ from native speakers, and dzɛ33 ɭa33 receives a reading of ‘money, etcetera,’ where the ɭa33 indicates a larger class of nouns similar to money. As Na wealth traditionally takes the form of livestock or items traded along the Horse-Tea Road from Yunnan through Tibet, Nepal, and into India, such as horses, tea, salt, knives, silver, turquoise, jewelry, formal clothing, and Buddhist art and artifacts, the ɭa33 here likely refers to such non-monetary kinds of wealth.

- (253) [dzɛ33 ɭa33] q^ha33-yɿ13 dzɔ33.
 money etc. lots EXIST
 钱 等等 很多 有
 (They) had a lot of money and such.
 钱，等等有很多。
 T:ɕinami.7

9.7.4 ɭa33 t^hæ13—coordinator + coordinand or lexicalized compound?

As discussed above, ɭa33 is a grammatical form, a conjunctive coordinator with an associated meaning of ‘etcetera’ which occurs in representative coordination and in examples such as (253) given above. In contrast, the expression ɭa33 t^hæ13 ‘and such’ is a lexical means of conveying a meaning similar to ɭa33 ‘etcetera.’ An example of ɭa33 t^hæ13 is given in (254).

- (254) ʂæ31 ʂ33 ɭa33 t^hæ13
 bone and such
 骨头 和 那些
 bones and such
 骨头和那些
 ET:Tsoɖeluyizo.124

la33 t^hæ13 is fairly codified as an expression, and could be analyzed as either a noun t^hæ13 ‘such’ which conjoins to the preceding noun phrase with the coordinator la33, or as having been reanalyzed into a compound ‘and such,’ which conjoins to the preceding noun phrase through asyndesis. The phonological evidence regarding la33 t^hæ13 is mixed. In most cases, there is no pause between ‘la33’ and ‘t^hæ13,’ which would indicate that la33 t^hæ13 is well along the path to being reanalyzed into a single compound word. Roughly half the time, la33 undergoes vowel harmony with t^hæ13, so that it appears as læ33-t^hæ13. Vowel harmony in Na does not occur across word boundaries (§4.7.6), so the fact that la33 t^hæ13 and læ33-t^hæ13 appear with roughly equal frequency suggests that this is truly a borderline case—la33 t^hæ13 is in the process of being reanalyzed as a compound, but the process is not yet complete. Thus, there are two possible analyses of constructions such as that given in (254). If one views la33 t^hæ13 as an expression comprised of two separate words, then (254) shows two noun phrases conjoined by the conjunctive coordinator la33:

- (255) [[§æ31 ɔ̄33 la33] [t^hæ13]]_{NP}
 [[bones and] [such]]_{NP}
 [[NP la33] [NP]]_{NP}.

If one views la33 t^hæ13 as having already undergone reanalysis into a compound word, then (254) shows two noun phrases conjoined by asyndesis:

- (256) [[§æ31 ɔ̄33] [la33-t^hæ13]]_{NP}
 [[bones] [and such]]_{NP}
 [[NP] [NP]]_{NP}.

One might further ask whether ɫa33 ‘etcetera’ should be viewed as a shortened form of ɫa33 tʰæ13. While this is possible, and there is not any definitive heuristic which can be applied to this question, it seems unlikely given that the expression is still somewhat loosely integrated, and one would expect shortening to occur after the expression was fully reanalyzed as a compound. Additionally, ɫa33 appears by itself when it is acting as a conjunctive coordinator, and there is no reason to think that the conjunctive coordinator is a shortened form of ɫa33 tʰæ13 ‘and such.’

9.7.5 Types of coordinated noun phrases

In Na, conjunctive coordination of noun phrases with ɫa33 is a more flexible strategy for noun phrase conjunction than coordination through asyndesis. While coordination with ɫa33 can be found throughout the range of noun phrase types, asyndesis is only found with common nouns, nominalizations, and enumerative expressions. Longer noun phrases of various kinds and pronominals do not conjoin through asyndesis.

There are two main lines of reasoning for why conjunction with ɫa33 is more flexible than conjunction through asyndesis. The first is that Na makes a strong distinction between natural conjunction and accidental conjunction. The second is that overt marking with ɫa33 may aid the listener to process longer, more complicated structures or structures which present ambiguity without overt marking of conjunction, due to typological characteristics of Na. In fact, there is some overlap between these two lines of reasoning, as will be shown.

9.7.5.1 Natural conjunction

‘Natural conjunction’ refers to the conjunction of nouns which habitually come together (Walchli 2003 in Haspelmath 2007:23). They may have a synonymous, antonymic, or parts/whole relationship, they may have an association based in cultural knowledge, they may habitually appear together in the physical world, or they may have some other clear link (cf. (271)). In Na, naturally-associated nouns conjoin without an overt coordinator, that is, through asyndesis. Many, but not all, Na natural conjunctions have been codified into coordinate compounds.

The availability of asyndesis as a coordinating structure in Na allowed the language historically to develop coordinate compounds. Semantically-related coordinands may be coordinated so often that: a. they become canonical and b. the phonological boundaries disintegrate, yielding a compound, in an instantiation of a frequency effect.

9.7.5.2 Accidental conjunction

‘Accidental conjunction’ refers to the conjunction of nouns which do not have a particular association of occurring together. In Na, accidentally-associated nouns conjoin using overt marking with *la*³³. Nouns which usually take natural conjunction can be conjoined through accidental conjunction, but doing so yields a change in semantics, as will be discussed shortly.

9.7.5.3 Processing and disambiguation

The second line of reasoning for why conjunction with *la33* is more flexible than conjunction through asyndesis focuses on ease of processing and disambiguation. Longer noun phrases, particularly genitive and dative constructions and relativized clauses, are not conjoined through asyndesis anywhere in the sizeable naturalistic corpus. This may well be a gap in the data set, but it may also simply be easier to process heavier noun phrases with the coordination explicitly marked—this issue remains for future research. However, note that independent clauses conjoin through asyndesis, and clauses may be as long as, or longer than, genitive and dative constructions and relativized clauses. Independent clauses may have associated phonological phenomena such as intonational curves and boundary pauses which are more pronounced than those of genitive and dative constructions and relative clauses, aiding the listener to process the syntactic structure.

9.7.5.4 Pronominals

Pronominal noun phrases are not attested with natural coordination. This may be a gap in the data, particularly as there are no examples of three coordinated pronominals (i.e., ‘you, me, and him/her’) in the data. Coordination of two pronominals through asyndesis might yield ambiguity in some sentences because agent and object generally are not marked (§10.2), so the listener would not know whether the two pronominals should be interpreted as agent and object or as a coordination. Coordination of three pronominals might be less susceptible to ambiguity due to a list-like nature, and thus might accept asyndetic coordination, but this issue remains for future research.

- (257) *no33* *la33* *ɲa33*
 2SG.PRO and 1SG.PRO
 你 和 我
 you and me
 你和我
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.99

9.7.5.5 Common nouns

Common nouns can conjoin either through natural conjunction or through accidental conjunction, depending upon whether they habitually occur together, in which case they naturally-conjoin, or do not habitually occur together, in which case they accidentally-conjoin. For examples of naturally-conjoined common nouns, see examples (270) and (271) in §9.7.7; for examples of accidentally-conjoined common nouns see example (260) in §9.7.5.6.

One might ask why pronominals are subject to ambiguity with regards to coordination versus agent/objecthood, while common nouns are not. In Na, the common nouns which are most likely to coordinate through asyndesis tend to share a feature like animacy or to otherwise form a natural class. As Na allows ellipsis of objects, a sentence with the nouns ‘man’ and ‘woman’ and a sentence with the nouns ‘man’ and ‘ball’ may both be structurally ambiguous. For example, with nouns such as ‘man’ and ‘woman’, one could easily have sentences where one is an agent and the other an object, such as ‘The man saw the woman,’ or sentences where the two nouns are coordinated, such as ‘The man and woman saw (the dog),’ where ‘the dog’ is an ellipsed object which is understood from previous discourse. However, with nouns like ‘man’ and ‘ball,’ a sentence where ‘man’ is an agent and ‘ball’ is an object, such as ‘The man hit the ball,’ is much more likely than one where the two nouns are coordinated, such as ‘The man and the ball hit (the tree),’ where ‘the tree’ is understood from previous discourse, as ‘man’ and ‘ball’ do not form a natural class and differ in animacy, and thus unlikely to be coordinated.

On the other hand, as ‘man’ and ‘woman’ are antonyms and thus share all semantic features but one, they form a natural class and thus can be coordinated through asyndesis.⁴ In such cases, there may still be structural ambiguity, for example, with a verb like ‘see,’ one might have ambiguity between interpreting a sentence as ‘The man sees the woman’ versus ‘The man and woman see (the dog),’ where ‘the dog’ is understood from previous discourse.

Certainly, Na has ways of disambiguating sentences, such as using agentive/patient marking or not ellipsing noun phrases, and these strategies can be used with either an ambiguous sentence with ‘man’ and ‘woman’ or one with ‘man’ and ‘ball.’ Thus, although such sentences do not necessarily have to be ambiguous, Na seems to prefer overtly marking unlikely coordinands rather than either overtly marking agent/objecthood or never ellipsing noun phrases. Furthermore, allowing noun phrases which form a natural class to coordinate through asyndesis creates the conditions for reanalysis of such coordinations into coordinate compounds, as will be discussed in §9.7.7.

⁴ This may explain why t^hæ13 ‘such’ and du33-ta13 ‘all’ are almost always preceded with la33—neither t^hæ13 nor du33-ta13 has a specific referent, and thus the listener does not know whether t^hæ13 or du33-ta13 forms a natural class with the noun phrases in the coordination.

9.7.5.6 Proper nouns

Proper nouns coordinate through accidental coordination. A particularly interesting example is (258). This example shows that even those proper nouns which habitually occur together do not receive natural conjunction. Tsodeluyizo and Tsuhodzedzemi are male and female characters who appear in a number of Na stories. In this example, the speaker introduces Tsodeluyizo as ‘our Na Tsodeluyizo of Tsodeluyizo and Tsuhodzedzemi,’ where ‘Tsodeluyizo’ and ‘Tsuhodzedzemi’ conjoin using accidental conjunction. Thus, even though the two are so strongly associated with each other that Tsodeluyizo is introduced by referencing his association with Tsuhodzedzemi, the two are still coordinated using accidental conjunction. From this example, we can see that just being naturally-associated versus accidentally-associated cannot fully account for which types of nouns can conjoin through asyndesis; other constraints are at work.

(258) ts^hɔ31 du33 lu33 yi33 zɔ33 pi33 *jiushi* (loan) ɔ31-sɿ33 ku31 na13 bu33
 Tsodeluyizo be called that is 1INC.PRO Na POSS
 Tsodeluyizo 就是 咱们 摩梭 的
 Tsodeluyizo, that is, our Na Tsodeluyizo
 Tsodeluyizo, 就是说咱们摩梭的Tsodeluyizo
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.1

ts^hɔ31 du33 lu33 yi33 zɔ33 la33 ts^hɿ33 hɔ55 tse33 tse33 mi33
 Tsodeluyizo and Tsuhodzedzemi
 Tsodeluyizo 和 Tsuhodzedzemi
 of Tsodeluyizo and Tsuhodzedzemi

In (259), the coordinated noun phrase is the dependent in a possessive construction.

(259) lu33-ɕu31 la33 na13 bu33 a33-p^hy33-a33-zu33
 Luoshui and Na POSS ancestors
 落水 和 摩梭 的 祖先
 the ancestors of Luoshui and the Na.
 落水和摩梭的祖先
 ET:ɕinami.61

(260) yi33 la33 yɔ33
 cow and sheep
 牛 和 绵羊
 cattle and sheep
 牛和绵羊
 ET:Tsoɖeluyizo.141

9.7.5.7 Nominalizations

Nominalizations may be coordinated through either natural or accidental conjunction. (244) in §9.7.1 and (271) in §9.7.7 show natural conjunction of nominalizations. In (244), it might seem odd for nouns as diverse as ‘the yak rider,’ ‘the tiger rider,’ ‘the horse rider,’ and ‘one who can ride coming off this way’ to be conceived of as habitually occurring together or sharing a strong semantic association, but the example is extracted from a discussion of the attributes of the Na deities, with the speaker explaining that different deities can be recognized based on the animals upon which they ride. Thus, through cultural knowledge, ‘the yak rider,’ ‘the tiger rider,’ et al. do in fact share a strong semantic association.

Example (261) shows accidental conjunction of two nominalizations. Each of the two coordinands receives nominalization marking.

- | | | | |
|-------|--|------|-------------------------------|
| (261) | dzi33-qwæ13-di33 | la33 | pɣ31 yɣ13-tsa31 tsa13-di33 |
| | water-ladling-NOM _{PURP} | and | bread-mix-NOM _{PURP} |
| | 水-舀-的 | 和 | 粑粑-搅拌-的 |
| | (implements) for ladling water and mixing bread. | | |
| | 舀水的和搅拌粑粑的 | | |
| | ET:Mupha.9 | | |

9.7.5.8 Enumerative expressions

Enumerative expressions can coordinate using natural conjunction, but they tend to use accidental conjunction. (262) is an example of an enumerative expression that uses natural conjunction. The conjoined nouns are both common nouns; they have an antonymic relationship; and there is no chance of agent/object versus coordination ambiguity with these nouns, and would be able conjoin through natural conjunction when not in an enumerative expression. In fact, there is a similar example, ji33-hwɣ33, a coordinate compound meaning ‘day and night,’ which would have at one time been a natural conjunction that then lexicalized into a coordinate compound over a period of time.

However, coordinations of enumerative expressions which satisfy the conditions of having common nouns as noun phrase heads; appearing with an intransitive verb or otherwising avoiding agent/object versus coordination ambiguity; and habitually occurring together or otherwise having the strong semantic association that permits natural conjunction, seem to be fairly rare, so enumerative expressions tend to accidentally-conjoin. Examples of accidentally-coordinated enumerative expressions are shown in (263) and (264).

(262) sɔ33 ni33 sɔ33 ha33 ʂɛ33 mə33-tɔ33
 three day three night look for NEG-see
 三 天 三 夜 找 不-看见
 He searched for three days and three nights, and saw nothing
 找了三天三夜，什么都不看见
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.47

(263) shows coordination of a proper noun, Tshutiti, with the enumerative expression ni31 ku33, where ku33 is a classifier that can solely be used with two or more people. There is no possibility of ambiguity in (263): the verb is intransitive; the classifier, ku33, can only be used to refer to two or more people, so that it is clear that Tshutiti and the referents of ni31 ku33 belong to the same natural class of animate humans; and because Tshutiti is just one person, it is not possible for ni31 ku33 to be interpreted as referring back to Tshutiti if the conjunction were not overtly marked. Furthermore, ‘Tshutiti and the other two’ (Tsihxondzhidzhimi and Sondzhitsotiti) should receive a reading of habitually occurring together because the three travel together for a long period of time. However, the presence of the proper noun in the coordination prevents natural conjunction, as proper nouns only accidentally-conjoin.

In (264), the listener is much more likely to obtain a reading of, “(one) could get three or four cats” than a reading of “three or four cats got (something)” because the sentence begins with the dependent clause, “raising cats.” However, it is possible that the language still treats such coordinations as potentially ambiguous or that it is difficult to get the reading of a strong semantic association for three or four of the same item that is necessary for natural conjunction.

- (263) tʰi13 tʂʰu ti ti la33 ni31 ku33 tʰæ33
 so Tshutiti and two CLS often
 所以 Tshutiti 和 两 个 经常
 Tshutiti and the two often
 所以 Tshutiti 和两个经常在一起
 T:Muphadaba.6

tʰu33-kwɿ31 kwɿ31 tʰu33-kwɿ31 kwɿ31 dzɔ31.
 DUR-stroll DUR-stroll
 闲逛 闲逛
 strolled together.
 闲逛。

- (264) hwa31 li33 zɿ33 ɲa33 dzɔ33 hwa31 li33 sɔ33 lu33 la33
 cat raise while TOP cat three CLS and
 猫 养 的时候 猫 三 量词 和
 Raising cats, (one) could get three or
 养猫的时候，可以养三个，
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.266

zu33 lu33 tʰæ13 du33
 four CLS such obtain
 四 量词 那些 得
 four of them
 四个的猫

9.7.5.9 Dative constructions

(265) shows a dative construction. Na allows both dative constructions where each of the coordinands is dative-marked and those in which only the coordination receives dative-marking. In this example, because the coordination is marginal—la33 tʰæ13 is borderline to being lexicalized—it is unsurprising that ‘ancestors’ and ‘such’ are not separately dative-marked.

- (265) a33-p^hu33-a33-su33 lɑ33 t^hæ13 ki33
ancestors and such DAT
祖先 和 那些
(to) the ancestors and such
对祖先和那些
ET:Mupha.34

9.7.5.10 *Relative/attributive clauses*

(266) shows coordination of two non-relative attributive constructions.

- (266) mɤ33-wɔ33 bu33 zɯ33 mæ31-ts^hu13-di33 lɑ33 mɤ33 bu33 tɕi33
heavens NRA rainbow-NOM_{LOC} and heavens NRA cloud
天上 的 彩虹 和 天 的 云彩
heaven's rainbows and heaven's clouds
天上的彩虹和天上的云彩
ET:Gemu.5

9.7.6 **Coordinator omission**

Coordinator omission occurs when there is a list of three or more items being coordinated, and the coordinator only appears with the last item in the list: A, B-CO C. This structure is distinct from asyndetic coordination, A, B, C; from monosyndetic coordination, A-CO B-CO C; and from representative coordination, A-CO B-CO C-CO. Na tends not to omit coordinators—lists usually are conjoined either through asyndesis or through monosyndesis without coordinator omission. However, coordinator omission is possible.

Coordinator omission can be seen in example (267). In this example, *la33* is actually used as a disjunctive coordinator rather than as a conjunctive coordinator, but the example nevertheless clearly presents coordinator omission. In the list ‘abbot, lama,⁵ or those dabas,’ no coordinator appears following ‘abbot,’ so that the coordinative structure is A, B-CO C rather than A-CO B-CO C. (The use of *la33* as a disjunctive coordinator will be discussed shortly in (§9.7.9.2).)

(267)	<i>ga33</i>	<i>ʃa33</i>	<i>dæ33</i>	<i>pɤ33</i>	<i>la33</i>	<i>tʰi33-tɕʰi33</i>	<i>dɤ33</i>	<i>pɤ33</i>
	abbot	lama			and	3PL.PRO	daba	
	菩萨	喇嘛			和	他们	达巴	
	abbot, lama, or (those) dabas							
	菩萨和喇嘛还有达巴那些							
	ET:Fangzi.45							

As discussed above (§9.7.4), *la33 tʰæ13* ‘and such’ can be analyzed either as two separate words, where the conjunctive coordinator *la33* conjoins *tʰæ13* ‘such’ to the full coordination through monosyndesis, or as a lexicalized compound which conjoins to the full coordination through asyndesis. This issue has repercussions for the analysis of coordinator omission. If one analyzes *la33 tʰæ13* as two separate words, constructions such as (268) are examples of coordinator omission, where only the last item in the list (here, ‘such’) is overtly coordinated. If one analyzes it as a lexicalized compound, constructions such as (268) show asyndesis of three elements: ‘silver,’ ‘gold,’ and ‘and such.’ Similarly, (269) could be a list of ‘oats,’ ‘tsampa,’ and ‘such’ with coordinator omission between ‘oats’ and ‘tsampa’; or, it could be asyndetic coordination of ‘oats,’ ‘tsampa,’ ‘and such’ if one treats *la33 tʰæ13* as one word.⁶

⁵ Na uses shamanic terms by extension to refer to Lamaist concepts. *ga33 ʃa33* generally means ‘gods,’ but can be used to refer to Lamaist abbots, while *dæ33 pə33* means ‘Daba,’ but is also used to mean ‘lama.’

⁶ One could easily conceive of ‘oats’ and ‘tsampa’ becoming a coordinate compound meaning ‘grain,’ although this has not happened—my consultant receives the reading of two distinct referents here. In such a case, ‘and such’ would conjoin either through asyndetic coordination (if one treats *la33 tʰæ13* as a compound) or through monosyndetic coordination (if one treats *la33 tʰæ13* as a coordinator and noun).

(268) ŋy33 hǎ31 lɑ33 tʰæ13
 silver gold and such
 白银 黄金 和 那些
 gold and silver, these things
 黄金和白银, 那些
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.134

(269) my31 zil3 tsɑ33 pɤ33 lɑ33 tʰæ13
 oats tsampa and such
 燕麦 炒面 和 那些
 oats and tsampa and such
 燕麦炒面和那些
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.279

9.7.7 The continuum from asyndetic coordination to coordinate compound

In examples where two Na nouns appear adjacently without any overt marking of conjunction, it may be unclear whether they should be analyzed as two nouns conjoined through asyndesis or as a coordinate compound. This ambiguity, of course, provides fertile ground for reanalysis, and asyndetic coordinations which come into popular use over a period of time can become reanalyzed into coordinate compounds through a frequency effect. I follow here Post's analysis of Galo (Post:307), which views there to be a continuum ranging from coordination by asyndesis, where the conjoined elements are only loosely integrated, through to coordinate compounds, where the conjoined elements are very tightly integrated.

Verbs also can conjoin through asyndesis, which raises a similar question—should verbs which appear adjacently without formal marking of conjunction be analyzed as two verbs conjoined through asyndesis, a serial verb construction, or a coordinate compound? An analysis which follows the same lines as the one presented here for noun phrases is given in §11.13.1.1 for asyndetic verb phrase conjunction.

On one side of the continuum, there are adjacent nouns which are clearly asyndetic coordinations. Several formal properties of Na morphological structure limit the kinds of noun phrases which can combine into a coordinate compound; adjacent noun phrases which do not follow these constraints then can be analyzed as belonging to an asyndetic coordination. Na coordinate compounds must be compositionally symmetrical and can contain no more than four morphemes; they tend to be one morpheme plus one morpheme, but can be two morphemes plus two morphemes. These steps along the continuum are illustrated with examples. An overview of the semantic, morphological, and phonological properties of constructions along the continuum from asyndesis to coordinate compound is given in Table 9.10.

Examples of clear asyndetic coordinations are given in (270) and (271). In (270), $t\epsilon i31\ h\ddot{u}33\ bi33\ mi33\ dzi33\ ha33$ ‘clothes and things to eat’ does not adhere to the constraint on being compositionally symmetrical because $t\epsilon i31\ h\ddot{u}33$ ‘clothes’ is one word while $bi33\ mi33\ dzi33\ ha33$ ‘things to eat’ is a three word expression.⁷ Thus, ‘clothes’ and ‘things to eat’ remains loosely integrated as an asyndetic coordination rather than becoming a coordinate compound, despite the two coordinands having a strong semantic association through being basic necessities.

⁷ Depending upon how one analyzes $bi33\ mi33$ ‘stomach’ morphologically, this coordination may also violate the constraint on not containing more than four morphemes. The second syllable in ‘stomach,’ $-mi33$, historically is the augmentative, so that one could analyze the coordination as having five morphemes. However, native speakers tend not to recognize $-mi33$ as having semantic content, it is probably better to analyze $bi33\ mi33$ ‘stomach’ as synchronically monomorphemic., in which case, the constraint on not exceeding four morphemes is not violated.

(271), tɕɔ31-kuu33 tʰu31 tɕɔ31-ɦi31 ku33 tɕɔ31-muu33 tʰu31 ‘the first, the middlemost, and the last,’ also is clearly an asyndetic coordination. Although tɕɔ31-kuu33 tʰu31 ‘first,’ tɕɔ31-ɦi31 ku33 ‘middlemost,’ and tɕɔ31-muu33 tʰu31 ‘last’ are compositionally symmetrical in the sense that each has the same morphological structure, the coordination itself is not symmetrical because it consists of three words. The coordination also has more than four morphemes, so it is too long to lexicalize into a coordinate compound in Na. From a semantic viewpoint, although ‘the first, the middlemost, and the last’ clearly refer to items within a group, they may not occur together frequently enough for the phonological boundaries to erode and the sequence codify into a compound. Here, the locative marks the entire coordination, and the enumerative duu33 dzuu33 ‘one CLS.tree, large plant’ appears only once in the locative phrase.

Deictics tend not to naturally-conjoin, perhaps because the deictic does not have an explicit referent and it is thus less fluid for the speaker/listener to assess whether it shares semantic properties of habitually appears together with the other coordinands. For this reason, (271) is particularly interesting, as the deictic conjuncts are naturally-conjoined. Note, however, that all three conjuncts are deictic, and perhaps more importantly, each deictic defines itself with reference to the other, so that they explicitly belong together.

(270) [tɕi31 hũ33] [bi33 mi33 dzi33 ha33]
 clothes stomach eat rice
 衣服 肚子 吃 饭
 clothes and things to eat (lit. ‘stomach’ + ‘eat’ + ‘rice’)
 ET:Change.2

(271) [tɕɔ31-kuu33 tʰu31] [tɕɔ31-ɦi31 ku33] [tɕɔ31-muu33 tʰu31] duu33 dzuu33 kwɔ33
 first middle last one CLS LOC
 最先的 最中间的 最下面的 一 量词 里
 in the first, the middlemost, and the last trees
 最先的，最中间的，最后的一棵树里
 ET:Tso deluyizo.224

	Asyndesis	Prob. asyndesis, possibly compound	Possibly asyndesis, possibly compound	Coordinate compound— compositional	Coordinate compound— semi-compositional	Coordinate compound
Examples	tɕi31 hũ33 bi33 mi33 dzi33 ha33 'clothes and things to eat'	(Unattested)	ɲa33-ly33 ɲa33-tsi31 'eyes and eyebrows'	ɲi33-hwɤ33 'day and night'	a33-da33-a33-mi33 'parents'	a33-p ^h y33-a33- suw33 'ancestors'
Semantics	Compositional	Compositional	Compositional	Compositional	Semi-compositional	Non-compositional
	Strong semantic association (cf. §9.7.5.1 on natural conjunction)					
Morphological structure	Compositionally can be symmetrical or asymmetrical	Compositionally symmetrical	Compositionally symmetrical	Compositionally symmetrical	Compositionally symmetrical	Compositionally symmetrical
	Length less restricted	Restricted to four morphemes	Restricted to four morphemes	Restricted to four morphemes	Restricted to four morphemes	Restricted to four morphemes
Phonological characteristics	Loosely integrated— may have pauses between coordinands, coordinands behave as separate phonological words	Integrated, native speakers tend to analyze as separate phonological words, but judgements may be inconsistent	Integrated, native speakers tend to analyze as one phonological word, but judgements may be inconsistent	Tightly integrated— no pauses between coordinands, behaves as one phonological word	Tightly integrated— no pauses between coordinands, behaves as one phonological word	Tightly integrated— no pauses between coordinands, behaves as one phonological word

Table 9.10 Semantic, morphological, and phonological properties along the continuum from asyndesis to coordinate compound

(272) is an example of a construction which is exactly in the center of the continuum from asyndetic coordination to coordinate compound.⁸ The two nouns ꞑa33-ly33 ‘eye’ and ꞑa33-tsi31 ‘eyebrow’ match the criteria for coordinate compoundhood: they are compositionally symmetrical; contain no more than four morphemes; and have a strong semantic association in that they appear together in the physical world. On the other hand, the coordination is semantically compositional: the coordination means ‘eyes and eyebrows.’ However, although the most highly integrated coordinate compounds do not have compositional semantics, there are coordinate compounds which do have compositional semantics. In the mythological text from which this example was extracted, ‘eyes and eyebrows’ occurs several times because the narrator is searching for a wife who has eyes arranged vertically on her forehead rather than horizontally as most humans do. Outside of this context, it seems likely that ‘eyes’ and ‘eyebrows’ are not coordinated so frequently in the language as to lexicalize into a compound, so this example is probably best analyzed as an asyndetic coordination although it is structurally ambiguous.

(272) ꞑa33-ly33 ꞑa33-tsi31
 eye eyebrow
 眼睛 眉毛
 eyes and eyebrows
 眼睛和眉毛
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.285

⁸ Although this is a four word expression with a repeated element (ꞑa33), it should not be considered an elaborate expression, as it is fortuitous that ‘eye’ and ‘eyebrow’ share this morpheme.

(273) gives an example of a coordinate compound. In this example, however, the compounded nouns are not as tightly integrated as in some coordinate compounds. Here, the compound, 日33-夜33 ‘day and night,’ retains compositional semantics, while the most tightly integrated compounds have non-compositional semantics.

(273) 日33-夜33
day-night
白天-晚上
day and night
白天和晚上
ET:Fangzi.34

(274) shows a coordinate compound that is just a little more tightly integrated than that given in (273). In this example, the compound has non-compositional semantics, but just barely—the difference in meaning between ‘father and mother’ and ‘parents’ is slight.

(274) 父33-母33
father-mother
父亲-母亲
parents
父母
ET:Gemu.51

(274) shows a coordinate compound that represents the end of the continuum from asyndetic coordination to coordinate compound. This compound has non-compositional semantics: the compound $\alpha_{33}\text{-p}^{\text{h}}\gamma_{33}\text{-}\alpha_{33}\text{-su}_{33}$ not only does not have the coordinated reading that an asyndetic coordination would have (i.e., ‘grandfather and great grandparents’), nor the reading of a hypothetical term that would refer just to ‘grandfather’ and ‘great grandparents’ in the way that ‘parents’ refers just to ‘mother’ and ‘father,’ but rather, $\alpha_{33}\text{-p}^{\text{h}}\gamma_{33}\text{-}\alpha_{33}\text{-su}_{33}$ ‘ancestors’ refers to a large class of people who are not directly named in the compound, such as ‘grandmother,’ ‘great, great grandparents,’ and so on. This level of abstraction indicates that the coordinate compound has been fully lexicalized—there no longer is the coordinative reading found in asyndetic coordination, although the historical coordinative origins of the compound are transparent.

(275) $\alpha_{33}\text{-p}^{\text{h}}\gamma_{33}\text{-}\alpha_{33}\text{-su}_{33}$
 grandfather-great.grandparent
 爷爷-
 ancestors
 祖先
 ET:Fangzi.24

(276) is a particularly interesting example. It is extracted from a mythological narrative told by a shaman in which some sections appear in the shamanic register. The shaman provided a Na translation for each sentence that appears in the shamanic register at my request, as my main consultant is not a shaman and thus does not know the shamanic register, which is not comprehensible to non-shamans. However, in a few small parts, the storyline and logic of the narrative are still obscure, and this example is from one of these sections. The narrator is describing a series of magical rites which go humorously awry, with items transmorphisizing into unintended beings.

The discourse context surrounding (276) is a bit unclear and the agent in (276) is ellipsed, so it is not clear what item or animal transmorphisized into a dragon and a frog. However, given the preceding discourse, it seems strange that two animals result from the transmorphisization, as all of the others result in just one animal. My consultant translated pu33 zu33 pɣ31 mi13 as ‘a dragon and a frog,’ but it is possible that the coordination should really be interpreted as a coordinate compound rather than an asyndetic conjunction, so that the sentence reads something like, “(It) became a reptile, and went to live in a pond.” The two nouns pu33 zu33 and pɣ31 mi13 meet the morphological criteria for coordinate compounds as they are compositionally symmetrical and together contain no more than four morphemes, so it is possible that the construction is in fact a coordinate compound; nevertheless, the structure is ambiguous.

(276) pu33 zu33 pɣ31 mi13 tsɣ33 tsʰɛ31 kwɔ33 mu33 dzu31 lə33-hu33.
 dragon frog become pond LOC INTERJ live ACCOMP-go
 龙 青蛙 变成 池塘 里 语气词 住 去

(It) became a dragon and a frog, and went to live in a pond.

变成龙和青蛙，去了池塘。

T:Tso deluyizo.76

There is one coordination that appears both naturally-conjoined and accidentally-conjoined, $\eta\gamma33$ $h\tilde{a}31$ versus $\eta\gamma33$ $l\alpha33$ $h\tilde{a}31$ ‘silver and gold,’ as shown in (277) and (278). It is possible that $\eta\gamma33$ $h\tilde{a}31$ is better analyzed as a lexicalized coordinate compound meaning ‘precious metals’ than as an asyndetic coordination, as there then would be a difference in meaning which would motivate having the two different structures. Another possibility would be that conjunction with $l\alpha33$ may yield an emphatic reading, ‘silver **and** gold.’

(277) $\eta\gamma33$ $h\tilde{a}31$
 silver gold
 白银 黄金
 silver and gold
 黄金和白银
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.135

(278) $\eta\gamma33$ $l\alpha33$ $h\tilde{a}31$
 silver and gold
 白银 和 黄金
 silver and gold
 白银和黄金
 ET:Fangzi.11

There also are several instances of what might appear to be coordinands which can take either natural conjunction or accidental conjunction, for example, (279) versus (280) and (281) versus (282). (279) and (280) are in fact are coordinate compounds, not asyndetic coordinations, as can be seen from their non-compositional semantics. When a speaker wants to refer to the individual referents within the coordinate compound, accidental conjunction is used, as in (280) and (281). The reason for this is that if natural conjunction were used rather than accidental conjunction, there would be ambiguity as to whether the construction was an asyndetic coordination with compositional semantics or a coordinate compound with non-compositional semantics.

The coordinate compound $z\alpha 33\text{-}m\gamma 13$ ‘child’ which is composed of $z\alpha 33$ ‘son’ and $m\gamma 13$ ‘daughter.’ As $z\alpha 33$ and $m\gamma 13$ are antonyms—they vary solely by one semantic feature, biological sex—they conjoin through natural conjunction, which is unmarked in Na. Over a period of time, this natural conjunction became codified, the phonological border eroded through a frequency effect, and the conjunction lexicalized into a compound. The semantic scope of the compound then expands from ‘son and daughter’ to mean ‘child.’ When a speaker wants to refer to both ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ individually, accidental coordination with $l\alpha 33$ is used, as shown in (280). Thus, although $z\alpha 33$ and $m\gamma 13$ obey the morphological constraints for natural conjunction and historically would have naturally-conjoined, because the coordinate compound $z\alpha 33\text{-}m\gamma 13$ ‘child’ exists, they now take accidental conjunction to avoid ambiguity between this coordinate compound and an asyndetic coordination when the speaker wants to refer to both ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ individually.

(279) zɔ33-my13
 son-daughter
 儿子-女儿
 child
 小孩儿
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.71

(280) zɔ33 lɑ33 my13
 son and daughter
 儿子 和 女儿
 son and daughter
 儿子和女儿
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.119

my33-di33 is a coordinate compound meaning ‘land,’ where ‘sky’ and ‘land’ historically formed a natural conjunction that became reanalyzed to mean ‘land.’⁹ When ‘sky’ and ‘land’ conjoin with lɑ33 to mark accidental conjunction, the individual meanings of the two nouns are regained, so that my33 lɑ33 di33 means ‘heaven and earth.’

(281) my33-di33
 sky-land
 天-地
 land
 土地
 ET:ɕinami.2

(282) my33 lɑ33 di33
 heaven and earth
 天 和 地
 heaven and earth
 天和地
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.26

⁹ The Na compound takes on the meaning of its second conjunct. In contrast, the Chinese coordinate compound 天地 from 天 ‘sky, heaven’ + 地 ‘land’ means ‘world.’ Although many coordinate compounds take on a meaning which is the sum of its parts (i.e., Na a33-da33-a33-mi33 ‘parents’ and ji33-hwɔ33 ‘day and night’), the meanings of coordinate compounds are not predictable.

9.7.8 Emphatic coordination/summary coordination

An emphatic coordination is one such as ‘both A and B’ or ‘neither A nor B,’ with the two key differences between ordinary coordination and emphatic coordination being that in emphatic coordination, each coordinand is evaluated separately and the construction receives an emphatic reading (Haspelmath 2007:15). A summary coordination is one in which a list of coordinands is then followed by a numeral or quantifier, which marks the coordinands as forming a discrete group; such constructions do not use any coordinator (Haspelmath 2007:36). The line between emphatic coordination and summary coordination is indistinct in Na.

Na has a construction using the quantifier *duu33-ta13* ‘all’ which shares properties of both emphatic conjunction and summary conjunction, and a construction using the quantifier *duu33-sɔ33* ‘at all, completely’ which shares properties of both emphatic disjunction/ emphatic negative coordination and summary coordination. These two constructions also have properties that belong to neither emphatic nor summary coordination.

I analyze these constructions as a type of emphatic coordination, because the primary semantic value of these constructions is to indicate emphasis that each coordinand adheres to the assertion being made, and cross-linguistic typological comparisons are based on semantic criteria because formal structural criteria are too language-specific to be useful for comparative work.

9.7.8.1 *Emphatic coordination/summary coordination with du33-ta13*

Emphatic coordination in Na can take either the structure A-CO B-CO C-CO QUANT or the structure A, B, C-CO QUANT. In both cases, the quantifier is du33-ta13. Examples of A-CO B-CO C-CO QUANT are given in (283) and (284), and an example of A, B, C-CO QUANT is shown in (285).

- (283) t^hi13 a33-wə33 zɯ33-tu33 kwə33 zə33 la33 mu13 la33 du33-ta13
 so home family CLS sons and daughters and all
 所以 家 家庭 里 儿子 和 女儿 和 都
 So the family's sons and daughters,
 所以家庭里的儿子和女儿全部
 T:Fangzi.9

tə31 mi13 nu31 mi13 (nu31 mi13) du33 lu33 (nu31 mi13 du33 lu33) yĩ33.
 pillar heart heart one CLS heart one CLS make
 柱头 心 心 一 个 心 一 个 做
 like the pillars, all will be of one heart.
 象木柱一样做成一条心。

- (284) t^hi13 du33 dzu31 k^hɣ31 yi33 la33 hi33 la33 du33-ta13 dzi33-tə33
 so one time cow and people and all flood water
 所以 一 会儿 牛 和 人 和 全部 洪水
 So, in a moment, the floodwater submerged the cows,
 所以, 很快就牛, 人, 全部
 T:cinami.48

dzo31 lə33-nə13 lə33-sɛ13.
 then ACCOMP-submerge ACCOMP-finish
 就 淹 完
 people, everything.
 被洪水淹没。

- (285) tə31 mi13 bi33 la33 kwɣ33 bi33 læ33 zɯ33-mi33 k^hi33-mi33 wə33-q^hwɣ31
 pillar on top hearth on top hearth room door on top
 柱头 上面 火塘 上面 祖屋 门 上面
 all around the hearth room, on top of the pillars, on top of the hearth, on top of the doorway
 的时候祖屋的全部地方, 木柱的上面,
 ET:Fangzi.42

la33	du33-ta13	ŋy33	hæ13	la33	t ^h æ13	t ^h u33-k ^h u13.
and	all	silver	gold	and	such	DUR-put
和	都	白银	黄金	和	那些	放

to the hearth room, in all of these places one must put some silver and gold and such.
火塘的上面，祖屋门的上面都放上金和银。

Na emphatic coordination differs somewhat from canonical emphatic coordination, as will be discussed in §9.7.8.3. An unusual aspect of the Na structure is that the quantifier is conjoined to the coordinative structure, with the final coordinator in the structure linking the quantifier to the final coordinand: A-CO B-CO C-CO QUANT. This does not occur in canonical emphatic coordination. One might be tempted to account for this incongruous coordinator by analyzing the coordination as a representative coordination, where each coordinand is marked with a coordinator, rather than as a monosyndetic coordination. However, because monosyndetic and representative coordinations receive slightly different readings in Na—the final la33 in representative coordination receives a reading of ‘etcetera’ rather than ‘and’—we know that A-CO B-CO C-CO QUANT is in fact monosyndetic coordination because native speakers receive the reading ‘and’ for the last la33, not ‘etcetera.’

The A, B, C-CO QUANT structure can be analyzed either as showing coordinator omission with du33-ta13 ‘all’ being the final item in the list, or as asyndetic coordination with a lexicalized compound la33-du33-ta13 ‘and all’ denoting the end of the list. Either analysis is possible, however, la33 du33-ta13 is even less tightly integrated phonologically than la33 t^hæ13 ‘and such’ with respect to intonation and pausing phenomena, so an analysis of coordinator omission is preferable.¹⁰

¹⁰ In la33 t^hæ13, vowel harmony occurs roughly half the time so that la33 appears as læ33; this is evidence, along with pause and intonational phenomena, that la33 t^hæ13 is in the process of lexicalizing into a compound. No evidence from vowel harmony is available for la33 du33-ta13, as the vowel u in du33-ta13 does not participate in vowel harmony (§x.x). Even if vowel harmony skipped du33 [du33 by itself means ‘one’ and is somewhat irregular [cf. §x.x, x.x]], ta13 shares the same vowel as la33 when du33-ta13 appears in isolation, so no vowel harmony would occur.

9.7.8.2 Emphatic disjunction/emphatic negative coordination/negative summary conjunction with *du33-sə33*

Emphatic negative coordination in Na takes either the structure A-CO B QUANT + NEG-V or the structure A, B QUANT + NEG-V, where the former structure has monosyndetic coordination of A and B and the latter structure has asyndetic coordination of A and B.

There are three parts to forming an emphatic negative coordination in Na. First, the coordinands can conjoin either through asyndesis or with *la33*, depending upon whether the conjunction is natural or accidental, respectively. Secondly, the quantifier *du33-sə33* ‘at all, completely’ follows the final coordinand. Thirdly, the verb is prefixed with *mə33-* NEG-.

In Na, emphatic negative coordination is a bit less strange than emphatic coordination because the quantifier *du33-sə33* ‘at all’ does not conjoin to the coordination with *la33* in emphatic negative coordination in the way that the quantifier *du33-ta13* ‘all’ conjoins to the coordination in emphatic coordination. Phonologically, *du33-sə33* frequently appears as *du33-sə33:*, where the length on the vowel often approximates a full second vowel, giving additional support to the reading of the construction as primarily emphatic. Examples of emphatic negative coordination are given in (286) and (287).

(286)	t ^h u33	ɤ13	zɔ13	la33	t ^h a13	du33-sɔ33	t ^h u33	mə33-ki33.
	3SG.PRO	family	lunch	and	such	at all	3SG.PRO	NEG-give
	他	家	中午饭	和	那些	一样	他	没给

The family didn't give him lunch and such at all.

他家中午和那些一样没给他。

T:çinami.15

(287)	[tɕi31 hũ33]	[bi33 mi33	dzi33	ha33 ¹¹]	du33-sɔ33	mə33-dzɔ33.
	clothes	stomach	eat	rice	at all	NEG-EXIST
	衣服	肚子	吃	饭	一样	没有

(there was nothing in Luoshui) clothes, things to eat, none of these things.

T:Change.2

9.7.8.3 *Na constructions in comparison with canonical emphatic coordination and summary coordination*

As noted above, the Na structures with du33-ta13 ‘all’ and du33-sɔ33 ‘at all’ share properties of both emphatic coordination and summary coordination, as well as having properties that differ from both. Table 9.11 presents an overview of the semantic and structural characteristics of the Na structures in comparison with those of canonical emphatic and summary conjunction.

¹¹ bi33 mi33 dzi33 ha33 is an expression that means ‘things to eat.’

Semantically, there are three properties which can be used to compare the Na constructions with canonical emphatic and summary conjunctions: whether the construction receives an emphatic reading; whether each coordinand in the list is considered separately; and whether the coordination sums up a list. The Na emphatic and negative emphatic coordinations receive a reading of added emphasis, with each coordinand considered separately, like canonical emphatic coordination. This can be seen in (285) given in §9.7.8.1 and (270) presented in §9.7.7. In some cases, the quantifiers in the Na structure may be summing up a list, too, as in canonical summary coordination, for example (285), but the primary reading of the construction remains emphatic. Thus, the Na constructions share features of both canonical emphatic and summary coordinations: like emphatic coordination but in contrast with summary conjunction, the Na constructions are fundamentally emphatic; and like summary conjunction but differing from emphatic conjunction, the Na constructions may sum up a list.

	Na	EMPH CONJ	SUMMARY CONJ
Semantics	Emphatic reading	Y	N
	Each coordinand is considered separately	Y	n/a
	Summing up list	N	Y
Structure	Presence of coordinator in construction	Y	N
	Quantifier at end of list	N	Y
	# of coordinands varies	Often 2, may be more	Y
	Quantifier at end may be coordinated	N	N
	1 st coordinator is same as the regular coordinator, 2 nd coordinator is different	N	N

Table 9.11 Comparison of properties of Na emphatic and negative emphatic coordination constructions with canonical emphatic conjunction and summary conjunction

Structurally, there are five properties which can be used to compare the Na constructions with canonical emphatic and summary conjunctions: the presence of a coordinator in the construction; the presence of a quantifier at the end of the coordination; the number of possible coordinands; whether a quantifier at the end of the construction may be coordinated; and whether the first coordinator is the same as the regular coordinator while the second is different.

In Na emphatic coordination, which has the structure A-CO B-CO C-CO QUANT or the structure A, B, C-CO QUANT, there is at least one coordinator. In Na emphatic negative coordination, which has the structure A-CO B QUANT + NEG-V or the structure A, B QUANT + NEG-V, there may be a coordinator or the coordinands may be conjoined through asyndesis. The quantifier $\text{duu33-s}\text{ɔ}33$ follows the coordinands but is not conjoined to the coordination with $\text{la}33$ in the way that is $\text{duu33-ta}13$ joined to emphatic coordinations. Thus, the presence of $\text{la}33$ in the Na emphatic construction and some of the emphatic negative constructions is similar to canonical emphatic coordination, which uses coordinators, but differs from canonical summary coordination, which uses a quantifier in place of a coordinator.

Canonical emphatic coordination does not use a quantifier in its structure, while the most basic characteristic of summary coordination is that a quantifier summarizes the coordination. Thus, Na which uses the quantifiers $\text{duu33-ta}13$ and $\text{duu33-s}\text{ɔ}33$ in its constructions, differs from canonical emphatic coordination, where no quantifier is used, but is like canonical summary coordination, where a quantifier is used.

Canonical emphatic coordination, particularly as found in European languages, typically has two coordinands but may have more (i.e., in the United States Postal Service unofficial motto, “Neither snow nor rain nor...”), while the number of coordinands in summary conjunction varies. Thus, as there is not a clear distinction between canonical emphatic and summary coordinations as to the number of coordinands allowed, this property is not useful for comparison with Na. For the sake of thoroughness, we can note that in Na, the emphatic coordinations may have two to three

or more coordinands¹³ (examples (283), (284), and (285) in §9.7.8.1), while negative emphatic coordinations have two coordinands (examples (286) and (287) in §9.7.8.2). However, further elicitation in Na is necessary to understand possible restrictions on number of coordinands in such structures.

Another structural difference that distinguishes Na from both canonical emphatic coordination and canonical summary coordination is that the quantifier *du33-ta13* ‘all’ used in Na emphatic coordination actually conjoins to the end of the coordinative structure using *la33*: [A *la33*] [B *la33*] *du33-ta13*. This can be seen in examples (283), (284), and (285) in §9.7.8.1. In contrast, canonical emphatic coordination does not make use of a quantifier, while canonical summary coordination makes use of a quantifier, but does not conjoin the quantifier to the coordination. In Na negative emphatic coordination, the quantifier *du33-sa33* is not attested with *la33* conjoining it to the coordination. There are several possible explanations for this: this may be a gap in the data; *du33-sa33* may be conjoined to the coordination through asyndesis; or Na negative emphatic coordination may simply be more similar to canonical summary coordination than Na emphatic coordination is.

The final property to examine is the forms the coordinators take. In canonical emphatic coordination, there are four possible combinations of coordinators: both coordinators are the same and are also the same as the non-emphatic noun phrase coordinator; only the second coordinator is the same as the non-emphatic noun phrase coordinator; the two coordinators are the same, but differ from the non-emphatic noun phrase coordinator; and the two coordinators are different, and also differ from the non-emphatic noun phrase coordinator (Haspelmath 2007:16–17). The Na emphatic

¹³ If one considers *la33 du33-ta13* as a discrete element, then examples (283) and (284) each have only two coordinands, ‘sons and daughters’ and ‘oxen and people,’ respectively. If one considers *du33-ta13* to be conjoined to the coordination by *la33*, then each of these has three coordinands.

coordinative structure makes use of both la_{33} ‘and’ and $du_{33}-ta_{13}$ ‘all.’ Should $du_{33}-ta_{13}$ in fact be considered a coordinator in this structure? $du_{33}-ta_{13}$ ‘all’ is not that semantically different from ‘both,’ which is a coordinator in canonical emphatic coordination. If so, then Na differs from canonical emphatic coordination with respect to the forms that the coordinators take. The first coordinator, la_{33} , is the same as the non-emphatic noun phrase coordinator, but if one considers $du_{33}-ta_{13}$ to be a coordinator, then this second coordinator is different from the non-emphatic noun phrase coordinator, so that Na yields a fifth possible combination of coordinators that has not previously been attested. Na emphatic negative coordination sometimes uses both la_{33} and $du_{33}-sə_{33}$ ‘at all,’ but can also occur without la_{33} . One could still argue that $du_{33}-sə_{33}$ ‘at all’ is similar to emphatic negative coordinators such as ‘nor,’ but the argument for Na having a fifth possible combination of coordinators in the emphatic negative structure is heavily weakened by the fact that use of both coordinators is not obligatory.

9.7.9 Disjunctive coordination

Disjunctive coordination of noun phrases joins two or more noun phrase coordinands to present a choice, and can be represented as ‘A or B.’ In Na, there are two methods for disjunctive coordination of noun phrases: coordination with the disjunctive coordinator $mə_{33} ni_{31}$ or coordination with the conjunctive coordinator la_{33} . Noun phrase disjunction is formally different from verb phrase conjunction and clausal disjunction, both of which use the coordinator $mə_{33}$ (see §11.13.2, 16.1.2).

9.7.9.1 Disjunction with *mə33 ni31*

Disjunction with *mə33 ni31* has the structure A-CO B, with a slight pause occurring between the coordinator and coordinand B. The coordinator *mə33 ni31* appears to be derived from *mə33-* NEG- + *ni33* COP, but there is no conclusive evidence available to support this, and one would expect the tone 33 rather than 31 for the second syllable of *mə33 ni31*. It is possible that the sequence ‘NP₁ NEG-COP NP₂’ could give a reading ‘if not NP₁, then NP₂’, as Na conditionals are not obligatorily marked with *pi33* COND ‘if’ and Na clauses are verb-final. In this analysis, the reading ‘if not NP₁, then NP₂’ would be similar enough to ‘NP₁ OR NP₂’ to permit NEG-COP to be reanalyzed as ‘or.’ In (290) below, *mə33 ni31* receives a clear reading of ‘or,’ and yet the phase is marked with *zɛ33* CRS, which can only appear following a verb, suggests that there is something verb-like about *mə33 ni31*, lending support to the analysis that *mə33 ni31* may have been reanalyzed from *mə33-* NEG- + *ni33* COP.

An example of disjunction with *mə33 ni31* is shown in (288). In this example, both nouns are marked with *ki33* DAT. Na also permits the entire coordination to be dative-marked, i.e., ‘to X or Y’ as well as ‘to X or to Y.’ An example showing dative-marking of the full coordination is given in example (289). Note that this disjunctive coordination uses *la33* rather than *mə33 ni31* as the disjunctive coordinator. Whether the use of *mə33 ni31* versus *la33* correlates with dative-marking of both coordinands versus dative-marking of the entire coordination is unknown—it may be coincidental that *mə33 ni31* appears with both nouns marked and *la33* appears with the full coordination marked. This question remains for future research.

(288) dæ31 pɣ33 ki33 mɔ33 ni31 da31 pɣ33 ki33 bi33
 lama ALL or daba ALL go
 喇嘛 或者 达巴 去

go to (visit) a lama or a daba

要去和喇嘛或者达巴那里

ET:Fangzi.26

(289) da31 pɣ33 la33 = a31 dzɔ33 la33 mɣ33 ki33 su33 wɔ33 ta33
 daba or = CMKN lama give first in front of
 达巴 或者 喇嘛 给 面前

(and) give (it) to a daba, as everyone knows, or a lama (so that he can) first do a divination

拿去给达巴或者喇嘛面前

ET:Fangzi.3

lɔ33-tʂɣ33 tʂɣ31 lɔ33-tʂɣ33 tʂɣ31.

ACCOMP-divine ACCOMP-divine

算卦 算卦

in front.

去算卦。

mɔ33 ni31 also appears without any overt coordinands in (290). The speaker has just described the ritual placing of silver and gold in the hearth room as it is being built, saying, “...these are the hearth room’s stomach, innards and such, it’s like putting in the heart and such,” so in (290), he is suggesting that perhaps ‘soul’ is a better metaphor than ‘heart.’

(290) tʰi13 mɔ33 ni31 ze33 dzɔ33 zu33-mi33 bu33 ʂ31 i133
 so or CRS TOP hearth room POSS soul
 所以 或者 祖屋 的 灵魂

Or it’s like putting in

所以或者是给祖屋放进去

T:Fangzi.44

tʰu33-kʰu13 ni31 ku31 ni33.

DUR-put be like CERT.STR

放

the hearth room’s soul.

灵魂的。

9.7.9.2 Disjunction with *la33*

It is not uncommon for there to be formal similarities between conjunctive coordination and emphatic negative coordination because ‘not A, not B’ can be conceived of as conjunction, $\sim A \ \& \ \sim B$, or as disjunction, $\sim(A \vee B)$ (Haspelmath 2007:17). Na uses the conjunctive coordinator *la33* in emphatic negative coordination, and example (291) could equally well be translated as, “The family didn’t give him lunch or such.”

However, Na also uses the conjunctive coordinator *la33* to indicate disjunction, as can be seen in examples (292) and (293). The listener relies on discourse context to determine whether a conjunctive or disjunctive reading for *la33* should be received.

The lack of formal distinction between noun phrase conjunction and disjunction may be an areal feature of Tibeto-Burman languages or a subgroup of them. Post (Post:305) finds that Galo, a Tibeto-Burman language of the Indosphere, also does not formally distinguish between noun phrase conjunction and disjunction, leaving the listener to rely on discourse context for disambiguation between the two.

- (291) *tʰu33* =*ʃ*13 *zɔ13* *la33* *tʰa13* *du33-sɔ33* *tʰu33* *mə33-ki33*.
 3SG.PRO =family lunch and such same 3SG.PRO NEG-give
 他 家 中午饭 和 那些 一样 他 没给

The family didn’t give him lunch and such.

他家中午和那些一样没给他。

T:çinami.15

- (292) *ga33* *la33* *da33* *px33* *la33* *tʰi33-tɕʰi33* *da33* *px33*
 abbot lama and 3PL.PRO daba
 菩萨 喇嘛 和 他们 达巴

abbot, lama, or (those) dabas

菩萨和喇嘛还有达巴那些

ET:Fangzi.45

(293)	hwa31 li33	zɿ33	ɲa33	dʒo33	hwa31 li33	so33	lu33	la33
	cat	raise	while	TOP	cat	three	CLS	and
	猫	养	的时候		猫	三	量词	和

Raising cats, one could get three or

养猫的时候，可以养三个，

ET:Tsodeluyizo.266

zu33	lu33	tʰæ13	du33
four	CLS	such	obtain
四	量词	那些	得

four of them

四个的猫

10 Grammatical relations and ‘case’ marking

10.1 TOPIC/COMMENT INFORMATION STRUCTURE

The primary information structure in Na is topic/comment rather than subject-predicate. Nominal arguments are frequently ellipsed, and a topic can be a nominal argument, about which the rest of the sentence will comment upon, but the topic can also be an adverbial, an independent clause, or a dependent clause. The topic appears at the beginning of a clause, and is marked with *dzo33*, which is also an existential verb and the progressive marker. It can be difficult to distinguish between the existential and topic marker usages, as an existential verb serves to introduce a new referent into the discourse which will then be commented upon, while a topic marker, when used with a noun phrase, marks that referent as being under discussion, and is followed by a comment. It can also be difficult to distinguish between the progressive and topic marker usages when *dzo33* appears following a verb phrase in a non-final clause, because one can receive the reading that an event which is underway at the time another event in the main clause occurs (progressive reading) or the reading that the event is the topic and the main clause is the comment. Example (294) shows an independent clause as a topic.

- (294) [[*tɕi33-di33* *kwɔ33* *tʰi13* *du33-hu33* *tʰu33* *mə33-yi33* *dzo33*]
 world LOC so a little this NEG-make TOP
 人间地 里 所以 一点 这 不做
 So in the earthly world, there is a little evil,
 在人间里有一点点不好,
 T:Tsodeluyizo.284

[*tʰi31-ni13* *ku13*] *ni33*.]
 this way can CERT.STR
 这样 会
 (it) came to be in this way.
 是这样变成的。

Topic marking can also be used for stylistic purposes, as in example (295), where a contrast is made when two independent clauses are conjoined *asyndetically* and each has its own topic.

(295) zu31 mu33 ku33 dzɔ33 hæ33 q^hɣ33 tɔ31 lɔ31-yi33
 Zhimuku TOP evening only labor
 Zhimuku 晚上 才 劳动
 Zhimuku worked only at night,
 Zhimuku 在晚上劳动,
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.4

 hɪ33 dzɔ33 ɲi33-ɦi31 ku33 lɔ31-yi33.
 people TOP daytime labor
 人 白天 劳动
 (but) people worked during the day.
 可是其他人在白天劳动。

10.2 OVERVIEW OF GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

Grammatical relations are primarily indicated by constituent order, which is AOV. However, Na is a zero anaphora language, so agent, object, or both, may not appear if they can be inferred from discourse context. Furthermore, non-canonical constituent orders may appear, for various discourse-related reasons, as will be detailed shortly. In such cases the agentive marker *nu33*, the patient marker *tɔ31*, or both, may appear to disambiguate grammatical relations.

Note that this line of argumentation implies that use of the agentive and patient markers arose through tracking agent or object, respectively, through pragmatically-marked/discourse-related atypical word orders, and then their use expanded through analogy to instances where a noun phrase's function is ambiguous because of the possibility of zero anaphora.

subject / agent	marked by word order
object	marked by word order
possessive/genitive	bu33
associative	bu33
non-relative attributive	bu33, di33
locative (spatial)	kwɔ33
locative (temporal)	kwɔ33
ablative (source)	kwɔ33
as to, with regard to	kwɔ33
locative (temporal)	dzɔ33
dative	ki33

Table 10.1 Na grammatical relation and ‘case’ markers

allative (motion to)	ki33
beneficiary, recipient, goal	ki33
ablative (source)	nu33
agentive	nu33
emphasis	nu33
comitative	ɠa33
instrumental	pɔ13
after	gi13
comparative	tɔ31
adessive	tɔ31
allative	tɔ31
at the time	tɔ31
patient	tɔ31
toward	pi33
until	t ^h u33
become	t ^h u33
yield	t ^h u33
succeed	t ^h u33

Table 10.1 Na grammatical relation and ‘case’ markers (cont’d)

10.3 AGENTIVE MARKING

The postposition *nu33* serves a number of uses. It is used fairly rarely among Luoshui speakers, but appears prolificly in the speech of speakers from Yongning proper. *nu33* is an ablative/source marker that appears much less frequently than *kwɔ33*, another source marker (see §10.5.1).

nu33 has undergone grammaticalization from ablative/source marker to mark agent in the type of non-systemic ‘ergative’ / agentive marking found in some TB languages, as discussed in LaPolla (1995). In these languages with non-systemic ‘ergative’ marking, the ergative / agentive marker is used only when agent is ambiguous. LaPolla cites ambiguity as being between two potential agents (LaPolla 1995:189), but because Na is a zero anaphora language, Na also uses the agentive marker when the agent could be interpreted as the patient of an action committed by a zero anaphora agent.

It is also used when pragmatically-marked word orders occur, as LaPolla (1995:215) notes is common in languages with this type of marking. In Yongning Na, these discourse-motivated usages of the agentive are: marking switch in subject, contrastive focus, shift in speaker, and emphasis on agent.

Non-systemic ergatives are generally and logically thought to represent an early stage in the grammaticalization of a systemic ergative. However, in Yongning Na, the non-systemic ergative *nu33* has not become increasingly paradigmatic, but instead has grammaticalized into an emphatic marker, where it can mark non-nominal elements of a sentence. This grammaticalization is a simple semantic extension from emphasis on agent to general emphatic marker.

10.3.1 Historical origins of the Na agentive marker

LaPolla (1995) provides a description of the historical development of both ergatives in Tibeto-Burman, and the information relevant to Na will be re-capitulated here. The Loloish languages with agentives clearly cognate to Na *nuu*³³ are: Western Naxi *nuu*³³, Sani Yi *li*³³, Chiang Rai Akha *ne*, Dazhai Hani *ne*³³; and the Loloish ablatives: Western Naxi *nuu*³³, Sani Yi *li*³³, Chiang Rai Akha *ne*, and Dazhai Hani *ne*³³ (LaPolla 1995:208–209). The Qiangic languages also show agentives that likely are cognate: Muli Namuzi *ni*⁵⁵, Taoba Pumi *ne*³⁵, Tuanjie Queyu *ni*³⁵/*ji*³⁵, Xiazhan Queyu *ji*¹³ *ni*⁵⁵, and perhaps the Su Lyusu *le*⁵³, when one considers that the *n*/*l* distinction is neutralized in some varieties of Southwestern Mandarin, and this neutralization could perhaps spread through language contact; and Qiangic ablatives Chengquan Daofu *ne*, Maiben Commune Guiqiong *ni*³³, Su Lyusu *le*⁵³, Muli Namuzi *ni*³¹, Jinghua Pumi *nāu*¹⁴, Tuanjie Queyu *ne*³⁵, Xiazhan Queyu *ni* (LaPolla 1995:205), and also Anong *ne*⁵⁵ of the Rungic languages, as noted by LaPolla (1995:204). LaPolla also mentions the possibility raised by Huang Bufan (1991:350) that these agentives could be loans from Tibetan (LaPolla 1995:204).

LaPolla concludes, “For the Loloish branch (and possibly even Lolo-Burmese) the best we can do is possibly reconstruct an ablative or instrumental marker **ne* or **ni*, which in some languages came to be used as an agentive marker, but at the Lolo-Burmese level we have no clear evidence of a reconstructable proto-form for an agentive marker.” (LaPolla 1995:209).

According to LaPolla’s (1995:216) argument for a grammaticalized continuum from non-systemic ‘ergativity’ to systemic ‘ergativity,’ the grammaticalization of Na *nuu*³³ is very recent: the grammaticalization in Na does not show phonetic change (i.e., the agentive marker is isomorphic with the ablative/source marker), the use of *nuu*³³ is non-paradigmatic and often is clearly motivated from discourse reasons, and the use of *nuu*³³ is non-obligatory.

10.3.2 nu33 ABL

In (296), my native speaker consultant very specifically translates nu33 as ‘从’ (‘from’), in direct contrast to the usual translations he gives for nu33: as marking agent, indicating emphasis, or as being a sociolinguistic marker of where the speaker is from. Note that ablative nu33 is extremely rare within the textual corpus; kw33 is the commonly used ablative. This seems to support Huang’s (1991) analysis cited in LaPolla (1995) of the nu33–cognate agentives attested in various Loloish and Qiangic languages across Yunnan, Sichuan, and northern Thailand as being loans from Tibetan, because Na already has an ablative, and nu33 does not manage to make much of an incursion on its territory.

(296)	lə33-ʂu33	zɔ33	ʂ31-sɿ33	ku31	mɔ33-wɔ33	nu33	lə33-ʂu33	zɔ33
	ACCOMP-carry	PERF	1INC.PRO		heavens	ABL	ACCOMP-carry	PERF
	带	了	咱们		天上	从	带	了

Having carried her, having carried her from our heavens

带着她从天上

T:Tsodeluyizo.147

di33-kwɔ33	zɯ33-tu33	yĩ33	pu13	hu33	hɔ33	ni33.
earth-LOC	family	make	send	go	FUT.DES	CERT.STR
地里	家庭	做	派	去	会	

to the mortal world, they would go set up a family.

到人间去建立家庭的。

10.3.3 Discourse-motivated usages of the agentive

10.3.3.1 *Disambiguating agent*

In (297), *nuu33* marks ‘mother’ as the actor rather than the patient. Without *nuu33*, one might receive the reading, “This time he spotted her mother.” 3SG.PRO in Na is not marked for gender, so one could interpret 3SG.PRO as referring to Tsodeluyizo, and ‘mother’ as a direct object. However, by using *nuu33*, one receives the interpretation that the actor is ‘her mother,’ where the possessive marker *bu33* is not required due to the close kinship relation (cf. §9.6.2).

(297)	tʰu33	ʂx33	dzo33	tʰi13	tʰu33	a33-mi33	nuu33	lɔ33-tɔ33.
	this	time	TOP	so	3SG.PRO	mother	AGTV	ACCOMP-see
	这	次		所以	她	母		看见

This time it was by her mother that he was spotted.
 这次是被她的妈妈看见了。
 T:Tsodeluyizo.129

In (298), the patient NP, *kʰu33* ‘the dog,’ has been preposed. Na has conflicting sources of information as to agent in this sentence. If one relies on word order to process this sentence, one receives the reading, “So again the dog brought him back from hunting.” If one relies on an animacy hierarchy, with humans being more proto-typically agentive than animals, one receives the opposite reading, that 3SG.PRO is the agent and *kʰu33* ‘dog’ is the patient. If one considers information structure, where a patient can appear preposed to agent position if it is a topic or under focus, one receives the reading that the dog is the topic being discussed, but that 3SG.PRO is the agent and *kʰu33* ‘dog’ is the patient. Faced with this multiplicity of interpretation, Na employs *nuu33* for disambiguation: by marking the 3SG.PRO with agentive *nuu33*, one can identify 3SG.PRO is the agent, despite it appearing in the position usually reserved for a patient, and one receives the reading, “So again he brought the dog back from hunting.”

(298) wɤ13 k^hu33 t^hu33 nu33 lə33-ʂæ33 lə33-pɔ31-ts^hu33 ni33.
 again dog 3SG.PRO AGTV ACCOMP-carry ACCOMP-bring CERT.STR
 又 狗 他 带 拿来

So again he brought the dog back from hunting.

他又打猎回来了。

T:Tsoedeluyizo.158

(299) is similar. nu33 indicates that ‘these two’ is the agent. Again, if one relied on word order to assign grammatical relations in this sentence, one would receive the reading, “The parents coerced these two.”

(299) a33-da33-a33-mi33 ni33 ku13 nu33 ku13 ni33 ze33.
 parents two CLS AGTV coerce CERT.STR PERF
 父母 两 量词 逼迫 了

Thus, these two coerced the parents.

爸爸妈妈被两个人逼迫了。

T:Tsoedeluyizo.145

nu33 can mark an agent when the object is understood:

(300) t^hi13 t^hu33 nu33 ku13 ni33 ɔ13 tɔ31 tɔ31 mi33 nɔ13 my33 ki33
 so 3SG.PRO AGTV test CERT.STR INTERJ intend REFL girl give
 所以 他 考验 语气词 故意 自己 女孩儿 给

So, intending to test him as he would give his daughter to him,

所以，故意的考验他因为女儿会给他，

T:Tsoedeluyizo.160

nu33 ki33 hɔ33 zu33-tu33 t^hu33 a31-hɔ33 mɔ33-hɔ33.
 EMPH give FUT.DES family succeed QM-FUT.DES NEG-FUT.DES
 给 会 家庭 成功 会 不会

so he tested whether the family would be successful or not.

所以考验他家庭会不会成功。

In example (301), nu33 is used because the person in the agent slot of the sentence is not performing the action discussed (binding Tsoedeluyizo’s hands and dropping him from above), but rather, suggesting this action.

(301) mu33 ja33-tæ33-mi33 bu33 a33-mi33 nu33 ts^hu33-ni33 dzɔ33
 girl horizontal-eyed woman POSS mother AGTV today TOP
 女儿 眼睛横的女人 的 母 今天

The horizontal-eyed woman's mother said, "Today,
 眼睛横的女儿的母亲说, "今天
 T:Tso deluyizo.132

lɔ31 tsi33 zɔ33 gu31-ta33 la33 pi33.
 hand fasten PERF above-drop QUOT
 手 拴 了 上面-掉起来

bind his hands together and drop him from above."
 把他的手拴起来在上面掉起来”。

Without nu33 marking mi31 zɿ13 ‘woman’ as agent, (302) would be doubly ambiguous: 1. it would not be clear whether one should interpret mi31 zɿ13 ‘woman’ as agent and have a zero anaphora object or interpret a zero anaphora agent and have mi31 zɿ13 ‘woman’ as object; 2. DUR- t^hu33- is homophonous with 3SG.PRO t^hu33, so one might interpret t^hu33 as a 3SG.PRO object, and not receive the durative reading for the verb.

(302) wɿ13 mi31 zɿ13 nu33 t^hu33-sɔ13 hu33.
 again woman AGTV DUR-teach go
 又 女人 教 去

Again, the woman went to teach him.
 又是女人去教他。
 T:Tso deluyizo.193

10.3.3.2 Contrastive focus

In example (303), nu33 is used for contrastive focus to contrast ‘pigs’ rather than some other animal, as the narrator is giving a long list of the various methods by which the protagonists brought different animals down to earth from the heavens.

(303)	bɔ13	nu33	pi13 ly33	gi13	di33	lɔ33-ts ^h u33	zɔ33	mɔ33-wɔ33
	pig	AGTV	lees	after	follow	ACCOMP-come	PERF	heavens
	猪		酒糟	后面	跟	来	了	天上

The pigs came and followed the wine lees,
 猪是追赶酒糟,
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.269

lɔ33-qæ13	lɔ33-pɔ31-ts ^h u33.
ACCOMP-cheat	ACCOMP-bring
骗	拿来

they were brought back from the heavens by trickery.
 从天上骗回来的。

In (304), nu33 is not used for disambiguation. Although ‘turnip seeds’ have been fronted for contrastive focus, these are inanimate, and one would not get the reading without nu33 of, ‘The turnip seeds stole her by putting them between her fingers.’

In this example, we can see that nu33 is marking the agent when another NP is in topic position, that nu33 is not just doing the semantic work of disambiguation.

(304)	ɛ33 k ^h u31	γæ13	t ^h u33	nu33	lɔ33-k ^h u33	zɔ33	lɔ31-zu33	qwæ31
	turnip	seed	3SG.PRO	AGTV	ACCOMP-steal	PERF	finger	between
	圆根	种子	她		偷	了	指头	中间

Turnip seeds, she stole these by putting them between her fingers
 圆根的种子是被她偷了，藏在手指头中间
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.258

k ^h u13	lɔ33-pɔ31-ts ^h u33.
put	ACCOMP-bring
放	拿来

and taking them back.
 拿回来的。

Example (305) is dramatic: the preposed NP, *læ31 yæ33 tʰu33 mi31* ‘this crow’, is co-referent with the 3SG.PRO marked with *nu33*.

(305)	<i>læ31</i>	<i>yæ33</i>	<i>tʰu33</i>	<i>mi31</i>	<i>ɕi33</i>	<i>lu33</i>	<i>bɔ33</i>	<i>tʰu33</i>	<i>nu33</i>	<i>yæ33</i>	<i>tsi33</i>
	crow		this	CLS	wasteland	hillside	3SG.PRO		AGTV	neck	fasten
	乌鸦		这	量词	荒地	山坡	它			脖子	拴

This crow on the maocao hillside roped his neck and
 这只乌鸦在茅草山坡的上面拴脖子
 T:Tsodeluyizo.31

mashang (loan) *nu33* *tʰu33-su33* *tɕi31*.
 immediately EMPH DUR-die INTERJ
 马上 死 语气词
 immediately died.
 马上就死掉了。

10.3.3.3 *Switch in actor*

In (306), *nu33* is used for discourse reasons: previously the protagonist Tsodeluyizo cheated the woman and her family by telling them that his land yields silver and gold, but that these were too heavy to bring to their home to show them. As the young woman is now tricking Tsodeluyizo, *nu33* is used to draw a parallel in the narrative to his previous actions.

(306)	<i>ɕi31</i>	<i>tʰu33</i>	<i>ʂɤ33</i>	<i>dzɔ33</i>	<i>mi31</i>	<i>zɤ13</i>	<i>nu33</i>	<i>qæ13</i>	<i>ni33</i>	<i>zɛ33</i> .
	INTERJ	this	time	TOP	woman		AGTV	cheat	CERT.STR	PERF
	语气词	这	次		女人			骗		了

Oh, this time it was the woman who cheated him.
 哎呀，这次是女人来骗他了。
 T:Tsodeluyizo.166

In the sentence directly preceding (307), the vertical-eyed woman’s mother has suggested that they should bind Tsodeluyizo’s hands and drop him from a high. *nu33* is used to indicate change of speaker here.

(307) tsʰɔ3133 lu33 yi33-zɔ33 nu33 hɔ33 nu31 mi33 ɲa33-tsu33-mi33
 Tsodeluyizo AGTV INTERJ girl vertical-eyed woman
 Tsodeluyizo 语气词 姑娘 眼睛竖的女人
 Tsodeluyizo, he said, “Vertical-eyed woman,
 Tsodeluyizo, 他说, “眼睛竖的女人,
 T:Tsodeluyizo.133

ɑ31 su33 ɣɣ33 tʰæ33 ɲa33 my33 ɲa33 tʰu33-di31 tsu31 pʰu13
 wait 1SG. PRO name 1SG. PRO DUR-EXIST.P place
 等一下 我 名字 我 有 地方
 please wait a minute, I have my name, my place
 轻轻的等一下, 我有我的名字, 我的地方

ɲɣ33 hǎ31 ni33 pi33 ni33.
 silver gold COP QUOT CERT.STR
 白银 黄金 是 说
 produces gold and silver.”
 生产黄金和白银。”

In this example, nu33 is used to emphasize the switch in actor. The narrator has been describing a ceremony for blessing a new house in which different people play different roles. In the sentence just preceding (308), he has explained how it is the son’s duty to light the hearth fire.

(308) tʰi13 mu33-zɔ33 tʰu33 lu33 nu33 dzɔ33 dzi33 tʰu33 tɕʰɔ13 tʰu33-tsu31.
 so woman this CLS AGTV TOP water this CLS DUR-boil
 所以 女人 这 个 水 这 瓢 煮
 So, the woman then boils this ladle of water.
 所以这个女人把这瓢水煮上。
 T:Fangzi.32

10.3.3.4 *Emphasis on agent*

In (309), *nu33* is used to emphasize ‘one person.’ I had asked the woman being interviewed about how work is allotted in the family, and had assumed in my question that the head of household allotted the work, based on discussion from another consultant. Here, she uses *nu33* to emphasize that, contrary to my assumption, the work is not allotted by one person, but that women are responsible for some work, and men are responsible for other work.

(309) t^hu33 t^hi13 a33 wə33 kwə33 dʒə33 mi31 zu13 ni33 pɛ31 ʃ31-bu33 lə33
 this so home LOC TOP women COP then REFL.POSS work
 这 所以 家 里 女人 是 自己 工作
 Well, at home, women do their own work
 这个，所以家里是女人是
 T: Saozi.10

dʒə33 ʃ31-bu33 lə33-yī33, p^hæ31-tɕi33 ni33 pɛ31 ʃ31-bu33 lə33 ʃi3
 TOP REFL.POSS ACCOMP-do man COP then REFL.POSS work REFL
 自己 做 男人 是 自己 工作 自己
 themselves; men do their own work themselves,
 自己工作是自己做掉的，男人是

lə33-yī33, du33 wu33 nu33 *anpai* (loan) t^hu33-ni13 mə33-dʒə33 ni33.
 ACCOMP-do one CLS EMPH arrange this way NEG-EXIST CERT.STR
 做 一 个 安排 这样 没-有
 (it) isn't arranged (by) one person.
 自己工作自己做掉的，被一个人安排，这是没有的。

10.3.4 Semantic extension to emphatic marker

10.3.4.1 *Emphasizing agency of natural forces*

nu33 has undergone semantic extension to emphatic marker: from emphasizing an agent for discourse-based reasons, as in §10.3.3.4, it extends to use emphasizing the natural force subjects of intransitive verbs, as in examples (310) and (311). In these examples, nu33 is explicitly not marking agent, as the verbs are intransitive. nu33 here is also not used for disambiguation: in each of these two examples, there is only one subject on the surface, and the listener would be highly unlikely to get a reading of a zero anaphora agent because of the conventionalized relationship between the natural force subject and the onomatopoetic sound that it makes. The subjects are not canonically agentive because there is no volitionality, but the agentive marking on the natural forces seems to animate them, or give a reading of agency.

- (310) pi31 p^hu13 dʒi33 nu33 tə31 tə31 tə31.
 floodwaters AGTV tə tə tə
 洪水 tə tə tə
 The floodwaters fell everywhere, tə tə tə.
 被洪水tə tə tə。
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.42

- (311) tɕi31 ɕi33 k^hu13 dʒə33 hɛ̃33 nu33 wə33 wə33 pi33.
 whistle blow EXIST wind AGTV wə wə say
 口哨 吹 风 wə wə 说
 Whistling, the wind went, “wə31 wə33.”
 吹口哨的时候，风wə wə的吹过来。
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.197

From the emphatic usages in §10.3.3.4 and in attributing agency to natural forces, as shown above, nu33 extends to marking emphasis in a wide variety of scenarios: on adverbials (§10.3.4.2), on temporal phrases (§10.3.4.3), on locative phrases (§10.3.4.4), on verbs (§10.3.4.5), and on the accomplished marker (§10.3.4.7).

10.3.4.2 *Emphasis on adverbials*

- (312) ləɕ31 yæ33 tʰu33 mi31 ɕi33 lu33 bɔ33 tʰu33 nu33 yæ33 tsi33
 crow this CLS wasteland hillside 3SG.PRO AGTV neck fasten
 乌鸦 这 量词 荒地 山坡 它 脖子 拴

This crow on the maocao hillside roped his neck and
 这只乌鸦在茅草山坡的上面拴脖子

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.31

mashang (loan) nu33 tʰu33-ɕu33 tɕi31.
 immediately EMPH DUR-die INTERJ
 马上 死 语气词

immediately died.
 马上就死掉了。

- (313) wɤ33-wɔ33 ɣɤ33 tʰæ33 nu33 su33-dzu33 bi33 tɕwɤ33
 in the mountains side often EMPH tree on caught on
 山上 边, 面 经常 树木 上 抓住

In the mountains, all of the wood from the trees
 山上面所有的树上树木都

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.43

su33-dzu33 dze33 lə33-hu33.
 tree fly ACCOMP-go
 树木 飞 去

flew by.
 飞走了。

- (314) tʰu33 mi31 zu13 tʰu33 wu33 dʒɔ33 tʰæ33 nu33 dʒi33 pu13
 this woman this CLS TOP often EMPH water barrel
 这 女人 这 量词 经常 水桶

It is said that this woman
 听说这一个女人

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.111

pɤ33 lu31 ku13 tsi13.
 carry on one's back FUTABL REP
 背着 会

often would come to fill her water barrel.
 会经常来有水桶背水。

10.3.4.3 *Emphasis on temporal phrases*

In example (315), nuu33 is used for emphasis on temporal phrases, duu33 ɲi33 ‘one day.’ This example is from a passage about the trials that the protagonist, Tsodeluyizo, is put through by a woman’s parents to test his suitability for marriage. One trial is to cut down nine hundred trees to clear some land for planting. Here, the hopelessness of his situation is indicated by the use of nuu33 EMPH on the adverbial duu33 ɲi33 ‘one day’: in one day, he could only cut down one tree.

(315)	ɕi33	ts ^h u13	pu13	huu33	pi31	mi33	pɔ13	huu33	duu33	ɲi33	nuu33
	tree	cut	send	go	axe		take	go	one	day	EMPH
	树	砍	派	去	斧头		拿	去	一	天	

They sent him to cut the trees, carrying an axe, in one day

派去砍树拿着斧头去，一天才

T:Tsodeluyizo.179

duu33	dzuu33	la31	ts ^h u13	wɔ33	ʑ33	tɕ ^h i33	zɰwæ13	ni33	ze33.
one	CLS	only	cut	ABLT	has no hope	INTS	CERT.STR	CSM	
一	量词	才	砍	能	没有信心	很	是	了	

he could just cut down one tree, so he felt completely hopeless.

能够砍掉一棵树，一点信心都没有了。

10.3.4.4 *Emphasis on locative phrases*

In (316), nuu33 is used for emphasis on the locative phrase t^hu33 kwɔ33 ‘here.’

(316)	t ^h i13	t ^h u33	kwɔ33	nuu33	lɔ33-si33-si33.
	so	this	LOC	EMPH	ACCOMP-meet
	所以	这	里		认识

And so it was here that they met.

所以就在这里认识。

T:Tsodeluyizo.113

In (317), nuu33 is used for emphasis on the locative phrase zɰ13 mi33 kwɔ33 ‘on the road.’

(317) æ̃13 tʰu33 dzɔ33 ha33 lɿ33 pɔ13 zɔ33 zɿ13 mi33 kwɔ33 nu33
 chicken this TOP rice CLS take PERF road LOC EMPH
 鸡 这 饭 量词 拿 了 路 里

Chickens, these she put rice kernels one by one on the road,
 鸡是用饭在路上一颗一颗的撒下,
 T:Tsodeluyizo.271

du33 lu33 du33 lu33 tʰu33-tɕi33 æ̃13 tʰu33 dzɔ33 ha33 lɿ33
 one CLS one CLS DUR-put chicken this TOP rice CLS
 一 量词 一 量词 放 鸡 这 饭 量词

the chickens followed, eating the rice ta31 ta31, and she brought them back by such trickery.
 鸡追赶, 饭ta ta的吃, 被她骗

kʰɿ13 zɔ33 ta31 ta31 pi33 qæ13 lə33-tsʰu33.
 peck PERF ta ta QUOT cheat ACCOMP-come
 啄 了 ta ta 骗 来
 回来的。

10.3.4.5 *Emphasis on verb*

(318) tʰi13 tʰu33 nu33 ku13 ni33 ɔ13 tɔ31 tɔ31 mi33 nɔ13 my33
 so 3SG.PRO AGTV test CERT.STR INTERJ intend REFL girl
 所以 他 考验 语气词 故意 自己 女孩儿

So, intending to test him as he would give his daughter to him,
 所以, 故意的考验他因为女儿会给他,
 T:Tsodeluyizo.160

ki33 nu33 ki33 hɔ33 zu33 tu33 tʰu33 a31-hɔ33 mə33-hɔ33.
 give EMPH give FUT.DES family succeed QM-FUT.DES NEG-FUT.DES
 给 给 会 家庭 成功 会 不会

so he tested whether the family would be successful or not.
 所以考验他家庭会不会成功。

10.3.4.6 Multiple uses

- (319) dzwæ33 t^hu33 gy33 na33 pɔ13 gy33-zu33 kwɔ33 lə33-tɕi33
 hoe this nine CLS INSTR nine directions LOC ACCOMP-put
 锄头 这 九 量词 九方向 里 放

He took these nine hoes and put the nine hoes in the nine directions,
 这九把锄头放在九个方向里,
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.207

dzwæ33	t ^h u33	gy33	na33	nu33	nɔ13	bu33	nɔ13	nu33
hoe	this	nine	CLS	EMPH	REFL	POSS	REFL	AGTV
锄头	这	九	量词		自己	的	自己	

and these nine hoes,
 这九把锄头,

ki31	kwɔ31	ki31	kwɔ31	du33-tsa33-tsa31-du33-tsa33-tsa31	nu33	ɕi33
ki	kwɔ	ki	kwɔ	dig.SEM	EMPH	wasteland
ki	kwɔ	ki	kwɔ	挖		荒地

they started to dig “ki31 kwɔ31 ki31 kwɔ31” by themselves, started to dig,
 它自己ki kwɔ ki kwɔ的挖了起来, 挖了起来,

t ^h u33	ku33	lə33-p ^h u13	lə33-sɛ13.
this	CLS	ACCOMP-overturn	ACCOMP-finish
这	量词	翻	完

and completely overturned the nine plots of wasteland.
 把这块荒地全部翻完了。

10.3.4.7 Emphasis on ACCOMP-marker

Example (320) is a very interesting example, which shows nu33 clearly working as an emphatic: it is prefixed with the verbal prefix lə33- ACCOMP-, such that the listener receives the reading that Tsoḍeluyizo should definitely go and get a family set up, the emphatic nu33 being used to stress that this action should be accomplished.

- (320) lə33- nu33 lə33-bi33 zɔ33-hɔ33 zɔ33 tu33 yĩ33 bi33 zɔ33-hɔ33
 ACCOMP- EMPH ACCOMP-go should family make go should
 去 应该 家庭 做 去 应该

He should go, he should go set up a family,
 去是要回去的, 建立家庭,
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.248

ni33	nɔ31	tʰi13	æ̃31-tɕi13	pɣ33 tɔ31	mə33-dzɔ33	ni33	mæ33.
CERT.STR	but	so	chick	all	NEG-EXIST	CERT.STR	CERT.M
	但是	所以	小鸡	都	没-有		

but he didn't have even a baby chick, oh!
但是连一只小鸡都没有。

10.4 PATIENT MARKING

The patient marker is used to mark a human non-actor. In Yongning Na, the patient marker is really just used for disambiguation, unlike the agentive, which is used for disambiguation, but is also used for discourse-motivated reasons where there is not true ambiguity.

The patient marker tɔ31 has been grammaticalized from allative tɔ31. This postposition also has a number of other uses, which are shown in §10.5.5.

10.4.1 Historical origins of the patient marker

LaPolla 1992 provides an in-depth discussion of anti-ergative / patient markers in Tibeto-Burman. Those that seem likely cognate with Na are: Achang te55; Lahu thà?; Lisu te55; Namuyi de55; Naxi to55 (LaPolla 1992:3–4).

10.4.2 tɔ31 PAT/ALL

The allative tɔ31 has been grammaticalized into a non-systemic anti-ergative / patient marker (cf. LaPolla 1992), (cf. §10.5.5). In example (321), tɔ31 is marking tʰu33 = ɕ13 ɠa31 ɠa13 tʰu33 tɕʰi33 ‘those helping his family’ as a patient, because with a zero anaphoric agent it might not be clear that ‘those helping his family’ is a patient.

(321)	tʰu33	= ɕ13	ɠa31 ɠa13	tʰu33-tɕʰi33	tɔ31	wɔ33-yĩ33	zɰwæ13	tsi13.
	3SG.PRO	family	help	3PL. PRO	PAT	be hard on	INTS	REP
	他	家	帮忙	他们		做坚硬	很	

It is said that he was especially hard on those helping his family.

听说对他家里帮忙的人特别不好。

T:ɕinami.10

In example (322), tɔ31 is marking hĩ33 ‘people’ and k^hu33-p^hæ33-tɕi13 ‘young people’ as the patient, because the actor (here, the goddess Gemu) is zero anaphora, and the verb ‘protects’ is understood from the previous sentence.

Additionally, because the speaker self-corrects, “...people, young people...”, it may be that using tɔ31 ANTERG clarifies that this is in fact a self-correction, and that it is not the case that ‘people’ should be interpreted as the agent and ‘young people’ as the object: i.e., ‘people courting young people.’

(322)	t ^h i13	hĩ33	tɔ31	k ^h u33-p ^h æ33-tɕi13	tɔ31	fu33-fu33	la33	t ^h u33-ni13
	so	people	PAT	young people	PAT	court	etcetera	this way
	所以	人		年轻人		恋爱	等	这样

So, (she also protects) young people courting and such things
 所以她也保护年轻人恋爱和这些
 T:Gemu.51

a33-wɔ33	a33-da33-a33-mi33	du33-sɔ33	zɰwɰ33	mə33-tɕ ^h wɰ33.
home	parents	at all	say	NEG-permit
家	父母	一样	说	不准

that parents do not permit.
 家里的父母不准干涉.

Multiplicity of resources: Non-sytemic ergative and anti-ergative

Why does Na have both an agentive and a patient marker? Languages certainly can have multiple strategies for conveying the same information. It is precarious to make generalizations based on these data, as the patient marker appears extremely rarely within the corpus of narrative texts. However, in both cases the agent is zero anaphoric, which would make use of the agentive problematic.

10.5 OBLIQUES

10.5.1 kwɔ33

kwɔ33 LOC (spatial) > kwɔ33 LOC (temporal), CONCERN, SOURCE

The locative postposition, kwɔ33, is used to indicate spatial location, as can be seen in examples (323) and (324). It has undergone grammaticalization from LOC (spatial) > LOC (temporal), a cross-linguistically common path of grammaticalization. The temporal location usage is attested in example (325). Spatial to temporal grammaticalizations are fairly common in Na, as seen in the grammaticalizations of wɔ33 ta33 ‘in front of > before’ (see §10.7.10) and gi13 ‘behind > following’ (see §10.6.2).

10.5.1.1 kwɔ33 LOC (SPATIAL)

(323)	tʰi13	bɔ31-gu33	pɔ13	zɯ31 gu33	yĩ33	dzi33	kwɔ33	sɛ33-sɛ33.
	so	pig trough	INSTR	boat	make	water	LOC	go
	所以	猪槽	拿	船	做	水	里	行走

So, by using a pig trough as a boat, they were able to cross the water.

所以用猪槽来做船，在水里面行走。

T:ɕinami.60

(324)	<i>zɔ31 pu33 lɔ31</i> (Tibetan)	du33-ta13	kwɔ33	lɔ33-sɛ33	lɔ33-sɛ33.
	world	all	LOC	ACCOMP-walk	ACCOMP-walk
	地球	全部	里	走路	走路

They walked all over the world.

他们在全部地球里到处去走。

T:Muphadaba.7

10.5.1.2 kwɔ33 LOC (TEMPORAL)

(325)	duu33	ni33	dʒɔ33	bɔ31-lu13	kwɔ33	bɔ13	duu33-ta13	æ31-qʰɤ33	duu33	lu33
	one	day	TOP	pig-feed	LOC	pig	all	cave	one	CLS
	一	天		猪-放	里	猪	全部	山洞	一	个

One day, while feeding the pigs, all of the pigs
 有一天放猪的时候全部的猪
 T:çinami.21

kwɔ33 tɕʰi33 lə33-hu33.
 LOC enter ACCOMP-go
 里头 钻 去
 went into a cave.
 钻到一个山洞里去。

10.5.1.3 kwɔ33 CONCERN

The locative kwɔ33 also grammaticalizes to indicate a meaning of ‘as to, with regard to,’ as can be seen in example (326). Heine and Kuteva find such a pathway in Silacayoapan (Shields 1988:318 quoted from Hollenbach 1995:180 quoted from Heine and Kuteva 2002:201) and Alacatlazala (Hollenbach 1995:181 quoted from Heine and Kuteva 2002:201), but note, “More research is required on the conceptual nature and areal distribution of this grammaticalization, which appears to be an instance of a widespread process whereby spatial and temporal markers are grammaticalized in specific contexts to markers of ‘logical’ grammatical relations, such as adversative, causal, concern, concessive, and conditional relations...” (Heine and Kuteva 2002:202).

(326)	bi33 mi33	dzi33	ha33	la33	zu31-bæ13	kwɔ33	lə33-zwɤ33	be33
	stomach	to eat	food	and	such	LOC	ACCOMP-say	then
	肚子	吃	饭	和	那种	里	说	就

One could say that in regards to life (lit. ‘things to eat and such),
 T:Change.14

wɔ33 ta33 tɔ31 tsʰɛ33 tɔ31 pi13.
 before COMP ten turn over
 以前 比 十 翻转
 it’s many, many times better than before.

10.5.1.4 kwɔ33 ABLATIVE (SOURCE)

The locative is also used to indicate source, as clearly can be seen in examples (327), (328), and (329). Heine and Kuteva (2002) does not give an attested path of grammaticalization for LOCATIVE > SOURCE. As the semantic extension of ‘in’ to ‘from’ is not unreasonable, we might tentatively posit a path of grammaticalization from LOCATIVE > SOURCE, although a cross-linguistic treatment is needed before this path can be established.

(327)	no31-bu33	ɣwæ33 lu31	kwɔ33	su33 ə33	du33	kwɔ33	zu31	zɔ33
	REFL.POSS	neck	LOC	pearl	one	CLS	take	PERF
	自己的	脖子	里	珍珠	一	串	拿	了

He took a string of pearls from around his neck
 他把自己脖子上的
 T:Gemu.43

ku31 mu33 ki33 kwɔ13.
 Gemu DAT throw
 格姆 扔
 and threw it in front of Gemu.
 一串珍珠扔在格姆的面前。

(328)	yi31 tɕæ13	kwɔ33	su31 t ^h i13	gu31-pu13.
	waist	LOC	knife	above-take out
	腰	里	刀子	上面的-拔

从腰上拔出刀子来。
 He took out a knife from his waist.
 T:Tsoyeluyizo.137

(329)	mu33	k ^h u31 = a31 dzo33	mu33	k ^h u31	t ^h u33	sɔ13 = a31 dzo33
	fire	kindle = CMKN	fire	light	this	morning = CMKN
	火	点	火	点	这	早晨

When lighting the fire, the morning that the fire will be lit, one must go to one’s ancestral home
 点火的时候，点火的那一天早晨的时候，要去全部最老
 T:Fangzi.27

ɑ33-wɔ33	du33-ta13	bu33	ɑ33-wɔ33	tʰu33	zɯ33	ki33		
home	all	POSS	home	this	CLS	DAT		
家	部	的	家	这	家			
and take fire from the hearth,								
的老家的火塘里拿火，								
mu33	zɯ31	ɑ33-wɔ33	tʰu33	zɯ33	bu33	kwɤ33	kwɔ33	dʒɔ33.
fire	take	home	this	CLS	POSS	hearth	LOC	EXIST
火	拿	家	这	家	的	火塘	里	
from the hearth of this home.								
拿一些炭（和灰）。								

10.5.2 ki33

ki33 ‘give’ => ki33 ALL => ki33 BEN => ki33 DAT

ki33 marks semantic role for a variety of dative-like entities, including allative, benefactive, and recipient. The verb ki33 ‘give’ grammaticalizes into an allative marker, and then to a benefactive and dative marker, as will be shown in §10.5.2.1 through §10.5.2.4.

10.5.2.1 ki33 ‘give’

At first glance, one might translate ki33 ki33 in example (330) as ‘give.’ However, when one sees example (331), one realizes that such an analysis would be incorrect. ki33 is both the verb ‘give’ and the benefactive marker: the verb ‘give’ has been grammaticalized into a benefactive marker, and both uses still appear in Na. This grammaticalization conforms to cross-linguistically observed patterns of grammaticalization, as in Lord et al. (Lord et al. 2002:218–219) following Newman 1996. Furthermore, LaPolla notes that the grammaticalization of ‘give’ to benefactive is quite common specifically in Tibeto-Burman languages, and has occurred independently in Jinghpaw, Tamang, Tsangla, Camling, Belhare, and Lahu (LaPolla 2003a:33).

(330) t^hu33 nu33 pinguo (loan) ɲa33 ki33 ki33.
 3SG.PRO AGTV¹ apple 1SG.PRO
 他 苹果 我
 3SG.PRO gives me apples.
 他给我苹果。
 E:

(331) ɲa33 t^hu33 ki33 pinguo (loan) ki33.
 1SG.PRO 3SG.PRO DAT apple give
 我 他 苹果 给
 I give 3SG.PRO apples.
 我给他苹果。
 E:

10.5.2.2 ki33 ALL

(332) a33 pa33 tɔ31 ki33 t^hu33.
 Apato ALL arrive
 Apato 到
 He went to Apato's place.
 到了Apato那里。
 T:Tso deluyizo.60

(333) ku31 mu33 ki33 li33 hu33.
 Gemu ALL see go
 格姆 看 去
 He went to where Gemu was to look.
 去格姆那里看。
 T:Gemu.20

(334) ni13 t^hu33 ki33 hu33 dzɔ33 du33 wu33 ki33 ni33 su31
 who 3SG.PRO ALL go TOP one CLS DAT all
 谁 她 去 一 个 都
 Whoever went to visit her, she would
 谁去她那里的时候她
 T:Gemu.14

¹ In Na, usually the indirect object precedes the direct object in constructions with the verb ki33. However, when the agentive marker nu33 is employed, the word order changes so that the direct object precedes the indirect object (examples [330] and [331]).

dzi31 ki33 du33 k^hu31 t^hi33-ki33.

belt one CLS DUR-give

腰带 一 量词 送

give a belt.

送每一个人一条腰带。

10.5.2.3 ki33 BEN

In examples (335) and (336), the benefactive reading is explicit. In example (335), the blessing is done expressly for the benefit of the ancestors. In example (336), a healing rite is done to aid the Buddhist monk (to whom the third person singular pronoun refers).

(335) du33 ni33 so33 tʂ^ho33 dzo33 a33-p^hɣ33-a33-zu33 = æ31 ki33 tʂ^hu33 du31...
 one day three meal TOP ancestors = PL BEN “chudu”
 一天三顿饭 祖先 = 们 “chudu”

At each of the three meals each day, one must do a “chudu” blessing for one’s ancestors...

一天三顿饭都要给祖先和神灵作chudu...

ET:Fangzi.24

(336) t^hi13 t^hu33 ki33 ɣæ33 mɤ33 zu33 ɲɤ33 mu33 la33 du33-pi13 tɕ^hi13.
 so 3SG.PRO BEN as one pleases shape and some throw
 所以他 随便 形状 和 一些 扔掉

So, (using flour) he made a few idols (to be used in a healing rite) as he pleased for him.

所以用面做一些形状对他简单的做了一些法事。

T:Muphadaba.24

(337) zu33 t^hæ33 dzo33 wo31 bo33 = æ31 ki33 ha33 ki33 di33
 north room TOP livestock = PL BEN food give REL
 北房 动物 = 们 饭 给

The north room has a kitchen to prepare food for the livestock...

北边的房子要修一个给动物煮饭的灶...

ET:Fangzi.17

tso33 kwɤ33 du33 lu33

kitchen one CLS

灶 一 个

10.5.2.4 ki33 DAT

Benefactive ki33 further grammaticalizes to become a recipient dative, where the dative is used to mark the recipient of some object. Recipient datives are seen in examples (338), (339), and (340).

- (338) ni33 zɔ33-ʂe33 hæ13 hĩ33 ki33 ni33 zɔ33-ʂe33 tɕʰi33
 fish meat cut others DAT fish meat sell
 鱼肉 割 别人 给 鱼肉 卖
 cut off fishmeat to sell to others...
 割鱼肉卖给别人...
 ET:çinami.42

- (339) ni13 tʰu33 ki33 hu33 dʒɔ33 du33 wu33 ki33 ni33 su31
 who 3SG.PRO ALL go TOP one CLS DAT all
 谁 她 去 一 个 都
 Whoever went to visit her, she would
 谁去她那里的时候她
 T:Gemu.14

dzi31 ki33 du33 kʰu31 tʰi33-ki33.
 belt one CLS DUR-give
 腰带 一 量词 送
 give a belt.
 送每一个人一条腰带。

- (340) nɔ31-bu33 ɣwæ33 lu31 kwɔ33 su33 ɤ33 du33 kwɔ33 zɔ31 zɔ33
 REFL.POSS neck LOC pearl one CLS take PERF
 自己-的 脖子 里 珍珠 一 串 拿 了
 He took a string of pearls from around his neck and threw it in front
 他把自己脖子上面的一串珍珠扔在格姆的
 T:Gemu.43

ku31 mu33	ki33	kwɔ13.
Gemu	DAT	throw
格姆		扔

of Gemu.
 面前。

Data given in Lord et al. show instances in other languages where the grammaticalization of the verb meaning ‘give’ continues further than it does so in Na, into perspective/stance, purpose, or reason markers (Lord et al. 2002:231).

A distinction between the use of Na *ki33* and Mandarin *gei* is that while Na dative *ki33* does occur in the same phrase as the verbal *ki33* as in examples 0 and 0, in Mandarin, the coverb² *gei* cannot be used with the verb *gei* (Li and Thompson 1981:377–378). The verb *gei* furthermore belongs to a class of verbs that require the indirect object to come before the direct object. The class of verbs where the coverb *gei* is optional and the class of verbs where the coverb *gei* is required can have either direct object-indirect object word order or indirect object-direct object word order.

10.5.3 *ga33* COM

The comitative *ga33* is a postpositional semantic role marker that marks a co-participant. In (341), *ga33* COM marks *di33-kwɔ33 bu33 mu33-zɔ33* ‘regular (mortal) girl,’ who is a co-participant in a courtship with a young deity, who is here referred to as *nɔ13 zɔ33* ‘(her) own son.’ Comitative *ga33* is one of the relatively few semantic role markers which does not appear to be involved in a process of grammaticalization.

² Li and Thompson classify Mandarin *gei* as both a coverb and a verb, depending on its usage. They justify their categorization of *gei* as a coverb by stating,

“Coverbs function as *prepositions*: a coverb and its noun form a phrase that modifies the verb of the sentence. A coverb phrase, therefore, must always occur in a sentence with a verb. If the Mandarin coverbs are essentially prepositions, why, then, are they called coverbs rather than prepositions? The answer is simply that the class of coverbs contains words that are partly like verbs and partly like prepositions; the traditional term *coverb* was coined to avoid labeling them either verbs or prepositions” (Li and Thompson 1981:360).

(341)	dʒɔ31	nɔ13	zɔ33	lɛ33-zu31	zɔ33	di33-kwɔ33	bu33	mu33-zɔ33	ɠɔ33
	then	own	son	ACCOMP-take	CSM	land-LOC	POSS	young woman	COM
	就	自己	儿子	拿	了		的	姑娘	跟

She said, “It is not possible for my son to court
她说他们家的儿子不可能和
T:Gemu.26

se33-se33 tsɿ31 mɔ33-yi33 pi33.
court okay NEG-can QUOT
恋爱 行 不会
a regular girl.”
民间的女孩子恋爱。

10.5.4 pɔ13 INSTR

pɔ13 is a semantic role marker for instrumentals. The instrumental pɔ13 has been grammaticalized from the verb pɔ13 ‘take,’ as can be seen in the second half of example (342). (342) also shows pɔ13 INSTR marking su31 tʰi13 ‘knife.’

(342)	tʰi13	nɔ31	su31 tʰi13	pɔ13	ni33 zɔ33-ʂe33	du33	pʰæ13	hæ13
	so	then	knife	INSTR	fish meat	one	CLS	cut
	所以	才	刀子		鱼肉	一	片	割

So, using a knife, he cut off a slice of fish and
所以用刀子割鱼肉一片
T:ɕinami.26

lɛ33-pɔ31-tʰu33.
ACCOMP-bring
拿来

brought it out.
拿出来。

Example (343) shows the semantic overlap between ‘take’ and an instrumental marker which promulgates this process of grammaticalization. A verbal translation for pɔ13 seems more appropriate, but one could also read pɔ13 here as an instrumental.

(343)	pi31 t ^h a13	gy33	na33	pə13	ku33 lu33	kwə33	lə33-tɕi33
	axe	nine	CLS	take	forest	LOC	ACCOMP-put
	斧头	九	量词	拿	树林	里	放

Take nine axes, put them in the forest, and go cut down

拿九把斧头放在树林里去砍掉

T:Tsoodeluyizo.186

gy33 ɕi33 du33-ts^hu13 hɔ̃33.

nine hundred cut.DEL go.IMP

九 百 一砍 去

nine hundred trees.

九百棵树。

(344) illustrates pə13 INSTR particularly nicely, as it marks bə31 gu33 ‘pig trough,’ which is unconventionally being employed as a boat during flooding.

(344)	t ^h i13	bə31-gu33	pə13	zɯ31 gu33	yī33	dzi33	kwə33	sɛ33-sɛ33.
	so	pig trough	INSTR	boat	make	water	LOC	go
	所以	猪槽		船	做	水	里	行走

So, by using a pig trough as a boat, they were able to cross the water.

所以用猪槽来做船，在水里面行走。

T:ɕinami.60

(345)	k ^h u33	tɕ ^h ɣ31	tɕ ^h ɣ31	pə13	lə33-zu13
	thread	ball		INSTR	ACCOMP-sew
	线	团			缝

(and) use a ball of thread to sew (it) closed...

用线团来缝掉了...

ET:Tsoodeluyizo.28

10.5.5 tɔ31

tɔ31 ADESS => tɔ31 COMP => tɔ31 AT THE TIME and tɔ31 PAT/ALL

10.5.5.1 tɔ31 ADESS

tɔ31 is an adessive, as can be seen in example (346), where tɔ31 occurs postpositionally after ‘valley’ to create the postpositional phrase lɔ33 hæ33 tɔ31 ‘on the top of a high valley.’

(346)	gy33-zu33	kwɔ33	lɔ33-tɕi33	lɔ33 hæ33	tɔ31	tɕi31 ɕi33
	nine directions	LOC	ACCOMP-put	high valley	ADESS	whistle
	九方向	里	放	山沟的高的地方		口哨

Put them in nine directions, and on the top of a high valley

放在九个地方，站在山沟的上面，

T:Tsodeluyizo.195

gy33	tɕi31	k ^h u13.
nine	CLS	blow
九	量词	吹

whistle nine times.

吹九次口哨。

(347)	ku33 tɕɛ33 mi33	tɔ31	t ^h u33-zɔ33
	Kutsemi	ADESS	DUR-hit
	Kutsemi		打中

(he) hit Kutsemi...

弓箭射到了Kutsemi的上面...

ET:Tsodeluyizo.242

(348)	na33-na33	zɥæ33	tɔ31	t ^h u33-dzæ33
	stealthily	horse	ADESS	DUR-ride
	悄悄	马		起

(the god) stealthily rode his horse

这个神悄悄的骑在马上

ET:Gemu.35

10.5.5.2 tɔ31 COMP

tɔ31 ADESS has grammaticalized into a comparative marker, as is a common path of grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva 2002:305). tɔ31 COMP is illustrated in (349) and (350), where in each, tɔ31 follows the comparand, with the quality or degree of comparison following tɔ31 COMP.

(349)	na13	bu33...	na13	bu33	zu33-tu33	kwɔ33	du31-ta13	tɔ31	tsa33
	Na	POSS	Na	POSS	family	LOC	all	COMP	important
	Na	的	Na	的	家庭	里	都	比较	重要

In Na families,
 在纳的家庭里比全部
 T:Fangzi.1

= a33 dzɔ33	zu33-mi33	t ^h u33	lu33	ni33.
= CMKN	hearth room	this	CLS	COP
	祖屋	这	个	是

more important than anything is the hearth room.
 最重要的是这个祖屋。

(350)	bi33	mi33-dzi33-ha33	la33	zu31-bæ13	kwɔ33	lə33-zwɣ33	bɛ33
	stomach-to	eat-food	and	such	LOC	ACCOMP-say	then
	肚子-吃-饭		和	那种	里	说	就

One could say that in regards to life (lit. ‘things to eat and such),
 T:Change.14

wɔ33	ta33	tɔ31	ts ^h ɛ33	tɔ31	pi13.
before		COMP	ten	turn	over
以前		比	十	翻转	

it's many, many times better than before.

10.5.5.3 tɔ31 AT THE TIME

The allative tɔ31 has also grammaticalized into a temporal adposition (Heine and Kuteva 2002:40).

(351)	lə33-zu31	ŋu33	tɔ31	ɣa33	ʔa33	tʰu33	wu33	na33-na33	zɰwæ33	tɔ31
	ACCOMP-sleep		at the time	god		this	CLS	stealthily	horse	ADESS
	睡着		的时候	神		这	个	悄悄	马	上面

While she was asleep, the god
 睡着了的时候，这个神
 T:Gemu.35

tʰu33-dzæ33	gu31-tɕɔ33	tsʰɔ55	hu33.
DUR-ride	upwards	leap	go
起	上边	跳	去

stealthily rode his horse, leaping up to the sky.
 悄悄的骑在马上跳到天上去。

(352)	zu33-mi33	tʰu33	lu33	ku13	tɔ31...	zu33-tu33	du33	lu33	a33-pʰɔ13-dzu31
	hearth room	this	CLS	build	when	family	one	CLS	split families
	祖屋	这	个	修	时候	家庭	一	个	分家

When building the hearth room... that is, when a family is splitting into separate households...
 修这个祖屋的时候，一个家庭分家的时候...
 ET:Fangzi.2

10.5.5.4 tɔ31 PAT/ALL

The allative tɔ31 has been grammaticalized into a non-systemic anti-ergative / patient marker. It retains some of the allative sense of ‘towards,’ and yet is used to disambiguate grammatical relations by marking the patient.

In example (353), tɔ31 PAT is marking tʰu33=ɤ13 ɣa31 ɣa13 tʰu33-tɕʰi33 ‘those helping his family’ as a patient, because with a zero anaphoric subject it might not be clear that ‘those helping his family’ is a patient.

(353)	t ^h u33	=ɤ13	ga31	ga13	t ^h u33-tɕ ^h i33	tɔ31	wɔ33-yi33	zɥwæ13	tsi13.
	3SG.PRO	family	help		3PL. PRO	PAT	be hard on	INTS	REP
	他	家	帮忙		他们		做坚硬	很	

It is said that he was especially hard on those helping his family.

听说对他家里帮忙的人特别不好。

T:ɕinami.10

In example (354), tɔ31 is marking hī33 ‘people’ and k^hu33-p^hæ33-tɕi13 ‘young people’ as the object, because the actor (here, the goddess Gemu) is zero anaphora, and the verb ‘protects’ is understood from the previous sentence.

(354)	t ^h i13	hī33	tɔ31	k ^h u33-p ^h æ33-tɕi13	tɔ31	fu33-fu33	la33	t ^h u33-ni13
	so	people	PAT	young people	PAT	court	etcetera	this way
	所以	人		年轻的人		恋爱	等	这样

So, (she also protects) young people courting and such things

所以她也保护年轻的人恋爱和这些

T:Gemu.51

a33-wɔ33	a33-da33-a33-mi33	du33-sɔ33	zɥwɥ33	mə33-tɕ ^h wɥ33.
home	parents	at all	say	NEG-permit
家	父母	一样	说	不准

that parents do not permit.

家里的父母不准干涉。

10.5.6 pi33 TOWARD

(355)	t ^h i13	zɥwæ33	qɥwɥ33	bi13	pi33	t ^h i33	li33	lə33-ŋu33.
	so	horse	footprint		toward	this	see	ACCOMP-cry
	所以	马	脚印		对着	这	看	哭

So, seeing the hoofprint, she cried.

所以看着马的脚印哭了。

T:Gemu.39

10.5.7 t^hu33 UNTIL

The postposition t^hu33 ‘until’ has been grammaticalized from a lexical verb meaning ‘arrive’ > t^hu33 ALLATIVE > t^hu33 ‘until.’ The lexical verb usage is attested in example (356), the allative usage is attested, and the postpositional usage is attested in examples (357) and (358).

- (356)

α33 pa33 tɔ31	ki33	t ^h u33	nɔ33	t ^h i13	zɯ33-mi33	ʂɛ33	hɔ33	ni33.
Apato	DAT	arrive	then	so	wife	look for	FUT.DES	CERT.STR
Apato		到	才	所以	老婆	找	会	

 到了Apato那里，才去找老婆。
 When he arrived at Apato’s place, then he would go look for a wife.
 T:Tsoyeluyizo.48

- (357)

t ^h u33-dzɤ55	t ^h u33	dʒɔ33	zɥæ33	qɥɣ33 bi13	duu33	lu33	ta31	tɔ33.
here	until	TOP	horse	hoofprint	one	CLS	only	see
这边	到		马	脚印	一	量词	才	看见

 Up to this point she only saw one hoofprint.
 到这边的时候看见只有一个马的脚印。
 T:Gemu.38

- (358)

95	<i>nian</i> (loan)	zɔ31 nɔ33	t ^h u33
95	year	now	until
		现在	到

 (From) 1995 until now
 ET:Change.1

10.6 SPATIAL LOCATIVES

after	nɯ suu
between	qɯæ31 gi33
through	dæ
inessive	kwɔ33-lɔ31
under	tʰæ33
underneath	tʰæ33-kwɔ33
on	bi33

Table 10.2: Na spatial locatives

10.6.1 kwɔ33-lɔ31 INESS

(359)	ni33	zɔ33	du33	zɯæ13	du33	mi31	æ31-qʰɣ33	kwɔ33-lɔ31	tʰu33-æ31
	fish		big	INTS	one	CLS	cave	INESS	DUR-stick
	鱼		大	很	一	量词	山洞	里边	卡住

It is said that there was a very big fish stuck

听说很大的一条鱼卡住

T:çinami.24

dzɔ33 tsi13.

PROG REP

正在

in the cave.

在山洞里。

(360)	ɛ33	kʰu31	tʰu33	lu33	pʰɔ13	dzɔ33	tʰu33	du55-du55	ku13	dzɔ31
	turnip		this	CLS	plant	TOP	this	big.INTSF	ABLT	but
	圆根		这	量词	播种		这	大大		会

Planting these turnips, they could become this big,

这个圆根播种去来这么大大的，但是

T:Tsoyeluyizo.261

kwɔ33-lɔ33	dzi33	tsɿ33	ni33.
INESS	water	become	CERT.STR
里边	水	变成	

but would become water inside.
里边全部变成水了。

(361)	ɑ33-wɔ33	tsɔ33-kwɿ33	gɿ31-kwɿ33	kwɔ33-lɔ31	ŋy33	la33	hæ33	tʰu33-kʰu13.
	home	hearth	altar	INESS	silver	and	gold	DUR-put
	家	火塘	神台	里边	白银	和	黄金	放

In the home's hearth and altar, one also puts silver and gold.
家的火塘和神台里边都要放金和银。
T:Fangzi.13

(362)	zɔ33-mu33-zɔ33 = æ31	lɔ33-mæ33=ɑ31	dzɔ33	tʰu33	kʰwɿ33	kwɔ33-lɔ31
	children = PL	ACCOMP-be born = CMKN		this	CLS	INESS
	孩子 = 们	出生		这		里面

Children are born
孩子们出生的时候
T:Fangzi.19

tʰu33	dɔ31	pʰæ33	nu33	dzɔ33	lɔ33-mæ33.
this	west room	EMPH	TOP	ACCOMP-be born	
这	西房			出生	

in this west room.
是在这里出生。

10.6.2 gi13

10.6.2.1 gi13 FOLLOWING, BEHIND (SPATIAL)

The postposition gi13 meaning ‘behind’ indicates spatial location, as can be seen in examples (363) and (364).

(363)	dzi33-tɔ33	ni33 zɔ33	gi13	bu13	lɔ33-tsʰu33.
	flood water	fish	behind	burst out	ACCOMP-come
	洪水	鱼	后面	爆发	来

However, from behind the fish, flood water came bursting out.
但是，洪水从鱼的后面爆发出来。
T:çinami.47

(364)	yi33	t ^h u33	dʒo33	k ^h o33	p ^h y33	gi13	di13	lə33-t ^h u33	pi33	ni33.
	cow	this	TOP	grass		after	follow	ACCOMP-come	QUOT	CERT.STR
	牛	这		草地		后面	追赶	来		

They say the cows, they came following the grass.

听说牛是追赶草地来的。

T:Tso deluyizo.273

10.6.2.2 gi13 FOLLOWING, AFTER (TEMPORAL)

gi13 has undergone grammaticalization from gi13 ‘following, behind’ (spatial) > gi13 ‘following, after’ (temporal), a cross-linguistically attested grammaticalization pathway (Heine and Kuteva 2002:52). The temporal usage can be seen in examples (365) and (366).

(365)	t ^h i13	t ^h u33	gi13	t ^h u33	bɔ31	lu13	hu33	la31	t ^h u33	ni33	ni31
	so	this	after	often	pig	feed	go	then	everyday		
	所以	这	后来	经常	猪	放	去	就	每一天		

From then on, he often went to feed the pigs

从此以后，他就经常去放猪，

T:ɕinami.32

ni33	zɔ33	hæ13	lə33-bu33	lə33-dzi33.
fish	cut	ACCOMP-roasted	ACCOMP-eat	
鱼	割	烧	吃	

and roasted fish to eat every day.

每天烧鱼吃。

(366)	t ^h i13	t ^h u33	ni33	lu33	gi13	lu33-ʂu31	t ^h u33	k ^h wɤ33	kwɔ33
	so	this	two	CLS	after	Luoshui	this	CLS	LOC
	所以	这	两	量词	后来	落水	这	量词	里

So, these two children afterwards

所以这两个后来在落水，

T:ɕinami.59

t ^h u33-dzu31	zɔ33	qwx33	la33	lə33-t ^h u13.
DUR-live	house	etcetera	ACCOMP-build	
住	房子	等等	建	

built a house on this land in Luoshui.

这块地方，修了房子。

10.6.3 qwæ31 gi33

10.6.3.1 qwæ31 gi33 BETWEEN (SPATIAL)

- (367) yæ13 ɔ̃31-sɿ33 ku31 ɕi33 yæ13 tʰu33 nu33 hæ33 pɿ33 lə33-tsʰɿ13
 seed IINC.PRO paddy seed these AGTV hair ACCOMP-comb
 种子 咱们 水稻 种子 这 头发 梳

(section in Daba register) ... our paddy seeds, she combed (her) hair
 ...我们的水稻种子是她梳头,
 ET:Tso deluyizo.252

qwæ13-gi33	hæ33 pɿ33	kwɔ33	kʰu13	ni33.
middle	hair	LOC	put	CERT.STR
中间	头发	里	放	

(and) put (them) in (her) hair.
 放在头发的中间的。

10.6.3.2 qwæ31-gi33 BETWEEN (TEMPORAL)

- (368) 95 nian (loan) zɔ31 nɔ33 tʰu33 tʰu33 tsʰɛ13 kʰu13 zɛ33 qwæ31-gi33
 95 year now until these ten years CSM between
 现在 到 这 十 年 了 中间

(From) 1995 until now, it's been ten years;
 T:Change.1

- lu33-ɕu31 wɔ33 ta33 la33 dzɿ31-kʰwɿ33 du33-bæ33 mə33-tsɿ33.
 Luoshui before and very much the same NEG-be okay
 落水 以前 跟 很多 一样 不行

Luoshui (compared with) before is really different.

10.6.4 də13 THROUGH

- (369) du33 ni33 dzɔ33 mɿ33-wɔ33 ɕa33 ʎa33 du33 wu33 mɿ33-wɔ33 du31-tɕɔ33
 one day TOP heavens god one CLS heavens that side
 一天 天上 神 一个 天 那边

One day a god was passing through (from) the heavens,
 有一天一个天上的神, 他从天上路过的时候
 T:Gemu.18

dæ13	hu33	dʒə33	ku31 mu33	t ^h u33	wu33	lə33-tə33.
through	go	PROG	Gemu	this	CLS	ACCOMP-see
过	去	正在	格姆	这	个	看见

(and) saw Gemu.
看见了 这个 格姆。

10.6.5 t^hæ33-kwə33 UNDERNEATH, t^hæ33 UNDER

t^hæ33-kwə33 ‘underneath’ is composed from t^hæ33 ‘under’ and kwə33 LOC.

(370)	tsə33 mi33	t ^h æ33-kwə33	ɣɣ13	ni31	hə33.
	wooden barrel	underneath	cover	COP	FUT.DES
	木桶	下	盖	是	会

He would hide underneath a wooden barrel.

好像是盖在一个木桶下面。

T:Tsodeluyizo.122

(371)	ʒ31-sɿ33	ku31	lə33-zu31	qwæ33	t ^h æ33-kwə33	kwɿ13
	1INC.PRO		ACCOMP-take	table	underneath	toss
	咱们		拿	桌子	下	丢

we take (them) (and) toss (them) under the table

我们是会把它丢在桌子下面的

ET:Tsodeluyizo.124

10.6.6 bi33 ON

(372)	t ^h i13	nə13	gu31-tə33	hu33	zə33	ʒ31 ɦi55	lə33-zu31	wɿ33
	so	REFL	above	go	PERF	soul	ACCOMP-take	mountain
	所以	自己	上面	去	了	灵魂	拿	山

So, she went up (to the top of the mountain), took (her) soul (and) turned

所以她就去山的山头把自己的灵魂

T:Gemu.47

wɿ33-tə31	æ̃31-p ^h æ13	bi33	ɦu13.
mountaintop	cliff	on top	join
山头	悬崖	上	附

into a cliff.

附在悬崖上。

- (373) yɣ33-gu33 t^hu33 lu33 pɔ13 ta33 na31 bi33 t^hu33-la13 lə33-hu33.
 shuttle this CLS take trigger on DUR-hit ACCOMP-go
 麻布槽 这 量词 拿 扳机 上面 打 去
- (he) took the shuttle (and) went (and) put (it) on the trigger
 用织麻布的这个槽，打在弓箭的口扳机。
 ET:Tsoḍeluyizo.240

10.7 SPATIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

over there	du-tɕ ^h ɔ
below	mɣ31-tɕ ^h ɔ33
upwards	gu31-tɕ ^h ɔ33
up there	gu31-dzɣ55
here	t ^h u33-dzɣ55
up	gu31
up	gu31-bi33
on	wɔ33
on top	wɔ33-q ^h wɣ31
on top	bi33 la33
in front of	wɔ33 ta33

Table 10.3: Na spatial demonstratives

10.7.1 gu31 tɕɔ33 UPWARDS

- (374) lə33-zu31 ŋu33 tɔ31 ɠa33 ʎa33 t^hu33 wu33 na33-na33 zɣwæ33 tɔ31
 ACCOMP-sleep while god this CLS stealthily horse ADESS
 睡着 的时候 神 这 个 悄悄 马 上面
- While (she) slept, the god stealthily rode his horse,
 睡着了的时候，这个神
 T:Gemu.35

t ^h u33-dzæ33	gu31-tɕɔ33	ts ^h ɔ55	hu33.
DUR-ride	upwards	leap	go
起	上边	跳	去

leaping up (to the sky).
悄悄的骑在马上跳到天上去。

(375)	t ^h i13	nɔ13	gu31-tɕɔ33	hu33	zɔ33	ʃ31	ɦi55	lə33-zu31	wɤ33
	so	self	above	go	PERF	soul		ACCOMP-take	mountain
	所以	自己	上面	去	了	灵魂		拿	山

So, she went up (to the top of the mountain), took (her) soul (and) turned
所以她就去山的山头把自己的灵魂
T:Gemu.47

wɤ33-tɔ31	æ31-p ^h æ13	bi33	ɦu13.
mountaintop	cliff	on top	join
山头	悬崖	上	附

into a cliff.
附在悬崖上。

10.7.2 mɤ31-tɕ^hɔ33 DOWNWARDS

(376)	t ^h æ33	t ^h u33-ni13	mɤ31-tɕ ^h ɔ33	bi33	mə33-tʂ ^h wɤ33.
	often	this way	downwards	go	NEG-allow
	经常	这样	下边	去	不-准

Often in this way he was not allowed to go down to earth.
经常这样不准他去下面。
T:Gemu.28

(377)	k ^h u13	zɔ33	lə33-wɔ13	mɤ31-tɕɔ33	kwɤ13	dʒɔ33	du33-tu13
	fall	PERF	ACCOMP-turn	downwards	fall	PROG	all
	往下丢	了	回	下边	丢	正在	全部

(It) fell, (and) falling below, (it) turned (and) (the pearls) all
往下丢的时候, 全部掉
T:Gemu.44

zɤwæ33	qɤwɤ33	bi13	kwɔ33	t ^h u33-t ^h u13.
horse	hoofprint	LOC	DUR-fall	
马	脚印	里	掉	

fell into the hoofprint.
在马的脚印里面。

10.7.3 duu31-tɕɔ33 OVER THERE

(378)	duu33	ni33	dʒɔ33	my33-wɔ33	ɕa33	ʎa33	duu33	wu33	my33-wɔ33	duu31-tɕɔ33
	one	day	TOP	heavens	god	one	CLS	heavens	that side	
	一	天		天上	神	一	个	天	那边	

One day, a god was passing through
 有一天一个天上的神，他从天上
 T:Gemu.18

dæ13	hu33	dʒɔ33	ku31	mu33	tʰu33	wu33	lɔ33-tɔ33.
through	go	PROG	Gemu	this	CLS	ACCOMP-see	
过	去	正在	格姆	这	个	看见	

(from) the heavens, (and) saw Gemu.
 路过的时候看见了这个格姆。

10.7.4 tʰu33-dzɤ55 OVER HERE

(379)	tʰu33-dzɤ55	tʰu33	dʒɔ33	zɥwæ33	qɥɥ33	bi13	duu33	lu33	ta31	tɔ33.
	here	arrive	TOP	horse	hoofprint	one	CLS	only	see	
	这边	到		马	脚印	一	量词	才	看见	

Up to this point she only saw one hoofprint.
 到这边的时候看见只有一个马的脚印。
 T:Gemu.38

10.7.5 gu31 ABOVE

(380)	mu33	ɲa33-tæ33-mi33	bu33	a33-mi33	nu33	tsʰu33-ɲi33	dʒɔ33
	girl	horizontal-eyed woman	POSS	mother	AGTV	today	TOP
	女儿	眼睛横的女人	的	母		今天	

The horizontal-eyed woman's mother said, "Today,
 眼睛横的女儿的母亲说，“今天
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.132

lɔ31	tsi33	zɔ33	gu31-ta33	la33	pi33.
hand	fasten	PERF	above-drop	QUOT	
手	拴	了	上面-掉起来		

bind his hands together and drop him from above."
 把他的手拴起来在上面掉起来”。

10.7.6 gu31-bi33 UPWARDS

(381)	t ^h i13	gu31-bi33	hu33
	so	up	go
	所以	上面	去

So (he) went up...

所以，去上面...

ET:Tsodeluyizo.105

10.7.7 wɔ33 ON

The adposition wɔ33 ‘on’ has been grammaticalized from wɔ33 ‘head,’ which commonly appears as the N + CLS compound wɔ33-ly33 ‘head,’ where ly33 is the classifier for kernels.

(382)	ʃwæ33-su31	pi33	zɔ33	dʒɔ33	ʃ31-sɿ33	ku31	wɿ33	ʃwæ33	wɔ33
		call	CRS	TOP	INC.PRO		mountain	tall	on
			了		咱们		山	高	上

The shwæ-si tree, that’s the tree found on our tallest mountains...

叫的ʃwæ-su就是站在我们的高山上面的树...

ET:Tsodeluyizo.51

(383)	t ^h i13	t ^h u33	k ^h wɿ33	kwɔ33	sɛ31 = a31	dʒɔ33	zɹu33-mi33	kwɔ33	dʒɔ33
	so	this	CLS	LOC	complete = CMKN		hearth room	LOC	
	所以	这		里	完成		祖屋	里	

So when this is completed, in the hearth room

所以这些完成的时候在祖屋里

T:Fangzi.57

t ^h i13	zɹu33-mi33	qwæ33	k ^h wɿ33	du33	qwæ33	wɔ33	dʒɔ33	t ^h i13
so	hearth room			one	CLS	on		so
所以	祖屋			一		上面		所以

one places images of the gods and such on a “qwæ33 k^hwɿ33”

qwæ33 k^hwɿ33的上面存放

ga33 ʎa33 ʎa33 t^hæ13 t^hi33-tɕ^hi33.

gods and such DUR-place

菩萨 和 那些 放

worship platform.

一些菩萨和那些。

10.7.8 wɔ33-q^hwɿ31 ON TOP

- (384) bɔ31-gu33 t^hu33 lu33 dzi33 wɔ33-q^hwɿ31 t^hu33-tse13 lə33-ts^hu33.
 pig trough this CLS water on top DUR-float ACCOMP-come
 猪槽 这 量词 水 上面 漂 来

That pig trough floated upon the water.

那个猪槽正在水的上面漂起来。

T:çinami.53

10.7.9 bi33 la33 ON TOP

- (385) tɔ31 mi13 bi33 la33 kwɿ33 bi33 la33 zu33-mi33 k^hi33-mi33 wɔ33-q^hwɿ31
 pillar on top hearth on top hearth room door on top
 柱头 上面 火塘 上面 祖屋 门 上面

on top of the pillars, on top of the hearth, on top of the doorway to the hearth room,
 祖屋门的上面

ET:Fangzi.42

- la33 du33-ta13 ŋy33 hæ13 la33 t^hæ13 t^hu33-k^hu13
 and all silver gold and such DUR-put
 和 都 白银 黄金 和 那些 放

in all of these places oneputs some silver and gold and such
 都放上金和银

10.7.10 wɔ33 ta33 IN FRONT OF (SPATIAL), (TEMPORAL)

The postposition wɔ33 ta33 ‘in front of’ is used to indicate spatial location, as can be seen in examples (386), (387), and (388). It has undergone grammaticalization from ‘in front of’ (spatial) > ‘before’ (temporal). The temporal location usage is attested in example (389).

- (386) lə33-pɿ33 pɿ33 lə33-pɔ31-ts^hu33 a33-da33-a33-mi33
 ACCOMP-carry on one’s back ACCOMP-bring parents
 背着 拿来 父母

Putting them on his back, he carried them home, and put them in front of
 背着拿回来，放在爸爸妈妈的

T:Tsoodeluyizo.155

wɔ33 ta33	tʰu33-tɕi33.
in front of	DUR-put
面前	放

her father and mother.
面前。

- (387) tʰi13 tʰu33 gɣ31-gwɣ33 wɔ33 ta33 =a31 dzɔ33 tɕʰu33 tɔ31-di33 du33 kʰwɣ33
 so this altar before =CMKN “chudu”-NOM_{LOC} one CLS
 所以 这 神台 前面 “chudu” 一

In front of the altar, a “chudu” place
所以在神台的前面是安装上一个chudu
T:Fangzi.23

tʰu33-tɕa13.
DUR-set up
装上
is set up.
的一个地方。

- (388) nu31-mi33 ɲa33-tæ33-mi33 tʰu33 wɔ33 ta33 ɣv33 da13 zɔ33.
 girl horizontal-eyed woman 3SG.PRO in front of hemp cloth weave CRS
 姑娘 眼睛横的女人 他 面前 麻布 织 了

The horizontal-eyed woman was weaving hemp cloth in front of him.
眼睛横的姑娘正在他的面前织麻布。
T:Tsoyeluyizo.237

- (389) wɔ33 ta33 dzɔ33 du33 zu33 yĩ33
 before TOP one family make
 以前 一 家 做

before, (when) (they) were one family
以前，他们是一家的時候，
ET:Tsoyeluyizo.7

11 The verb

This chapter discusses Na verbs. §11.1 explicates Na verbal morphology, focussing on the prefixes ACCOMP- lə33-, DUR- t^hu33-, and NEG- mə33-, and compounding, the most robust morphological processes in Na. §11.2 describes the structure of verb phrases and the ordering of elements within the verb phrase. §11.3 describes the usages for the copula ni33. Then, in §11.4, the four existential verbs, dʒə33, di33, ku33, and zu33, are discussed. §11.5 presents the stative verbs of Na. §11.6 discusses transitivity in Na. §11.7 discusses verbal semantics in Na, and Table 11.9 provides an overview of the ways that person, evidence, and verbal semantics interact in Na. §11.8 describes the light verb, and §11.9 shows Na adverbials. §11.10 and 11.11 discusses negation and causativity, respectively. §11.12 provides an analysis of serial verb constructions, with a look at symmetrical SVCs, asymmetrical/directional serial verb constructions, and resultative/cause-and-effect serial verb constructions. §11.13 shows how verbs coordinate in Na.

11.1 VERB MORPHOLOGY

Verb morphology in Na is quite simple, so that the Na verb has a morphological structure of (PREFIX) + ROOT(S), with verbal suffixes being unattested. Na is quite analytical, and verbs are not inflected for person, gender, or number agreement, although person and number sometimes can be extrapolated based on the ways that person, evidence, and verbal semantics interact in Na (cf. Table 11.9 *Person, evidence, and verbal semantics in Na* and §11.7). Tense, aspect, and mood are not inflectional, but rather appear as independent words within the verb phrase. The causatives, evidentials, and epistemics also are lexical rather than inflectional.

There are two Aktionsart prefixes, ACCOMP- ɭə33-, which is discussed in §11.1.1.1, DUR- tʰu33-, which is discussed in §11.1.1.2, and the negative prefix NEG- mə33-, which is discussed in §11.1.1.3. These prefixes are all derivational. Compounding is the prevalent morphological process, and is discussed in §11.1.2.

11.1.1 Prefixes

Na prefixes display close integration with their verbal stems through participation in anticipatory vowel harmony processes, which are generally unattested across word boundaries in Na. ɭə33- ACCOMP- and tʰu33- DUR- are Aktionsarten, and are used very productively to change the lexical aspect of a verb. Na TAM particles all occur post-verbally, so the Aktionsarten are distinctive in that they are prefixal and preverbal. These Aktionsarten may have grammaticalized from adverbs, which occur pre-verbally in Na, or an initial verb in a serial verb construction.

ɭə33- ACCOMP- and tʰu33- DUR- are not attested together marking the same verb within the sizeable naturalistic corpus. This is likely because each changes the lexical aspect of the verb in rather opposite ways, ɭə33- ACCOMP- to indicate that a process, state, or liminal action has been accomplished, and tʰu33- DUR- to mark that a process or liminal action (rarely a state) is ongoing. It is possible that one can obtain grammatical sentences using both Aktionsarten to mark a single verb, perhaps with fairly marked readings, and this area should be examined in future research. However, this does not appear to be a common, naturally-occur strategy for conveying this type of aspectual information. In serial verb constructions, it is certainly possible for V₁ to take one Aktionsart marker, and V₂ to take the other, as serial verb constructions frequently convey a series of linked actions, states, and/or processes, where one member of the series may be accomplished but another member is still ongoing. Thus, multiple Aktionsarten in serial verb constructions can be used to communicate a very detailed temporal representation.

11.1.1.1 ɭ33- ACCOMP-

The accomplished prefix ɭ33- is used to give a reading of accomplishment to a verb with lexical aspect of ongoing state, process, or liminality. ɭ33- ACCOMP- is susceptible to vowel harmony, and thus can appear as the phonological variants ɭæ33- and ɭɛ33- (see §4.7.6 for discussion of vowel harmony; ɭ33- ACCOMP- will be described in §13.9, as part of the discussion on temporal representation).

Heine and Kuteva do not report data on cross-linguistically attested sources for accomplished markers; they do have data for completive markers, which they indicate as commonly coming from verbs meaning ‘finish,’ ‘leave,’ ‘put,’ or ‘take’ (Heine and Kuteva 2002:329). Na already has a separate aspectual completive marker *se*13 (§13.2), which is in the process of grammaticalizing from a verb meaning ‘finish.’ I have not been able to locate a possible source for Na ɭ33- ACCOMP-, either as a Na verb or adverb or from a proto-form in Matisoff (2003b).

11.1.1.2 DUR- tʰu33-

The durative prefix tʰu33- is used to give a reading of ongoing action to verbs with lexical aspect of process or liminality; it is very rarely attested with stative verbs. tʰu33- is very minimally susceptible to vowel harmony; on rare occasions it appears as tʰi33- due to vowel harmony (see §4.7.6.5 for a description of this). tʰu33- DUR- will be discussed in §13.10, as part of temporal representation.

Heine and Kuteva (2002:254-255) find that an adverb or a serial verb with a meaning like ‘still, remain’ are cross-linguistically common sources for grammaticalization into duratives, but I have not been able to identify any likely proto-forms in Matisoff (2003b) for the durative tʰu33-.

11.1.1.3 NEG- mə33-

The negative prefix mə33- attaches to verbs to create a negative. It frequently undergoes anticipatory vowel harmony (see §4.7.6.3) with the vowel of the verb to which it attaches. lə33- ACCOMP- is not attested in the naturalistic corpus prefixing to the same verb as mə33- NEG-. However, one does find the sequence lə33- V₁ mə33- V₂, where V₂ is a verb that indicates a potential result of V₁. This sequence yields a reading of, “V₁ was accomplished, yet V₂ did not result.” It is possible that lə33- and mə33- can co-occur, marking one verb, yet this is not attested in the naturalistic corpus. Whether such a construction is a less-preferred construction or fully ungrammatical remains for further research. If mə33- NEG- appears with the Aktionsart marker t^hu33- DUR-, mə33- NEG- appears closer to the verb head. mə33- NEG- will be discussed further in §11.10 on negation.

11.1.2 Compounding

Compounding is the key morphological processes for creating new stems in Na. (Also see §8.1.3 on compounding in noun morphology).

Componential structure	Type
[N V] _v	
[N SV] _{sv}	
[V V] _v	Coordinate

Table 11.1: Overview of compounding processes

11.1.2.1 *Noun incorporation*

Noun incorporation is not very productive. Structurally, noun incorporation is simply an erosion of word boundaries between a verb and its canonical direct object, so that a compound is created. Semantically, the incorporated forms generally show genericization, so that bæ13 ‘crops’ + p^hɔ13 ‘plant (v.)’ comes to mean bæ31-p^hɔ13 ‘plant (v.)’ more generally, and bi33 ‘stomach’ + wã33 ‘swell’ comes to mean bi33-wã33 ‘swell, be swollen.’ This is not the case across the board, as can be seen in examples such as ha33 ‘food’ + zɣɣ33 ‘starved,’ which form the compound ha33-zɣɣ33 ‘starved for food,’ and bɔ13 ‘pig’ + lu13 ‘raise,’ which form the compound bɔ31-lu13 ‘raise pigs’; in these cases, there is no semantic genericization. N + yĩ33 ‘do’ may be somewhat productive. I have not specifically done elicitation to assess the productivity of N + yĩ33 ‘do,’ but given that yĩ33 is semantically general enough that the direct object need not be as restricted as with many of the verbs in the noun incorporation examples, this is worth further investigation.

N	+	v	→	v
bæ13 crops	+	p ^h ɔ13 plant	→	bæ31-p ^h ɔ13 plant
bi33 stomach	+	wæ̃33 swell	→	bi33-wæ̃33 swell, be swollen
ha33 food	+	zɰɰ33 starved	→	ha33-zɰɰ33 starved for food
bɔ13 pig	+	lu13 raise	→	bɔ31-lu13 raise pigs
mɰ33 name	+	dzæ̃33 call	→	mɰ33-dzæ̃33 is named
hī33 person	+	q ^h ɰ33 invite	→	hī33-q ^h ɰ33 invite guests
dʒi33 water	+	hæ̃13 send out	→	dʒi33-hæ̃31 urinate
zɔ33 son	+	pɔ13 take/INSTR	→	zɔ33-pɔ31 be pregnant
lɔ̃33 matter	+	yi33 do	→	lɔ̃33-yi33 labor
zɰ33 family	+	t ^h u13 unhusk	→	zɰ33-t ^h u13 split into separate households
hæ̃33 wind	+	t ^h u33 blow	→	hæ̃33-t ^h u33 be windy

Table 11.2 Noun incorporation: [N V]_v

11.1.2.2 *Stative verb compounds*

These stative verb compounds should be seen as a subcategory of noun incorporation, as the basic morphological pattern is the same, but the noun is incorporated into a stative verb to create a second stative verb.

N	+	SV	→	SV
my33	+	dza33	→	my33-dza33
sky		bad		cloudy

Table 11.3 Stative verb compounds: [N SV]_{sv}

11.1.2.3 *Verbal coordinate compounds*

Note that v₁ and v₂ here are themselves examples of noun incorporation (see §11.1.2.1 above).

v	+	v	→	v
lo31-yĩ33	+	zu31-yĩ33	→	lo31-yĩ33-zu31-yĩ33
labor		work		work

Table 11.4 Verbal coordinate compounds: [v v]_v

11.1.3 Suffixes

Suffixation is not attested on verbs in Na, although it is attested, fairly rarely, on nouns in Na (see §8.1.4).

11.2 STRUCTURE OF VERB PHRASES

Na is verb-final; however, aspect markers, interjections, the epistemics CERT.M and CERT.STR, the intensifier *zɔwæ13*, and evidentials can appear following the verb. This is due in part to processes of grammaticalization through which lexical verbs have developed into other word classes. Adverbs appear preceding the verb. There are multiple existential verbs, an aspectual system, a modal system, a conjunct/disjunct-like system, and evidentiality. The structure of the Na verb phrase is presented in Table 11.5.

Slot 1: The only element in the verb phrase which precedes the verb head is a manner adverb. Temporal adverbs (§11.9.4) tend to occur towards the beginning of a sentence, and indeed, a number of manner adverbs (§11.9.2, 11.9.3) often occur towards the beginning of a sentence, too. If they do occur in the verb phrase, they precede the verb head.

Slot 2: The verb complex, which may be a lexical verb, one of the existential verbs (§11.4), a copula (§11.3), or a serial verb construction (§11.12), then appears. A verb may take a verbal prefix: the Aktionsart prefixes ACCOMP- *lɔ33-* (§11.1.1.1) and DUR- *tʰu33-* (§11.1.1.2), and the negative prefix NEG- *mɔ33-* (§11.1.1.3). Na is very conservative in its affixal morphology: up to two prefixes are attested attaching to the verb, with the first prefix the Aktionsart marker DUR- *tʰu33-* and the second prefix the negative marker, as discussed in (§11.1.1.3).

Slot 3: Directly following the verb head is the causative, which may be one of three different causatives (§11.11). These are all transparent grammaticalizations, where given lexical verbs in serial verb constructions have gradually achieved status as full grammatical particles.

Slot 4: This slot is for the intensifier *zɔwæ13*.

Example	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
(390)	X	X							
(391)		X	X	X					
(392)		X		X	X				
(393)		X			X	X	X	X	
(394)		X			X			X	X

Table 11.6 Overview of examples illustrating the structure of the verb phrase

ADV + V_H

(390)	zɔ33-hɔ33	t ^h u33	ni33	lu33	1	2
	children	this	two	CLS	ta31	gu31-tse13.
	小孩子	这	两	量词	only	up-float
					只	上-漂

Only these two children survived.

只剩这两个小孩儿。

T:ɕinami.58

V_H + CAUS + INTS

(391)	t ^h i13	na31-di33	kwɔ33	p ^h æ31-tɕ ^h i33 = æ31	du33-ta13	t ^h u33
	so	Na -NOM _{LOC}	LOC	young guys = PL	all	3SG.PRO
	所以	摩梭地区	里	小伙子 = 们	全部	她

So, in all the Na areas, all of the young men

所以摩梭地区里头所有的小伙子们都

T:Gemu.10

2	3	4
fu33	yī33	zɰæ13.
like	CAUS	INTS
喜欢		很

liked her.

喜欢她。

V_H + INTS + CRS

(392)	s533 dʒi33 ts533 ti31 ti31 t ^h u33	2	4	5
	Sondzhitsontiti	<i>congming</i> (loan)	zɰæ13	zɛ33
	Sondzhitsontiti	smart	very	CRS
	Sondzhitsontiti	聪明	很	了

Sondzhitsontiti was very smart,
Sondzhitsontiti, 他很聪明了,
T:Muphadaba.3

wenhua (loan) t^hu33 dʒɣ13 zɛ33.
culture 3SG.PRO good CRS
文化 他 好 了
he was extremely cultured.
他的文化特别好了。

V_H + MODAL + QUOT + CERT.STR + REP

(393)	da33 pɣ33 bu33	<i>sixiang</i> (loan)	dʒɔ33	hi33	gɔ33	dʒɔ33	hi33	ɕi33	yɿ33
daba	POSS	thought	TOP	people	ill	TOP	people	treat	CAUS
达巴	的	思想		人	病		人	治好	

Daba thought is that if a person is ill, cure the person,
达巴的思想是人病了治好人, 把人治好,
ET:Yzt.6

da33 pɣ33	q ^h wæ33	kwɔ33	dʒɔ33	mɿ33-di33	<i>diqu</i> (loan)	2	5
daba	scriptures	LOC	TOP	land	world	gɔ33	ku13
达巴	经文	里		土地	地球	ill	ABLT
						病	会

n the daba scriptures it is said that the land, the world can
达巴的经文里说土地也会

6	7	8
pi33	ni33	tsi13.
QUOT	CERT.STR	REP

also become ill.
病的。

V_H + FUT + REP + CERT.M

(394)	t ^h u33	dzo33	la33-q ^h y33	kwə33	2	5	8	9
	3SG.PRO	PROG	tiger den	LOC	t ^h u33-ku31	ku13	tsi13	mæ33.
	它		老虎洞	里	DUR-hide	FUT.ABL	REP	CERT.M
					藏	会		

it is said that the tiger will hide in its den.

听说老虎会藏在老虎的洞里边。

ET:Tsoyeluyizo.168

11.3 COPULA ni33

ni33 COP is an equative copula, as can be seen in example (395). ni33 does not appear when a stative verb appears as the predicate, as can be seen in example (396).

(395)	t ^h i13	t ^h u33 la31	ni33	ze33.
	so	this way	COP	PERF
	所以	这样	是	了

So it was like this.

所以是这样的了。

T:ɕinami.62

(396)	wə33-ta33	du33	ji33	du33-sə33	mə33-dzo33	dze33	mə33-dzo33	dwæ13.
	before	one	day	at all	NEG-EXIST	money	NEG-EXIST	scared
	以前	一	天	一样	没-有	钱	没-有	怕

Before, we were afraid of having nothing, of having no money.

T:Change.11

ni33 can also appear in sentences where it is not syntactically obligatory, as can be seen in the following near minimal pairs (397) and (398), (399) and (400). In these cases, a cleft construction is obtained. This construction is extremely common, and native speakers receive a strong epistemic reading of certainty or assertion for ni33 in these cases rather. Thus, I have glossed it as CERT.STR because the basic connotation is that the speaker believes the statement to be so, which is an epistemic usage.

- (397) nu31-mi33 ꞑa33-tsu33-mi33 la33 ꞑa33-tæ33-mi33 ʂe33 hu33.
 girl vertical-eyed woman and horizontal-eyed woman look for go
 姑娘 眼睛竖的女人 和 眼睛横的女人 找 去

He went to find a vertical-eyed woman and a horizontal-eyed woman.

去找一个眼睛竖的和眼睛横的女人。

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.97

- (398) ꞑa33-tsu33-mi33 ʂe33 hu33 ni33.
 vertical-eyed woman look for go CERT.STR
 眼睛竖的女人 找 去

He went to find a vertical-eyed woman.

他是去找眼睛竖的女人。

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.98

- (399) wɣ13 mi31 zɣ13 nu33 tʰu33-sɔ13 hu33.
 again woman AGTV DUR-teach go
 又 女人 教 去

Again, the woman went to teach him.

又是女人去教他。

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.193

- (400) tʰi13 mi31 zu13 nu33 tʰu33-sɔ13 ni33.
 so woman AGTV DUR-teach CERT.STR
 所以 女人 教

So the woman taught him.

所以被女人教给他。

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.204

11.4 EXISTENTIAL VERBS

Na has four existential verbs: *dʒɔʒɔ33*, *di33*, *ku33*, and *zɯ33*; of these existential verbs, *dʒɔʒɔ33* appears the most frequently by far. The presence of multiple existential verbs is prevalent in Tibeto-Burman languages; LaPolla indicates that choice of existential verb in Tibeto-Burman languages commonly is based on hierarchies such as animate/inanimate, location within a container versus location on a plane, abstract/concrete, and others (LaPolla 2003a:32–33). Na does not distinguish between animate and inanimate. Na does, however, distinguish between things that protude or are perpendicular to a plane and those that do not; between location within a container versus location on a plane;¹ and between the past existence of time and the non-past existence of time. This last distinction is not an abstract versus concrete distinction because the non-time-based referents, whether abstract or concrete, use the same existential verb. This system of existential verbs where choice of existential verb is based on properties of the referent is somewhat analogous to the noun classifier system. In both systems, properties of the noun such as shape and position dictate the selection of another element in the clause (classifier or existential verb). For example, when the noun is a large thing that grows from the ground, the classifier must be *dʒu33* and the existential verb must be *di33*.

11.4.1 *Generic existential verb dʒɔʒɔ33*

dʒɔʒɔ33 is the generic existential verb, and is by far the most commonly used of the four existential verbs. Its referent can be animate – human as in example (401), animate – animal as in examples (402) and (403), or inanimate, including abstract as in example (404). *dʒɔʒɔ33* EXIST grammaticalizes into a progressive marker, as will be discussed in §13.4.

¹ Many thanks to Na speaker La Mingqing and Roselle Dobbs for providing additional data to improve the analysis of this existential verb.

(401) *ɲa33-sɿ33 ku31 a33-mu33- gu33-mi33 ma31 na33 dzɔ33.*
 1PL.PRO older sibling younger sister very many EXIST
 我们 姐姐，哥哥 妹妹 很多 有

We have a lot of siblings.

T:Intro.7

(402) *gi33-na33-mi33 la33 tʰæ13 dzɔ33 tsʰu33 kwɔ33 tɕi33-na33-mi33 tsʰu33*
 black bear and such EXIST forest LOC very dense forest
 黑熊 和 那些 有 树林 里 很密 树林

There was a black bear and such; (it) entered into the forest, the very dense

黑熊那些是钻进去很密

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.73

kwɔ33 tɕʰi33 lə33-hu33.

LOC enter ACCOMP-go

里 钻 去

forest.

的树林。

(403) *wu31-dzɛ33 duu33-wɔ33 dzɔ33 tɕʰi pʰuə tɕʰi pʰuə tɕʰi pʰuə tɕʰi pʰuə pi33.*
 bird one type EXIST tɕʰi pʰuə tɕʰi pʰuə tɕʰi pʰuə tɕʰi pʰuə QUOT
 鸟 一种 有 tɕʰi pʰuə tɕʰi pʰuə tɕʰi pʰuə tɕʰi pʰuə

There was a type of bird that says, “cheeper cheeper cheeper cheeper.”

有一种鸟说，“tɕʰi pʰuə tɕʰi pʰuə tɕʰi pʰuə tɕʰi pʰuə”。

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.81

(404) *zɔ31 nɔ33 dian (loan) lə33-dzɔ33 zɛ33 dianshiji (loan) lə33-dzɔ33 zɛ33*
 now electricity ACCOMP-EXIST CSM t.v. ACCOMP-EXIST CSM
 现在 电 有 了 电视机 有 了

Today, we all have electricity, we all have televisions,

T:Change.5

cheng (loan) kwɔ33 tʰu33-tɕʰi33 a33-tso33 dzɔ33 lə33-dzɔ33 zɛ33.
 city LOC 3PL.PRO.FAM whatever EXIST ACCOMP-EXIST CSM
 成 里 他们 什么 有 有 了

whatever they have in the city, we have it all.

11.4.2 di33 EXIST.P

This existential is used with things that stand, protude, or are perpendicular to a plane, i.e.: trees as in example (405), acne, scars as in example (cinami.31), feathers as in example (tso.38), and villages as in example (cinami.4). As in Qiang (LaPolla 2003b:133–134) and Nosu Yi (Walters and Ndaxit 2005:10), at least part of the indication for the usage of this existential seems to be a part-to-whole relationship—each of the above-listed referents are found in clusters.

As can be seen in examples (tso.218) (406), (407), and (408) cited here, di33 EXIST.P commonly occurs marked by t^hi33- DUR-, to the extent that native speakers tend to conceive of di33 EXIST.P as a bound morpheme, until presented with counter-examples from narrative texts. Referents that take di33 EXIST.P tend to be objects that remain in place, which may explain why di33 EXIST.P is so frequently marked with t^hi33- DUR-.

(405)	suu33-dzuu33	t ^h uu33	zwæ13	ʂwæ33	t ^h uu33	sɔ33	dzuu33	t ^h i33-di33.
	tree	this	INTS	tall	this	three	CLS	DUR-EXIST.P
	树	这	很	高	这	三	量词	有

There were three very tall trees.

这个树木有三棵很高的。

T:Tso deluyizo.218

(406)	hæ13	zɿ31	la33	duu33-sɔ33	t ^h uu33-mə33-di33.
	cut	trace	etcetera	at all	DUR-NEG-EXIST.P
	割	痕迹	等等	一样	有

There was no trace at all of a cut.

割掉的痕迹一点没有。

T:cinami.31

(407)	wu31-dzε33	t ^h uu33	h533	t ^h uu33-di33	zɔ33	k ^h u31	t ^h uu33	luu33	mə33-ku31.
	bird	3SG. PRO	fur	DUR-EXIST.P	CRS	nest	this	CLS	NEG-make
	鸟	他	毛	有	了	窝	这	个	不-做

The bird, because it has feathers, does not make a good nest.

鸟，因为它有毛，所以它的窝不好好的做。

T:Tso deluyizo.38

(408) hĩ33-wɿ33 la33 dzæ33-pi13 tʰu33-di33.
 village etc. lots DUR-EXIST.P
 村镇 等等 很多 有
 There were many villages.
 有很多村镇。
 T:ɕinami.4

(409) a33-wɔ33 la33 dzɿ13-kʰwɿ33 di33 zɔ33.
 home etc. very long EXIST.P CRS
 家 等等 好长 有 了
 It was a long way from his home.
 和家里有好长的距离。
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.109

(500) mɿ13 la33 tsʰɔ31 du33 lu33 yi33-zɔ33 dzɿ31-kʰwɿ33 di33.
 girl and Tsoḍeluyizo very long EXIST.P
 姑娘 和 Tsoḍeluyizo 好长 有
 The girl and Tsoḍeluyizo were very far apart.
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.110

(501) dzi33-qʰɿ33 tʰu33 du33 lu33 tʰu33-di33 ku13 tsi13.
 spring this one CLS DUR-EXIST.P FUT.ABL REP
 泉水洞 这 一 量词 有
 It is said that there would be a spring there.
 听说会有一个泉水站在（那里）。
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.107

11.4.3 ku33 EXIST.T

This existential verb only is used for the the passing of time, as in examples (502) through (506). The precise meaning of this existential is somewhat nebulous. My consultant translates it consistently as an existential verb (the existential use of ‘有’). Nearly all of the examples are from the Tsoḍeluyizo creation story, with the exception of one example from the Gemu narrative. ku33 EXIST.T seems to have something of a connotation of ‘pass,’ and may be a fairly recent grammaticalization from a lexical verb.

(502) tʰi13 tʰu33-ni13 qʰa33-tʂwæ13 ku33.
 so this way a long time EXIST.T
 所以 这样 很长时间 有

So, it was like this for a long time afterwards.

所以是这样的很长时间以后。

T:Gemu.30

(503) gy33 kʰu13 ku33 mə33-ni33 lə33-ba33 tʰa33 hɔ̃33 pi33.
 nine year EXIST.T unless ACCOMP-open PROH go.IMP QUOT
 九 年 有 扒开

(He) said, “Unless nine years have passed, don’t go open (it) up.”

说没有九年，你不要去把开。

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.53

(504) *chabuduo* (loan) ku33 dzɔ̃33 tʰi13 dzi33 lə33-kwɔ̃31.
 more or less EXIST.T TOP then water ACCOMP-retreat
 差不多 有 所以 水 退

When the time came, the floodwater retreated.

差不多的时候，水退了。

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.45

(505) gy33 kʰu13 mə33-ku33 tʂɛ31 my13 kwɔ̃33 hī33 ni33
 nine year NEG-EXIST.T sand LOC people seem
 九 年 没-有 沙子 里 人 象

In not more than nine years, [the shwaesi tree] buried in the sand would

没有九年（把ʂwæ-su）做成人的

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.52

lə33-ku31 zɔ̃33.

ACCOMP-make CSM

做 了

take on the appearance of a

person.样子埋在沙子里。

(506) ʂu33 kʰu13 ku33 mə33-mæ33 ʂu33 ha33 lə33-ba33 hu33.
 seven year EXIST.T NEG-have time seven night ACCOMP-open go
 七 年 有 不-有空闲 七 夜 把开 去

He couldn’t wait seven years, so after only seven nights he opened it.

等不了七年，只有七个晚上就把开了。

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.66

11.4.4 zɯ33 EXIST.C

zɯ33 is the existential verb used with objects within a container. The objects can be either animate, such as the heart in example (507), or inanimate, such as the grains of rice in example (508). The referents, however, must be non-abstract. zɯ33 EXIST.C is used much more rarely than dzɔ33 EXIST and di33 EXIST.P.

- (507) tʰi13 tʰɯ33 kʰwɿ33 wæ33 kwɿ31 la31 wɔ33-ta33 bu33 yu13 bi33
 so this CLS call complete then before ASSOC skin on
 所以 这 叫 完 以前 的 皮子 上
 After calling this out, the scripture written on the skin before,
 叫了这一句以后, 以前的写在皮子上的
 T:Muphadaba.23

di33	tʰa33	ɤ31	tʰɯ33	nu31	mi13	kwɔ33	tʰɯ33-zɯ33	ni33	ze33.
REL	book		this	heart		LOC	DUR-EXIST.C	CERT.STR	CSM
	书		这	心			有	是	了

all were (again) in his his heart.
 经文全部回到心里面来了。

- (508) qæ33 kwɔ33 ha33 tʰɯ33-mə33-zɯ33.
 dung LOC food DUR-NEG-EXIST.C
 粪便 里 饭 没-有

There wasn't any food in their dung.
 粪便里没有饭。
 T:Tsoyeluyizo.223

- (509) qæ33 kwɔ33 tʰɯ33-zɯ33 ni33 ze33.
 dung LOC DUR-EXIST.C CERT.STR CSM
 粪便 里 有 是 了

It was there in its dung!
 粪便里有了!
 T:Tsoyeluyizo.225

11.5 STATIVE VERBS

Stative verbs are verbs which can either appear as a predicate, or adjectivally, modifying a noun head. As discussed in §9.1, noun phrases in Na rarely include adjectives; qualities are instead expressed through stative verb predicates. Stative verbs can take aspect marking, be negated, and can be modified by the intensifier *zwæ13* (or *twæ13*, a variant of the intensifier used in Yongning proper).

- (510) *tʰu33* *ɑ31 wu55* *zwæ13* *lɔ31-yĩ33-zu31-yĩ33* *la33* *ɑ33-tso33-mə33-ni31*
 3SG.PRO good-looking INTS work and whatever
 她 好看 很 劳动 和 什么

She was very beautiful; she excelled in work

她很好看，劳动和一切事情

T:Gemu.2

hu13 *zwæ13*.

strong INTS

厉害 很

and such.

很厉害。

Stative verb	Reference ID
a31 wu55 ‘good looking’	T:Gemu.2
huu13 ‘strong’	T:Gemu.2
dza33 ‘base’	T:cinami.8
tʂa33 ‘important’	T:Fangzi.1
hwæ33-hwæ33 ‘very comfortable’	T:Fangzi.67
ta31-ta31 ‘very safe’	T:Fangzi.67
lɔ33 ha33 ‘difficult’	T:Saozi.8
la31 gɣ33 ‘remote’	T:Yzt.1
lɔ33 ta33 ‘unsuccessful’	T:Yzt.11
tʰæ31-tʰæ13 ‘itchy’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.280
ʂæ33 ‘long’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.140
ɔ̄33 ‘difficult’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.141
ɣa33 ‘good’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.251
tu13 ‘upright’	T:Mupha.4
pʰu13 ‘white’	T:Tipi.2
ʂu31 qwæ13 ‘yellow’	T:Tipi.3
na31 qʰæ33 tʂʰɛ13 ‘black’	T:Tipi.4
hɔ̄31 zæ33 ‘green’	T:Tipi.5
tsɣ33	T:Change.1
ɲi33 ‘full’	T:cinami.18
nu33 gɔ33 ‘pitiable’	T:Gemu.42
mə33-hɔ33-hɔ33 ‘incompatible’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.5
twæ31 pu33 ‘peaceful’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.100
fu33-fu33-sa-sa ‘happy’	T:Fangzi.55

Table 11.7: Na stative verbs

11.6 TRANSITIVITY

11.6.1 Intransitive verbs

An intransitive verb takes one direct argument, a subject. However, as Na often does not use overt arguments when they can be understood from discourse context, an utterance can be completely grammatical with no overt noun phrases (cf. [525]). Oblique arguments can appear and will be marked with a postpositional marker (§10.5).

When the subject of an intransitive clause is overt, it appears preceding the predicate, as in (511), (512), (513), and (514). The subject *generally* is indicated by word order, not by a postpositional ‘case’ marker, although see §10.3 for discussion of marking with nu33 AGTV used to mark non-canonical subjects.

In example (511), lu33-ɕu31 ɕi13-na31-mi33 ‘Lugu Lake’ is the subject of the intransitive predicates mə33-tɕɿ33 ‘not formed’ and mə33-dzɔ33 ‘did not exist,’ where the second predicate is added for clarification in the natural discourse.

- (511) a31 yi33 ɕɛ33 a31 yi33 ɕɛ33 dzɔ33 lu33-ɕu31 ɕi13-na31-mi33 mə33-tɕɿ33
 long, long ago long, long ago EXIST Luoshui lake NEG-become
 很久以前 很久以前 落水 湖 没-变成
 Long, long ago, when Lugu Lake had not
 很久很久以前，泸沽湖没有
 T:ɕinami.1
- su31 tɔ31 mə33-dzɔ33 su31 tɔ31.
 still at the time NEG-EXIST still at the time
 还 时候 没-有 还 时候
 yet formed.
 形成的时候.

In example (512), $z\alpha 33-h\delta 33$ $t^h u 33$ $ni 33$ $lu 33$ ‘these two children’ is the subject of the intransitive predicate $gu 31-t\epsilon 13$ ‘float up, survive.’

(512)	$z\alpha 33-h\delta 33$	$t^h u 33$	$ni 33$	$lu 33$	$da 31$	$gu 31-t\epsilon 13$.
	children	this	two	CLS	only	float up
	小孩子	这	两	量词	只	漂上

Only these two children survived.

只剩这两个小孩儿。

T:cinami.58

In example (513), the possessive NP $ga 33$ $\downarrow a 33$ $t^h u 33$ $wu 33$ $bu 33$ $a 33-mi 33$ ‘this god’s mother’ is the subject of the intransitive predicate $l\alpha 33-n\gamma 33$ ‘found out.’

(513)	$du 33$	$ni 33$	$d\alpha 33$	$t^h u 33$	$=\alpha 13$	$ga 33$	$\downarrow a 33$	$t^h u 33$	$wu 33$	$bu 33$
	one	day	TOP	3SG.PRO	= family	god	this	CLS	POSS	
	一	天		他	家	神	这	量词	的	

One day, this god’s

有一天，这个神，

T:Gemu.25

$a 33-mi 33$	$l\alpha 33-n\gamma 33$
mother	ACCOMP-know.
母亲	知道

mother found out.

他家的母亲知道了。

In example (514), the NP $ku 31$ $mu 33$ ‘Gemu’ is the subject of the intransitive predicate $l\alpha 33-zu 31$ $\eta u 33$ ‘went to sleep.’

(514)	$t^h i 13$	$na 13-t\alpha 33$	$pi 33$	$t\epsilon i 33$	$d\alpha 33$	$ku 31$	$mu 33$	$l\alpha 33-zu 31$	$\eta u 33$.
	so	daylight	almost	TOP		Gemu		ACCOMP-sleep	
	所以	天亮	将要			格姆		睡着	

So when it was almost daylight Gemu went to sleep.

所以将要天亮的时候格姆睡着了。

T:Gemu.34

The subject can also simply be inferred from discourse context, as in (515), where the subjects, *Gemu* and the god, are understood from previous discourse.

- (515) wɔ33-tɔ31 du33 lu33 tɔ31 tʂ^hɑ33 ha13 pɣ13 wɣ33-ty31 tɔ31
 mountaintop one CLS ADESS every night mountaintop ADESS
 山头上 一 量词 上面 每一个晚上 山头上 上面

On a mountaintop, every night they went to a mountaintop

在一个山头上每一个晚上去山头上

T:*Gemu*.23

- gwɣ13 la33 ts^hɔ33 hu33.
 sing and dance go
 唱歌 和 跳舞 去

to sing and dance.

唱歌和跳舞。

11.6.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs have agent and object arguments. In Na, the grammatical functions of agent and object are generally indicated by word order rather than by postpositional ‘case’ markers: the agent NP precedes the object NP, which in turn precedes the V, so that there is a canonical, unmarked, pragmatically neutral order of AOV. This can be seen in (516), which is potentially ambiguous, as the agent and object are both high in animacy and there is no reason to interpret one NP over the other as agent from verbal semantics, but word order indicates that ‘the well-to-do man’ is the agent and 3SG.PRO is the patient.

In Na, agent or patient may not be overt. In these cases, as well as when there are non-canonical or pragmatically-marked word orders, Na uses agentive marking (§10.3) and/or patient marking (§10.4).

(516) hĩ33 yæ33 p^hæ31-tɕ^hi33 t^hu33 wu33 t^hu33 li33 dzɔ33 p^hæ33-q^hwæ31
 wealthy person man this CLS 3SG.PRO see TOP face
 富裕人 男人 这 量词 他 看 脸

The well-to-do man saw him, (his) face
 这个富裕的男人看他的样子，他的脸色
 T:ɕinami.34

la33 dzɔ13-hu33-dzɔ13 ʂɛ33-di31-hu33-ʂɛ33-di31 lə33-ts^hu33.
 etc. better and better plumper and plumper ACCOMP-start
 等 越来越好 越来越胖 来

and such had started to become increasingly plump.
 越来越好，他越来越来越胖。

(517) also shows AOV word order, although this sentence does not present the potential for ambiguity of agenthood.

(517) æ31-q^hy33 kwɔ33 ni33 zɔ33 du33 mi31 t^hu33-æ31 dzɔ33
 cave LOC fish one CLS DUR-stick EXIST
 山洞 里 鱼 一 量词 卡住 有

There was a fish caught in the cave;
 有一条鱼卡在山洞里头;
 T:ɕinami.37

zɔ33-hɔ33 t^hu33 lu33 ʂɛ33 hæ13 zɔ33 t^hu33-bu33 dzɔ33.
 little boy this CLS meat cut PERF DUR-roast PROG
 小男孩子 这 个 肉 割 了 烧 正在

the boy sliced its meat and was roasting the fish.
 这个小孩儿正在烧鱼肉吃。

In (518), the agent is p^hæ31-tɕ^hi33 = æ31, while the object is the 3SG.PRO, t^hu33, which refers to Gemu.

(518) t^hi13 na13-di33 kwɔ33 p^hæ31-tɕ^hi33 = æ31 du33-ta13 t^hu33
 so Na areas LOC young guys = PL all 3SG.PRO
 所以 摩梭地区 里 小伙子 = 们 全部 她

So, in all the Na areas, all of the young men
 所以摩梭地区里头所有的小伙子们都
 T:Gemu.10

fu33 yĩ33 zɥwæ13.
 like CAUS INTS
 喜欢 很
 liked her.
 喜欢她。

In (519), t^hu33 ni33 lu33 ‘these two,’ referring anaphorically to ‘these two children,’ is the subject of the intransitive verb dzu31 ‘live.’ For the transitive verb ts^hu13 ‘build,’ the agent is understood from the context to be t^hu33 ni33 lu33 ‘these two,’ and the object is zɥ33 qwɥ33 ‘house.’

(519)	t ^h i13	t ^h u33	ni33	lu33	gi13	lu33-ɣu31	t ^h u33	k ^h wɥ33	kwɔ33
	so	this	two	CLS	after	Luoshui	this	CLS	LOC
	所以	这	两	量词	后来	落水	这	量词	里

So, these two children afterwards lived in Luoshui and
 所以这两个后来在落水,
 T:ɕinami.59

t ^h u33-dzu31	zɥ33 qwɥ33	la33	lɔ33-ts ^h u13.
DUR-live	house	etc.	ACCOMP-build
住	房子	等	建

built a house on this land in Luoshui.
 这块地方, 修了房子。

However, the agent also may not appear when it can be understood from the discourse context, as in (520), where 3SG.PRO or the full noun ‘the god’ is understood as the agent.

(520)	ku31 mu33	li33	hu33.
	Gemu	see	go
	格姆	看	去

He went to see Gemu.
 去看格姆。
 T:Gemu.32

In (521), the agent is understood to be 3SG.PRO, which refers to the boy, while the affected object is ni33 zɔ33-ʂɛ33 du33 pʰæ13, ‘a slice of fish.’

(521)	tʰi13	nɔ31	su31-tʰi13	pɔ13	ni33 zɔ33-ʂɛ33	du33	pʰæ13	hæ13
	so	then	knife	INSTR	fish meat	one	CLS	cut
	所以	才	刀子	拿	鱼肉	一	片	割

So, using a knife, he cut off a slice of fish and

所以用刀子割鱼肉一片

T:ɕinami.26

lɔ33-pɔ31-tsʰu33.

ACCOMP-bring

拿来

brought it out.

拿出来。

11.6.3 Ambitransitive verbs

Na also has ambitransitive verbs. A minimal pair showing an ambitransitive verbs is (522) and (523). In (522), ʂɛ33 ‘look for’ is intransitive, while in (523), ʂɛ33 takes the compound direct object nu31-mi33 la33 ɲa33-tæ33-mi33, ‘a vertical-eyed woman and a horizontal-eyed woman.’ The agent, Tsodeluyizo, is understood from the discourse context, overriding the potential ambiguity of an interpretation such as “The girl went to find a vertical-eyed woman and a horizontal-eyed woman.”

(522)	sɔ33	ɲi33	sɔ33	ha33	ʂɛ33	mə33-tɔ33	tʰi13	a33 pa33 tɔ31	ki33	hu33.
	three	day	three	night	look for	NEG-see	so	Apato	ALL	go
	三	天	三	夜	找	不-看见	所以	Apato		去

He searched for three days and three nights, and saw nothing, so he went to visit Apato.

找了三天三夜，什么都不看见，所以去Apato那里。

T:Tsodeluyizo.47

(523)	nu31-mi33	ɲa33-tsu33-mi33	la33	ɲa33-tæ33-mi33	ʂɛ33	hu33.
	girl	vertical-eyed woman	and	horizontal-eyed woman	look for	go
	姑娘	眼睛竖的女人	和	眼睛横的女人	找	去

He went to find a vertical-eyed woman and a horizontal-eyed woman.

去找一个眼睛竖的和一个人眼睛横的女人。

T:Tsodeluyizo.97

As Na can have a zero anaphoric object when it can be understood from discourse context, determining whether a verb is really ambitransitive, or whether it is a transitive verb that can appear with either an overt or a zero anaphoric object, can be a bit tricky. This can be seen in examples (524) and (525). In (524), dzi33 ‘eat’ is a transitive verb that takes the direct object ha33 ‘food.’ It is less clear whether dzi33 ‘eat’ in (525) is a transitive verb with a zero anaphoric object, or whether it is really an intransitive verb. One might analyze lə33-bu33 lə33-dzi33 as a transitive SVC that takes a zero anaphoric object, i.e., ‘he roasted and ate (it),’ or one might analyze lə33-bu33 and lə33-dzi33 as being separate clauses, where lə33-bu33 is a transitive verb with a zero anaphoric object, but lə33-dzi33 is intransitive, i.e., ‘he roasted (it) and ate.’

- (524)

h ^h a33	ha33	lə33-dzi33	mə33-ni33.
often	food	ACCOMP-eat	NEG-full
经常	饭	吃	不-饱

Often, he didn’t get enough to eat.
经常饭吃不饱。
T:ɕinami.18

- (525)

ɑ33 p ^h ɔ13	lə33-bu33	lə33-dzi33.
outside	ACCOMP-roast	ACCOMP-eat
外面	烧	吃

Once outside, (he) roasted (it) and ate (it).
外面烧了吃。
T:ɕinami.27

11.6.4 Ditransitive verbs

In Na ditransitive constructions, the constituent order is agent-indirect object-direct object, as can be seen in (526), where the agent is t^hu33=ɤ13 ‘his family,’ the indirect object is zɔ13 la33 t^ha13 ‘lunch and such,’ and the direct object is t^hu33 ‘he’ (the boy).

(526)	t ^h u33	=ɤ13	zɔ13	la33	t ^h a13	du33-sɔ33	t ^h u33	mə33-ki33.
	3SG.PRO	= family	lunch	and	such	at all	3SG.PRO	NEG-give
	他	家	中午饭	和	那些	一样	他	没-给

The family didn’t give him lunch and such.

他家中午和那些一样没给他。

T:ɕinami.15

In (527), the agent is a33-mɔ13 t^hu33 wu33 du33 zɔu33 a33-mɔ13 du33 wu33 ‘this grandmother, the grandmother of one family,’ the indirect object is ha33 ‘food,’ and the direct object is bɔ13 ‘pig.’

(527)	t ^h i13	a33 mɔ13	t ^h u33	wu33	du33	zɔu33	a33-mɔ13	du33	wu33
	so	grandmother	this	CLS	one	family	grandmother	one	CLS
	所以	老大妈	这	量词	一	家	老大妈	一	量词

So one grandmother, the grandmother of one family,

所以这个老大妈，一家老大妈，

T:ɕinami.50

bɔ13	ha33	ki33	tɔ31	dzi33-tɔ33	lə33-ts ^h u33.
pig	food	give	at the time	flood water	ACCOMP-come
猪	饭	给	的时候	洪水	来

was feeding the pigs when the flooding started.

正在喂猪的时候，洪水来了。

11.6.5 Reciprocal verbs

A large number of verbs can be made into reciprocals by reduplication, as noted by Yang (2009).

Non-reduplicated form	Reduplicated form
si33 ‘know’	si33-si33 ‘meet each other’
tsi33 ‘fasten’ (tso.29)	tsi33-tsi33 ‘fasten together’ (tso.21)
tʂæ13 ‘grab’	tʂæ33-tʂæ31 ‘fight over’ (tso.127)
tu33 ‘pull’	tu33-tu33 ‘pull back and forth’
tʰæ13 ‘bite’	tʰæ31-tʰæ13 ‘bite each other’ (tso.126)
fu33 ‘like’	fu33-fu33 ‘court (v.)’ (gemu.51)
se33 ‘walk’	se33-se33 ‘court’ (gemu.26)
gwɤ13 ‘circle (v.)’	gwɤ31-gwɤ13 ‘roam’
wɤ33 ‘stack’	wɤ33-wɤ33 ‘stack together’ (tso.189)
li33 ‘see’	tʰu-li33-li33 ‘protect, watch over’ (gemu.50)

Table 11.8 Reciprocal verbs form through reduplication

Some verbs have no non-reduplicated forms: pɤ33 pɤ33 ‘carry on one’s back’; gwɤ31 gwɤ13 ‘sing songs’; tʂʰu31 tʂʰu13 ‘chant scriptures’; ʂu33 ʂu33 ‘sprinkle’; tʂɤ33 tʂɤ31 ‘divine (v.)’; pu31 pu13 ‘divide’; mæ33 mæ33 ‘can’; dzu31 dzu13 ‘tremble’; la33 la33 ‘rock back and forth’; qæ31 qæ13 ‘shoot.’

When stative verbs reduplicate, one gets a reading of added intensity, while reduplicating non-stative verbs gives a reading of reciprocity of action, or a semantics of back-and-forth. Cross-linguistically, it is extremely common for reduplication of adjectives to yield a reading of increased intensity, as an effect of iconicity. Thus, the difference in semantics seen in reduplication of stative verbs versus reduplication of active verbs is evidence of the inherently adjective-like nature of stative verbs.

11.7 TYPES OF VERBS: VERBAL SEMANTICS ²

Observation of speech in everyday life rapidly indicates that verbal paradigms vary for different verbs, most saliently in the third person forms. Systematic elicitation shows that Na verbs form three categories, based on verbal semantics. Each category has rules about how definitively a statement may be made; these rules are based on the relative directness or indirectness of knowledge of the speaker.

Verbs in Na can be categorized into three major subsets according to verbal semantics: **volitional verbs** (as per Aikhenvald 2004, Hale 1980 [Hale uses the term “true instigator”], and Sun 1993), **internal state verbs** (as per Aikhenvald 2004), and **verbs denoting an observable state** (as per Sun 1993). Volitional verbs are those which describe an action which the subject must actively initiate; examples of such verbs are ‘go’ and ‘say’. Internal state verbs are those which describe the subject’s inner world, such as ‘be happy’, ‘be tired’, ‘know’, ‘like’. Verbs denoting an observable state form the third category. Such verbs include ‘be sick/hurt’. ‘Be sick/hurt’ is certainly not a volitional verb; some might argue that ‘be sick/hurt’ should be an internal state verb, as being sick has an experiencer theta-role, and thus might be an internal state. However, in Na, the verb used to indicate being sick is a semantic extension—it literally means ‘be hurt’ (in a physical sense), and physical injuries are generally externally observable.

² A version of this section on verbal semantics appeared in Lidz (2007).

Note that the relevant distinctions in verbal semantics are a little bit different than those observed for other Tibeto-Burman languages. Na distinguishes among volitional verbs, internal state verbs, and verbs denoting an observable state. In comparison, Sun finds that Amdo Tibetan distinguishes among volitionality, consciousness, and observability (Sun 1993), while Hale finds that Newari distinguishes between volitional verbs and impersonal verbs (Hale 1980). More generally, Aikhenvald finds cross-linguistically salient distinctions between volitional verbs, internal state verbs, verbs of perception, and inherent aspect (Aikhenvald 2004).

11.7.1 Volitional verbs

Statements about self always can be made categorically regardless of verbal semantics, as one has direct knowledge of one's mind; example (528) shows an example for a volitional verb. Statements about other must be qualified, because the other has a more direct information source than the speaker. Second person "statements" always appear in question form regardless of verbal semantics. This is because the second person, as an other, has a more direct information source than the speaker, and as a speech act participant, is directly addressed, necessitating as qualified a form as possible. Examples (528b) and (528f) show second person forms for a volitional verb. The third person is both other and a non-speech act participant, and verbal semantics come into play. As the third person is not a speech act participant, a question is not used: (a.) there is not one to direct the question to, and (b.) the fact that the third person is not a speech act participant allows the speaker the liberty to posit a statement, albeit a qualified one. For volitional verbs, third person statements are qualified by using the future marker $h\alpha 33$, which makes the statement less definite, as in (528c) and (528g). The first person plural exclusive follows the first person singular pattern, as in (528d), while the first person plural inclusive follows the second person pattern, as in (528e).

An example of a volitional verb, bi33 ‘go,’ is given in (528).

(528)

- (a) na33 lu33-ɕu31 bi33.
1SG.PRO Luoshui go
E: ‘I go to Luoshui.’
- (b) nɔ33 lu33-ɕu31 a31-bi33?
2SG.PRO Luoshui QM-go
‘You go to Luoshui?’
- (c) t^hu33 lu33-ɕu31 bi33 hɔ33.³
3SG.PRO Luoshui go FUT.DES
‘S/he will go to Luoshui.’
- (d) na33-sɤ33 ku31 lu33-ɕu31 bi33.
1EXC.PRO Luoshui go
‘We (exclusive) go to Luoshui.’
- (e) ɕɔ31-sɤ33 ku31 lu33-ɕu31 a31-bi33?
1INC.PRO Luoshui QM-go
‘We (inclusive) go to Luoshui?’
- (f) nɔ33-sɤ33 ku31 lu33-ɕu31 a31-bi33?
2PL.PRO Luoshui QM-go
‘You (pl.) go to Luoshui?’
- (g) t^hu33-sɤ33 ku31 lu33-ɕu31 bi33 hɔ33.
3PL.PRO Luoshui go FUT.DES
‘They will go to Luoshui.’

³ There are four future markers in Na (cf. §x).

11.7.2 Internal state verbs

Statements about self always can be made categorically regardless of verbal semantics as one has direct knowledge of one's mind; example (529) shows an example for an internal state verb. Statements about other must be qualified, because the other has a more direct information source than the speaker. Second person "statements" always appear in question form regardless of verbal semantics. This is because the second person, as an other, has a more direct information source than the speaker, and as a speech act participant, is directly addressed, necessitating as qualified a form as possible. Examples (529b) and (529f) show second person forms for an internal state verb. The third person is both other and a non-speech act participant, and verbal semantics come into play. As the third person is not a speech act participant, a question is not used: (a.) there is not one to direct the question to, and (b.) the fact that the third person is not a speech act participant allows the speaker the liberty to posit a statement, albeit a qualified one. For internal state verbs, the speaker uses the inferential evidential to indicate the information source as inferred. This is because an internal state can be tentatively intuited from outward clues, but the statement must then be qualified as based on inference. This can be seen in examples (529c) and (529g). Again, the first person plural exclusive follows the first person singular pattern, as in (529d), while the first person plural inclusive follows the second person pattern, as in (529e).

An example of an internal state verb, *fu33*, is given in (529).

(529)

- (a) *ɲɑ33 fu33 z̥wæ13*.⁴
1SG.PRO happy very
E: 'I'm very happy.'
- (b) *nɔ33 ɑ31-fu33?*
2SG.PRO QM-happy
'Are you happy?'
- (c) *tʰu33 fu33 z̥wæ13 pʰæ33-di33*.
3SG.PRO happy very INFR
'He seems happy.'
- (d) *ɲɑ33-sɻ33 ku31 fu33 z̥wæ13*.
1EXC.PRO happy very
'We (exclusive) are very happy.'
- (e) *ʂ31-sɻ33 ku31 ɑ31-fu33?*
1INC.PRO QM-happy
'Are we (inclusive) happy?'
- (f) *nɔ33-sɻ33 ku31 ɑ31-fu33?*
2PL.PRO QM-happy
'Are you (pl.) happy?'
- (g) *tʰu33-sɻ33 ku31 fu33 z̥wæ13 pʰæ33-di33*.⁵
3PL.PRO happy very INFR
'They seem happy.'

⁴ *z̥wæ13* is required due to morphophonological constraints.

⁵ Note that for third person forms of the internal state verbs, the inference evidential *pʰæ33-di33* is not necessary if the speaker can observe the internal state. Without this information, however, the inference evidential *pʰæ33-di33* is required.

11.7.3 Verbs denoting observable states

Statements about self always can be made categorically regardless of verbal semantics, as one has direct knowledge of one's mind; example (530) shows an example for a verb denoting an observable state. Statements about other must be qualified, because the other has a more direct information source than the speaker. Second person "statements" always appear in question form regardless of verbal semantics. This is because the second person, as an other, has a more direct information source than the speaker, and as a speech act participant, is directly addressed, necessitating as qualified a form as possible. Examples (530b) and (530f) show second person forms for a verb denoting an observable state. The third person is both other and a non-speech act participant, and verbal semantics come into play. As the third person is not a speech act participant, a question is not used: (a.) there is not one to direct the question to, and (b.) the fact that the third person is not a speech act participant allows the speaker the liberty to posit a statement, albeit a qualified one. For verbs denoting an observable state, no evidential appears because direct/visual evidence is unmarked in Na, so the listener knows that statements about the third person other have visual evidence as the information source; this can be seen in examples (530c) and (530g). Again, the first person plural exclusive follows the first person singular pattern, as in (530d), while the first person plural inclusive follows the second person pattern, as in (530e).

An example of a verb denoting an observable state, *gɔ33*, is given in (530).

(530)

- (a) *ɲɑ33 gɔ33 zɥwæ13.*
1SG.PRO sick very
E: 'I am very sick.'
- (b) *nɔ33 a31-gɔ33?*
2SG.PRO QM-sick
'Are you sick?'
- (c) *tʰu33 gɔ33 zɥwæ13.*
3SG.PRO sick very
'He is very sick.'
- (d) *ɲɑ33-sɻ33 ku31 gɔ33 zɥwæ13.*
1EXC.PRO sick very
'We (exclusive) are very sick.'
- (e) *ʒ31-sɻ33 ku31 a31-gɔ33?6*
1INC.PRO QM-sick
'We (inclusive) are sick?'
- (f) *nɔ33-sɻ33 ku31 a31-gɔ33?*
2PL.PRO QM-sick
'Are you (pl.) sick?'
- (g) *tʰu33-sɻ33 ku31 gɔ33 zɥwæ13.*
3PL.PRO sick very
'They are very sick.'

⁶ Note that although native speakers feel this sentence is grammatically acceptable, it gets the reading of being semantically weird, because the first person plural inclusive pronoun includes the first person, who should know whether or not they are sick.

However, in narrative texts, these epistemic distinctions are less salient. In example (531), there is a third person agent with the volitional verb *ki33* ‘give,’ but the statement is not qualified in any way, where normally it would be marked with *hɔ33* FUT.DES. This is quite typical in mythological tales, and this issue requires more research.

(531) *tʰu33* *ɤ13* *zɔ13* *la33* *tʰa13* *du33-sɔ33* *tʰu33* *mə33-ki33*.
 3SG.PRO family lunch and such at all 3SG.PRO NEG-give
 他 家 中午饭 和 那些 一样 他 没-给

The family didn’t give him lunch and such.

他家中午和那些一样没给他。

T:ɕinami.15

I can think of three possible explanations. First, and most likely in my opinion, is that in mythological stories passed on through oral tradition, the narrator is omniscient, so statements made by the narrator do not require qualification. Second, it is possible that the reported evidential used in (cinami.10), several utterances previously, is still taking scope. If so, this would argue that the conjunct/disjunct-like system and evidentiality are really highly entwined. (We have seen that third person statements with internal state verbs take the inferential evidential, but otherwise, the ways of qualifying non-self statements have not involved evidentials.) Third, a serious weakness of the description of the Na system of person, evidence, and verbal semantics is that the description does not extend to other tenses and aspects. Presumably, a perfective event, which is completed and viewed in its entirety, requires less qualification than a future event. (531) may be getting a habitual reading from *tʰu33* *ni33* *ni31* ‘everyday.’ If tense/aspect interacts with person, evidence, and verbal semantics, a habitual might not require qualification. However, this research still needs to be done. Preferably, the research on tense/aspect and person, evidence, and verbal semantics should include elicitation, so that one does not need to rely on an argument of whether or not a marker in an adjacent sentence has scope.

Type of verb	Person	Qualified?	Form of qualification
Volitional	1SG.PRO/1EXC.PRO	No	
	2SG.PRO/1INC.PRO/2PL.PRO	Yes	Appears as question
	3SG.PRO/3PL.PRO	Yes	Takes hɔ33 FUT.DES
Internal state	1SG.PRO/1EXC.PRO	No	
	2SG.PRO/1INC.PRO/2PL.PRO	Yes	Appears as question
	3SG.PRO/3PL.PRO	Yes	Takes inferential evidential p ^h æ33-di33
Observable state	1SG.PRO/1EXC.PRO	No	
	2SG.PRO/1INC.PRO/2PL.PRO	Yes	Appears as question
	3SG.PRO/3PL.PRO	Yes	Formally and functionally unmarked direct/visual evidential

Table 11.9 Person, evidence, and verbal semantics in Na

11.8 la13 LIGHT VERB

la13 is a verb meaning ‘hit, strike,’ as can be seen in example (532). However, it can also be used as a light verb in the expression mi33 lɔ33 la13 ‘say a prayer’—literally, ‘strike a prayer.’ It is notable that 打 ‘hit, strike’ in Mandarin also has a light verb usage, as in 打电话 ‘give a phone call,’ however, it is not used in the Mandarin expression for ‘say a prayer.’

(532)	ɣɣ33-gu33	ʂ31-sɣ33	ku31	ɣɣ33-gu33	pɔ13	la13	lɔ33-hu33
	shuttle	1INC.PRO	shuttle	INSTR	hit	ACCOMP-go	
	麻布槽	咱们	麻布槽		打	去	

Taking the shuttle, our shuttle, he went to hit him,
 用麻布的槽，我们织麻布的槽，打下去，弓箭射到了，
 T:Tsodeluyizo.242

ku33 tɕɛ33 mi33 tɔ31 tʰu33-zɔ33 yu33 la33 su13 lə33-su13 tʰu33-kwɿ13.
 Kutsemi ADESS DUR-hit Rilasi ACCOMP-die DUR-fall
 Kutsemi 上面 打中 Rilasi 丢
 he struck at Kutsemi, Rilasi fell and died.
 Kutsemi的上面，把Rilasi杀掉了。

(533) tʰi13 nɔ13 mi33 lu33 la13 zɔ33.
 so self pray strike PERF
 所以 自己 祈求 打 了
 So, she prayed to all of the gods.
 所以她祈求所有的神明。
 T:Gemu.48

(534) tʰi33 dzɔ33 nɔ33 sɔ33 qæ13 dzɔ33 mi33 lɔ33 lə33-la13.
 so 2SG.PRO incense burn PROG prayer ACCOMP-strike
 所以 你 香 烧 祈求 打
 So, you say a prayer while burning incense.
 所以你烧香的时候说你的祈求。
 T:Fangzi.62

11.9 ADVERBIALS

11.9.1 Compounding: Adverbs

ɑ31 QW	+	yi33 can	→	ɑ31-yi33 perhaps
guu33 real	+	yi33 can	→	guu33-yi13 really

Table 11.10 Na adverbial compounds

11.9.2 zɔ33 ADVB

The adverbializer zɔ33 is used to create adverbials which express manner. It is typically used when the created adverbial does not directly precede a verb (the canonical position for Na manner adverbials), and acts as a linker in a way similar to Chinese *de* 的.

(535)	tʰu33	gi13	tʰu33	ni33	dʒɔ33	na33-na33	zɔ33
	this	after	this	day	EXIST	stealthily	ADVB
	这	后来	这	天		悄悄	的

So, the next day, he stealthily
 在第二天的时候悄悄的后面
 T:ɕinami.36

gi13	tʰu33	tɕʰɔ31	zɔ33	li33	hu33	dʒɔ33.
after	3SG.PRO	follow	PERF	see	go	PROG
后来		跟着	了	看	去	正在

followed the boy to have a look.
 跟着他去看。

(536)	lɔ33-dzi33	hu33	tʰi13	na33-na33	zɔ33	zɔ33-mu33
	ACCOMP-eat	go	so	stealthily	ADVB	child
	吃	去	所以	悄悄		小孩儿

After eating, it is said that they secretly
 去吃了以后，听说是悄悄的
 T:Tso deluyizo.115

lɔ33-zɕ33	ni33	tsi13.
ACCOMP-give birth to	CERT.STR	REP
养		

had a child.
 养了小孩儿。

(537)	pʰɔ33-bi33-di33	mɔ33-di33	tʰi13	hu33 li31	zɔ33	zɔ33-hɔ33	ni33	lu33
	escape-go-NOM _{Loc}	NEG-EXIST.P	so	quickly	ADVB	child	two	CLS
	逃跑-去-地	没-有	所以	很快		小孩子	两	量词

There was no place to escape to, so she quickly grabbed the two children
 逃跑的地方没有，所以很快抓了两个小孩儿，
 T:ɕinami.54

dzɿ33 zɔ33 bɔ31-ku13 kwɔ33 dzu31 tɕi33 hu33.
 grab PERF pig-trough LOC sit CAUS go
 抓 了 猪-槽 里 坐 去

and went and sat them in the pig trough.
 让他们坐在猪槽里面。

- (538) tʰu33-ni13 zɔ33 *suibian* (loan) zɔ33 hĩ33 ni33 du33 ku33 la31 lu31
 this way ADVB as you wish ADVB person seem one seem nothing more
 这样 随便 的 人 象 一 象 而已

It only looked a tiny bit like a person,
 只有一点点的象人的样子,
 T:Tsodeluyizo.58

dzæ13 hĩ33 bi33 mu31 lu33 tʰu33 mɔ33-wɔ33 ni33 ze33.
 much person on appearance become NEG-can CERT.STR PERF
 很多 人 上 样子 形成 不-能

it couldn't take on much of the appearance of a person.
 没有多少人的模样在上面。

- (539) tʰu33-ni13 zɔ33 ɣɣ33 gu33 ʑ31-sɿ33 ku31 ɛ31 ki31 zɔ33 pa33
 this way ADVB hemp cloth shuttle 1INC.PRO isn't that right shuttle
 这样 麻布 槽 咱们 是不是 槽

This way, don't we have a kind of shuttle for weaving hemp cloth,
 我们有一个织麻布的槽, 是不是,
 T:Tsodeluyizo.238

du33 lu33 dzɔ33 ku13 tʰu33-ni13 du31 su33 ki33
 CLS EXIST ABLT this way there pass DAT
 一 量词 有 会 这样 那边 贯串

that can be passed back and forth
 拿这个槽在麻布上贯串过来,

tʰu33 su33 ki33 tʰæ33 ni33.
 here pass DAT often COP
 这边 贯串 经常 是

[through the weft].
 贯串过去。

11.9.3 Manner

The manner adverbs often appear in reduplicated form; this reduplication gives a reading of added intensity to the adverb.

ta31	only, just (gemu.16), (gemu.38) (shortened form of ta31 ga31 then); just (tso.181)
ta31-ta31	just (gemu.36)
la31	only, just
dzæ13	often (tso.117)
la33-hwɿ31	slow; late (ACCOMP- + slow)
huu33 li31	quickly (go + n/a) (cinami.40)
na33-na33	stealthily (gemu.35), (cinami.36)
tɕ ^h wæ33-tɕ ^h wæ33	quickly, casually (tso.117)

Table 11.11 Na manner adverbs

(540)	duu33	ni33	nuu33	duu33	dzuu33	la31	ts ^h u13	wɔ33
	one	day	EMPH	one	CLS	only	cut	ABLT
	一	天		一	量词	才	砍	能

in one day (he) could only cut down one tree
 一天才能够砍掉一棵树
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.179

(541)	duu33-ta13	t ^h u33	la31	dʒɿ13	tɕɿ33.
	all	3SG.PRO	only	be good	regard as
	全部	她	才	好	算

All (of them) thought her to be the best.
 全部算她最好。
 T:Gemu.11

- (542) æ̃13 twɔ33 lɑ31 ni33 ʃɛ33 pu13 hu33.
 chicken call just fish look for send go
 鸡 叫 才 鱼 找 派 去
 the rooster had just crowed (when) (they) sent (him) to go look for fish.
 派去找鱼是特别冷的。
 ET:Tsoḍeluyizo.151

- (543) zɯ31 mu33 ku33 dʒɔ33 hæ33 qʰɿ33 tɑ31 lɔ31-yi33
 Zhimuku TOP evening only labor
 Zhimuku 晚上 才 劳动
 Zhimuku worked only at night...
 Zhimuku 在晚上劳动...
 ET:Tsoḍeluyizo.4

- (544) [ɿ31-sɔ33 ku31 pi33 li33 pi33 tsʰu31 zɔ31 ki33 dʒɔ33 æ̃13 lɑ33 tʰæ̃13
 1INC.PRO pilipitsizo DAT TOP chicken and such
 咱们 pilipitsizo 给 TOP 鸡 和 些
 (Given) to us people, chickens and such,
 分给我们人类的，有翅膀的，只有鸡和那些，
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.13

tɿ33-di33-hĩ33 tʰu33-ni13 du33-pi13 tɑ31 ki33] [dʒɛ33 ku13 tʰu33-ni13
 wings-EXIST.P-NOM this kind some only give fly ABLT this kind
 翅膀-有-的 这样 一些 才 给 飞 会 这样
 (of) things with wings, only some of these (chickens) were given; (of) things that can fly,
 一些这样的是给的，会飞这样一些，

du33-pi13 tɑ31 ki33.]
 some only give
 一些 才 给

only (chickens) were given (to us).
 才分给我们。

- (545) ɲɑ33 bu33 dʒɔ33 ʃu33 ʃu13 tɑ31 ni33
 1SG.PRO POSS TOP paper only COP
 我 的 TOP 纸 才 是
 Mine is only (written) on paper...
 我的只是纸做的...
 ET:Muphadaba.13

- (546) duu33 ni33 duu33 dzu33 ta31 Ga31 ts^hu13
 one day one CLS only cut down
 一天 一 量词 才 砍
 in one day he cut down only one tree
 一天才砍一棵树
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.181

11.9.4 Time

ʂu31-duu33-ni33	day before the day before yesterday
ʂu31-ni33	day before yesterday
??	yesterday
ts ^h u33-ni33	today (tso.102), (tso.118)
sɔ31-ni33	tomorrow
wɔ33-sɔ33	day after tomorrow
wɔ33-duu33-sɔ33	day after the day after tomorrow
lɔ33-wɔ33-t ^h u33- ɬi33	(accomp- + return + this + month)
t ^h u33-ɬi33	this month
ʂu31-duu33-yi33	year before the year before last year
ʂu31-yi33	year before last year
??	last year
ts ^h u33-yi33	this year
sɔ31-yi33	next year
wɔ33-yi33	year after next year
wɔ33-duu33-yi33	year after the year after next year

Table 11.12 Na temporal adverbs

11.10 NEGATION

The prefix NEG- mə33- can attach to any verb to create a negative. It attaches to existential verbs, the copula, active verbs, stative verbs, modals, auxiliaries, and appears in SVCs. In example (547), NEG- mə33- prefixes to the existential verb dzə33, to give a reading of ‘there wasn’t,’ where the past time reference is known from the discourse context (see §13 for discussion of the representation of time in Na).

(547)	wə33-ta33	du33	ji33	lu33-ʂu13	du33-sə33	mə33-dzə33	tɕi31 hũ33
	before	one	day	Luoshui	at all	NEG-EXIST	clothes
	以前	一	天	落水	一样	没-有	衣服

Before, there was nothing in Luoshui; clothes,
T:Change.2

bi33	mi33-dzi33-ha33	du33-sə33	mə33-dzə33.
stomach-eat-rice		at all	NEG-EXIST
肚子-吃饭		一样	没-有

things to eat, there weren’t any of these things.

In example (548), NEG- mə33- prefixes to the active verb ki33 ‘give.’

(548)	tʰu33	=ʂ13	zə13	la33	tʰa13	du33-sə33	tʰu33	mə33-ki33.
	3SG.PRO	=family	lunch	and	such	at all	3SG.PRO	NEG-give
	他	家	中午饭	和	那些	一样	他	没-给

The family didn’t give him lunch and such.
他家中午和那些一样没给他。
T:çinami.15

In example (549), NEG- mə33- prefixes to a stative verb in a cause-effect SVC.

(549)	tʰa33	ha33	lə33-dzi33	mə33-ni33.
	often	food	ACCOMP-eat	NEG-be full
	经常	饭	吃	不-饱

Often, he didn’t get enough to eat.
经常饭吃不饱。
T:çinami.18

In example (550), NEG- mǝ33- prefixes to a stative verb, hǝ33 hǝ33 ‘be compatible.’

(550)	hǝ31 q ^h ɣ33	lǝ31-yi33	zǝ33	t ^h u33 kwǝ33 ni31	mǝ33-hǝ33-hǝ33	zǝ33
	night	labor	must	absolutely	NEG-be compatible	PERF
	晚上	劳动	必须	彻底	不-合气	了

Having to work at night was absolutely incompatible,
经常在晚上工作是彻底不合气,
T:Tsodeluyizo.8

zɯ33-t^hu13 bi33 pi33 ni33.
separate families FUT.IMM QUOT CERT.STR
分家
so they said, “We’ll split into separate families.”
所以听说他们去分家。

In example (551), NEG- mǝ33- prefixes to a verb within a relative clause, and one can see that a second instantiation of NEG- mǝ33- is needed to take scope over the entire sentence.

(551)	t ^h u33	mǝ33-si33	hǝ33	duu33	wu33	mǝ33-dzǝ33.
	3SG.PRO	NEG-know	people	one	CLS	NEG-EXIST
	她	不-知道	人	一	个	没有

There wasn’t anyone who didn’t know her.
没有一个人不知道她。
T:Gemu.17

(552)	t ^h ǝ33	t ^h u33-ni13	mɣ31-tɕ ^h ǝ33	bi33	mǝ33-tɕ ^h wɣ33.
	often	this way	below	go	NEG-allow
	经常	这样	下边	去	不准

Often in this way he was not allowed to go down to earth.
经常这样不准他去下面。
T:Gemu.28

(553)	t ^h i13	ɕ31-sɣ33 ku31	mɣ33-di33	kwǝ33	zɯ33-tu33	t ^h u33	ɑ31-hǝ33
	so	1INC.PRO	land	LOC	family	succeed	QM-FUT.DES
	所以	咱们	土地	里	家庭	成功	会

And so, we must see if a family would be successful on our land,
所以，我们土地里的家庭会不会做成功了，
T:Tsodeluyizo.144

mə33-hə33	ɸɿ13	ni33	ze33.
NEG-FUT.DES	try	CERT.STR	PERF
不-会	试一下		了

要试ying一下。

Na prefers to create antonyms derivationally, by prefixing mə33- to an adjective, rather than having two distinct lexical items. This process is quite productive.

11.11 CAUSATIVES

Na has several causatives, which is not atypical for Tibeto-Burman languages. The causatives k^hu13 and tɕi33 both are derive from verbs meaning ‘put,’ as will be shown in §11.11.1 and 11.11.2. The causative yĩ33 derives from a verb meaning ‘do,’ as will be shown in §11.11.3. These causatives likely have arisen from verb serialization. Although Tibeto-Burman historically had an *s prefix causative (Matisoff 1973:243, LaPolla 2003:33), I have not found simplex-causative verb pairs that appear cognate in Na.

11.11.1 k^hu13 CAUS

k^hu13 is a V_H that means ‘put, place,’ as can be seen in the first clause of example (554), where it takes marking with the durative. It has grammaticalized into a causative, and this usage can be seen in the second line of example (554), where it raises the valency of the stative verb dzɿ13 ‘be good’ to form a causative reading.

(554)	hĩ33-mə33	bu33	t ^h u33-k ^h u13	dzɿ33	du33-pi13	dzɿ13	ku13	pi33	ni33
	elders	POSS	DUR-place	TOP	a little	good	FUT.ABL	QUOT	CERT.STR
	老人	的	放		一点	好	会		

It is said that they say, ‘Putting a bit of elders’ (hair inside one’s headdress)
听说放一点老人的（头发在里边），
T: Saozi.7

pa13	dʒɿ13	k ^h u13	sɔ33	hwɿ31	gɿ33	hĩ33-mɔ33	t ^h u33-ni13	dʒɔ33
maybe	good	CAUS	after		these	elders	this way	TOP
可能	好		以后			老人	这样	

will be good, these elders
这些老人

zu33	ʃæ33	ha31	yɿ33	hu33	ku13	ni33	tsi13.
have	long	life	peace	go	FUT.ABL	CERT.STR	REP
长寿			平安	去	会		

can help you live long and peacefully.
会让你长寿和平安的。

In (555), k^hu13 raises the valency of tæ13 ‘shut up’ to give the causative reading ‘shut someone up.’

(555)	wɿ13	hu33	pi33	du33	zu33	t ^h u33-tæ13	k ^h u13	mæ33-bi33	pi33.
	again	go	COND.HYP	one	lifetime	DUR-shut up	CAUS	NEG-go	QUOT
	又	去		一	辈子	关		不-会	

She said, “If (you) go again, (you) will be shut up for (your) entire life and wouldn’t be able to go out again.”

说如果再去就一辈子关起来不会放。

T:Gemu.29

In (556), k^hu13 raises the valency of bæ31-p^hɔ13 ‘plant’ to give the reading, ‘cause someone to plant (something).’

(556)	ʃɔ1-sɿ33	ku31	su33-dzu33	la33	t ^h æ13	da13	pu13	hu33	su33-dzu33
	INC.PRO		tree	and	such	cut	send	go	tree
	咱们		树	和	那些	砍	派	去	树

(they) sent (him) to cut down our trees, to cut down trees,

派他去把树子砍掉,

ET:Tsoyeluyizo.178

læ33-tʃ ^h u13	zɔ33	bæ31-p ^h ɔ13	k ^h u13	hɔ33	ni33	mæ33.
ACCOMP-cut	PERF	plant	CAUS	DES	CERT.STR	CERT.M
砍	了	播种		要		

(because) (they) wanted to have (him) plant grain

是为了要给他播种粮食

In (557), k^hu13 raises the valency of tɕu33 ‘burn’ to give a reading of ‘cause to burn’; tɕu33 ‘burn’ is prefixed with t^hu33- DUR- to indicate that the action is ongoing.

(557)	du33	ni33	t ^h u33-tɕu33	k ^h u13	zɔ33-ku13.
	one	day	DUR-burn	CAUS	ought
	一	天	燃		应该

It ought to made to burn all of the time.

一天都要让这堆火燃着的。

T:Fangzi.35

In examples (558) and (559), k^hu13 is a light verb with very bleached semantics. In (558), k^hu13 is translated by native speakers as ‘light (a fire)’ and in (559) k^hu13 is translated as ‘blow (a whistling sound).’ In both cases, is a V_H with an overt direct object, where if the direct object is represented by x, the sequence ‘x + k^hu13’ gives a reading of CAUS/MAKE (x). These two examples may represent an intermediate stage in the grammaticalization of k^hu13 V_H ‘put, place’ to k^hu13 CAUS.

(558)	lɔ33-tɕɤ33	tɕɤ31	zɔ33	mu33	k ^h u13.
	ACCOMP-divine	PERF	fire		light
	算卦		火		点

(when) (these) have been properly divined, the fire is lit
算卦好了以后点火
ET:Fangzi.26

(559)	ɕü33	ɕü33	pi33	tɕi31	ɕi33	k ^h u13	hɔ̃33	pi33
	ɕü	ɕü	QUOT	whistle		blow	go.IMP	QUOT
	ɕü	ɕü		口哨		吹		

go whistle the sound ‘ɕü33 ɕü33.’”
ɕü ɕü的吹九次口哨去。
ET:Tso deluyizo.196

11.11.2 tɕi33 CAUS

tɕi33 is a V_H that means ‘put, place,’ as can be seen in example (560). Like k^hu13 ‘put, place,’ it has also grammaticalized into a causative. Example (561) shows the causative use of tɕi33, where by following dzu31 ‘sit,’ one gets the reading ‘cause to sit.’

- (560) lə33-pɣ33 pɣ33 lə33-pɔ31-ts^hu33 a33-da33-a33-mi33
 ACCOMP-carry on one’s back ACCOMP-bring parents
 背着 拿来 父母
 Putting them on his back, he carried them home,
 背着拿回来,
 T:Tsodeluyizo.155

wə33-ta33 t^hu33-tɕi33.
 in front of DUR-put
 面前 放
 and put them in front of her parents.
 放在爸爸妈妈的面前。

- (561) zə33-hə33 ni33 lu33 dzɣ33 zə33 bə31-ku13 kwə33 dzu31 tɕi33 hu33.
 child two CLS grab PERF pig trough LOC sit CAUS go
 小孩子 两 量词 抓 了 猪槽 里 坐 去
 (she) grabbed the two children and went and sat them in the pig trough
 抓了两个小孩儿，让他们坐在猪槽里面
 ET:ɕinami.54

11.11.3 yī33 CAUS

yī33 ‘make, do’ has grammaticalized into a causative. The V_H usage can be seen in (562), while the causative usage can be seen most clearly in example (563), where the valency of t^hu33 ‘succeed’ is raised with yī33 CAUS, so that one receives a causative reading, ‘cause to succeed in clearing the land.’

(562) tɔ31-mi13 tʰu33 dzu33 dzɔ33 su33-dzu33 du33 dzu33 da13
 pillar this CLS TOP tree one CLS cut down
 柱头 这 树 一 棵

a pair of pillars are made from the wood of one tree that has been cut down

柱头是树木一棵

ET:Fangzi.6

lɔ33-pɔ31-yɔ33 ni33 tæ13 lɔ33-pu33 pu33 tɔ31-mi13 du33 dzu33 yĩ33.
 ACCOMP-bring two section ACCOMP-divide pillar one CLS make
 拿来 两 段 分成 柱头 一 做

and brought back and divided into two sections, to make a pair of pillars.

拿回来的，把它分成两段做两个木柱的。

(563) qʰa33-ni13 zɔ33 tʰu33 mɤ33-di33 tʰu33 kʰwɤ33 dzɔ33 lɔ33-tsʰu13
 how this land this CLS TOP ACCOMP-cut
 怎样 了 这 土地 这 量词 砍

He thought, “How can I

他想怎么样

T:Tsoyeluyizo.180

lɔ33-tʰu33 yĩ33 su33 du33.
 ACCOMP-succeed CAUS think
 成功 想

clear this piece of land?”

才能把这块土地的树砍好。

In (564), one also receives a clear causative reading for yĩ33. The V_H ɕi33 followed by yĩ33 CAUS gives a reading of ‘cause to get better,’ while in the second line, the V_H kʰwɤ33 ‘cure’ can be substituted, without need for serialization with yĩ33 CAUS.

(564) da33 pɤ33 bu33 sixiang (loan) dzɔ33 hĩ33 gɔ33 dzɔ33 hĩ33 ɕi33 yĩ33
 daba POSS thought TOP people ill TOP people treat CAUS
 达巴 的 思想 人 病 人 治好

Daba thought is that if a person is ill, cure the person,

达巴的思想是人病了治好人，把人治好，

T:Yzt.6

hĩ33	lǝ33-k ^h wɿ33	hu33	gɿ13	my33	çi33	yĩ33	di33 ku33-di33
people	ACCOMP-cure	go	above	sky	treat	CAUS	land-NOM _{LOC}
人	治好		上面	天空	治好		土地

(if the sky above is ill), cure the sky, (if the land is ill), cure
 (上面的天空病了), 把天治好, (外面土地病了), 把土地

çi33	yĩ33	da33 pɿ33	q ^h wæ33	kwǝ33	dʒǝ33	my33-di33	<i>diqu</i> (loan)	gǝ33
treat	CAUS	daba	scriptures	LOC	TOP	land	world	ill
治好		达巴	经文	里		土地	地球	病

the land, in the daba scriptures it is said that the land, the world
 治好, 达巴的经文里说土地也

ku13	pi33	ni33	tsi13.
ABLT	QUOT	CERT.STR	REP
会			

can also become ill.
 会病的。

(565) t^hi13 na31-di33 kwǝ33 p^hæ31-tɕ^hi33 = æ31 du33-ta13 t^hu33
 so Na areas LOC young guys = PL all 3SG.PRO
 所以 摩梭地区 里 小伙子 = 们 全部 她
 So, in all the Na areas, all of the young men
 所以摩梭地区里头所有的小伙子们都
 T:Gemu.10

fu33	yĩ33	zwæ13.
like	CAUS	very
喜欢		很

liked her.
 喜欢她。

11.12 SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

Dixon (2006:338) notes that serial verb constructions (SVCs) can be found in areally and typologically different languages, although they are often attested in analytical languages. Na has both symmetrical serial verb constructions, where verb choice is unrestricted; asymmetrical serial verb constructions, where verb choice is restricted (terminology per Aikhenvald 2006); and resultative/cause-effect serial verb constructions. There are also a number of complement-taking predicates in which the complement does not have an overt subject, so the verbs concatenate.

11.12.1 Symmetrical serial verb constructions

Symmetrical serial verb constructions are fairly rare in Na. Most concatenations of verbs in Na fall into one of the following categories: verb phrases which belong to separate clauses but appear adjacently because their nominal arguments are not overt; a complement taking predicate with an adjacent infinitive-like verb (see §16.3.4); a verb with an aspect marker which has grammaticalized from a verb and thus has an isomorphic verb counterpart; or a resultative/cause-and-effect SVC. Examples of symmetrical serial verb constructions are given in (566) and (567). Symmetrical serial verb constructions tend to match Aktionsart marking on each verb. Other types of serial verb constructions can have Aktionsart marking on one verb but not the other, or $\text{lə}33\text{-ACCOMP-ON}$ on one verb and $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}33\text{-DUR-}$ on the other. This is significant because Aktionsart marking is morphological, so it may be that symmetrical serial verb constructions are more tightly integrated because their Aktionsart marking synchronizes.

- (566) t^hi13 lə33-wə33 zɔ33 t^hu33 zɯ33-mi33 t^hu33 lu33
 so ACCOMP-call CSM this hearth room this CLS
 所以 叫 这 祖屋 这 个
 Having called it,
 所以把祖屋这个叫醒了,
 T:Fangzi.49

lə33-wɔ13	lə33-sɪ31	lə33-yɔ33	hu33.
ACCOMP-return	ACCOMP-live	ACCOMP-come	FUT.REM
回	活	来	

the hearth room will come back to life.
 让他重新活回来了。

- (567) t^hu33 wɔ33-ta33 du33 ni33 nɔ33 lə33-hæ13 kwɔ33 ʂe33 wɣ13
 3SG.PRO before one day just ACCOMP-cut LOC meat again
 他 以前 一 天 才 割 肉 又
 The part of the fish that he had sliced off the day before
 他再割掉的地方
 T:çinami.29

lə33-wɔ13	lə33-gwɣ13	ze33.
ACCOMP-return	ACCOMP-grow	CSM
回来	长	了

had grown back.
 又重新长起来了。

11.12.2 Asymmetrical serial verb constructions

In asymmetrical SVCs, one of the verbs comes from a restricted set. A large majority of the Na SVCs are asymmetrical. In Na asymmetrical SVCs, word order for the SVC is verb head – directional verb. The Na SVCs typically indicate movement toward or movement away, and contain one of four directional verbs: yɔ33 ‘VENITIVE / come (to deictic center),’ bi33 ‘ANDATIVE / go (from deictic center),’ ts^hu33 ‘come (no deictic center),’ and hu33 ‘go (no deictic center).’

11.12.2.1 yɔ33 VENITIVE

yɔ33 VENITIVE can be translated as ‘come (to deictic center).’ That there is a deictic center can be seen clearly in examples such as (568), where the speaker is demanding that rope be brought to him, and in (569), where the protagonist is explaining that it would be too difficult to carry heavy gold and silver from his natal home back to the deictic center of the utterance, the home of his prospective parents-in-law. Likewise, in (570) and (571), which come from a procedural narrative discussing how to build a home, the deictic center is the home under construction, so yɔ33 is used in SVCs to indicate motion from the outside world where materials are collected back to this new home.

(568) bæ33 pɔ31-yɔ33.
 rope bring
 绳子 拿来
 Bring over the rope!
 把绳子拿来。
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.131

(569) zɿ13 mi33 lə33-ʂæ33 lə33-zwæ13 zɔ33 ŋy33 hæ31
 road ACCOMP-long ACCOMP-INTS CRS silver gold
 路 长 了 白银 黄金
 He said, “The road is too long, my home is too far away, to carry gold and silver on one’s back
 说路太长，太远了，黄金和白银背来
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.135

lə33-pɿ33 pɿ33	pɔ31-yɔ33	mə33-tʰa13	pi33	qæ13	ni33.
ACCOMP-carry on one’s back	bring	NEG-may	QUOT	cheat	CERT.STR
背着	拿来	不-可以		骗	

such a long distance would be impossible,” and he cheated them in this way.
 不了，这样骗他们。

(570) tɔ31-mi13 tʰu33 dzu33 dzɔ33 su33-dzu33 du33 dzu33 da13
 pillar this CLS TOP tree one CLS cut down
 柱头 这 树 一 棵
 a pair of pillars are made from the wood of one tree that has been cut down
 柱头是树木一棵
 ET:Fangzi.6

lə33-pə31-yə33	ni33	tə13	lə33-pu33 pu33	tə31-mi13	du33	dzu33	yī33.
ACCOMP-bring	two	section	ACCOMP-divide	pillar	one	CLS	make
拿来	两	段	分成	柱头	一		做

and brought back and divided into two sections, to make a pair of pillars.
拿回来的，把它分成两段做两个木柱的。

(571)	çi31 dzi13	la33	lə13	la33	du33-pi13	qwæ31- qwæ13	pə31-yə33.
	coals	and	ash	etc.	a little	dig up	bring
	炭	和	灰	等等	一点	挖	拿来

(Go to the ancestral home) and dig up a bit of coals and ashes and bring them back.
(去老家)挖一点炭和灰拿回来。

T:Fangzi.28

(572)	tʰi13	ŋə33-tə33-mi33	lə33-ŋu33	lə33-yə33	hə33	ni33	zɛ33.
	so	horizontal-eyed woman	ACCOMP-carry	ACCOMP-come	FUT.DES	CERT.STR	CSM
	所以	眼睛横的女人	带	来	要		了

So, he would carry back the horizontal-eyed woman.
所以，要带着横眼睛的姑娘回来了。

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.249

11.12.2.2 bi33 ANDATIVE

bi33 ANDATIVE can be translated as ‘go (away from deictic center).’ Motion away from deictic center can be seen clearly in (573), where the adverb ə33 pʰə13 ‘outside’ makes the notion of deictic center explicit. However, the andative nature of bi33 is also clear in examples (574) and (575), where in the new economy, people do not need to leave the village to do migrant labor or to leave the warmth of the hearth to work in the fields, respectively. In (576) and (577), the young god is warned by his mother not to visit the mortal woman Gemu, or he will not be allowed to leave his home again.

The deictic center in conversation depends upon the physical location of the speech act participants. In the collected narrative texts, the deictic center is very frequently the home or the Na areas; this is partially an artifact of the textual genres.

(573)	lu33-mi33	du33	lu33	qwæ13	ɑ33-p ^h ɔ13	bi33	zɔ33
	stone	one	CLS	dig up	outside	go	OBL
	石头	一	个	挖	外面	去	

one must dig up a stone from the foundation

首先在地基里边挖一个石头出来

ET:Fangzi.3

(574)	t ^h u33	q ^h ɑ33	k ^h u13	p ^h æ31-tɕ ^h i33 = æ31	ɑ33-p ^h ɔ13	dʒɛ33	ʂɛ33	bi33
	this	several	years	men = PL	outside	money	look for	go
	这	几	年	男人 = 们	外面	钱	找	去

These last few years, men don't need to go to the outside world

T:Change.6

mə33-zɔ33.

NEG-OBL

不-用

to earn money.

(575)	p ^h æ31-tɕ ^h i33-mu33-zɔ33 = æ31	ʂɔ31-bu33	lɔ33-yi33	bi33	mə33-zɔ33.
	men-women = PL	self	labor	go	NEG-need
	男-女 = 们	自己	劳动	去	不-用

Men and women don't need to go labor (in the fields).

T:Change.9

(576)	t ^h æ33	t ^h u33-ni13	my31-tɕ ^h ɔ33	bi33	mə33-tɕ ^h wɔ33.
	often	this way	below	go	NEG-allow
	经常	这样	下边	去	不-准

Often in this way he was not allowed to go down to earth.

经常这样不准他去下面。

T:Gemu.28

(577)	wɔ13	hu33	pi33	du33	zu33	t ^h u33-tæ13	k ^h u13	mə33-bi33	pi33.
	again	go	say	one	lifetime	DUR-shut up	CAUS	NEG-go	QUOT
	又	去	说	一	辈子	关		不-会	

She said, "If (you) go again, (you) will be shut up for (your) entire life and wouldn't be able to go out again."

说如果再去就一辈子关起来不会放。

T:Gemu.29

(578) lə33-nu33 lə33-bi33 zə33-hə33 zu33-tu33

yī33	bi33	zə33-hə33
make	go	should
做	去	应该

He should go, he should go set up a family,
去是要回去的, 建立家庭,
T:Tsoḍeluyizo.248

ni33 nə31 tʰi13 æ31-tɕi13 pɤ33 tə31 mə33-dzə33 ni33 mə33.
CERT.STR but so chick all NEG-EXIST CERT.STR CERT.M
但是 所以 小鸡 都 没-有

but he didn't have even a baby chick.
但是连一只小鸡都没有。

(579) tsʰə31 du33 lu33 yi33 zə33

qə13 qə13	bi33	ʂu33 du33.
shoot	go	think
打抢	去	想

Tsoḍeluyizo
Tsoḍeluyizo thought to go out shooting.
Tsoḍeluyizo 是想去射箭。
T:Tsoḍeluyizo.233

11.12.2.3 tsʰu33

(580) is a particularly vivid example. The serial verb construction qə13 lə33-tsʰu33 contains a head, qə13 ‘cheat,’ which comes from an unrestricted class of verbs, and the accomplished marker lə33- marks tsʰu33 ‘come,’ which is the minor member of the asymmetrical serial verb construction and comes from a restricted class of directional verbs. tsʰu33 ‘come’ keeps its directional semantics, but there is also a cause-effect relationship in the serial verb construction.

(580) ə13 tʰu33 dzə31 ha33 ly33 pə13 zə33 zɤ13 mi33 kwə33 nu33
chicken this then rice CLS use CRS road LOC EMPH
鸡 这 饭 量词 了 路 里

Chickens, these she put rice kernels one by one on the road,
鸡是用饭在路上一颗一颗的撒下,
T:Tsoḍeluyizo.271

du33	lu33	du33	lu33	t ^h u33-tɕi33	æ13	t ^h u33	dʒo31	ha33	ly33
one	CLS	one	CLS	DUR-put	chicken	this	then	rice	CLS
一	量词	一	量词	放	鸡	这		饭	量词

the chickens followed, eating the rice ta31 ta31, and she brought them back by such trickery.
鸡追赶，饭ta ta的吃，被她骗

k ^h y13	zo33	ta31 ta31	pi33	qæ13	lə33-ts ^h u33.
peck	CRS	ta ta	QUOT	cheat	ACCOMP-come
啄	了	ta ta		骗	来

啄回来了。

(581)	dzi33 tɔ33	ni33 zo33	gi13	bu13	lə33-ts ^h u33.
	flood water	fish	behind	burst out	ACCOMP-come
	洪水	鱼	后面	爆发	来

However, from behind the fish, flood water came bursting out.
但是，洪水从鱼的后面爆发出来。

T:çinami.47

(582)	bo13	dzo33	pi13 ly33	gi13	di33	lə33-ts ^h u33.
	pig	TOP	lees	after	follow	ACCOMP-come
	猪		酒糟	后面	跟	来

... (and) the pigs came following after the wine lees.
这样把猪骗回来了。

ET:Tso deluyizo.268

(583)	ni33 zo33	la33	q ^h a33-yɿ13	t ^h æ31-t ^h æ13	po31-ts ^h i33	t ^h u33	dzi33	dzo33.
	fish	etc.	lots	bite.BACK AND FORTH	bring	3SG.PRO	eat	PROG
	鱼		很多	咬	拿来	它	吃	正在

(They) ate a lot of fish; (they) bit (it) back and forth, brought (it) (out), (and) were eating it.
咬了很多的鱼肉，拿出来正在吃。

T:çinami.22

(584)	t ^h i13	no31	suu31-t ^h i13	po13	ni33 zo33-ʒe33	du33	p ^h æ13	hæ13
	so	then	knife	INSTR	fish meat	one	CLS	cut
	所以	才	刀子	拿	鱼肉	一	片	割

So, using a knife, he cut off a slice of fish and
所以用刀子割鱼肉一片

T:çinami.26

lə33-pə31-ts^hu33.

ACCOMP-bring

拿来

brought it out.

拿出来。

11.12.2.4 hu33

(585) has another asymmetrical SVC where the semantics of the directional verb, hu33 ‘go,’ are clearly retained.

(585)	du33	ɲi33	dʒə33	bə31-lu13	kwə33	bə13	du33-ta13	æ31-q ^h ɣ33	du33	lu33
	one	day	TOP	pig-feed	LOC	pig	all	cave	one	CLS
	一	天		猪-放	里	猪	全部	山洞	一	个

One day, while feeding the pigs, all of the pigs

有一天放猪的时候全部的猪

T:çinami.21

kwə33

tɕ^hi33

lə33-hu33.

LOC

enter

ACCOMP-go

里头

钻

去

went into a cave.

钻到一个山洞里去。

(586)	ʒ31-sɿ33	ku31	ɑ31	yi33	ʂɛ33	tɕiæ33	æ31	ku31	di33	tsə33	mi33
	1INC.PRO		long, long ago			pickled vegetables	make	NRA		wooden barrel	
	咱们		很久以前			酸菜	做	的		木桶	

The type of barrel we used when we made pickled vegetables long, long ago,

我们很久以前做酸菜的桶，

T:Tsoyeluyizo.123

su33

tsə33

mi33

q^hɑ33-du33

du33

lu33

kwə33

lə33-ʂu33

wood

wooden barrel

very big

one

CLS

LOC

ACCOMP-carry

木头

木桶

多大

一

量词

里

带

a wooden barrel, a very large barrel,

木头的桶，很大的一个桶，

lə33-pə31-hu33	tsə33 mi33	tʰæ33 kwə33	ɣɣ13	hæ31.
ACCOMP-bring	wooden barrel	underneath	cover	INTERJ
拿去	木桶	下面里	盖	语气词

carried it home, and hid under the barrel.

把它带着回家躲在木桶的下面。

(587)	hwa31 li33	tʰu33	dʒə33	kə31 pə33	gi13	pʰə33	lə33-hu33.
	cat	this	TOP	livestock	after	escape	ACCOMP-go
	猫	这		牲畜	后面	逃跑	去

Cats, these escaped by following livestock.

猫，这个是跟着牲畜跑去的。

T:Tsoyeluyizo.264

(588)	mu31-zə13	du33	lu33	pə13	zə33	dʒi33	du33	tɕʰə13	qwə13	hu33.
	girl	one	CLS	take	OBL	water	one	CLS	scoop	go
	女人	一	个	拿		水	一	瓢	挖	去

A girl is made to go scoop a ladle of water.

让一个女人挖一瓢水来。

T:Fangzi.30

(589)	pʰə33-bi33-di33	mə33-di33	tʰi13	hu33 li31	zə33	zə33-hə33	ni33	lu33
	escape-go-NOM _{Loc}	NEG-EXIST.P	so	quickly	ADVB	child	two	CLS
	逃跑-去-地	没-有	所以	很快		小孩子	两	量词

There was no place to escape to, so she quickly grabbed the two children

逃跑的地方没有，所以很快抓了两个小孩儿，

T:cinami.54

dʒɤ33	zə33	bə31-ku13	kwə33	dʒu31	tɕi33	hu33.
grab	PERF	pig trough	LOC	sit	CAUS	go
抓	了	猪槽	里	坐		去

and went and sat them in the pig trough.

让他们坐在猪槽里面。

(590)	mɣ33-wə33	bu33	zɥ33 mə31	tsʰu31-di33	la33	mɣ33	bu33	tɕi33
	heavens	NRA	rainbow-NOM		and	heavens	NRA	cloud
	天上	的	彩虹		和	天	的	云彩

Heaven's rainbows and clouds

天上的彩虹和天上的云彩

T:Gemu.5

du31 tɕɔ33	dzɛ33 hu33	du33 dzu31 k ^h ɣ31	lɔ33-zu33	ɣɣ33	kwɔ33
there	to fly go	a while	ACCOMP-take	hemp cloth	LOC
那边	飞 去	一会儿	拿	麻布	里

went flying by, she could quickly embroider
飞过去就把它织

t^hu33-da13 wɔ33.

DUR-sew ABLT
织 能

on the hemp cloth.
在麻布上。

(591)

ku31 mu33	ki33	li33 hu33.
Gemu	DAT	see go
格姆		看 去

He went to where Gemu was to look.
去格姆那里看。
T:Gemu.20

(592)

wɣ33-wɔ33	gɣ33	t ^h æ33	nu33	su33-dzu33	bi33	tɕwɣ33
in the mountains	side	often	EMPH	tree	on	caught on
山上	边, 面	经常		树木	上	抓住

In the mountains, all of the wood from the trees
山上面所有的树上树木都
T:Tso deluyizo.43

su33-dzu33	dzɛ33 lɔ33-hu33.
tree	fly ACCOMP-go
树木	飞 去

went flying.
飞走了。

11.12.3 Resultative/cause-and-effect serial verb constructions

(593) contains the resultative/cause-and-effect serial verb constructions ɕɛ33 mɔ33-du33 ‘look for and not obtain’ and ɕɛ33 du33 ‘look for and obtain, able to find.’ The result (second verb) in Na resultative/cause-and-effect serial verb constructions can be either stative, as in (594), or non-stative, as in (595) and (596).

(593)	ɲa33-tsu31-mi33	dʒə31	ʂɛ33	mə33-du33
	vertical-eyed woman	EXIST	look for	NEG-obtain
	眼睛竖的女人	有	找	不-得

He didn't find a vertical-eyed woman,
竖眼睛的没有找到,
T:Tsoḍeluyizo.101

ɲa33-tæ33-mi33	tʰu33	wu33	ʂɛ33	du33	zə33.
horizontal-eyed woman	this	CLS	look for	obtain	CSM
眼睛竖的女人	这	量词	找	得	了

although he was able to find a horizontal-eyed woman.
只是找到一个眼睛横的了。

(594)	tʰa33	ha33	lə33-dzi33	mə33-ɲi33.
	often	food	ACCOMP-eat	NEG-be full
	经常	饭	吃	不-饱

Often, he didn't get enough to eat.
经常饭吃不饱。
T:ɕinami.18

(595)	tʰu33	nu33	gy33	kʰu13	hə33	mə33-mæ33.
	3SG.PRO	nine	year		wait	NEG-have time
	他	九	年		等	不-空闲

He couldn't wait nine years.
他等不了九年。
T:Tsoḍeluyizo.55

(596)	sə33	ɲi33	sə33	ha33	ʂɛ33	mə33-tə33	tʰi13	a33	pa33	tə31	ki33	hu33.
	three	day	three	night	look for	NEG-see	so	Apato			DAT	go
	三	天	三	夜	找	不-看见	所以	Apato				去

找了三天三夜，什么都不看见，所以去Apato那里。
He searched for three days and three nights, and saw nothing, so he went to visit Apato.
T:Tsoḍeluyizo.47

11.13 VERB PHRASE COORDINATION

11.13.1 Conjunctive coordination

In Na, verb phrases can be conjoined through asyndesis or through the use of the conjunctive coordinator ɩa33.

11.13.1.1 *Verb phrase conjunction through asyndesis*

In the section on noun phrase coordination (§9.7.7), we discussed the structural ambiguity of adjacent nouns which are not marked with the conjunctive coordinator ɩa33: should these be analyzed as a coordinate compound or as two nouns conjoined through asyndesis? This same issue is relevant for verbs: should adjacent verbs which are not marked with the conjunctive coordinator ɩa33 be analyzed as a coordinate compound or two verbs conjoined through asyndesis? However, for verb phrases, there are two additional possibilities: the verbs may appear adjacently but actually belong to separate clauses, with agent/subject and/or object having been ellipsed, or they may be a serial verb construction.

As in the analysis of noun phrases, we can see a continuum from coordinate compounds, where there is a clear semantic relationship between the two verbs, such as synonymy or antonymy, and asyndesis, where there is not such a semantic relationship. Coordinate compounds also tend to be more tightly integrated phonologically, so that a pause between the two verbs is not found, while verbs joined through asyndesis are more loosely integrated phonologically, and a slight pause can be found between the verbs, as one does when giving a list.

Identifying when two verb phrases are joined through asyndesis versus when they appear adjacently but actually belong to separate clauses, with agent/subject and/or object having been ellipsed, is more tricky. In examples where the agent/subject and the object of the two verbs are the same, there is genuine ambiguity, and these should be seen as falling along a continuum rather than belonging to one category or the other. It is just this sort of ambiguity that allows reanalysis to occur, so the availability of asyndesis as a structure in Na has historically allowed coordinate compounds and serial verb constructions to arise.

Likewise, identifying when two verbs are joined through asyndesis versus when they belong to a serial verb construction is perhaps even more difficult. In this case, there is no formal criterion to separate the two; again, these two should be seen as forming a continuum, with ambiguous cases lying along the continuum. However, in this volume, when V2 is an andative or venitive, or V2 represents a resultative state, such constructions are discussed more fully in the section on serial verb construction (§11.12), as the literature on serial verb constructions provides useful insights into the kinds of relationships verbs in these constructions can have.

A final construction that lies on the far border of the continuum is that of verbs such as pɔ31 tsʰu33. pɔ13 and tsʰu33 both appear as individual verbs: pɔ13 ‘take’ (also INSTR) and tsʰu33 ‘come.’ pɔ31 tsʰu33 historically would have formed a serial verb construction, e.g. ‘take and come.’ However, it has become fully lexicalized, meaning ‘bring.’

separate clauses ← → asyndesis ← → serial verb construction ← → coordinate compound ← → lexicalized verb

In example (597), the events *lə33-bu33* ‘roasted (it)’ and *lə33-dzi33* ‘ate (it)’ are conjoined through asyndesis.

- (597) *ɑ33-pʰɔ13* *lə33-bu33* *lə33-dzi33*.
 outside ACCOMP-roast ACCOMP-eat
 外面 烧 吃
 Once outside, (he) roasted (it) and ate (it).
 外面烧了吃。
 T:ɕinami.27

11.13.1.2 *Verb phrase conjunction through use of the conjunctive coordinator la33*

In (598), *la33* conjoins the events *gwɿ13* ‘sing’ and *tsʰɔ33* ‘dance.’

- (598) *wɔ33-tɿ31* *du33* *lu33* *tɔ31* *tɕʰɑ33* *ha13* *ɲɿ13* *wɿ33-tɿ31* *tɔ31*
 mountaintop one CLS ADESS every night mountaintop ADESS
 山头上 一 量词 上面 每一个晚上 山头上 上面
 On a mountaintop, every night they went to a mountaintop
 在一个山头上每一个晚上去山头上
 T:Gemu.23

gwɿ13 *la33* *tsʰɔ33* *hu33*.
 sing and dance go
 唱歌 和 跳舞 去
 to sing and dance.
 唱歌和跳舞。

In (599), *la33* conjoins the events *du33 ɲu33 ɲu33* ‘cry on and on’ and *du33 gwɿ13 gwɿ13* ‘sing on and on,’ where the two events appear in the iterative aspect (cf. §13.7).

- (599) *tʰi13* *ni33* *ku13* *wɿ33-tɿ31* *tɔ31* *du33-ɲu33 ɲu33* *la33* *du33-gwɿ13 gwɿ13*.
 so two CLS mountaintop ADESS cry.ITER and sing.ITER
 所以 两 个 山头上 一哭 和 一唱
 So, on the mountain the two alternatively cried and sang for a long time.
 所以两个人山头上哭一次，唱一次，又哭一次，又唱一次。
 T:Gemu.33

11.13.2 Disjunctive coordination

Disjunctive coordination of verb phrases has the structure A-co B, where A and B are verb phrases and co represents the disjunctive coordinator nɔ33. By contrast, disjunctive coordination of clauses using nɔ33 has the structure A B-co (cf. §16.1.2).

An example of disjunctive coordination of verb phrases is given in example (600). tʰi13 tsʰɿ13 hɿ33 ‘So can one build it’ and mɔ33-hɿ33 ‘cannot’ take disjunctive coordination with nɔ33 ‘or,’ and tʰu33 tsu33 tæ33 kwɔ33 dzu33 hɿ33 hɔ33 ‘will one be able to live in this foundation’ and mɔ33-hɔ33 ‘will not’ take disjunctive coordination with nɔ33 ‘or.’

(600) [tʰi13 tsʰɿ13 hɿ33 nɔ33 mɔ33-hɿ33] [tʰu33 tsu33 tæ33 kwɔ33 dzu33
 so build be okay or NEG- be okay this foundation LOC live
 所以 建 行 或者 不-行 这 地基 里 住
 So, is it okay to build or not?
 所以能修或者不能修,
 T:Fangzi.4

hɿ33 hɔ33 nɔ33 mɔ33-hɔ33] [tʰæ13 lɔ33-tʂɿ33 tʂɿ33 pi33
 be okay FUT.DES or NEG-FUT.DES such ACCOMP-divine say
 行 会 或者 不-会 这些 算卦 说
 will it be okay to live in this foundation or not?
 这个地基里能住或者不能住,

zɔ33 mɔ33-dzɔ33 ku13.]
 ADVB NEG-EXIST FUT.ABL
 的 没-有
 such (things) must be divined (so) there will not be talk.
 这些必须算卦好（让人没有任何别的说的）。

It should also be noted that the disjunctive coordinations in example (600) mirror the structure of the a31 QM + A-not-A questions (§15.3.4).

12 Modality

Modality in Na includes three deontic modals: obligative $z\text{ɔ}33$ ‘must; need,’ $z\text{ɔ}33\text{-}h\text{ɔ}33$ ‘should’ (which is a compound of obligative $z\text{ɔ}33$ and desiderative $h\text{ɔ}33$), and $z\text{ɔ}33\text{-}k\text{u}13$ ‘ought’ (which is a compound of obligative $z\text{ɔ}33$ and abilitive $k\text{u}13$); four dynamic modals: abilitive $w\text{ɔ}33$ ‘can, able to,’ abilitive $k\text{u}13$ ‘can,’ and volitive $\text{ɕ}u33\text{ }d\text{u}33$ ‘want,’ and desiderative $h\text{ɔ}33$ ‘want’; and an epistemic modal: possibility $t^h\text{a}13$ ‘may.’ These modals appear as post-head auxiliary verbs.

Palmer distinguishes between two basic types of event modality: deontic modality and dynamic modality, where “deontic modality relates to obligation or permission, emanating from an external source, whereas dynamic modality relates to ability or willingness, which comes from the individual concerned.” (Palmer 2001:9-10). Na also has a third type of event modality, epistemic modality, which is expressed with $t^h\text{a}13$.

Evidentiality is covered separately from modality. (Evidentiality is discussed in §14). As noted in §11.2 on the structure of verb phrases, modals and evidentials occupy separate slots in the verb phrase, and the present analysis of is consistent with Aikhenvald (2003) in viewing evidentiality and modality as separate grammatical systems, despite the formal similarities between the two found in some languages.

Modality type	Modal	Form	Semantics	Morph	Abbr.
Deontic	OBLIGATIVE	zɔ33	‘must, need’	AUX	OBL
	SHOULD	zɔ33-hɔ33 (OBL + DES)	‘should’	AUX	SHOULD
	OUGHT	zɔ33-ku13 (OBL + ABLT)	‘ought’	AUX	OUGHT
Dynamic	ABILITIVE	wɔ33	‘can, able to’	AUX	ABLT
	ABILITIVE	ku13	‘can’	AUX	ABLT
	VOLITIVE	ʃu33 du33	‘want’	AUX	VOL
	DESIDERATIVE	hɔ33	‘want’	AUX	DES
Epistemic	POSSIBILITY	tʰa13	‘may’	AUX	POSSIB

Table 12.1 Na modals

12.1 zɔ33 OBLIGATIVE

The auxiliary verb zɔ33 marks obligation, and can be translated as ‘must’ or ‘need’; it can appear either without further marking or marked with mɔ33- NEG-, in which case it can be translated as ‘need not.’

- (601) hæ31 qʰy33 lɔ31-yi33 zɔ33 tʰu33 kwɔ33 ni31 mɔ33-hɔ33-hɔ33 zɔ33
night labor OBL absolutely NEG-compatible PERF
晚上 劳动 必须 彻底 不合气 了

Having to work at night was absolutely incompatible,
经常在晚上工作是彻底不合气,
T:Tsoḍeluyizo.8

zɔ33-tʰu13 bi33 pi33 ni33.
separate families FUT.IMM QUOT CERT.STR
分家

so they said, “We’ll split into separate families.”
所以听说他们去分家。

- (602) tʰi13 la33 bu33 ɲɔ13 tsu13 pɔ31-yɔ33 zɔ33.
 so tiger POSS milk squeeze bring OBL
 所以 老虎 的 奶 挤 拿来 必须
 So he needed to bring back some tiger milk.
 所以必须把老虎的奶挤回来。
 T:Tso deluyizo.161

- (603) pʰæ31-tɕʰi33-mu33-zɔ33 = æ31 ʑ31-bu33 lɔ33-yi33 bi33 mə33-zɔ33.
 men-women = PL self labor go NEG-OBL
 男-女 = 们 自己 劳动 去 不-用
 People don't need to go labor (in the fields) themselves.
 T:Change.9

12.2 zɔ33 hɔ33 SHOULD

The modal auxiliary zɔ33 hɔ33 marks ‘should.’ It is composed of zɔ33 OBLIGATIVE and hɔ33 DESIDERATIVE. It often appears as the shortened form zɔ33, and native speaker have a clear reading that this is, in fact, a shortened form, rather than an overlap of usage with zɔ33 OBLIGATIVE. The epistemic strategy ni33 CERT.STR appear very frequently with zɔ33 hɔ33 SHOULD. This usage generally is the narrator asserting agreement with the idea of ‘should.’

- (604) tʰi13 tʰæ33 tʰu33-kʰu13 zɔ33-hɔ33 ni33 tʰu33-kʰu13 zɔ33-hɔ33 ni33.
 so often DUR-light should CERT.STR DUR-light should CERT.STR
 所以 经常 点 应该 点 应该
 It should be always lit, it should be lit.
 所以是应该经常点上的, 应该是点上的。
 T:Fangzi.38

- (605) wa! ɲa33 bu33 tʰa33 ə31 du33-ta31 lə33-dzi33 lə33-sɛ33
 INTERJ 1SG.PRO POSS book all ACCOMP-eat ACCOMP-complete
 哇 我 的 书 全部 吃 完
 The daba said, “Wa! My books have all been eaten,
 哇! 达巴说, 我的书全部吃掉了,
 T:Muphadaba.18

(dzɔ33)	ɲa33	q ^h a31-ni13	yī33	zɔ33	ni33	pi33.
	1SG.PRO	how	do	should	CERT.STR	QUOT
	我	该怎么样	做	应该		

what should I do?”
我应该怎么样去做呢?

(606)	zɯ33-tu33	a33-tso33	mə33-du33	pɛ31	zɯ33-mi33	t ^h u33	lu33	su33
	family	whatever	NEG-obtain	then	hearth room	this	CLS	still
	家庭	什么	没-得到		祖屋	这	个	还

even when a family doesn't have anything at all yet, the hearth room
既是什么都没有得到；祖屋这个是
ET:Fangzi.2

wɔ33-ta33	ts ^h u13	zɔ33-hɔ33	ni33.
before	build	should	CERT.STR
首先	修建	应该	

must be built first
必须首先修建的

In example (607), there is a bit of ambiguity as to whether zɔ33 is the shortened form of zɔ33-hɔ33 SHOULD, or whether it should be read as zɔ33 OBLIGATIVE. I have translated it as ‘should,’ following the Chinese translation of my Na native speaker consultant, as he is very meticulous in his translations. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that either an OBLIGATIVE or a SHOULD reading is possible here.

(607)	t ^h u33	mu33	pi33	la31	ɤ31	yi13	pi33	du33	k ^h wɤ33	wæ33	zɔ33	ni33.
	start	say	(sound)	say	one	CLS	call	叫	应该	CERT.STR		
	开始	说		说	一		叫	应该				

At the start of the daba scriptures, one should call out “ɤ31 yi13”.
所以，开始说经文的时候，是应该首先叫一声“ɤ31 yi13”。
T:Muphadaba.22

(608)	a33-tso31	my33-dzæ33	zɔ33	ni33	t ^h i13	my33	t ^h u33	k ^h wɤ33
	what	name-call	should	CERT.STR	so	name	this	CLS
	什么	名字-叫	应该		所以	名字	这	

Whatever name one should be called,
他应该叫什么名字
T:Muphadaba.32

t ^h u33	ki33	pi33	zɔ33	ni33.
3SG.PRO	give	call	should	CERT.STR
他	给		应该	

then, this name should be given.
要把这个名字给他。

(609) lə33-nu33 lə33-bi33 zɔ33-hɔ33 zɯ33-tu33 yĩ33 bi33 zɔ33-hɔ33

ACCOMP-EMPH	ACCOMP-go	should	family	make	go	should
	去	应该	家庭	做	去	应该

He should go, he should go set up a family,
去是要回去的, 建立家庭,
T:Tso deluyizo.248

ni33	nɔ31	t ^h i13	æ31-tɕi13	pɣ33 tɔ31	mə33-dzɔ33	ni33	mæ33.
CERT.STR	but	so	chick	all	NEG-EXIST	CERT.STR	CERT.M
	但是	所以	小鸡	都	没有		

but he didn't have even a baby chick.
但是连一只小鸡都没有。

12.3 zɔ33-ku33 OUGHT

zɔ33-ku33 is a modal which marks ‘ought.’ It is fairly rarely attested in the narrative corpus. It is composed of zɔ33 OBLIGATIVE and ku33 ABILITIVE. The distinction in usage between zɔ33-hɔ33 SHOULD and zɔ33-ku33 OUGHT is not clear to me. Both can be used to indicate Na customary ways of doing things (cf. [611] with [606]). More research is needed into this modal.

(610) kɔ31 pɔ33 zɯ33 sɔ31 ha33 dzi33 dzi33 t^hu33 lɔ33 q^ha33-ni13 zɔ33-ku33.

livestock	raise	teach	food	eat	water	drink	style	how	
牲畜	养	教	饭	吃	水	喝	方式	怎么样	应该

He taught us to raise livestock, and how we ought to eat food, and drink water.
他教人养牲畜, 教人应该会怎么样的吃饭喝水的方式。
T:Yzt.19

- (611) tɕi31 hɔ̃33 mu31 lɔ31 zɯ33-tu33 q^ha31-ni13 yĩ33 zɔ33-ku33
 clothes wear style family how make ought
 衣服 穿 方式 家庭 怎么样 做 应该
- It is said that (he) taught (us) how one ought to wear clothes, how one ought to set up a family,
 衣服会怎么样穿, 家庭会怎么样建立,
 T:Yzt.20

sɔ13 ni33 tsi13 du33-ta13 t^hu33 sɔ13 ni33 tsi13.
 teach CERT.STR REP all 3SG.PRO teach CERT.STR REP
 教 全部 他 教

it is said that all of these things, he taught.
 说是他教的全部是他教的。

- (612) du33 ɲi33 t^hu33-tɕu33 k^hu13 zɔ33-ku13.
 one day DUR-burn CAUS ought
 一 天 燃 应该
- It ought to be made to burn all of the time.
 一天都要让这堆火燃着的。
 T:Fangzi.35

12.4 wɔ33 ABILITIVE

The auxiliary wɔ33 marks ability, and can be translated as ‘can, could, able to.’ It can take the prefix mɔ33- NEG- to give a reading of inability. wɔ33 ABILITIVE is used primarily for physical ability; this can be seen in the ability to weave (a large quantity), in example (613); the magical (non) ability of a piece of wood to take on the appearance of a person (614); the (non) ability to eat a huge quantity of fishmeat (615); the ability to chop down one tree (616); and the (non) ability to memorize long shamanic rites and oral texts (617).

- (613) t^hu33 du33 ɲi33 ni31 su31 yɣ33-da13 dɔ33 ts^hɛ33 q^ha33 ɦi33
 3SG.PRO everyday yet sew hemp cloth TOP ten several CLS
 她 每一天 织麻布 十 几 丈
- When she sewed hemp cloth,
 她织麻布
 T:Gemu.3

da13	wɔ33.
sew	ABLT
织	能

she could weave over a dozen measures every day.
 的时候，每一天能织十几丈。

- (614) tʰu33-ni13 zɔ33 *suibian* (loan) zɔ33 hī33 ni33 du33 ku33 la31 lu31
 this way ADVB as you wish ADVB person seem one seem nothing more
 这样 的 随便 的 人 象 一 象 而已

It only looked a tiny bit like a person,
 只有一点点的象人的样子,
 T:Tsodeluyizo.58

dʒæ13	hī33	bi33	mu31 lu33	tʰu33	mə33-wɔ33	ni33	zɛ33.
much	person	on	appearance	become	NEG-ABLT	CERT.STR	PERF
很多	人	上	样子	形成	不-能		

it couldn't take on much of the appearance of a person.
 没有多少人的模样在上面。

- (615) nɔ13 tʰi13 qʰa33 tʂʰæ13 lə33-dzi33 sɛ13 mə33-wɔ33 dʒɔ33
 self so many generation ACCOMP-eat finish NEG-ABLT EXIST
 自己 所以 多 代 吃 完 不-能 有

he himself would have more wealth than several generations
 他自己就会有几代人就吃不完
 ET:cinami.42

yi33 dʒɛ33-wɔ33.
 FUT wealth
 会 财富
 could eat
 的财富

- (616) du33 ji33 nu33 du33 dzu33 la31 tsʰu13 wɔ33
 one day EMPH one CLS only cut ABLT
 一 天 一 量词 才 砍 能

in one day he could only cut down one tree,
 一天才能够砍掉一棵树,
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.179

(617) tʰi13 du33 tɕʰæ13 gi33 du33 tɕʰæ13 nɔ33 ɲa33 ki33
 so one generation following one generation 2SG.PRO 1SG.PRO DAT
 所以 一 代 后面 一 代 你 我

So, from generation to generation, you teach me, I teach you,

所以一代一代的你教我，我教你，

T:Muphadaba.29

lə33-sɔ31 nu31 mi13 kwɔ33 ɕu33 du33 dzɔ31 yiban (loan) du33 wu33
 ACCOMP-teach heart LOC think but usually one CLS
 教 心 里 想 但是 一般 一 个

(we) think it is in (our) hearts, but except for the very extraordinary person,
 全部记在心里边除了个别一个一个以外

du33	wu33	mə33-ni33	dʒɿ13	mə33-wɔ33.
one	CLS	NEG-COP	good	NEG-able
一	个	不-是	好	不-能够

one can't learn it well.

学好的很少。

12.5 KU13 ABILITIVE

Abilitive ku13 has grammaticalized into a predictive future marker (cf. §13.8.3). It is commonly translated as ‘can,’ and can refer to a physical ability, as in (618), but is not restricted to referring to a physical ability, as can be seen in (619), where one can see that abilitive ku13 has a nuance of potentiality, too.

(618) bu33-dzæ33-hi33, la33-dzæ33-hi33, zɿwæ33-dzæ33-hi33, tʰu31-ni13
 yak-ride-NOM_{Agt} tiger-ride-NOM_{Agt} horse-ride-NOM_{Agt} this way
 牦牛-骑-人 老虎-骑-人 马-骑-人 这样

The yak rider, the tiger rider, the horse rider, and one
 骑牦牛的人，骑老虎的人，骑马的人，还有一种

T:Yzt.12

du33-wɔ33	dzæ33-hi33	tʰu33-ta33 la33	ku13	nɔ33-sɿ33 ku31	tʰu31-ni13
a type	ride-NOM _{Agt}	DUR-coming off	ABL	2PL.PRO	this way
一种	骑-人	掉起来	会	你们	这样

who can ride coming off this way, can you people from over there do it
 是骑这样的人，你们那里会不会做

yī33	ɑ31-ku13?
do	QM-ABLT
做	吗-会

like this?
这样的?

- (619) ε33 k^hu31 t^hu33 lu33 p^hɔ13 dzɔ33 t^hu33 du55-du55 ku13
 turnip this CLS plant TOP this big.INTSF ABLT
 圆根 这 量词 播种 这 大大 会
 planting these turnips, they could be this big...
 这个圆根播种去来这么大的...
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.261

12.6 ɣu33 du33 VOLITIVE

The volitive ɣu33 du33 ‘want to’ expresses a willingness to do something; this form represents a grammaticalization from the isomorphic verb ɣu33 du33 ‘think’ (621).

- (620) dze33 la33 ʎa13 pɣ31 du33 k^hwɣ33 dzɔ33 ɑ31-yi33 ɣu33 du33.
 money etc. excess one CLS EXIST maybe want
 钱 等等 超过 一 量词 有 也许 想
 Perhaps he wanted a bit more money.
 可能想有更多一点的钱。
 T:çinami.9

- (621) q^ha33-ni13 zɔ33 t^hu33 my33-di33 t^hu33 k^hwɣ33 dzɔ33 lə33-ts^hu13
 how this land this CLS TOP ACCOMP-cut
 怎样 了 这 土地 这 量词 砍
 He thought, “How can I cut down
 他想怎么样才能把这块土地
 T:Tsodeluyizo.180

lə33-t ^h u33	yī33	ɣu33 du33.
ACCOMP-succeed	CAUS	think
成功		想

the trees on this piece of land?”
的树砍好。

12.7 hɔ33 DESIDERATIVE

The desiderative hɔ33 is a modal which expresses ‘want.’ It is part of the system of dynamic modals in Na. The distinction between volitive ɕu33 du33 and desiderative hɔ33 is subtle: as volitive ɕu33 du33 represents a grammaticalization of V_H ɕu33 du33 ‘think,’ it retains some of its pre-grammaticalization semantics, as is common in grammaticalized forms. Volitive ɕu33 du33 retains some notion of ‘thinks to, plans to’ while desiderative hɔ33 simply expresses desire. hɔ33, in its desiderative use (cf. §13.8.2 for grammaticalization to a future marker and [624] here), appears solely as an auxiliary; ni33 ‘want’ is used when a V_H is required.

- (622) zu33-mi33 ɕe33 hɔ33 ɕwæ33-su33 ɕwæ33-hĩ33 da13.
 wife find want (type of tree) tall-NOM cut down
 老婆 找 要 (树的一个种类) 高-的 砍

If he wanted to find a wife, he should cut down the tallest shuaesi tree.

要找老婆的话，要砍最高的ɕwæ-su树。

T:Tsoyeluyizo.49

- (623) bæ31-p^hɔ13 k^hu13 hɔ33 ni33 mæ33.
 plant CAUS DES CERT.STR CERT.M
 播种 要

(because) (they) wanted to have (him) plant grain

要给他播种粮食

ET:Tsoyeluyizo.178

- (624) t^hi13 ɲa33-tæ33-mi33 lə33-ɕu33 lə33-yo33 hɔ33 ni33 zε33.
 so horizontal-eyed woman ACCOMP-carry ACCOMP-come FUT.DES CERT.STR CSM
 所以 眼睛横的女人 带 来 要 了

So, he would carry back the horizontal-eyed woman.

所以，要带着横眼睛的姑娘回来了。

T:Tsoyeluyizo.249

12.8 tʰa13 POSSIBILITY

tʰa13 ‘may’ is an epistemic modal which expresses possibility of a clause event. Na also has other, non-modal ways to express epistemic judgements, such as ni33 CERT.STR, which marks a speaker’s certainty that a statement is, in fact, so, and mæ33 CERT.M, a sentence-final particle used to express certainty. These are discussed in §14.8.

The reading of possibility is quite clear in (625) and (626). In (627), one might analyze tʰa13 as expressing permission rather than possibility, i.e., “You may not look down upon me.” However, the modal takes mæ33- NEG- rather than tʰa13 PROH, used in negative imperatives (cf. §15.2.2); this fact argues for a reading of possibility rather than permission for the modal. Additionally, the subsequent reasoning that follows, “(You can’t look down upon me) (because) our land often yields gold and silver, these things,” gives further evidence for a reading of ‘not possible’ (i.e., by social contract) rather than ‘may not.’ In (628), one receives a clear reading of possibility for tʰa13; again, it is marked with mæ33- NEG- rather than tʰa13 PROH, and here, the physical impossibility of carrying a heavy load of gold and silver a long distance is evident.

(625)	dʒɛ33	du33-ta13	a33-wɔ33	dzu31	zɔ33	ʂɛ33	tʰa13.
	money	all	home	sit	ADVB	find	may
	钱	都	家	坐		找	可以

One can make good money at home.

T:Change.8

(626)	du33-ta13	hɪ33-ɣa33	ʂɛ33	zɔ33	yɪ33	bi33	tʰa13.
	all	hired labor	find	ADVB	do	go	may
	都	雇工	找		作	去	可以

People may be invited to do any kind of work.

T:Change.10

(627) ɲa33 mɤ33-ʂwæ31 ku33 ə31 ni33 nɔ33 hæ33 pi33 mə33-tʰa13
 1SG.PRO at the end of the earth Ge'er COP 2SG.PRO look down on NEG-may
 我 天边 Ge'er 是 你 轻视 不-可以

He said, "I am from a place called Ge'er, at the end of the earth, (you) can't look down upon
 他说, "我是天边的叫Ge'er 的地方的人, 你不可以轻视我,

T:Tsodeluyizo.134

ɲa33-sɤ33 ku31 mɤ33-di33 kwɔ33 dzɔ31 tʰæ33 ɲu33 hæ31 la33 tʰæ13
 1EXC.PRO land LOC often silver gold and such
 我们 土地 里 有 经常 白银 黄金 和 那些

me, our land often yields gold and silver,
 我们的土地经常生产黄金和白银,

tʰu33 ni33 pi33.
 yield CERT.STR QUOT
 出产

these things."
 那些。"

(628) zɤ13-mi33 lə33-ʂæ33 lə33-zwæ13 zɔ33 ɲɤ33 hæ31
 road ACCOMP-long ACCOMP-INTS CRS silver gold
 路 长 了 白银 黄金

He said, "The road is long and hard, to bring back gold and silver by carrying it on one's back
 说路太长, 太远了, 黄金和白银背来

T:Tsodeluyizo.135

lə33-pɤ33 pɤ33 pɔ31-yɔ33 mə33-tʰa13 pi33 qæ13 ni33.
 ACCOMP-carry on one's back bring NEG-may QUOT cheat CERT.STR
 背着 拿来 不-可以 骗

is impossible," and he cheated them (in this way).
 不了, 这样骗他们。

13 Temporal representation

In Na, like many other languages of the Sinosphere, there is relatively little obligatory morphosyntax, and pragmatic context is important for interpretation. Pronominal referents often are simply understood from the larger discourse context, and temporal interpretation can be conveyed through numerous strategies. Mandarin Chinese employs a diverse toolset that includes aspect marking, aspectual viewpoint, adverbials, lexical information, situation type, deixis, anaphora, and discourse context to designate temporal interpretation (Smith and Erbaugh 2005), and Na utilizes a similar toolset.

Aspect commonly is an important part of the representation of time in Tibeto-Burman languages. Aspect is the portrayal of an event with respect to itself rather than to an external, absolute moment in time; tense, in contrast, associates one moment in time with respect to another (Comrie 1976:1–3).

The crucial aspectual distinctions in Na are: perfective, completive, experiential, progressive, delimitative, semelfactive, iterative, immediate future, remote future, predictive future (ability), and predictive future (desire). As in Chinese, the perfective can have change of state or currently relevant state readings, with some semantic overlap in what these each express: e.g., a change of state is frequently ‘currently relevant’ within the discourse, simply because change of state is often worthy of remark. The future particles are aspectual in nature rather than tense-like; the use of the term ‘future’ is for convenience. These futures all are represented by forms grammaticalized from verbs: the immediate and remote futures come from two different verbs for ‘go,’ *bi*³³ and *hu*³³, respectively, while the predictive futures come from two modals, desiderative *hɔ*³³ and abilitive *ku*¹³. There are also two Aktionsarten, the accomplished prefix and the durative prefix. These operate at a morphological level rather than at the clause level, and serve to alter a verb’s lexical aspect.

The completive is probably not a fully developed aspectual distinction; the completive se_{13} is in the process of grammaticalizing from the verb se_{13} ‘complete,’ and se_{13} appears as both a verb and an aspectual marker, as will be discussed in §13.2. The experiential tci_{31} is nearly fully grammaticalized into an aspectual marker, but is still attested as a verb in serial verb constructions. Bradley finds an experiential modal in Lisu (Bradley 2003:231) which looks to be cognate to Na tci_{31} , so it may be that Na tci_{31} has grammaticalized into an aspectual marker while Lisu has retained the form as a modal. The progressive marker dzo_{33} has been grammaticalized from the existential verb dzo_{33} (cf. §13.4). The majority of the aspectual markers are postverbal particles, with the exceptions of the delimitative, semelfactive, and iterative aspects, which are derived forms which display iconicity.

The accomplished $\text{l}\text{ə}_{33}$ - and durative $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}_{33}$ - are prefixes, rather than postverbal particles or derived forms. These may have their origins in adverbs, which would explain the pre-verbal position of these aspectual markers, although no adverbs in Na or PTB forms listed in Matisoff (2003b) have been found which look like probable candidates. $\text{l}\text{ə}_{33}$ - ACCOMP- frequently appears with ze_{33} CSM in the same verbal complex, as accomplishment often represents a change of state.

Aspect/Aktionart	Semantics	Form	Morph.	Abbr.
Perfective / Change of state / Currently relevant state	Event is viewed in its entirety; may indicate that a change of state has occurred, in which case it often occurs in conjunction with the accomplished marker; may indicate that event is of ongoing relevance to discussion	ze33	particle	PERF/ CSM/CRS
Completive	Event has been completed	se13	particle	CMPL
Experiential	Event has been experienced	tɕi31	particle	EXPER
Progressive	Event is ongoing	dʒo33	particle	PROG
Delimitative	Event occurs for a short period of time	du33 + V	derived	DEL
Semelfactive	Event is an extremely brief iteration of an action that occurs repeatedly for a period of time	[du33 + V] ~	derived	SEM
Iterative	Event occurs repeatedly; may be an event that involves many iterations of an action for a short period of time	du33 + V ₁ V ₁	derived	ITER
Accomplished	The intended result of the process or activity has been achieved; for a stative verb, that the state has indeed been achieved	lə33-	prefix	ACCOMP-
Durative	Indicates that a process is ongoing; for a verb with liminal lexical aspect, indicates that having achieved the expected result, the action continues or the result endures; not attested with stative verbs	t ^h u33-	prefix	DUR-
Immediate future	Grammaticalized from bi33 ‘go’; indicates an immediate future	bi33	particle	FUT.IMM
Remote future	Grammaticalized from hu33 ‘go’; indicates a remote future	hu33	particle	FUT.REM

Table 13.1 Overview of aspect, and Aktionsart marking in Na

Predictive future (desire)	Grammaticalized from desiderative hɔ33; indicates a predictive future, and retains some of its pre-grammaticalization semantics	hɔ33	particle	FUT.DES
Predictive future (ability)	Grammaticalized from abilitive ku13; indicates a predictive future, and retains some of its pre-grammaticalization semantics	ku13	particle	FUT.ABL

Table 13.1 Overview of tense, aspect, and Aktionsart marking in Na (cont'd)

13.1 Perfective

Perfective aspect is used when the event under discussion is seen as a whole (Li and Thompson 1981:185). The Na perfective marker is zɛ33. zɛ33 is classified as a marker rather than as a verb as it only appears in conjunction with a verb, and does not appear by itself. In example (629), the first clause contains an existential statement, the second clause a complete action that can be seen in its entirety, and the third clause has an ongoing action.

(629) ǎ31-q^hɣ33 kwɔ33 ni33 zɔ33 du33 mi31 t^hu33-ǎ31 dzɔ33
cave LOC fish one CLS DUR-stick EXIST
山洞 里 鱼 一 量词 卡住 有

There was a fish caught in the cave;

有一条鱼卡在山洞里头;

T:çinami.37

zɔ33-h533 t^hu33 lu33 ʂɛ33 hǎ13 zɛ33 t^hu33-bu33 dzɔ33.
little boy this CLS meat cut PERF DUR-roast PROG
小男孩子 这 个 肉 割 了 烧 正在

the boy sliced its meat and was roasting the fish.

这个小孩儿正在烧鱼肉吃。

The sub-categorization of the perfective into: quantified event, definite/specific event, inherently bounded, and first event in sequence for Mandarin (Li and Thompson 1981:185–186) also aligns with Na data, with each of these four sub-categories of the perfective clearly attested in the naturalistic Na corpus.

13.1.1 *Quantified event perfective*

The quantified event perfective is shown in example (630), where the perfective nature of the event is indicated when the speaker states that a period of ten years has passed, thus quantifying the time of the event. This quantification is one way of giving boundaries to an event, and thus rendering it perfective.

(630)	95	nian (loan)	zɔ31 nɔ33	tʰu33	tʰu33	tsʰɛ33	kʰu13	ze33	qwæ31-gi33
	95	year	now	until	this	ten	years	PERF	between
			现在	到	这	十	年	了	中间

Since 1995, it's been roughly ten years;

T:Change.1

lu33-ʂu31	wɔ33-ta33	la33	dʒɿ13-kʰwɿ33	du33-bæ33	mə33-tʂɿ33.
Luoshui	before	and	very much	same	NEG-okay, right
落水	以前	和	很多	一样	不行, 对

Luoshui now and before, it's really different, not the same.

13.1.2 *Definite/specific event perfective*

The definite/specific event perfective is shown in example (631). When the definite direct objects ha33 ‘Han’ and bɿ33 ‘Pumi’ are employed, the perfective appears.

(631)	ha33	gi13	mə33-tɕʰɔ31	bɿ33	gi13	mə33-tɕʰɔ31	ze33...
	Han	behind	NEG-follow	Pumi	behind	NEG-follow	PERF
	汉	后面	跟随	普米	后面	跟随	了

(We) don't follow the Han, (we) don't follow the Pumi...

我们没有跟随汉人的习惯, 也没有跟随普米人的习惯。。。。

T:Yzt.2

13.1.3 Inherently bounded perfective

The inherently bounded perfective is shown in example (632), where verbal semantics are such that the verb, hæ13 ‘cut,’ only can be read as bounded.

(632)	æ31-q ^h ɿ33	kwɔ33	ni33 zɔ33	du33	mi31	t ^h u33-æ31	dʒɔ33	zɔ33-hɔ33
	cave	LOC	fish	one	CLS	DUR-stick	EXIST	little boy
	山洞	里	鱼	一	量词	卡住	有	小男孩子

There was a fish caught in the cave;

有一条鱼卡在山洞里头；

T:çinami.37

t ^h u33	lu33	ʂɛ33	hæ13	zɛ33	t ^h u33-bu33	dʒɔ33.
this	CLS	meat	cut	PERF	DUR-roast	PROG
这	个	肉	割	了	烧	正在

the boy sliced its meat and was roasting the fish.

这个小孩儿正在烧鱼肉吃。

13.1.4 First event in sequence perfective

The first event in sequence perfective as shown in example (633). One would not normally think of “rocking back and forth” as a typically perfective event, but here one gets the perfective reading because it is the first event in a sequence and thus is bounded.

(633)	lɔ33-la33 la33	zɛ33	çi13	k ^h i33	lu33-ʂu31	lɔ33-ts ^h u33.
	ACCOMP-rock back and forth	PERF	lake	CIS	Luoshui	ACCOMP-come
	摇来摇去	了	湖	边	落水	来

(The pig trough canoe) rocked back and forth, and (they) came to the shores of Luoshui.

漂到水边的落水来了。

T:çinami.56

13.1.5 Change of state

The CSM is used to indicate that the condition or situation under discussion marks a change (Li and Thompson 1981:244). Example (634) is from a text recorded in summer 2002 discussing the economic impact of tourism on Na life in Luoshui. The speaker has just finished describing the shortage of food and clothing in Luoshui prior to 1995. Thus, the examples in (634) illustrate a clear contrast between the previous situation and the situation at the time of recording, so that the change of state reading for *ze33* is explicit.

- (634) *zo31 no33* *dian* (loan) *lə33-dʒo33* *ze33* *dianshiji* (loan) *lə33-dʒo33*
 now electricity ACCOMP-EXIST CSM t.v. ACCOMP-EXIST
 现在 电 有 了 电视机 有
 Today, we all have electricity, we all have televisions,
 T:Change.5

<i>ze33</i>	<i>cheng</i> (loan)	<i>kwɔ33</i>	<i>tʰu33-tɕʰi33</i>	<i>ɑ33-tso33</i>	<i>dʒo33</i>	<i>lə33-dʒo33</i>	<i>ze33</i> .
CSM	city	LOC	3PL.PRO.FAM	whatever	EXIST	ACCOMP-EXIST	CSM
了	成	里	他们	什么	有	有	了

whatever they have in the city, we have it all.

Example (635) is from a creation story text. In this example, the starved and maltreated orphan finds that the fish he had found the day before has the magical property of regeneration. The part of the fish that he had sliced off and eaten the day before has grown back, thus providing a steady source of nutrition. The CSM reading for *ze33* is transparent here.

- (635) *tʰu33* *wɔ33-ta33* *du33* *ni33* *no33* *lə33-hæ13* *kwɔ33* *ʂe33* *wɿ13*
 3SG.PRO before one day just ACCOMP-cut LOC meat again
 他 以前 一 天 才 割 肉 又
 The part of the fish that he had sliced off the day before
 他再割掉的地方
 T:cinami.29

lə33-wə13	lə33-gwɿ13	ze33.
ACCOMP-aneu	ACCOMP-grow	CSM
重新	长	了
had grown back.		
又重新长起来了。		

13.1.6 Currently relevant state

The CRS is used to identify information within an utterance that is of particular noteworthiness or relevance to the matter at hand (Li and Thompson 1981:240).

In Na, the CRS marker seems to add emphasis, such that one could read example (636) as, “The bird, in fact because it has feathers...” and example (637) as, “Even with good technique...”

(636)	wu31-dze33	tʰu33	hɔ̃33	tʰu33-di33	ze33	kʰu31	tʰu33	lu33	mə33-ku31.
	bird	3SG.PRO	fur	DUR-EXIST	CRS	nest	this	CLS	NEG-make
	鸟	他	毛	有	了	窝	这	个	做

The bird, because it has feathers, does not make a good nest.

鸟，因为它有毛，所以它的窝不好好的做。

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.38

(637)	lɔ̃31-kʰwɿ33	lə33-dzɿ13	ze33	lɔ̃33	mə33-yi33	pi33 dzɔ̃33
	hand, technique	ACCOMP-be good	CRS	labor	NEG-make	COND.PRED
	手，技术	好	了	劳	做	的话

With good technique, if one doesn't work,

技术好了，如果不劳动的话，

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.40

ha33	lə33-ɲi33	di33	dzɔ̃33	mə33-ku13.
food	ACCOMP-full		EXIST	NEG-FUT.ABL
饭	饱	的	有	

one won't eat to the point of being full.

饭吃饱的时候不会有。

13.2 Completive

se13 ‘complete’ can appear as a V_H and in serial verb constructions, but is in the process of grammaticalizing into a completive aspectual marker. Verb se13 ‘complete’ is shown in examples (638) and (639); aspectual usage of se13 is given in (640) and (641).

- (638) wa! ja33 bu33 t^ha33 = ə31 du33-ta13 lə33-dzi33 lə33-se33
 INTERJ 1SG.PRO POSS book all ACCOMP-eat ACCOMP-complete
 哇 我 的 书 全部 吃 完
 (the daba) said, “Wa! My books have all been eaten...
 哇! 达巴说, 我的书全部吃掉了...
 ET:Muphadaba.18

- (639) nɔ13 bu33 nɔ13 nu33 ki31 kwɔ31 ki31 kwɔ31
 REFL POSS REFL AGTV ki kwɔ ki kwɔ
 自己 的 自己 ki kwɔ ki kwɔ
 (they) started to dig “ki31 kwɔ31 ki31 kwɔ31” by themselves,
 它自己ki kwɔ ki kwɔ的
 ET:Tso deluyizo.207

du33-tsa13-tsa13-du33-tsa13-tsa13 nu33 ɕi33 t^hu33 ku33
 dig.SEM EMPH wasteland this CLS
 挖 荒地 这 量词
 started to dig, and completely overturned
 挖了起来, 挖了起来, 把这块荒地全部

lə33-p ^h u13	lə33-se13.
ACCOMP-overturn	ACCOMP-finish
翻	完

the nine plots of wasteland.
 翻完了。

- (640) zu33-mi33 bu33 tsu33 tæ33 la33 t^hu33 lə33-ku33 ku33
 hearth room POSS foundation and this ACCOMP-make
 祖屋 的 地基 和 这
 (when) the hearth room’s foundation and such
 建这个祖屋的时候, 祖屋的地基和这些
 ET:Fangzi.3

lə33-tɕɿ31	se33	= a31 dzɔ33	tsu33 tæ33	kwɔ33
ACCOMP-complete	CMPL	CMKN	foundation	LOC
			地基	里

is finished,
修好了的时候,

lu33-mi33	du33	lu33	qwæ13	a33-p ^h ɔ13	bi33	zɔ33
stone	one	CLS	dig up	outside	go	OBL
石头	一	个	挖	外面	去	

one must dig up a stone from the foundation...
首先在地基里边挖一个石头出来...

(641)	t ^h i13	zɔ33 k ^h wɿ33	dzɔ33	zɿ33-mi33	ʔi31-ku33	zɔ33 k ^h wɿ33
	so	house	TOP	hearthroom	in the middle of	house
	所以	房子		祖屋	中间	房子

So, after one has built the hearth room
所以房子的中间祖屋
ET:Fangzi.15

ʔi31 ku13	zɿ33-mi33	lə33-t ^h u33	se13
in the middle of	hearthroom	ACCOMP-complete	CMPL
中间	祖屋		

in the middle of the house...
修好以后...

13.3 Experiential

Experiential aspect is used to denote that an event has been tried, experienced, or undergone (Li and Thompson 1981:226). Experiential aspect in Na probably is easiest to see in the elicited example (642), but is also found in textual examples, such as example (643), where the experience of eating the daba scripture results in Sondzhitsotiti's neck hurting and festering.¹

(642)	nɔ33	t ^h ɑ33 = ə31	t ^h u33	pɣ33	li33	tɕi31	ɑ31?
	2SG.PRO	book	this	CLS	read	EXPER	QM
	你	书	这	本	看	过	吗

Have you read this book?

你看过这本书吗?

E:

(643)	t ^h i13	t ^h u33	k ^h wɣ33	kwɔ33	dʒɔ33	sɔ̄33	dʒi33	tsɔ̄33	ti31	ti31	t ^h u33	wu33	dʒɔ33
	so	this	CLS	LOC	TOP	Sondzhitsontiti			this	CLS	TOP		
	所以	这		里		Sondzhitsontiti			这	个			

So, Sondzhitsontiti's neck hurt,

因为吃掉书以后，所以 Sondzhitsontiti 他脖子疼了，

T:Muphadaba.16

ya33	lu31	gɔ33	ze33	t ^h ɑ33 = ə31	lɔ̄33-dʒi33	tɕi31	dʒɔ33
neck		hurt	CSM	book	ACCOMP-eat	EXPER	TOP
脖子		疼	了	书	吃	过	

having eaten the book, and his neck

这个地方

¹The narrative text from which this example was extracted tells the story of a daba and a Buddhist monk travelling together. The daba's scripture is written on pigskin, while the monk's scripture is written on paper. The monk is said to trick the daba thus: he waits until the two run out of food, and then asks whether they can eat the daba's scripture as it is written on animal skin and will have some nutritional value as opposed to his own scripture that is written on paper, as he wants his Buddhism to overcome Dabaism. The two eat the daba's scripture, but then the monk's neck becomes infected from eating the scripture and he realizes that he needs the daba to perform a healing rite. The daba does not know what to do without his scripture, but then a dog's bark prompts him to remember how the scripture begins, and he is able to perform the rite. The monk heals. The monk's attempt to destroy Dabaism is foiled, and he realizes that oral tradition is indestructible because it is stored in the heart.

The Na lack a writing system, and yet are surrounded by the Han and Tibetans, both with very strong written traditions, as well as the Naxi and their celebrated pictographic script. This intriguing text seems to reveal some of the linguistic, religious, and ethnic tensions in the area.

lɔ33-bæ33.	t ^h u33	k ^h wɣ33.
ACCOMP-fester with pus	this	CLS
脓	这	量词
festered with pus.		
流脓了。		

13.4 Progressive

Progressive aspect express ongoing action. In Na, the existential/locative verb *dʒɔ33* (§11.4.1) has been grammaticalized into a progressive marker. The grammaticalization from locative to progressive is cross-linguistically very common—Bybee et al. go as far as to say, “... aside from movement sources, reduplications, and constructions with verbs meaning ‘to keep on’, all progressives derive from locative constructions.” (Bybee et al. 1994:131).

dʒɔ33 PROG fairly rarely appears on a *V_H* in a monoclausal sentence, although this is possible (cf. (cinami.38)). It is much more for one clause in a sequence of clauses to have progressive aspect, with the other clauses either unmarked for tense/aspect, or marked with *zɛ33* PERF/CRS/CSM. *dʒɔ33* PROG can appear on verbs prefixed with either *lɔ33*-ACCOMP- (cinami.23) or *t^hu33*-DUR- (646). It can also occur with delimitative aspect, as will be discussed shortly. Thus, it can fairly productively combine with a limited range of other tense/aspect markers to convey more nuanced temporal distinctions.

(644)	ni33	zɔ33	lɔ33	q ^h ɑ33-yɣ13	t ^h æ31-t ^h æ13	pɔ13	ts ^h i33	t ^h u33	dzi33	dʒɔ33.
	fish	and	lots	biting	take	come	3SG.PRO	eat		PROG
	鱼	和	很多	咬	拿	来	它	吃		正在

They ate a lot of fish; they brought it out and were eating it.
 咬了很多的鱼，拿出来正在吃。
 T:cinami.22

(645)	t ^h i13	t ^h u33	dzæ33	kwɔ33	dʒɔ33	my33-k ^h u13	ʂɛ33-ʂɛ33	dʒɔ33
	so	this	CLS	LOC	TOP	afternoon	a little bit	TOP
	所以	这	量词	里		下午	一点点	

So at this time, when it was just getting dark,
 所以在这个时间里头，下午一点点的时候，
 T:cinami.49

wɤ33	kwɔ33	=a31	dʒɔ33	du33-ta13	bɔ13	ha33	ki33	dʒɔ33.
village	LOC	CMKN		all	pig	food	give	PROG
村	里			全部	猪	饭	给	正在

in the village, everyone was feeding the pigs.

全部村里的人正在喂猪。

(646)	æ31-qʰɤ33	kwɔ33	ni33	zɔ33	du33	mi31	tʰu33-æ31	dʒɔ33	zɔ33-hɔ33
cave	LOC	fish	one	CLS	DUR-stick	EXIST	little boy		
山洞	里	鱼	一	量词	卡住	有	小男孩子		

There was a fish caught in the cave;

有一条鱼卡在山洞里头;

T:ɕinami.37

tʰu33	lu33	ʃɛ33	hæ13	zɛ33	tʰu33-bu33	dʒɔ33.
this	CLS	meat	cut	PERF	DUR-roast	PROG
这	个	肉	割	了	烧	正在

the boy sliced its meat and was roasting the fish.

这个小孩儿正在烧鱼肉吃。

13.5 Delimitative

Delimitative aspect indicates a short-lived or brief action, and takes the iconic derived structure *du33* ‘one’ + V in Na.

(647)	ta31-ta31	æ13	twɤ33	pi33	tɕi33	dʒɔ33	ku31	mu33	gu31-tʃʰwæ33
just	chicken	call	almost	EXIST	Gemu		woke up		
刚刚	鸡	叫	将要		格姆		起来		

When the rooster was just about to crow, Gemu woke up

刚刚公鸡将要叫的时候格姆醒过来

T:Gemu.36

du33-li33	dʒɔ33	pʰæ31-tɕʰi33	tʰu33	wu33	la33	du33-sɔ33
see.DEL	COMPL	man	this	CLS	etcetera	at all
一看		男人	这	个	等等	一样

and saw at once that this man and all of his things

一看这个男和全部东西

tʰu33-mə33-dʒɔ33.

DUR-NEG-EXIST

不-在

were gone.

都不在。

- (648) t^hu33 gi13 du33-di13 lə33-hu33 du33-tse13 lə33-ts^hu33.
 3SG.PRO after follow.DEL ACCOMP-go go.DEL ACCOMP-come
 他 后面 一赶 去 一赶 来
 (She) went and followed after him a bit, and then came right back.
 所以一路追去一次赶过来。
 T:Gemu.37

The delimitative can appear with the progressive marker, as in (649) and (650). It is also attested with the imperative, as in (651), and in polite requests, as in (652).

- (649) t^hi13 du33-mə13 tə33 dzə33.
 so ask.DEL PROG
 所以 一问 正在
 So, he was asking about it a bit.
 然后问了一下。
 T:çinami.38

- (650) lə33-wə13 du33-li33 dzə33 ku31 mu33 t^hu33-ni13 t^hu33-ŋu33
 ACCOMP-turn see.DEL COMPL Gemu this way DUR-cry
 回 一看 格姆 这样 哭
 When he turned his head to have a look, seeing Gemu crying in this manner he thought it
 回头一看得时候，看格姆这样的哭他想
 T:Gemu.42

ʂu33 du33 dzə33 nu33 gə33 zɥæ13.
 think COMPL pitiable INTS
 想 可怜 很
 very pitiable.
 很可怜。

- (651) pi31-t^ha13 gy33 na33 pə13 ku33 lu33 kwə33 lə33-tɕi33
 axe nine CLS INSTR forest LOC ACCOMP-put
 斧头 九 量词 拿 树林 里 放
 Take nine axes, put them in the forest, and go cut down
 拿九把斧头放在树林里去砍掉
 T:Tso deluyizo.186

gy33	çi33	du33-ts ^h u13	h533.
nine	hundred	cut.DEL	go.IMP
九	百	一砍	去

nine hundred trees (quickly).

九百棵树。

(652)	t ^h i13	nɔ33	nu33	dʒɿ13	du33-wɔ33	zu31	gɔ33-ts ^h u33	la33	t ^h æ13
	so	2SG.PRO	AGTV	good	bless.DEL		illness	and	such
	所以	你		好	一保佑		病痛	和	那些

To ask, "Please carefully bless the child a bit so that illness and such

说请你好好的保佑一下病痛和那些

T:Muphadaba.36

du33	t ^h u33	hu33	pi33.
arrive	PROH	FUT.REM	QUOT
得到		会	

won't come."

不要让他得到。

(653)	nɔ33	gy33	çi33	du33-tsa13	h533.
	2SG.PRO	nine	wasteland	scratch.DEL	go.IMP
	你	九	荒地	一刨	去

Go have a scratch at nine plots of wasteland.

你去刨九块荒地。

T:Tsoyeluyizo.206

(654)	tɕɔ31	ku33	t ^h u31	tɕɔ31	fi31	ku33	tɕɔ31	mu33	t ^h u31	du33	dzu33	kwɔ33
	first			middle			last			one	CLS	LOC
	最先的			最中间的			最下面的			一	量词	里

The first, the middlemost, and the last trees,

最先的，最中间的，最后的一棵树，

T:Tsoyeluyizo.224

du33-li33	hu33	dʒɔ33	ku33	tse33	mi33	t ^h u33-ha13	ni33	ze33.
look.DEL	go	PROG	Kutsemi			DUR-live	CERT.STR	PERF
一看	去		Kutsemi			住		了

he went to have a look, and it happened Kutsemi lived there.

看了一样，发现Kutsemi住在里面。

- (655) t^hi13 s33 dʒi33 ts533 ti31 ti31 dʒɔ33 nɔ13 du33-t^hu33 hu33 bi33
 so Sondzhitsontiti TOP REFL thrive.DEL go FUT.IMM
 所以 Sondzhitsontiti 自己 一兴旺 去

Sondzhitsontiti wanted (his religion) to thrive,
 所以 Sondzhitsontiti 想让自己兴旺起来,

T:Muphadaba.11

da33 pɣ33 t^hu33 wu33 dʒɔ33 ni33 mə33-hɔ33.

daba this CLS TOP COP NEG-want

达巴 这 个 是 不-要

he didn't want this daba around.

那个达巴，他是不想要的。

- (656) t^hu33 ni13 zɔ33 suibian (loan) zɔ33 hī33 ni33 du33-ku33 la31 lu31
 this way ADVB as you wish ADVB person COP seem.DEL nothing more
 这样 的 随便 的 人 是 一象 而已

It only looked a tiny bit like a person,

只有一点点的象人的样子，

T:Todeluyizo.58

dzæ13 hī33 bi33 mu31 lu33 t^hu33 mə33-wɔ33 ni33 zɛ33.

much person on appearance become NEG-ABLT CERT.STR PERF

很多人 上 样子 形成 不-能

it couldn't take on much of the appearance of a person.

没有多少人的模样在上面。

13.6 Semelfactive

Na semelfactive is particularly interesting, as it has an iconic structure; it is a reduplication of the delimitative aspect form. Note that if the original verb has been reduplicated to indicate reciprocal action (cf. §11.6.5), the delimitative form will be isomorphic with an iterative form, which is then reduplicated to create the semelfactive form, as in (658).

- (657) t^hi13 du33-ŋu33-du33-ŋu33 zɰæ33 q^hwɣ33 bi13 kwɔ33 ɲa31-bæ33
 so cry.SEM horse hoofprint LOC tears
 所以 一哭一哭 马 脚印 里 眼泪

So, she sobbed and sobbed; her tears

所以哭了又哭眼泪

T:Gemu.40

gu31-ʂu13 ts^hu33.

fill up came

装满 来

filled the hoofprint.

装满了马的脚印。

(658) nɔ13 bu33 nɔ13 nu33 ki31 kwɔ31 ki31 kwɔ31

REFL POSS REFL AGTV ki kwɔ ki kwɔ

自己 的 自己 ki kwɔ ki kwɔ

(they) started to dig “ki31 kwɔ31 ki31 kwɔ31” by themselves,

它自己ki kwɔ ki kwɔ的

ET:Tsodeluyizo.207

du33-tsa13-tsa13-du33-tsa13-tsa13

nu33

ɕi33

t^hu33

ku33

dig.SEM

EMPH

wasteland

this

CLS

挖

荒地

这

量词

started to dig, and completely overturned

挖了起来, 挖了起来, 把这块荒地全部

lɔ33-p^hu13

lɔ33-sɛ13.

ACCOMP-overturn

ACCOMP-finish

翻

完

the nine plots of wasteland.

翻完了。

13.7 Iterative

Iterative aspect has the structure *du33* ‘one’ + reduplicated V in Na. A reduplicated verb without *du33* indicates mutual action (Yang 2009)—for example, *tʰæ13* means ‘bite’ while *tʰæ31 tʰæ13* means ‘bite each other.’ The structure *du33* ‘one’ + reduplicated verb gives an iterative reading, an action that occurs again and again over a period of time. This reduplication is iconic of the activity happening again and again, so an iterative expressed through reduplication is common cross-linguistically (Timberlake 2007:289).

(659)	<i>tʰi13</i>	<i>ni33</i>	<i>ku13</i>	<i>wɣ33-tɔ31</i>	<i>tɔ31</i>	<i>du33-ŋu33-ŋu33</i>	<i>la33</i>	<i>du33-gwɣ13-gwɣ13.</i>
	so	two	CLS	mountaintop	ADESS	cry.ITER	and	sing.ITER
	所以	两	个	山头上		一哭	和	一唱

So, on the mountain the two alternatively cried and sang for a long time.

所以两个人山头上哭一次，唱一次，又哭一次，又唱一次。

T:Gemu.33

(660)	<i>my31-su13</i>	<i>ŋa13</i>	<i>du33-tu33-tu33</i>	<i>my13</i>	<i>lə33-kʰu31</i>	<i>nɔ33</i>
	tomorrow	early	pull back and forth.ITER	sky	ACCOMP-darken	until
	明天	早	一拉来拉去	天		才

He pulled it from morning to afternoon,

从早晨一直拉到下午

T:ɕinami.45

<i>ni33</i>	<i>zɔ33</i>	<i>tʰu33</i>	<i>mi31</i>	<i>lə33-tu33</i>	<i>a33-pʰɔ13</i>	<i>pɔ31-tsʰu33.</i>
fish	this	CLS	ACCOMP-pull	outside	bring	
鱼	这	量词	拉	外面	拿来	

until he pulled the fish outside.

才把这条鱼拉到外面来。

Name	Morph. form	Example	Semantics
Reciprocal	V~	tu33-tu33 ('pull' + 'pull')	'pull back and forth'
Delimitative	du33 'one' + V	du33-i33 (du33 'one' + li33 'see')	'have a look'
Semelfactive	[delimitative] ~	du33-ŋu33-du33-ŋu33	'sobbed and sobbed'
Iterative	du33 'one' + V~	du33-ŋu33-ŋu33	'cry for a long time'

Table 13.2 Iconicity in Na

13.8 Future

There are four future markers in Na: bi33 is discussed in §13.8.1, hɔ33 is discussed in §13.8.2, ku13 is discussed in §13.8.3, and hu33 is discussed in §13.8.4. bi33 is used to indicate an immediate future, in contrast to hu33, which is used to indicate a remote future. hɔ33 and ku13 are both used to indicate prediction; no clear differences in usage have been found for hɔ33 and ku13. However, Bybee et al. point out that if two future markers have the same usage but the non-future usages from the earlier stages of grammaticalization remain in the language (as is the case for both hɔ33 and ku13), this is enough to motivate retention of both of the future markers in the language (Bybee et al. 1994:243).

13.8.1 bi33 FUT

bi33, which indicates an immediate future, has grammaticalized from the verb bi33 'go': bi33 lexical verb => bi33 AUX (movement to a location) => bi33 AUX (no movement to a location) => bi33 FUT.IMM. This path of grammaticalization also adheres very closely to the patterns of grammaticalization found by Bybee et al., here, for verbs of movement (Bybee et al. 1994:267–270). In contemporary Na, all states along the grammaticalization pathway from verb of motion to future marker are attested.

In example (661), bi33 is a V_H meaning 'go':

(661) t^hæ33 t^hu33-ni13 mɿ31-tɕɔ33 bi33 mə33-tʂ^hwɿ33.
 often this way below go NEG-allow
 经常 这样 下边 去 准

Often in this way he was not allowed to go down to earth.

经常这样不准他去下面。

T:Gemu.28

In example (662), bi33 acts as an auxiliary accompanying the lexical verb l533-yi33 ‘labor.’ Here, bi33 certainly still conveys the notion of movement to a location.

(662) p^hæ31-tɕ^hi33-mu33-zɔ33 = æ31 ʂ31-bu33 l533-yi33 bi33 mə33-zɔ33.
 man-young woman = PL REFL labor go NEG-need
 男-姑娘 = 们 自己 劳动 去 不用

Men and women don’t need to go labor (in the fields).

T:Change.9

In example (663), bi33 is an auxiliary; in this utterance, movement to a location is not conveyed—the speaker is discussing eating a text already in the listener’s possession.

(663) t^hi13 nɔ33 bu33 t^hɑ33 = ʂ31 dzɔ33 bɔ31-yu13 pɔ33 lə33-ku33 ni33
 so 2SG.PRO POSS book EXIST pig skin use ACCOMP-make COP
 所以 你 的 书 猪皮 用 做 是

So he said, “Your book is made from pig skin,
 所以说, “你的书是猪皮做的,

T:Muphadaba.14

ʂ13 zu31 lə33-dzi33 a31-bi33 pi33.
 REFL two ACCOMP-eat QM-go QUOT
 自己 吃 吗-去

why don’t we eat it up?”

我们两个要不要把它吃掉了?”

In example (664), bi33 is clearly a future marker, as the speaker is directly addressing the person whom he wishes to kill, and thus no directional movement is required. Furthermore, the immediacy of bi33 FUT is clear in this example: the protagonist is bound in ropes immediately following this sentence. Note that the future marker occurs here with the aspectual marker ze33 (§13.1), which marks a CRS.

(664) lə33-su13 bi33 zɛ33 pi33 ni33.
 ACCOMP-kill FUT.IMM CRS QUOT CERT.STR
 杀 去 了
 He said, “I am going to kill him.”
 说是去杀掉他。
 T:Tsodeluyizo.138

Example (665) is another example of bi33 as a future marker:

(665) tʰi13 ʃ13 mə33-si33 dzɛ33-wɿ33 dzɔ33 hu33 bi33.
 so REFL NEG-know wealth EXIST go FUT.IMM
 所以 自己 不知道 财富 有 去 去
 He was going to have more money than he could imagine.
 想要自己不知道数量的钱。
 T:ɕinami.43

In (666), bi33 FUT.IMM occurs with a V_H yɔ33 ‘come,’ marked with lə33- ACCOMP-, while taking zɛ33 CSM. In this way, a more complex temporal representation is created, somewhat akin to a future perfect, although it literally is a future accomplished with change of state.

(666) ʃ31-sɿ33 ku31 bu33 mɿ33-di33 kwɔ33
 1INC.PRO POSS land LOC
 咱们 的 土地 里
 He said, “I am going
 说是要回到
 T:Tsodeluyizo.165

lə33-yɔ33 bi33 zɛ33 pi33 ni33.
 ACCOMP-come FUT.IMM CSM QUOT CERT.STR
 来 了
 to return to our land.”
 我们的土地去了。

13.8.2 hɔ33 FUT.DES

hɔ33 FUT.DES has grammaticalized from desiderative hɔ33 (cf. §12.7). hɔ33 marks an intended or predicted future. Bybee et al. (Bybee et al. 1994:256) find a path of grammaticalization in which a lexical verb that indicates desire grammaticalizes into one indicating willingness and from there into one indicating intention, and finally becoming a future marker denoting prediction. This path of grammaticalization matches the grammaticalization of hɔ33 in Na. The four stages in the path all are still present and clearly attested, as seen in the following examples.

In examples (667), (668), (669), and (670), hɔ33 reflects an intended future, which is consistent with the grammaticalization path from hɔ33 DESIDERATIVE => hɔ33 willingness => hɔ33 FUT (intention) => hɔ33 FUT.DES (prediction).

In example (667), hɔ33 is a desiderative.

(667)	zu33-mi33	ʂɛ33	hɔ33	ʂwæ33-su33	ʂwæ33-hi33	da13.
	wife	find	DES	(type of tree) ²	tall-NOM	cut down
	老婆	找	要	(树的一个种类)	高-的	砍

If he wanted to find a wife, he should cut down the tallest shuae si tree.

要找老婆的话，要砍最高的ʂwæ-su树。

T:Tsodeluyizo.49

Example (668) is extracted from a section of text which discuss how the parents are at first unwilling to give their daughter's hand in marriage to the protagonist, but after putting the protagonist through numerous trials, eventually they are persuaded to allow the marriage. Thus, example (668) shows hɔ33 indicating willingness.

² In an interview with another daba, the daba reported that ʂwæ33-su31 in the modern language refers to a type of rhododendron or azalea. However, he was not certain whether this was what ʂwæ33-su31 meant in the Shamanic register. Indeed, the semantics would be a bit strange, given the thinness of the trunks of rhododendrons/azaleas: in this text, Apato instructs the protagonist to cut down a ʂwæ33-su31 tree, bury it in the sand for nine years, and it would take on the appearance of a person. The protagonist could then take this magically-created woman as his wife.

- (668) mɿ33 dzɔ33 ki33 hɔ33 ni33.
 girl EXIST give FUT CERT.STR
 女儿 是 给
 They would give their daughter to him.
 女儿是会给他的。
 T:Tsodeluyizo.146

In example (669), hɔ33 indicates intention—after the world has been levelled by a great flood, the protagonist makes new plans.

- (669) a33 pa33 tɔ31 ki33 tʰu33 nɔ33 tʰi13 zu33-mi33 ʂɛ33 hɔ33 ni33.
 Apato DAT arrive then so wife find FUT.DES CERT.STR
 Apato 到 才 所以 老婆 找
 When he arrived at Apato's place, then he would go find a wife.
 到了Apato那里，才去找老婆。
 T:Tsodeluyizo.48

Examples (670), (671), and (672) show more examples of hɔ33 as an intended future.

- (670) zɔ33-mu33 lə33-zɿ33 dzɔ33 a31 yi33 ʂɛ33 dzɔ33
 child ACCOMP-give birth to TOP long, long ago LOC
 小孩儿 养 很久以前
 It is said that long, long ago, having given birth to a child,
 听说生了小孩儿以后,
 T:Tsodeluyizo.116

- zɔ33-mu33 tʰæ33-ki13 i33-ki13 hɔ33 nu33 nɔ31
 child skirt-wearing ceremony pants-wearing ceremony FUT.DES EMPH then
 小孩儿 穿裙子的仪式 穿裤子的仪式 要 才
 the child would have a coming-of-age ceremony [at 13 years of age], (and only) then
 小孩快要到十三岁的仪式 [穿裙子/穿裤子] 才

- hɿ33-qʰɿ33 zɛ33.
 invite guests CSM
 请客 了
 (would) (the family) invite guests.
 会象我们一样请客。

(671)	tsɔ33 mi33	tʰæ33-kwɔ33	ɣɣ13	ni33	hɔ33.
	wooden barrel	underneath	cover	CERT.STR	FUT.DES
	木桶	下	盖		会

He would hide underneath a wooden barrel.

好像是盖在一个木桶下面。

T:Tsoyeluyizo.122

(672)	lɔ33-ɣu33	zɛ33	ɔ31-sɣ33	ku31	mɔ33-wɔ33	nuu33	lɔ33-ɣu33	zɛ33
	ACCOMP-carry	PERF	1INC.PRO		heavens	ABL	ACCOMP-carry	PERF
	带	了	咱们		天上	从	带	了

Bringing her from our heavens

带着她从天上

T:Tsoyeluyizo.147

di33-kwɔ33	zɯ33-tu33	yɪ33	pu13	huu33	hɔ33	ni33.
world	family	make	send	go	FUT.DES	CERT.STR
地里	家庭	做	派	去	会	

to the world, he would go set up a family.

到人间去建立家庭的。

The predicted usage can be seen very clearly in the following examples. To the Na listener, the crow is a character that can foretell the future, and yet is thoroughly unreliable in character. In (673), which is taken from a passage of a mythological narrative, the crow predicts that if the protagonist accomplishes an impossible feat, tilling a particular piece of land, then heaven and earth will switch places, causing proverbial flooding.

(673)	tʰu33	kʰwɣ33	lu33	pi33	dʒɔ33	mɣ33	la33	di33	lɔ33-tɔ31	pi13	hɔ33.
	this	CLS	till	COND.PRED	heaven	and	earth	ACCOMP-turn over			FUT.DES
	这	量词	耕	的话	天	和	地	翻转			

If this piece of land is tilled, heaven and earth will switch places.

如果这块儿地耕种的话，天和地会翻转。

T:Tsoyeluyizo.26

(674) pi31 p^hu13-dzi33 lə33-yə33 hə33 pi33 zɛ33.
 flood water ACCOMP-come FUT.DES QUOT CRS
 洪水 来 要 了
 Floodwaters will return.”
 洪水会回来了。”
 T:Tsodeluyizo.27

In examples (675), (676), and (677), the prospective parents-in-law are putting the protagonist through various Herculean tasks, to test his suitability for their daughter. When he achieves these feats (with considerable help from the daughter), they discuss their predictions of whether he will be a suitable husband and the predictive future hə33 is used. They then decide in (677) that he should be further tested.

(675) t^hi13 ʒ31-sɿ33 ku31 mɿ33-di33 kwə33 zɿ33-tu33 t^hu33 ɑ31-hə33
 so 1INC.PRO land LOC family succeed QM-FUT.DES
 所以 咱们 土地 里 家庭 成功 会
 And so, we must see if a family would be successful on our land,
 所以，我们土地里的家庭会不会做成功了，
 T:Tsodeluyizo.144

mə33-hə33 ɕɿ13 ni33 zɛ33.
 NEG-FUT.DES try CERT.STR PERF
 不-会 试一下 了
 要trying一下。
 and test him out.

(676) k^hu33 lə33-ʂə33 lə33-pə31-t^hu33 t^hi13 tsɿ31 hə33 ʂu33 du33.
 dog ACCOMP-carry ACCOMP-bring so okay FUT.DES think
 狗 带 拿来 所以 行 会 想
 He returned from hunting, and so they thought he would be alright.
 打猎回来，所以想这个人可以。
 T:Tsodeluyizo.159

(677) t^hi13 t^hu33 nu33 ku13 ni33 ɔ13 tɔ31 tɔ31 mi33 nɔ13 mɿ33
 so 3SG.PRO AGTV test CERT.STR INTERJ intend REFL girl
 所以 他 考验 语气词 故意 自己 女孩儿
 So, intending to test him as he would give his daughter to him,
 所以，故意的考验他因为女儿会给他，
 T:Tsodeluyizo.160

ki33	nu33	ki33	hɔ33	zɯ33-tu33	tʰu33	ɑ31-hɔ33	mə33-hɔ33.
give	EMPH	give	FUT.DES	family	succeed	QM-FUT.DES	NEG-FUT.DES
给		给	会	家庭	成功	会	不-会

so he tested whether the family would be successful or not.
所以考验他家庭会不会成功。

(678) shows hɔ33 FUT.DES used to give a counterfactual prediction. In the narrative text, the protagonist has only been able to find a horizontal-eyed woman, not a vertical-eyed woman. If he had been able to find a vertical-eyed woman, the narrator predicts that the world would become very good.

(678)	nɔ33	la33	ɲa33	pi33	mə33-dzɔ33	ɲa33	bu33	la33
	2SG.PRO	and	1SG.PRO	say	NEG-EXIST	1SG.PRO	POSS	and
	你	和	我	说	没-有	我	的	和

(If one finds a vertical-eyed woman, she) doesn't distinguish
(如果找到竖眼睛的姑娘), 不分别你和我,
T:Tsodeluyizo.286

nɔ33	bu33	pi33	mə33-dzɔ33	zɯæ13	tɕi33-di33	kwɔ33	tʰu33-ni13
2SG.PRO	POSS	say	NEG-EXIST	good	world	LOC	this way
你	的	说	没-有	好	人间地	里	这样

between you and me, between mine and yours, the world would
你的和我的, 在人间里

ku13	hɔ33	ni33	mæ33.
become	FUT.DES	CERT.STR	CERT.M
变成	会		

become very good.
会变得特别好。

(679) illustrates the predictive nature of *hɔ33* FUT.DES, in that a Daba or a lama must divine which day would be good to do a house blessing.

(679)	gɤ55	tʰu33	zu31-ku33	zu31-ɲi33	dʒɤ13	hɔ33
	that	this	whatever time	whatever day	good	FUT.DES
		这	哪一个时辰	哪一天	好	

About this, which time, which day will be good,
 哪一天, 哪一个时辰会是最好的,
 T:Fangzi.26

lɔ33-tɕɤ33	tɕɤ31	= a31	zɔ33	da31	ɲɤ33	ki33	mɔ33	ni31	da31	ɲɤ33	ki33
ACCOMP-divine				lama	ALL	or	daba	ALL			
算卦				喇嘛		或者	达巴				

one must go to visit a lama or a daba to have this divined,
 要去和喇嘛或者达巴那里去算卦,

bi33	zɔ33	lɔ33-tɕɤ33	tɕɤ31	zɛ33	mu33	kʰu13.
go	OBL	ACCOMP-divine	PERF	fire	light	
去		算卦		火	点	

and when these have been properly divined, the fire is lit.
 算卦好了以后点火。

13.8.3 *ku13* FUT.ABL

ku13 ABILITIVE => *ku13* FUT.ABL (prediction)

ku13 ABILITIVE (§12.5) grammaticalizes into *ku13* FUT.ABL (prediction). This grammaticalization pathway does not closely match the paths of grammaticalization described in Bybee et al. (Bybee et al. 1994:243–280). The closest example given in Bybee et al. is that of Cantonese, where a marker of ability grammaticalizes into a future possibility marker (Bybee et al. 1994:265), as opposed to the predictive future marker that is the result of the grammaticalization in Na.

ku13 is an abilitive modal as shown in example (680).

- (680) ε33 k^hu31 t^hu33 lu33 p^hɔ13 dzɔ33 t^hu33 du55-du55 ku13
 turnip this CLS plant TOP this big.INTSF ABLT
 圆根 这 量词 播种 这 大大 会
- planting these turnips, they could be this big...
 这个圆根播种去来这么大的...
 ET:Tsoodeluyizo.261

In example (681), one can see that ku13 has grammaticalized into a future marker denoting prediction. If there were any intermediary stages in the process of grammaticalization, they are no longer attested.

- (681) dʒi33-q^hy33 t^hu33 du33 lu33 t^hu33-di33 ku13 tsi13.
 spring this one CLS DUR-EXIST FUT.ABL REP
 泉水洞 这 一 量词 有
- It is said that there would be a spring there.
 听说会有一个泉水站在（那里）。
 T:Tsoodeluyizo.107

- (682) hī33-mɔ33 bu33 t^hu33-k^hu13 dzɔ33 du33-pi13 dzɣ13 ku13 pi33 ni33
 elders POSS DUR-place TOP a little good FUT.ABL QUOT CERT.STR
 老人 的 放 一点 好 会
- It is said that they say, “Putting a bit of elders’ (hair inside one’s headdress)
 听说放一点老人的（头发在里边），
 T:Saozi.7

pa13 dzɣ13 k^hu13 sɔ33 hwɣ31 gɣ33 hī33-mɔ33 t^hu33-ni13 dzɔ33
 maybe good CAUS after this elders this way TOP
 可能 好 以后 老人 这样

will be good, these elders
 这些老人

zu33 ʂæ33 ha31 yɣ33 hu33 ku13 ni33 tsi13.
 have long life peace go FUT.ABLT CERT.STR REP
 长寿 平安 去 会

can help you live long and peacefully.
 会让你长寿和平安的。

- (683) lə31-k^hwɿ33 lə33-dzɿ13 ze33 lə33 mə33-yi33 pi33 dzə33
 hand, technique ACCOMP-be good CRS labor NEG-make COND.PRED
 手, 技术 好 了 劳 做 的话
 With good technique, if one doesn't work,
 技术好了, 如果不劳动的话,
 T:Tso deluyizo.40

ha33	lə33-pi33	di33	dzə33	mə33-ku13.
food	ACCOMP-full		TOP	NEG-FUT.ABLT
饭	饱	的		

one won't eat to the point of being full.
 饭吃饱的时候不会有。

- (684) t^hu33 mi31 zu13 t^hu33 wu33 dzə33 t^hæ33 nu33 dzi33-pu13
 this woman this CLS TOP often EMPH water barrel
 这 女人 这 量词 经常 水桶
 It is said that this woman
 听说这一个人
 T:Tso deluyizo.111

pɿ33 lu31	ku13	tsi13.
carry on one's back	FUT.ABL	REP
背着	会	

often would come to fill her water barrel.
 会经常来有水桶背水。

- (685) gy33 ni33 gy33 ha33 pi33 gi33 dzə33 la33 t^hu33 dzə33
 nine day nine night snow fall PROG tiger 3SG.PRO TOP
 九 天 九 夜 雪 下 正在 老虎 它
 When it is snowing for nine days and nine nights,
 雪下了九天九夜的时候,
 T:Tso deluyizo.168

la33-q ^h y33	kwə33	t ^h u33-ku31	ku13	tsi13	mə33.
tiger den	LOC	DUR-hide	FUT.ABL	REP	CERT.M
老虎洞	里	藏	会		

it is said that the tiger will hide in its den.
 听说老虎会藏在老虎的洞里边。

(686) ni33 zu31 mi31 t^hu33 su31 gwæ13 ku13 ni33.
 noon 3SG.PRO yellow FUT.ABL CERT.STR
 中午 她 黄色 会

At noon, she will be yellow.
 中午的时候，她是黄色的。
 T:Tipidaba.3

(687) ni33 mi33 ku31 t^hu33 na31 q^hæ33 t^ɕh'e13 ku13.
 sun set 3SG.PRO black FUT.ABL
 太阳 落山 她 黑色 会

When the sun sets, she will be black.
 太阳落山的时候，她是黑色的。
 T:Tipidaba.4

(688) tu31 ts^h133 du33 lu33 t^hæ33 du33 su33 tɕi31 qæ33 ku13 tsi13.
 time one CLS often one CLS exchange FUT.ABL REP
 时辰 一 个 经常 一 次 交换 会

It is said that often for each period of time she will change color once.
 听说经常是一个时辰变化一种颜色。
 T:Tipidaba.9

(689) mɤ33 t^hu33 k^hwɤ33 t^hu33 mæ33-ki33 pi33 dʒi33-q^hy33 la33
 name this CLS 3SG.PRO NEG-give COND.HYP spring goddess and
 名字 这 他 不给 水井 和

If the correct name is not given, the spring goddess and
 如果名字不给他的话，水井神和
 T:Muphadaba.33

zu31 tsɛ13 la33 t^hæ13 q^hwɤ31 yī13 ku13.
 mountain god and such destroy FUT.ABL
 山神 和 那些 迫害 会

the mountain god and such will destroy the child.
 山神和那些会迫害他。

(690) mɔ33 su33 pi33 du33 wɔ33 dʒɔ33 ku13 kwæ33.
 mɔ33 su33 be called one type EXIST FUT.ABL INTERJ
 mɔ33 su33 叫 一 种 有 会 语气词

There will be a type of tree called mo si, ah!
 会有一种叫mɔ su啊。
 T:Tsoyeluyizo.62

(691) hī33 tʰu33 tʰu33-ni13 ku13 ze33.
 person this this way FUT.ABL CRS
 人 这 这样 会 了

This type of person will be like this.

这样的人会这样的。

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.103

(692) tɕɔ31 hi31 ku33 tʰu33 dzu33 ku33 pʰɤ31 zɔ33 ku33 pʰɤ31 zɔ33 pi33 wu31-dze33
 middle this CLS kuphezo kuphezo call bird
 最中间 这 量词 kuphezo kuphezo 鸟

In the middle tree, there would be a type of bird

最中间的这棵树有一种

ET:Tsoḍeluyizo.222

du33 wɔ33 dʒɔ33 ku13
 one type EXIST FUT.ABL
 一 种 有 会

called kuphezo...

叫kuphezo的鸟...

13.8.4 hu33 FUT.REM

hu33 go (movement to a location) => hu33 FUT.REM (remote)

hu33 is a verb meaning ‘go,’ as can be seen in example (693).

(693) tʰu33 ni33 ni31 bɔ31-lu13 la33 tʰu33-ni13 hu33.
 everyday pig-feed and this way go
 每一天 猪-放 和 这样 去

Everyday he went to feed the pigs and such.

每一天去放猪阿这些。

T:ɕinami.14

hu33 ‘go’ grammaticalizes to indicate a remote future. If there were intermediary stages in the grammaticalization from verb of motion to remote future marker, these are no longer attested in the language. The remote future usage of hu33 FUT.REM can be seen clearly in (694), where hu33 FUT.REM is used when a Daba is explaining the process for naming a newborn. In the rite, the newborn’s ancestors are contacted, and they are introduced to the infant, and requested to look after the child so that the child will not become ill over his/her lifespan, thus using the remote future marker hu33, so that the child will not become ill at any point in the remote future of his/her entire lifespan.

- (694) t^hi13 nɔ33 nu33 dzɤ13 du33-wɔ33 zu31 go33-ts^hu33 la33 t^hæ13
 so 2SG.PRO AGTV good bless.DEL illness and such
 所以 你 好 一保佑 病痛 和 那些
 To ask, “Please carefully protect the child so that illness and such
 说请你好好的保佑一下病痛和那些
 T:Muphadaba.36

du33	t ^h ɑ33	hu33	pi33.
arrive	PROH	FUT.REM	QUOT
得到		会	

won’t come.”
 不要让他得到。

In examples (695), (696), and (697), which explain the procedure for blessing a new home, hu33 FUT.REM is used. The procedural narrative from which these examples are extracted explains how a house is built. The first section, which describes the building process, is not future-marked. It is when the narrator describes the process of blessing the new home after it has been built, that hu33 FUT.REM appears, as it indicates a remote future after the huge amount of work needed to build a home has been completed.

(695) t^hu33 k^hwɿ33 kwɔ33 lə33-tɕ^hu31 tɕ^hu13 hu33.
 this CLS LOC ACCOMP-chant scriptures FUT.REM
 这 里 念经
 He will chant scriptures here.
 在这里念经。
 T:Fangzi.40

(696) t^hi13 lə33-wæ33 zɛ33 t^hu33 zu33-mi33 t^hu33 lu33 lə33-wɔ13
 so ACCOMP-call CSM this hearth room this CLS ACCOMP-return
 所以 叫 这 祖屋 这 个 回
 Having called it, the hearth room
 所以把祖屋这个叫醒了，
 T:Fangzi.49

lə33-sɿ31 lə33-yɔ33 hu33.
 ACCOMP-live ACCOMP-come FUT.REM
 活 来
 will come back to life.
 让他重新活回来了。

(697) t^hi13 du33 wɿ33 du33 wɿ33 t^hu33 kwɔ33 hɔ33 dzi33 hu33.
 so one village one CLS this LOC food eat FUT.REM
 所以 一 村 一 这 里 饭 吃
 Everyone in the whole village will eat here.
 所以让全村的人在这里吃饭。
 T:Fangzi.53

Example (698) discusses customary ways that work is divided among the members of the extended Na households. The remote future *hu33* is used because the need for members to do work extends indefinitely into the future.

(698) ɑ33-tso33 yi33 zo33 ni33 ɕ31-bu33 lə33-yɿ33 lə33-se31
 whatever do OBL CERT.STR REFL ACCOMP-do ACCOMP-complete
 什么 做 需要 自己 做 完成
 Whatever you need to do, you will
 需要做什么事情要自己
 T:Saozi.12

hu33	dʒɔ31.
FUT.REM	then
会	

do it yourself.
把它做完成了。

13.9 lə33- ACCOMP-

lə33- ACCOMP- and tʰu33- DUR- are somewhat different from the other aspectual markers: they appear preverbally, rather than postverbally, they can appear in combination with other aspectual markers, and they are bound morphemes rather than separate words. These differences most likely are due to historical factors: the postverbal aspect markers probably grammaticalized from verbs, aided by the availability of the serial verb construction, while the prefixed aspectual markers probably grammaticalized from adverbs with meanings along the lines of ‘accomplished, done’ for lə33- ACCOMP-, and ‘still, yet’ for tʰu33- DUR-.

Example (699) has two verbs, bu33 ‘roast’ and dzi33 ‘eat,’ which indicate the ongoing processes of ‘roasting’ and ‘eating,’ respectively. Prefixation with lə33- gives each verb a reading of accomplishment, such that these actions could be rendered colloquially in English as ‘roasted up’ and ‘ate up,’ where ‘up’ gives the reading of accomplishment. Example (699) is a particularly useful example, as there is no perfective aspect marking with zε33 that could be giving the reading that the actions have been completed.

(699)	a33-pʰɔ13	lə33-bu33	lə33-dzi33.
	outside	ACCOMP-roast	ACCOMP-eat
	外面	烧	吃

Once outside, he roasted it and ate it.

外面烧了吃。

T:çinami.27

lǎ33- ACCOMP- interacts with the lexical aspect of the verb to which it attaches. It very often appears on verb denoting processes or activities, and gives them a telic reading. It is not just telic in the sense that the event is bounded, but that the intended result of the process or activity has been achieved; thus ‘accomplished,’ for example, ‘roast up,’ ‘eat up,’ ‘slice off,’ ‘renewed,’ ‘grow back,’ and from ‘see’ to ‘spot,’ etc. lǎ33- ACCOMP- can appear on stative verbs, although this is somewhat less commonly attested. lǎ33- ACCOMP- prefixed stative verbs very often take zɛ33 PERF/CRS/CSM, because accomplishment for a verb with stative lexical aspect by nature is a change of state. For instance, when the stative verb ɲi33 ‘be full’ takes accomplished marking, it becomes lǎ33-ɲi33 zɛ33 ‘be filled up,’ where the CSM marker zɛ33 is required because a change of state has occurred.

(700) ɿ13 tʰu33 kwɔ33 dzɔ31 da33 pɤ33 tʰu33 wu33 ki33 ɲa33
 INTERJ this LOC then daba this CLS DAT 1SG.PRO
 这 里 达巴 这 个 我

He said to the daba, ‘I am so sick,
 所以对这个达巴说, ‘我
 T:Muphadaba.17

tʰu31-ni13	lǎ33-gɔ31	zɛ33	kwɔ33 = ɤ33	du33-pi13	yɿ33	ga13	pi33.
this way	ACCOMP-sick	CSM	rite	a little	do	help	QUOT
这样	病	了	法事	一点	做	帮忙	

please help me by doing a few rites for me.”
 这样病了, 请你帮我做一点法事。”

(701) ɲa33 mɤ33 ɲa33 di33 kwɔ33 tʰɛ̃13 yi33 la33 yɔ33 tʰu33 tʰɛ̃13
 1SG.PRO sky 1SG.PRO place LOC such cow and sheep this such
 我 天 我 地 里 那些 牛 和 绵羊 这 那些

I do have cattle and sheep on my land,
 我的土地里边
 T:Tso deluyizo.141

dzɔ33	ni33	lǎ33-ɿ33	zɛ33	lǎ33-di13	tʰu33-mə33-mə33.
EXIST	CERT.STR	ACCOMP-be difficult	CSM	ACCOMP-drive	DUR-NEG-catch up
有	是	困难	了	赶	没追

but the trip is too difficult, so I didn’t herd them here.
 牛和绵羊, 那些, 是有的, 可是路程太困难了, 没有赶到这里来。

(702)	tsu33 zu33	lɔ33-lu13	zɛ33	lɔ33-ʂu33	zɛ33	my33-di33	kwɔ33
	test	ACCOMP-be enough	CSM	ACCOMP-carry	PERF	land	LOC
	考验	够	了	带	了	土地	里

They had tested him enough, and he would take her back

考验做够了，准备带着（姑娘）回到他的地方

T:Tsoodeluyizo.245

lɔ33-po13	bi33	hɔ33	ni33	zɛ33.
ACCOMP-take	go	FUT.DES	CER.STR	PERF
拿	去	会		了

to his land.

上去了。

Stative verbs marked with lɔ33- ACCOMP- that are negative do not take zɛ33, because no change has occurred.

(703)	tʰa33	ha33	lɔ33-dzi33	mə33-ɲi33.
	often	food	ACCOMP-eat	NEG-be full
	经常	饭	吃	不-饱

Often, he didn't get enough to eat.

经常饭吃不饱。

T:çinami.18

(704)	lɔ31-kʰwɔ33	lɔ33-dzɔ13	zɛ33	lɔ31	mə33-yĩ33	pi33 dzɔ33
	hand, technique	ACCOMP-be good	CRS	labor	NEG-make	COND.PRED
	手，技术	好	了	劳	不-做	如果

With good technique,

技术好了，

T:Tsoodeluyizo.40

ha33	lɔ33-ɲi33	di33	dzɔ33	mə33-ku13.
food	ACCOMP-be full		TOP	NEG-can
饭	饱	的		不会

if one doesn't work, one won't eat to the point of being full.

如果不劳动的话，饭吃饱的时候不会有。

Process verbs marked with ɿ33- may, but do not necessarily, take zɛ33. In example (705), the verb hǎ13 ‘cut’ is an ongoing process, and prefixation with the accomplished marker ɿ33- gives the reading of accomplishment, ‘cut off.’ ɿ33- is also prefixed to the verbs wɔ13 ‘return’ and ɣwɿ13 ‘grow,’ giving the reading that the part of the mythological fish that had been previously cut off has completely grown back, i.e., a process which has been fully accomplished. zɛ33 here is used to indicate this re-growth as a change of state.

- (705) tʰu33 wɔ33-ta33 du33 ni33 nɔ33 ɿ33-hǎ13 kwɔ33 ʂɛ33 wɿ13
 3SG.PRO before one day just ACCOMP-cut LOC meat again
 他 以前 一 天 才 割 肉 又
 The part of the fish that he had sliced off the day before
 他再割掉的地方
 T:çinami.29

ɿ33-wɔ13	ɿ33-ɣwɿ13	zɛ33.
ACCOMP-return	ACCOMP-grow	CSM
回来	长	了

had grown back.
 又重新长起来了。

- (706) tʰi13 hu33 li31 ɿ33-bæ13 ɿ33-hu33 zɛ33.
 so quickly ACCOMP-run ACCOMP-go CSM
 所以 赶快 跑 去
 So, he quickly ran back home.
 所以赶快跑了回去回家。
 T:çinami.40

- (707) ɿ33-ɿa33 ɿa33 zɛ33 çi13 kʰi33 lu33-ʂu31 ɿ33-tʰu33.
 ACCOMP-rock back and forth CSM lake CIS Luoshui ACCOMP-come
 摇来摇去 了 湖 边 落水 来

They escaped to the shores of Luoshui.
 一直漂到水边的落水来了。
 T:çinami.56

However, process verbs are not required to take this *ze33*. For instance, in (708), even when there most clearly has been a change of state: i.e., the fish meat has gone from raw to roasted, but there is no CSM.

- (708) *a33-p^hɔ13* *lə33-bu33* *lə33-dzi33*.
 outside ACCOMP-roast ACCOMP-eat
 外面 烧 吃
 Once outside, he roasted it and ate it.
 外面烧了吃。
 T:çinami.27

Liminal verbs may take *lə33- ACCOMP-*, and sometimes the result is that one receives a change in semantics: *t^hu33* ‘arrive’ becomes ‘succeed.’

- (709) *t^hi13* *lə33-t^hu33* *ze33* *tɔ131*.
 so ACCOMP-succeed CSM INTERJ
 所以 成功 了 语气词
 So, he succeeded, oh!
 所以，成功了。
 T:Tsodeluyizo.244

lə33- ACCOMP- can appear with an existential verb, and one receives the reading, ‘now we have obtained it.’

- (710) *zɔ31 nɔ33* *dian* (loan) *lə33-dzɔ33* *ze33*
 now electricity ACCOMP-EXIST CSM
 现在 电 有 了
 Today, we all have electricity,
 T:Change.5

dianshiji (loan) *lə33-dzɔ33* *ze33* *cheng* (loan) *kwɔ33* *t^hu33-tɕ^hi33*
 t.v. ACCOMP-EXIST CSM city LOC 3PL.PRO.FAM
 电视机 有 了 成 理 他们
 we all have televisions,

a33-tsɔ33 *dzɔ33* *lə33-dzɔ33* *ze33*.
 whatever EXIST ACCOMP-EXIST CSM
 什么 有 有 了
 whatever they have in the city, we have it all.

In example (711), one gets a very clear reading that the action is accomplished; also, one can see that the verb can appear without *lə33-* (i.e., *lə33-* is not just required on a class of verbs, specified at the lexical level), and one can see the change in meaning given by *lə33-*.

(711) *tu33 ze33 a33-p^hɔ13 pɔ31-ts^hu33 dʒɔ33 ni33 zɔ33 t^hu33 mi31 gi13*
 pull CSM outside bring PROG fish this CLS after
 拉 了 外面 拿来 正在 鱼 这 量词 后来

When he pulled the fish outside,
 拉到外面的时候,
 T:çinami.46

tu33 ze33 a33-p^hɔ13 pɔ31-ts^hu33 dʒɔ33 ni33 zɔ33 t^hu33 mi31 dʒɔ31
 pull CSM outside bring PROG fish this CLS then
 拉 了 外面 来来 正在 鱼 这 量词

when he pulled the back of the fish outside,
 鱼的后面拉到外面的时候

<i>tu33</i>	<i>lə33-ts^hu33.</i>
pull	ACCOMP-come
拉	来

the fish was completely brought out.
 这条鱼是拉出来了。

Lexical aspect	Unmarked verb	lə33- ACCOMP- + verb	Reference
Process	go into	tɕ ^h i33 lə33-hu33 ‘enter into’	T:cinami.21
	go	lə33-hu33 dʒə33 ‘going in’	T:cinami.23
	bring	lə33-pə13 ts ^h u33 ‘brought out’	T:cinami.26
	roast	lə33-bu33 ‘roast up’	T:cinami.27
	eat	lə33-dzi33 ‘eat up’	T:cinami.27, T:Mupha.14
	cut	lə33-hæ13 ‘slice off’	T:cinami.29
	grow	lə33-gwɤ13 zɛ33 ‘grow back’	T:cinami.29
	grow	lə33-zɪ13 zə33 ‘grow back’	T:cinami.30
	come	lə33-ts ^h u33 ‘come back’	T:cinami.33
	run + go	lə33-bæ13 lə33-hu33 zɛ33 ‘ran back’	T:cinami.40
	pull	lə33-tu33 ‘pull out’	T:cinami.41
	pull + come	tu33 lə33-ts ^h u33 ‘pull out’	T:cinami.46
	float + come	t ^h u33-tse13 lə33-ts ^h u33 ‘came floating’	T:cinami.53
	build	lə33-ts ^h u13 ‘built’	T:cinami.59
	see	lə33-tə33 ‘saw, spotted’	T:Gemu.18, T:Todeluyizo.129
	know	lə33-nɤ33 ‘found out’	T:Gemu.25
	sleep	lə33-zu31 ŋu33 ‘fell asleep’	T:Gemu.34, T:Gemu.35
cry	lə33-ŋu33 ‘cried’	T:Gemu.39	

Table 13.3 Verbs with the accomplished marker lə33-

Lexical aspect	Unmarked verb	lə33- ACCOMP- + verb	Reference
Process	think	lə33-ʂu33 du33 ‘thought’	T:Gemu.46
	fly + come	lə33-dzɛ33 lə33-ts ^h u33 zɛ33 ‘flew over’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.24
	till	lə33-lu33 zɛ33 ‘tilled (it)’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.25
	come	lə33-yɔ33 ‘come’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.28
	sew	lə33-zu13 ‘sew up’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.28
	retreat	lə33-kwɔ33 ‘retreated’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.45
	cut down	lə33-da13 ‘cut down’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.51
	carry + take + go	lə33-ʂu33 lə33-pɔ13 hu33 ‘carried it off’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.123
	carry	lə33-pɣ33 pɣ33 pɔ13 yɔ33 mə33-t ^h a13 ‘can’t carry back’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.135
	drive	lə33-di13 ‘drive’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.141
	carry	lə33-ʂu33 ‘carry (off)’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.147
	wear	lə33-my33 zɛ33 ‘put on’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.170
	stack together	lə33-wɣ33 wɣ33 ‘stack (up) together’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.189
	burn	lə33 qæ13 ‘burn (up)’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.189, T:Fangzi.60
	burn	lə33 dzu33 ‘burn (up)’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.196
	put on shoulder	lə33 ku13 ‘shouldered’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.203
	harvest	lə33 ʂu33 ‘harvested’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.213
	comb	lə33 ts ^h ɣ13 ‘combed’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.252
	curse	lə33 tɕi33 ‘cursed’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.253

Table 13.3 Verbs with the accomplished marker lə33- (cont’d)

Lexical aspect	Unmarked verb	lə33- ACCOMP- + verb	Reference
Process	steal	lə33-k ^h u33 zɛ33 ‘stole’	T:Todeluyizo.258
	divine	lə33-tʂɤ33 tʂɤ33 ‘divine’	T:Fangzi.3
	divide	lə33-pu33 pu33 ‘divide up’	T:Fangzi.6
	chant scriptures	lə33-tʂ ^h u31 tʂ ^h u13 hu33 ‘go chant scriptures’	T:Fangzi.40
	call	lə31-wæ33 zɛ33 ‘called up’	T:Fangzi.46
	sing songs	lə33-gwɤ33-gwɤ31 hu33 ‘go sing songs’	T:Fangzi.55
	go	lə33-hu33 ‘go up’	T:Fangzi.61
	think	lə33-zwɤ31-hĩ33 ‘thoughts’	T:Fangzi.63
	cut	lə33-ts ^h u13 ‘cut (off)’	T:Saozi.1
	do	lə33-ku31 ‘is done’	T:Saozi.6
	row	lə33-bæ13 ‘row’	T:Saozi.9
	do	lə33-yĩ33 ‘do’	T:Saozi.10
	carve	lə33-qwæ13 ‘carved’	T:Yzt.16
	teach	lə33-sɔ13 ‘taught’	T:Yzt.17
	walk	lə33-sɛ33 ‘walked’	T:Mupha.7
	make	lə33-ku33 ‘made’	T:Mupha.14
cook	lə33-tɕɤ13 ‘cooked’	T:Mupha.15	
Process + stative	eat	lə31-dzi33 mə33-ni33 ‘didn’t eat to the point of being full’	T:cinami.18
Process (reciprocal)	rock back and forth	lə33-la33 la33 zɛ33 ‘rocked back and forth’	T:cinami.56

Table 13.3 Verbs with the accomplished marker lə33- (cont’d)

Lexical aspect	Unmarked verb	lə33- ACCOMP- + verb	Reference
Liminal	return	lə33-wə13 ‘renewed’	T:cinami.29
	kill	lə33-k ^h ɔ13 ‘killed’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.34
	turn	lə33-wə13 ‘turned’	T:Gemu.41
	die + finish	lə33-ʂu33 lə33-se13 ‘died’	T:cinami.57
	overturn	lə33-tse31-p ^h u13 ‘overturned’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.23
	turn over	lə33-tə31 pi13 hə33 ‘will turn over’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.26
	open	lə33-ba33 ‘open up’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.50
	meet	lə33-si33-si33 ‘met’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.113
	give birth	lə33-zɣ33 ‘gave birth’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.116
	put	lə33-tɕi33 ‘put (down)’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.184
	arrive	lə33-t ^h u33 ‘succeeded’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.244
	cure	lə33-k ^h wɣ33 ‘cure’	T:Yzt.6
Stative	good	lə33-dzɣ13 zɛ33 ‘become skilled’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.40
	long + INTS	lə33-ʂæ33 lə33-zɣwæ13 ‘be long and hard’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.135
	be difficult	lə33-ʂ33 zɛ33 ‘be difficult’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.141
	fill	lə33-ɲi33 ‘filled up’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.40
	be sick	lə33-gə31 zɛ33 ‘sickened’	T:Mupha.17
	be enough	lə33-lu13 zɛ33 ‘was enough’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.245

Table 13.3 Verbs with the accomplished marker lə33- (cont’d)

13.10 t^hu33- DUR-

t^hu33- is a durative marker. Its basic semantic contribution to temporal representation is to indicate that an event is ongoing, as can be seen in example (712). Example (712) is excerpted from a procedural text describing how Na homes are built. The narrator is explaining how one must place some silver and gold above and below the central pillars of the hearth room as an offering. Thus, the durative t^hu33- is prefixed to the verb k^hu13 ‘put’ to indicate that the offerings of silver and gold must remain there in place.

- (712) t^hi13 ŋy33 la33 hæ33 mə33-dzə33 pi33 zə31 dzə33 dze33 la33
 so silver and gold NEG-EXIST COND.CTRF money and
 所以 白银 和 黄金 没-有 的话, 钱 和
 If one doesn't have silver and gold,
 所以白银和黄金没有的话,
 T:Fangzi.11

t ^h æ13	du33-pi13	t ^h u33-k ^h u13.
such	some	DUR-put
那些	一些	放

one can put in some money and such.
 一些钱和那些可以装进去。

The effects of prefixation with t^hu33- DUR- vary somewhat, depending upon the lexical aspect of the verb being marked. Process verbs, liminal verbs, and stative and existential verbs all act slightly differently, as will be shown.

When t^hu33- DUR- attaches to verbs that have process lexical aspect, one gets the reading that the process keeps going on. According to Timberlake (2007:284), processes require activity to continue, so the natural state of process lexical aspect is for the action to dwindle out. Na t^hu33- DUR- gives the reading that the process does in fact continue. For example, in (713), the tiger keeps hiding for days, in (714), ‘hit’ becomes ‘strike at’ when prefixed with t^hu33- DUR-, and (715) ‘sit’ becomes ‘live’ when when prefixed with t^hu33- DUR-.

- (713) gy33 ni33 gy33 ha33 pi33 gi33 dzɔ33 la33 tʰu33 dzɔ33
 nine day nine night snow fall PROG tiger 3SG.PRO TOP
 九 天 九 夜 雪 下 正在 老虎 它

When it is snowing for nine days and nine nights,
 雪下了九天九夜的时候,
 T:Tsodeluyizo.168

la33-qʰy33	kwɔ33	tʰu33-ku31	ku13	tsi13	mæ33.
tiger den	LOC	DUR-hide	FUT.ABL	REP	CERT.M
老虎洞	里	藏	会		

it is said that the tiger will hide in its den.
 听说老虎会藏在老虎的洞里边。

- (714) yʷ33-gu33 ʑ31-sɿ33 ku31 yʷ33-gu33 pɔ13 la13 lə33-hu33
 shuttle INC.PRO shuttle INSTR hit ACCOMP-go
 麻布槽 咱们 麻布槽 拿 打 去

Taking the shuttle, our shuttle, he went to hit him,
 用麻布的槽，我们织麻布的槽，打下去，弓箭射到了，
 T:Tsodeluyizo.242

ku33 tse33 mi33	tɔ31	tʰu33-zɔ33	yʷ33 la33 su13	lə33-su13	tʰu33-kwɿ13.
Kutsemi	ADESS	DUR-hit	Rilasi	ACCOMP-die	DUR-fall
Kutsemi	上	打中	Rilasi	杀	丢

he struck at Kutsemi, Rilasi fell and died.
 Kutsemi的上面，把Rilasi杀掉了。

- (715) tʰi13 tʰu33 ni33 lu33 gi13 lu33-ʂu31 tʰu33 kʰwɿ33 kwɔ33
 so this two CLS after Luoshui this CLS LOC
 所以 这 两 量词 后来 落水 这 量词 里

So, these two children afterwards lived in Luoshui and
 所以这两个后来在落水，
 T:ɕinami.59

tʰu33-dzu31	zɔ33 qwɿ33	la33	lə33-tsʰu13.
DUR-sit	house	etc.	ACCOMP-build
	房子	等	建

built a house on this land in Luoshui.
 这块地方，修了房子。

When t^hu33- DUR- attaches to verbs that have liminal lexical aspect, the telic semantics are over-ridden, so that one gets the reading that having achieved the expected result, the action continues or the result endures. In example (716), the speaker uses t^hu33- DUR- on the liminal verb z^wæ31 ‘destroy’ to indicate that once Na traditions have been destroyed, they remain so—the result endures. Example (717) contains another liminal verb, tæ13 ‘shut.’ We can see clearly that the durative is used to indicate that the event of ‘shutting’ will endure: after the god’s mother catches him consorting with a mortal woman, she warns him that he will be shut up for the rest of his life (an ongoing event) if he does not halt visiting the mortal woman. In example (718), once the water has reached boiling point, it is kept at boiling point so that one constantly has a source of purified water for making tea and cooking. In example (719), once a home’s hearth fire has been lit, according to Na custom, it must remain lit eternally, as the hearth fire represents the spirit of the family.

(716) t^hu31-ni13 nɑ13 bu33 q^hwæ33 dzɔ31 t^hu33-z^wæ31 ni33.
 this way Na POSS tradition then DUR-destroy CERT.STR
 这样 Na 的 传统 破坏
 This way, Na traditions are destroyed.
 所以把Na 的传统都破坏掉了。
 T:Yzt.5

(717) wɤ13 hu33 pi33 du33 zu33 t^hu33-tæ13 k^hu13 mə33-bi33 pi33.
 again go say one lifetime DUR-shut up CAUS NEG-go QUOT
 又 去 说 一 辈子 关 不-会
 She said, “If (you) go again, (you) will be shut up for (your) entire life and wouldn’t be able to do so again.”
 说如果再去就一辈子关起来不会放。
 T:Gemu.29

(718) t^hi13 mu33-zɔ33 t^hu33 lu33 nu33 dzɔ33 dzi33 t^hu33 tɕ^hɔ13 t^hu33-tsu31.
 so woman this CLS AGTV TOP water this CLS DUR-boil
 所以 女人 这 个 水 这 瓢 煮
 Then, the woman boils this ladle of water.
 所以这个女人把这瓢水煮上。
 T:Fangzi.32

- (719) t^hi13 t^hæ33 t^hu33-k^hu13 zɔ33-hɔ33 ni33 t^hu33-k^hu13 zɔ33-hɔ33 ni33.
 so often DUR-light should CERT.STR DUR-light should CERT.STR
 所以 经常 点 应该 应该 点 应该
 It should be always lit, it should be lit.
 所以是应该经常点上的，应该是点上的。
 T:Fangzi.38

Stative verbs are rarely attested with t^hu33- DUR-. This is presumably because stative verbs are an ongoing state, and thus do not need marking to indicate that the state continues. However, a stative verb can be prefixed with the durative; in such cases, t^hu33- DUR- gives the reading that a physical feature is stable, as can be seen in (720), where having one's eyes aligned vertically rather than horizontally is marked with t^hu33- DUR-.

- (720) ɲa33-tsu33-mi33 pi33 ɲa33-tsu33 t^hu33-ni13 t^hu33-tsu33 zɛ33
 vertical-eyed woman call vertical-eyed this way DUR-vertical PERF
 眼睛竖的女人 说 眼睛 竖的 这样 竖的 了
 What we call a “nya tsih mee” is a person whose eyes are vertical like this;
 叫做“ɲa33 tsi31 mi31”的人眼睛这样
 T:Tsoyeluyizo.99

ɔ31-sɿ33 ku31 di33-mə31-su33 kwɔ33 ɲa33-tsu33 t^hu33-ni13 t^hu33-tsu33 dʒɔ33
 1INC.PRO everywhere LOC vertical-eyed this kind DUR-vertical TOP
 咱们 所有的地 里 眼睛竖的 这样 竖
 in our world, a vertical-eyed person
 竖着的人是在我们地球上眼睛

nɔ33 la33 ɲa33 pi33 mə33-dʒɔ33.
 2SG.PRO and 1SG.PRO say NEG-EXIST
 你 和 我 说 不-有
 doesn't distinguish between you and me.
 这样竖的人是不分你和我。

The existential verbs dzə33 EXIST and di33 EXIST.P are also attested with tʰu33- DUR-, although di33 EXIST.P takes tʰu33- DUR- marking much more commonly than dzə33 EXIST.

In example (721), the durative is used because the existence of the villages is an ongoing state within the narrative.

- (721) hī33-wɿ33 lɑ33 dzæ33-pi13 tʰu33-di33.
 village etc. lots DUR-EXIST.P
 村镇 等等 很多 有
 There were many villages.
 有很多村镇。
 T:ɕinami.4

di33 EXIST.P so rarely occurs without tʰu33- DUR- marking that native speakers tend to conceive of it as a single morpheme, until presented with examples from narrative text, such as (722), which show that the two are in fact separate morphemes.

- (722) hǎ̃13 zɿ31 lɑ33 du33-sə33 tʰu33-mə33-di33.
 cut trace etcetera at all DUR-NEG-EXIST.P
 割 痕迹 等等 一样 有
 There was no trace at all of a cut.
 割掉的痕迹一点没有。
 T:ɕinami.31

It is common in Tibeto-Burman languages for existential verbs used for things perpendicular to a plane to be grammaticalizations from verbs meaning ‘stand.’ Although there is no indication that Na di33 EXIST.P does have such a source, if it had, the attraction between tʰu33- DUR- and di33 EXIST.P would make good sense: durative marking on a verb meaning ‘stand’ would likely promulgate the process of grammaticalization.

Lexical aspect	Unmarked verb	t ^h u33- DUR- + verb	Reference
Process	sit	t ^h u33-dzu31 ‘live’	T:cinami.3, T:cinami.59
	roast	t ^h u33-bu33 dzo33 ‘was roasting’	T:cinami.37
	float	t ^h u33-tse13 ‘floating’	T:cinami.53
	ride	t ^h u33-dzæ33 ‘ride’	T:Gemu.35
	look after	t ^h u33-li33-li33 ‘protect’	T:Gemu.50
	till	t ^h u33-lu33 ‘till’	T:Tsodeluyizo.29
	carry	t ^h u33-ɣu33 ‘carry’	T:Tsodeluyizo.71
	hide	t ^h u33-ku31 ‘hide’	T:Tsodeluyizo.168
	wear	t ^h u33-my33 ‘wear’	T:Tsodeluyizo.170
	teach	t ^h u33-so13 ‘teach’	T:Tsodeluyizo.171, T:Tsodeluyizo.193, T:Tsodeluyizo.204
	plant	t ^h u33-pho13 ‘plant’	T:Tsodeluyizo.209
	sprinkle	t ^h u33-bu13 ‘sprinkle’	T:Tsodeluyizo.214
	live	t ^h u33-ha13 ‘live’	T:Tsodeluyizo.220, T:Tsodeluyizo.222, T:Tsodeluyizo.224, T:Tsodeluyizo.228
	aim at	t ^h u33-mæ13 ‘aim at’	T:Tsodeluyizo.235, T:Tsodeluyizo.236, T:Tsodeluyizo.239

Table 13.4 Verbs with the durative t^hu33-

Lexical aspect	Unmarked verb	t ^h u33- DUR- + verb	Reference
Process	sprinkle	t ^h u33-ʂu33 ʂu33 ‘sprinkle’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.268
	sleep	t ^h u33-zu31 ‘sleep’	T:Fangzi.21
	burn	t ^h u33-tʂu33 k ^h u13 ‘burn’	T:Fangzi.35
	sleep	t ^h u33-zu31 ŋu33 ‘sleep’	T:Fangzi.45
	put on	t ^h u33-bæ31 ‘put on’	T:Fangzi.52
	say	t ^h u33-zwɤ33 ‘talk’	T:Fangzi.64
	see	t ^h u33-tɔ31 ‘see’	T:Saozi.20
	stroll	t ^h u33-kwɤ31 kwɤ31 ‘stroll’	T:Mupha.6
	bark	t ^h u33-lu31 ‘bark’	T:Mupha.20, T:Mupha.21
	burn	t ^h u33-qæ13 ‘burn’	T:Mupha.34
Liminal	die	t ^h u33-ʂu33 ‘die’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.31
	open	t ^h u33-ba33 ‘open’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.54
	bury	t ^h u33-k ^h u31 ‘bury’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.65
	hide	t ^h u33-næ33 ‘hide’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.108, T:Tsoyeluyizo.114
	insert	t ^h u33-tʂ ^h wæ13 ‘insert’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.143
	put	t ^h u33-tɕi33 ‘place’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.155
	drop	t ^h u33-kwɤ13 ‘drop’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.164
	drop	t ^h u33-kwɤ13 ‘drop’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.187
	kindle	t ^h u33-ts ^h u13 ‘kindle’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.196
	hit	t ^h u33-zɔ33 ‘struck’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.242

Table 13.4 Verbs with the durative t^hu33- (cont’d)

Lexical aspect	Unmarked verb	t ^h u33- DUR- + verb	Reference
Liminal	fall	t ^h u33-kwɿ13 ‘fall’	T:Tsoyeluyizo.242
	put	t ^h u33-k ^h u13 ‘put’	T:Fangzi.10, T:Fangzi.11, T:Fangzi.12, T:Fangzi.13, T:Fangzi.18, T:Fangzi.42, T:Fangzi.43, T:Fangzi.44, T:Saozi.2, T:Saozi.5, T:Saozi.6, T:Saozi.7, T:Saozi.8
	set up	t ^h u33-tɕa33 ‘set up’	T:Fangzi.14, T:Fangzi.15, T:Fangzi.17, T:Fangzi.22, T:Fangzi.23, T:Fangzi.24
	light	t ^h u33-k ^h u13 ‘light’	T:Fangzi.31, T:Fangzi.34, T:Fangzi.38, T:Fangzi.48
	boil	t ^h u33-tsu31 ‘boil’	T:Fangzi.32, T:Fangzi.33
	light	t ^h u33-tsh ^h 13 ‘light’	T:Fangzi.39
	place	t ^h u33-tɕ ^h i33 ‘place’	T:Fangzi.57
	mix	t ^h u33-tsh ^h a33 ‘mix’	T:Yzt.3
	destroy	t ^h u33-zwæ31 ‘destroy’	T:Yzt.5
	consecrate	t ^h u33-qæ33 ‘consecrate’	T:Mupha.35

Table 13.4 Verbs with the durative t^hu33- (cont’d)

Lexical aspect	Unmarked verb	t ^h u33- DUR- + verb	Reference
Existential	exist	t ^h u33-dzɔ33 ‘exist’	T:cinami.28
	not exist	t ^h u33-mə33-di33 ‘did not exist’	T:cinami.31
	not exist	t ^h u33-mə33-dzɔ33 ‘were no longer there’	T:Gemu.36
	exist	t ^h u33-di33 ‘exist’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.38
	exist	t ^h u33-di33 ‘exist’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.133, T:Tsoḍeluyizo.140
	exist	t ^h u33-di33 ‘exist’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.218, T:Mupha.1
	does not exist	t ^h u33-mə33-zu33 ‘does not exist’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.221, T:Tsoḍeluyizo.223
	exist	t ^h u33-zu33 ‘exist’	T:Tsoḍeluyizo.225, T:Mupha.23

Table 13.4 Verbs with the durative t^hu33- (cont’d)

13.11 Adverbials

Adverbials, though outside the aspectual system, are another important way of indicating time in Na. Also, see §11.9.

(723)	wɔ33-ta33	du33	ɲi33	du33-sɔ33	mə33-dzɔ33	dzɛ33	mə33-dzɔ33	dwæ13.
	before	one	day	at all	NEG-EXIST	money	NEG-EXIST	fear
	以前	一	天	一样	有	钱	有	怕

Before, we were afraid of having nothing, of having no money.

T:Change.11

(724)	t ^h u33	mɿ33-di33	kwɔ33	ɑ31 y133 ʂɛ33	na13	dzæ33-pi13	t ^h u33-dzu31	dzɔ33.
	this	land	LOC	long ago	Na	lots	DUR-sit	EXIST
	这	土地	里	很久以前	摩梭	很多	坐	有

Long ago on this land many Na lived.

很久以前在这块土地里住了很多的摩梭。

T:ɕinami.3

14 Evidentiality ¹

Evidentiality is a linguistic system that expresses information source where, the system components form a closed class (Aikhenvald 2004). Na has a five-fold system of evidentiality with grammaticalized, not lexical, evidentials. The evidentials appear as particles, and indicate reported, quotative, inferential, and common knowledge evidence; direct/visual evidence is formally and functionally unmarked. No evidentials to mark non-visual sensory information sources, such as smell, taste, or touch were found. Evidential marking in Na is obligatory. If no marker is used and no evidential marker is pragmatically available from a recent previous sentence in a narrative text, the sentence will have the formally and functionally unmarked reading of having direct/visual evidence.

In Na, evidentiality is expressed through two subsystems, as per the framework developed in Aikhenvald (2004). These two subsystems are an A system that distinguishes between common knowledge and everything else, and a C3 system that distinguishes among direct/visual evidence, inferential evidence, reported evidence, and quotative evidence. The A system is unusual in that such a system is not attested in the cross-linguistic typology presented in Aikhenvald (2004). The common knowledge marker in Na is an outlier, as it occurs in non-final clauses, and cannot appear in final clauses as the rest of the evidential markers can; this suggests that the common knowledge marker belongs to a separate grammatical category from the other evidentials, and motivates an analysis of two subsystems.

¹ A version of this chapter appeared as Lidz (2007).

The importance of pragmatics extends to the evidential system. Evidentials once invoked are pragmatically available to following utterances in the narrative text.² This tendency for evidentials to linger in the pragmatic space, rather than be required in each sentence, is likely due at least in part to the evidentials being particles rather than verbal inflection, as inflectional evidentials are often obligatory (Aikhenvald 2004). Furthermore, when a sentence within a narrative text has no evidential marker, the listener uses inference to determine whether direct/visual evidence is indicated by being formally unmarked, or whether the sentence is accessing an evidential in a recent previous sentence in an anaphora-like way. Pragmatics constrains the speaker's license to make unqualified statements about others, as the mindset of non-self subjects falls outside the context of the known in Na; evidentials are one of the ways of qualifying statements with non-self, non-speech act participant subjects, as will be seen in §14.9.

In Na textual data across a fairly wide range of narrative genres, there is little co-occurrence of evidentials and aspect markers. This is simply because most temporal distinctions are not morphosyntactically obligatory, but rather, are given once and then understood from context. Nonetheless, no salient distinction in co-occurrence of evidentials and temporal reference arises.

All evidentials and indicators of epistemic value occur following the verb. Scope is always right-to-left, so an evidential takes scope over all previous constituents in a sentence. The common knowledge marker must appear in a non-final clause. The order of the markers is as follows, where the reported and inferential evidentials share one slot and can appear in either order:

² As in Shipibo-Konibo (Aikhenvald 2004 following Valenzuela 2003).

Verb + =a31 dʒo33 ...
 = COMMON KNOWLEDGE

Verb	+	ku13/hɔ33	+	pi33	+	ni33	+	}	tsi13	+	mæ33
		FUTURE		QUOTATIVE		CERTAINTY. STRATEGY			REPORTED		CERTAINTY. MARKER
									p ^h æ33-di33		
									INFERENCE		

Direct/visual evidence is formally and functionally unmarked.

Most likely, the Na evidential system is not of great time depth, as the evidentials have not undergone phonological change during grammaticalization, and the lexical precursors to most of the evidentials are still co-present in the language. This is consistent with other analyses of evidentiality in Tibeto-Burman as developing independently in different languages and being of little time depth (LaPolla 2003a). Evidentiality has been suggested to be particularly susceptible to spread through language contact, as in varieties of Spanish in the Andean region which have developed evidentiality through contact with Aymara.

However, although the Na evidential system may be fairly recent, it is worth noting that Na also is concerned with reliability of knowledge in the ways that statements must be qualified according to person and verbal semantics, as discussed in §11.7, so Na may already have had a semantic configuration focussing on these epistemic issues even before evidentiality developed.

14.1 DIRECT/VISUAL EVIDENCE

Direct/visual evidence is formally and functionally unmarked in the evidential system. It is clear that unmarked utterances in Na are understood to have a direct/visual evidential basis: native speaker intuition states that if no other evidential marker is used, the listener should presume that the speaker directly witnessed what they describe. Thus, if one omitted the reported evidential in example (725), the Na listener receives the non-sensical reading that the narrator had personally witnessed the time of creation.

(725) ɕi13 tʰæ33-kw33 dzɔ33 kʰɔ33 pʰy33 duu33 pʰæ13 duu33-ta13 dzɔ33
lake under -LOC TOP grassland one CLS all TOP
It is said that underneath where the lake now is that everything was
T:ɕinami.2

my33-di33	ni33	tsi13.
land	COP	REP

a field of grass, earth.

Aikhenvald (2004) observes that direct/visual evidence is cross-linguistically the most preferred source of information; thus, it is convenient and not at all surprising that direct/visual evidence is unmarked in Na. LaPolla (2003b) reports that a seldom-used direct/visual evidence marker is found in Qiang. Although no marker has been found within the collected body of narrative texts, it is conceivable that a very seldomly used direct/visual evidence marker may still be found in Na.

14.2 REPORTED

The evidential that indicates oral transmission as information source is tsi13. This evidential has been grammaticalized from the verb tsi13 meaning ‘say’. The verb has not undergone any phonological reduction during grammaticalization.

The lexical verb usage of tsi13 is given in example (726).

- (726) t^hu33 t^hu33-ni13 tsi13.
 3SG.PRO this way say
 ‘S/he says it’s like this.’

The reported evidential tsi13 is used when speaking about events that one could not personally have observed, and thus occurs very frequently in narratives that pass on Na traditional knowledge. It generally appears sentence-finally, taking scope over the entire sentence, as only the inference marker, with which the reported marker shares a slot, or the epistemic marker mæ33, which occupies the following slot, are licensed to appear after the reported evidential. tsi13 often appears once, and then remains pragmatically available for several sentences. The common knowledge marker also tends to remain pragmatically available, but the quotative and inference markers tend to have much more restricted scope. Thus, in narrative text, the reported evidential is optional—an individual sentence that has reported evidence can be deemed grammatical without the reported marker if a reported marker from a nearby previous utterance is pragmatically available in an anaphora-like way in the discourse.

Example (725), discussed above, shows tsi13 as the reported evidential. Example (727) also shows tsi13 as the reported evidential; example (727) is from the very beginning of a mythological narrative, and the reported evidential establishes to the audience that the narrative’s provenance is oral tradition, as it is a marker for this genre.

- (727) t^hu33 a31 yi33 sɛ33 dʒɔ33 zɯ31 mu33 ku33 la33 du33 zɯ33 ni33 tsi13.
 3SG.PRO long ago TOP Zhimuku and one family COP REP
 It is said that a long time ago, he and Zhimuku were of the same family.
 T:Todeluyizo.2

Example (728) is extracted from a text in which the protagonist, Tsodeluyizo, has received instructions from the god Apato. According to Apato, Tsodeluyizo should hide in a spring, where he can meet the woman who will become his wife, as she frequently goes to the spring for water. Note that the reported marker takes scope over the future clause,³ which is typologically somewhat rare (Aikhenvald 2004).

(728) dzi33-q^hy33 t^hu33 du33 lu33 t^hu33-di33 ku13 tsɪ13.
 spring this one CLS DUR-EXIST.P FUT.ABL REP
 It is said that there would be a spring there.
 T:Tsodeluyizo.107

In example (729), the speaker describes the Na tradition that women place pieces of their female ancestors' hair in their headdresses. This example illustrates the use of the reported marker in common, everyday discourse about Na customs outside the genre of historical and mythological narratives.

The first clause in example (729) uses the quotative evidential, while the second clause takes the reported evidential. Thus, 'that putting a bit of elders' (hair inside one's headdress) is good' and 'these elders can help you live long and peacefully' have two separate information sources.

(729) "hɪ33-mɔ33 bu33 t^hu33-k^hu13 dzɔ33 du33-pi13 dzɤ13 ku13" pi33
 elders POSS DUR-place TOP some be good FUT.ABL QUOT
 "Putting a bit of elders' (hair inside one's headdress)
 T:Saozi.7

ni33, pa13 dzɤ13 k^hɪ13 sɔ33 hwɤ31 gɤ31 hɪ33-mɔ33 t^hu33-ni13 dzɔ33
 CERT.STR maybe good CAUS after these elders this way TOP
 will be good," they say; it is said these elders

³ The reported evidential here operates in very much the way that the reported evidential does in Ngiyambaa (example 2.30 in Aikhenvald 2004: 35, 257). However, in the Ngiyambaa example, the reported evidential gives an epistemic reading that the statement is not fully certain, while in this example the reported evidential gives no such epistemic extension—the speech of the gods receives a high degree of certitude.

zu33	ɣæ33	hu31	yɣ33	hu33	ku13	ni33	tsi13.
have	long	life	peace	go	FUT.ABL	CERT.STR	REP

will help you live long and peacefully.

In example (730), the reported marker tsi13 takes scope over t^hu33-lu31 dzɔ33 ‘there was barking’.

(730) t^hu33-lu31 dzɔ33 tsi13.
 DUR-bark EXIST REP
 It is said that there was barking.
 T:Mupha.21

14.3 QUOTATIVE

The evidential that indicates quoted speech in Na is pi33. pi33 has been grammaticalized from a verb that means ‘to say’, ‘is called’. Both the lexical usage and the evidential usage appear in present-day spoken Na. Distinguishing between the lexical verb pi33 and the evidential pi33 can be slightly tricky as pi33 has not undergone phonological change during grammaticalization. When pi33 is acting as a lexical verb it does not indicate an information source, it *solely* designates an action. Lexical verb pi33 can be seen in examples (731) ‘to say’ and (732) ‘is called’.

(731) wu31-dzɛ33 du33-wɔ33 dzɔ33 “tɕ^hi p^huɔ tɕ^hi p^huɔ tɕ^hi p^huɔ tɕ^hi p^huɔ” pi33.
 bird one type EXIST (sound) say
 There was a type of bird that says, “cheeper cheeper cheeper cheeper.”
 T:Tsoyeluyizo.81

(732) ‘mɔ33-su33’ pi33 du33 wɔ33 dzɔ33 ku13 kwæ31.
 (type of tree) be called one type EXIST FUT.ABL INTERJ
 There will be a type of tree called ‘mosi’, ah!
 T:Tsoyeluyizo.62

When pi33 is acting as an evidential it *solely* indicates information source. Quotative evidential pi33 appears in examples (733) through (736).

Example (733) is extracted from a section of narrative text in which the protagonist receives instructions from the god Apato on how to magically create a wife by burying a particular type of log in the ground for nine years. pi33 here solely indicates information source, and thus is evidential pi33.

(733) “gy33 k^hu13 ku33 mǎ33-ni33 lǎ33-ba33 t^ha33 hǎ33” pi33.
 nine year EXIST.T unless ACCOMP-open PROH go.IMP QUOT
 (He) said, “Unless nine years have passed, don’t go open (it) up.”
 T:Tsodeluyizo.53

The designation quotative only applies when there is specific indication of who the information source is (Aikhenvald 2004); this is in contrast to the reported evidential, which indicates hearsay—no specific speaker is indicated as information source. In Na, indication of who provided the information frequently is outside the sentence upon which the evidential operates, although it generally is obtainable from the larger discourse context. In example (734), the quotative evidential is used, and the information source is not given within the sentence—the speaker does not appear as either a lexical noun or as a pronoun, nor does Na have agreement marking on the verb. The Na traditional Daba religion has strong animist elements, and example (734) is extracted from a narrative explaining the story of a nearby goddess mountain. In this sentence, a god’s mother prohibits him from courting the mortal girl Gemu. After being left by the god at his mother’s behest, Gemu links herself to the mountain, transforming into Gemu goddess mountain. Through the pragmatic context, it is clear that the god’s mother is the information source as the speaker says nǎ13 zǎ33 ‘my son’, and the mother is the only one in the narrative who has a son.

(734) “nǎ13 zǎ33 lǎ33-zu33 zɛ33 di33-kwǎ33 bu33 mu33-zǎ33 ɡǎ33
 REFL son ACCOMP-take CSM earth-LOC POSS young woman COM
 “It is not possible for my son to court
 T:Gemu.26

sɛ33-sɛ33	tsɿ31	mə33-yĩ33”	pi33.
court	be okay	NEG-can	QUOT

a mortal girl.”

Example (735) is doubly-marked for information source (what Aikhenvald terms “information is acquired by the author of the statement from different but interconnected sources” (Aikhenvald 2004: 90)).⁴ In example (735), the quotative and reported evidentials appear together. The use of the two evidentials together indicate that the information source is more distant still. However, the sequence pi33 tsi13 is codified as an expression, and native speaker intuitions indicate that the addition of the quotative does not change the evidential semantics very significantly. Na does not allow the reverse sequence tsi13 pi33—this is judged ungrammatical. pi33 tsi13 may be an emergent sixth category of evidentiality, as the expression is codified and phonological pause does not occur between pi33 and tsi13. However, because the semantics of pi33 tsi13 are strictly compositional, I treat this as double-marking of information source rather than as a sixth category.

(735)	t ^h u33	k ^h wɿ33	dʒɔ33	lu33	mə33-hĩ33	pi33	tsi13.
	this	CLS	TOP	till	NEG-be okay	QUOT	REP

It is said they say this strip of land was untillable.
T:Tsodeluyizo.17

⁴ Sun finds a somewhat similar structure in Amdo Tibetan which he terms the duplex quotative construction (Sun 1993). However, in the Amdo Tibetan duplex quotative construction, both evidentials are quotatives, rather than having one quotative and one reported evidential as in Na. Thus, in the Amdo Tibetan duplex quotative construction one gets the reading ‘B said that A said that...’, a much more direct path of information source in comparison with Na where one gets the reading ‘It is said that A said...’

Example (736) is an excerpt from a daba's response to my question asking him to describe the basic tenets of Dabaism; this sentence is another example where information source is doubly-marked. This example differs from example (735) in that the double-marking is not a set expression. In this example, the reported evidential takes wider scope and indicates that the information source is oral tradition, while the quotative evidential is used because there is a specific source referenced—the Daba scriptures.⁵ Since the Daba scriptures are purely oral, it might seem odd that both the quotative and reported evidentials would appear here, particularly given that the speaker is a daba and thus has direct access to the Daba oral tradition. However, native speakers contend that the quotative has an epistemic extension of increased certainty that the reported evidential does not have. This is because the quotative must cite a specific referent, while the reported simply cites general oral tradition. Although reported and quotative evidentials usually imply a degree of unreliability (e.g. Ngiyambaa [Aikhenvald 2004:35] and Estonian [Aikhenvald 2004:180]), there are other languages where this is not the case (e.g. Nganasan [Aikhenvald 2004:180]). The daba uses the quotative because the Daba scriptures are the specific information source, and he also uses ni33, an epistemic strategy to indicate certainty. However, the speaker must acknowledge that the information source is oral tradition because the Daba scriptures are transmitted orally, and thus he also employs the reported evidential tsi13.

(736) da33 pɣ33 bu33 *sixiang*⁶ dzɔ33 hĩ33 gɔ33 dzɔ33 hĩ33 ɕi31
 Daba POSS thought (loan) TOP people ill TOP people cure
 It is said that Daba thought is that if a person is ill,
 T:Yzt.6

⁵ The copula following the quotative marker and preceding the reported marker is an epistemic strategy to indicate certainty (see section 5.2 with regard to epistemic strategy).

⁶ Chinese words borrowed into Na tend not to retain the tones from Chinese.

yĩ33 hĩ33 lə33-k^hwɣ33 hu33, gɣ31 mɣ33 ɕi31 yĩ33,
 CAUS people ACCOMP-cure go above sky cure CAUS
 cure the person, (if the sky above is ill), cure the sky,

di33 ku33-di33 ɕi31 yĩ33, dɑ33 pɣ33 q^hwæ33 kwɔ33 dʒɔ33 mɣ33-di33
 land-NOM_{Loc} cure CAUS Daba scriptures LOC TOP land
 (if the land is ill), cure for the land, the Daba scriptures say that

diqu gɔ33 ku13 pi33 ni33 tsi13.
 world (loan) ill ABLT QUOT CERT. STR REP
 the land, the world can also become ill.

14.4 INFERENCE

The evidential to indicate inference in Na is p^hæ33-di33. The inference marker is used to designate knowledge that one cannot quite be sure of, as one did not see or directly experience the situation, nor does one have hearsay evidence, and yet one feels fairly sure that it must be this way, through inference based on either observable result or assumption. Unlike the reported and quotative evidentials, p^hæ33-di33 is not attested as a verb.⁷ It is likely formed from p^hæ33 ‘face’ and the existential verb used for objects on a perpendicular plane, di33.

In example (737) (elicited following LaPolla 2003), the inference marker is used to indicate that one does not have visual or direct evidence that it is raining; instead, this sentence gives the reading in Na that one has inferred that it is raining—for instance, from evidence such as the sound of the rain hitting the ground or someone entering the room soaking wet.

(737) ɕi33-gi13 zɛ33 p^hæ33-di33.
 rain CSM INFR
 E:(It seems) it’s raining.

⁷ This is likely just a gap in the textual data; native speaker La Mingqing (喇明清) and Roselle Dobbs report p^hæ33-di33 as a verb meaning ‘resemble, look like.’ I am very grateful to them both for noticing this and passing along this information.

Example (738) is taken from a section of narrative that describes how a couple meets, has a child, and then much later the mother’s family holds the child’s coming-of-age ceremony. The family waits to have the coming-of-age ceremony because, they fear that the father, Tsodeluyizo, will steal the child back to the mortal world. Thus, the statement ‘they wouldn’t do this type of thing (invite Tsodeluyizo to the coming-of-age ceremony) casually’ takes the inference marker because one can infer this from the fact that the family has waited so long to hold the coming-of-age ceremony.

(738) tʂ^hwæ33-tʂ^hwæ33 dzɔ33 dzæ13 t^hu33 yĩ33 mə33-ku13 p^hæ33-di33.
 fast.INTSF TOP often this make NEG-FUT.ABL INFR
 It seems that they wouldn’t do this type of thing casually.
 T:Tsodeluyizo.117

Native speaker intuitions indicate that statements such as example (738) would not be grammatical without the evidential. The requirement of the evidential is a grammatical requirement, not a pragmatic requirement. In linguistic elicitation of verb paradigms, third person forms of internal state verbs (please see §11.7.2 for a discussion of internal state verbs) necessarily take the inference marker p^hæ33-di33. Thus, although ascertaining whether a modal expression is merely a lexical means to express the speaker’s epistemic stance on the information source or in fact indicating an information source (particularly when both would appear lexically in a language as analytical as Na) can be nebulous (Aikhenvald 2004), the fact that p^hæ33-di33 appears paradigmatically with internal state verbs, along with native speaker intuitions that p^hæ33-di33 is indicating an inference based on physical or situational clues, supports analyzing p^hæ33-di33 as an evidential marking inference.

14.5 COMMON KNOWLEDGE

In Na, there is a common knowledge evidential, which is used to indicate that the information source is general knowledge. The common knowledge evidential is akin to the assumed evidential described in Aikhenvald (2004), which indicates either common knowledge or assumption as information source. However, the common knowledge evidential found in Na only indicates an information source of general knowledge, not assumption. The common knowledge evidential receives epistemic readings of a good degree of certainty, as it indicates that something is generally accepted as being true.

Analysis of this marker as a common knowledge evidential is based on native speaker translations of the marker as “everyone knows that” and native speaker intuitions that =a31 dzɔ33, the common knowledge evidential, is doing grammatical work similar to pi33 QUOT, tsi13 REP, and p^hæ33-di33 INFR.

The common knowledge evidential is derived from the question marker =a31 followed by dzɔ33, which is an existential/locative verb and also the progressive marker.⁸ This fits nicely with cross-linguistically observed patterns of existential and locative verbs being common sources for assumed evidentials (Aikhenvald 2004).

⁸ When a referent is animate or high in prominence, *dzɔ33* receives an existential reading, but when the theme is a location or lower in prominence, *dzɔ33* receives a locative reading, as in examples 0 and 0. This existential/locative verb grammaticalized to become the progressive marker; the grammaticalization of a locative verb to progressive marker is well-attested cross linguistically (Bybee et al. 1994). *dzɔ33* also can act as a topic marker, as in example (738).

The common knowledge evidential appears in the first clause of multi-clause sentences, rather than sentence-finally like the reported, quotative, and inference evidentials.⁹ It remains pragmatically available for several sentences. The common knowledge marker also is one of the very few elements that can follow a verb within the clause, as Na has fairly strict verb-final constituent order. This may be because the common knowledge marker has fairly recently grammaticalized from the question marker =a31 followed by the existential/locative verb dzɔ33, and still retains the constituent slot allotted for verbs. The common knowledge evidential appears in example (739), where a translation that explicitly renders the evidential would read, ‘In Na families, more important than anything, as everyone knows, is the hearth room.’

(739) na13 bu33... na13 bu33 zu33-tu33 kwɔ33 du31-ta13 tɔ31 tsa33
 Na POSS Na POSS family LOC all COMP important
 In Na families, more important than anything
 T:Fangzi.1

=a31 dzɔ33	zu33-mi33	t ^h u33	lu33	ni33.
=CMKN	hearth room	this	CLS	COP

is the hearth room.

The following examples are extracted from a procedural text describing the building of a new house, which is a very common occurrence in present-day Luoshui due to the tourist economy and new policies from the central government that allow bank loans to individuals. A conservative estimate would be that more than forty new homes and guesthouses have been built in the last five years in Luoshui, a village with five hundred residents. Thus, as the characteristics of a Na home are well-known to the Na, the common knowledge evidential appears frequently in this procedural text.

⁹ My consultant noted that some speakers are using this evidential incorrectly; this suggests that language shift may already be underway in the region.

Example (740) describes how Na hearth rooms are built. The hearth is of central importance to Na life, both because the hearth is the source of warmth in the high altitude, alpine Na regions and because the hearth symbolizes one's relationship with one's ancestors.¹⁰

(740) *yi ban* gɣ33 zɯ33-mi33 t^hu33 lu33 ts^hu13 = a31 dʒɔ33
 usually (loan) this hearth room this CLS build = CMKN

Usually, when building the hearth room,
 T:Fangzi.6

du33 kwɣ33 zɯ33-mi33 bu33 su33 kwɣ33 *baixing* ts^hɛ33 gy33
 one CLS hearth room POSS wood CLS the people (loan) ten nine
 ordinary peoples' hearth rooms are nineteen logs (in height),

kwɣ33 su33 p^hi33 = æ31 ni33 ts^hɛ33 du33 kwɣ33 kwɔ33-lɔ33 tɔ31-mi13
 CLS king = PL two ten one CLS INESS pillar
 while the king and nobles use twenty-one logs;

du33 dzu33 tɔ31-mi13 t^hu33 dzu33 dʒɔ33 su33-dzu33 du33 dzu33
 one CLS pillar this CLS TOP tree one CLS
 inside the hearth room, a pair of pillars are made from the wood of one tree

da13 lə33-pɔ31-yɔ33 ni33 tæ13 lə33-pu33-pu33 tɔ31-mi13
 cut down ACCOMP-bring two section ACCOMP-divide pillar
 that has been cut down and taken and divided into two sections,

du33 dzu33 yĩ33.
 one CLS make
 to make a pair of pillars.

¹⁰ Two traditions particularly vividly illustrate the connection between the hearth and ancestors in Na life: (a.) The *chudu* blessing, a symbolic giving of food and drink to one's ancestors, is conducted at the hearth each time one is about to begin eating a meal or drinking alcohol in the hearth room, and (b.) when an elder is about to pass away, his/her relatives will sit him/her in the position of respect to the left of the hearth, in the same position as his/her ancestors sat when they passed away; this symbolizes one's connection with one's ancestors.

Example (741) describes patterns of Na daily life and religious rites. As such information is well within the realm of everyday knowledge, the evidential marking common knowledge is employed.

(741) t^hi13 tʂ^hɑ33 su33 ɲɑ13 ɲɑ13 æ13 la33 gu31-t^hɛ33 =ɑ31 dzɔ33 sɔ33 qæ13
 so every morning very early get up =CMKN incense burn
 Very early every morning when one gets up,
 T:Fangzi.60

sɔ33 t^hɑ33 kwɔ33 sɔ33 su31 lə33-qæ13.
 chorten LOC incense first ACCOMP-burn
 one first burns incense in the chorten.

Example (742) is extracted from a creation story rather than a procedural text. Here, the common knowledge evidential is used because the information source for the fact that at dusk everyone would be busy feeding their pigs is knowledge of Na daily life.

(742) t^hi13 t^hu33 dzæ33 kwɔ33 dzɔ33 mɤ33-k^hu13 ʂɛ33-ʂɛ33 dzɔ33
 so this CLS LOC TOP afternoon a little bit TOP
 So at this time, when it was just getting dark,
 T:ɕinami.49

wɤ33 kwɔ33 =ɑ31 dzɔ33 du33 ta13 bɔ13 ha33 ki33 dzɔ33.
 village LOC =CMKN all pig food give PROG
 in the village, everyone was feeding the pigs.

14.6 CO-OCCURRENCE OF EVIDENTIALS

Many evidentials can co-occur; the strongest limitation on which evidentials can occur is that they must not violate the order of markers given at the beginning of the section, and provided again here for ease of reference:

Verb	+	=a31 dʒo33	...					
		= COMMON KNOWLEDGE						
Verb	+	ku13/hɔ33	+	pi33	+	ni33	+	
		FUTURE		QUOTATIVE		CERTAINTY. STRATEGY		
						}	+	
							tsi13	+
							REPORTED	mæ33
							CERTAINTY. MARKER	
							p ^h æ33-di33	
							INFERENCE	

The common knowledge evidential must appear in a non-final clause, so example (743) is judged ungrammatical:

(743)	*çi33 gi13	zɛ33	=a31 dʒo33	p ^h æ33-di33.
	rain	CSM	= CMKN	INFR

It seems it is common knowledge that it's raining.

Examples (744) through (746) are judged ungrammatical for two reasons: (a.) the common knowledge marker appears in a final clause and (b.) in each case, the order of markers is violated.

(744)	*çi33-gi13	zɛ33	pi33	=a31 dʒo33.
	rain	CSM	QUOT	= CMKN

It is common knowledge that s/he says, "It's raining."

(745)	*çi33-gi13	zɛ33	tsi13	=a31 dʒo33.
	rain	CSM	REP	= CMKN

It is common knowledge that it is said that it's raining.

(746)	*çi33-gi13	zɛ33	p ^h æ33-di33	=a31 dʒo33.
	rain	CSM	INFR	= CMKN

It is common knowledge that it seems to be raining.

The common knowledge marker and the reported marker can co-occur as long as the common knowledge marker appears in a non-final clause, and the order of evidentials is not violated, as can be seen in example (747).

- (747) na13 bu33... na13 bu33 zu33-tu33 kwɔ33 du31-ta13 tɔ31 tsa33
 Na POSS Na POSS family LOC all COMP be important
 It is said, in Na families, everyone knows that more important than anything
 (elicited based on Fangzi.1)

= a31 dzɔ33	zu33-mi33	t ^h u33	lu33	ni33	tsi13.
= CMKN	hearth room	this	CLS	COP	REP

is the hearth room.

The common knowledge marker and the inference marker can co-occur as long as the common knowledge marker appears in a non-final clause, and the order of evidentials is not violated, as can be seen in example (748):

- (748) na13 bu33... na13 bu33 zu33-tu33 kwɔ33 du31-ta13 tɔ31 tsa33
 Na POSS Na POSS family LOC all COMP be important
 It seems that in Na families, everyone knows that more important than anything
 (elicited based on Fangzi.1)

= a31 dzɔ33	zu33-mi33	t ^h u33	lu33	ni33	p ^h æ33-di33.
= CMKN	hearth room	this	CLS	COP	INFR

is the hearth room.

The common knowledge marker and the quotative marker can co-occur as long as the common knowledge marker appears in a non-final clause, and the order of evidentials is not violated, as can be seen in example (749):

- (749) “na13 bu33... na13 bu33 zu33-tu33 kwɔ33 du31-ta13 tɔ31 tsa33
 Na POSS Na POSS family LOC all COMP be important
 “In Na families, everyone knows that more important than anything
 (elicited based on Fangzi.1)

=a31 dzɔ33	zu33-mi33	t ^h u33	lu33	ni33”	pi33.
=CMKN	hearth room	this	CLS	COP	QUOT

is the hearth room.”

The inferential marker and the reported marker can co-occur. These two evidentials occupy the same word order slot, so that either order is acceptable, and examples (750) and (751) are both judged to be grammatical. Example (750) gives a reading of a high degree of uncertainty, while example (751) gives a reading that the speaker did not hear what was said clearly, and is thus qualifying his/her statement.

(750)	ci33-gi13	ze33	p ^h æ33-di33	tsi13.
	rain	CSM	INFR	REP

It is said that it seems it’s raining.

(751)	ci33-gi13	ze33	tsi13	p ^h æ33-di33.
	rain	CSM	REP	INFR

It seems that it is said that it’s raining.

The quotative marker and the inference marker can co-occur as long as the order of evidentials is not violated, as can be seen in example (752):

(752)	“ci33-gi13	ze33”	pi33	p ^h æ33-di33.
	rain	CSM	QUOT	INFR

It seems that s/he says, “It’s raining.”

Example (753) is judged to be ungrammatical, as the order of evidentials is violated:

(753)	*“ci33-gi13	ze33	p ^h æ33-di33”	pi33.
	rain	CSM	INFR	QUOT

S/he says, “It seems it’s raining.”

14.7 EVIDENTIALS AND NEW MEDIA

In 1997, the Na of Luoshui began to have access to television. Information obtained from television follows the same pattern of evidential use as information obtained by more traditional methods. If one sees something on television, this is considered to be a case of direct/visual evidence, and when passing this information on to others, one does not use an evidential because direct/visual evidence is formally and functionally unmarked. If one hears the information on television, this is considered to be a case of reported speech, and so one uses the reported evidential when passing this information on to others. LaPolla reports for Qiang, which has a seldom-used visual evidential, that one would use either the unmarked form or the hearsay marker to report what one witnesses on television, but never the visual evidential (LaPolla 2003). Thus, Na seems to make a stronger distinction between visual and reported/hearsay evidence than Qiang.

14.8 EPISTEMIC VALUE

Epistemic indicators mark the speaker's confidence in a statement (Aikhenvald 2004). Na does not have a complicated system to denote varying degrees of probability, but there are two methods that a speaker can employ to indicate epistemic value: an epistemic marker and an epistemic strategy. Epistemic indicators are separate from evidentials—epistemic indicators do not mark information source, but rather convey the speaker's certainty in the statement. Evidentials in some languages can begin to take on epistemic extensions, as some information sources are implicitly more direct and unequivocal than others: i.e. visual evidence versus inference, and as evidentials in some languages derive from future markers and markers of epistemic modality (Aikhenvald 2004). However, in Na, there seems to be a categorical distinction between epistemic value and evidential source (de Haan 1999), with one system to mark information source and a separate system to mark epistemic value.

14.8.1 Epistemic marker

The epistemic marker *mæ33* gives a strong reading of certainty that what the speaker is stating is in fact so. In example (754), the evidential *tsi13* gives the information source as reported, while the epistemic marker gives an epistemic value of strong certitude.

(754) *gy33 ni33 gy33 ha33 pi33 gi33 dzɔ33 la33 tʰu33 dzɔ33*
 nine day nine night snow fall PROG tiger 3SG.PRO TOP
 When it is snowing for nine days and nine nights,
 T:Tsodeluyizo.168

<i>la33-qʰy33</i>	<i>kwɔ33</i>	<i>tʰu33-ku31</i>	<i>ku13</i>	<i>tsi13</i>	<i>mæ33.</i>
tiger den	LOC	DUR-hide	FUT.ABL	REP	CERT.M

it is said that the tiger will hide in its den.

14.8.2 Epistemic strategy

In addition to the epistemic marker *mæ33*, Na also has an epistemic strategy. Mirroring the distinction between evidential marker and evidential strategy that Aikhenvald makes (Aikhenvald 2004), in Na one can distinguish between epistemic marker and epistemic strategy. Just as an evidential is a marker that directly indicates information source, while an evidential extension is a marker that primarily does some other grammatical duty but undergoes semantic extension to make an assessment of information source, an epistemic marker directly marks epistemic value, while an epistemic strategy primarily does some other grammatical duty, but undergoes semantic extension to assess epistemic value.

The copula *ni33* figures in an epistemic strategy in Na that marks a high degree of certitude. Its primary grammatical duty is as a copula; however, by semantic extension it can also indicate certainty. From a discourse perspective, *ni33* often appears as an epistemic strategy in narrative stories because the narrator is omniscient and thus can make categorical statements. In example (755), we can see *ni33* acting as an epistemic strategy, asserting that the preceding statement is in fact so.

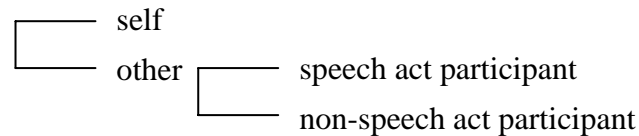
- (755) *a33 pa33 tɔ31 ki33 tʰu33 nɔ33 tʰi13 zu33-mi33 ʂe33 ho33 ni33.*
 Apato DAT arrive then so wife find FUT CERT.STR
 Apato 到 才 所以 老婆 找
 When he arrived at Apato's place, then he would go find a wife.
 到了Apato那里，才去找老婆。
 T:Tsoyeluyizo.48

Example (756) is extracted from a section of a mythological narrative in which two dogs fight over bones from a banquet that have been thrown under a table. This sentence explains that it is the Na custom to toss left-over bones under the table, and both the epistemic strategy *ni33* and the epistemic marker *mæ33* are used together to indicate a very high degree of certainty that the bones would be tossed under the table.

- (756) *zhuozi tʰæ33-kwɔ33 kwɿ13 ni33 mæ33.*
 table (loan) under -LOC toss CERT.STR CERT.M
 We toss them under the table.
 T:Tsoyeluyizo.125

14.9 PERSON, EVIDENCE, AND VERBAL SEMANTICS

Person and verbal semantics intersect with the evidential system in Na. Conjunct/disjunct systems allow one to distinguish between self and other as information source, rather than indicating a specific information source in the way that evidentials do (Aikhenvald 2004; Bickel 2000; DeLancey 1992; Hale 1980). The Na system is similar to a conjunct/disjunct system in that it distinguishes between self and other as information source; however, Na then further distinguishes between speech act participant and non-speech act participant.



The distinction between self and other in Na can be seen in the way that first person statements, regardless of verbal semantics, can be made categorically, as one has direct knowledge of one's own mind, while non-self statements cannot be made categorically, as one does not have direct knowledge of others' minds.

Statements about other (second and third persons) are then further distinguished in Na. Any statement about other must be qualified; the form of the qualification depends on whether the actor is a speech act participant or non-speech act participant. If the actor is both other and a speech act participant (second person), any "statement", regardless of verbal semantics, must appear as a question. If the actor is both other and a non-speech act participant (third person), the form of the qualification depends on verbal semantics with internal state verbs taking the inferential evidential and verbs denoting observable states taking formally and functionally unmarked direct/visual evidence.

Furthermore, Na has both exclusive and inclusive forms of the first person plural pronoun. Regardless of verbal semantics, the first person plural exclusive follows the pattern for the first person singular, while the first person plural inclusive follows the pattern for the second person.¹¹

¹¹ The latter pattern, that the first person plural inclusive follows the second person, is not surprising, as first person plural inclusive is composed of both first person and second person. The semantic motivation for the former pattern, the first person plural exclusive following the first person singular, is more difficult to explicate. Since the first person plural exclusive is composed of the first person and the third person, it is not clear why it follows the first person singular pattern rather than the third person pattern.

15 Simple clauses

Simple clauses may take declarative mood, imperative mood, or interrogative mood, which correspond to three types of speech acts: statements, commands, and questions, respectively. These moods are not indicated by obligatory inflectional morphology, but rather, are indicated through a variety of strategies, including intonation (declarative, §15.1), suppletive forms (imperative, §15.2), question markers, question words, and intonation (interrogative, §15.3).

15.1 DECLARATIVE CLAUSES

15.1.1 Marking

Declarative clauses are morphosyntactically unmarked. However, in Luoshui (although not in Yongning proper and its adjacent villages), low tone is attested on the sentence-final verb to mark the clause as declarative. Declarative clauses may be either affirmative or negative.

15.1.2 Constituent order

A declarative clause in Na generally takes AOV constituent order, although marked constituent orders and/or zero anaphora can occur due for discourse-motivated reasons, as discussed in §10.2.

15.1.3 Epistemic strategy marker ni33

Finally, the epistemic strategy ni33 CERT.STR may appear as a sentence-final particle in declaratives, to indicate that the speaker is certain of the statement being made. ni33 CERT.STR is not obligatory, and there are examples in the narrative texts of near-minimal pairs where ni33 CERT.STR does/does not appear, where the difference in meaning between the members of the near-minimal pair is that the ni33-marked clause receives a reading that the speaker is very certain about the statement being made, while the non-ni33-marked clause gives no indication about the speaker's certainty or uncertainty about the statement.

15.2 IMPERATIVES AND PROHIBITIVES

15.2.1 Imperatives

Na imperatives commonly appear as serial verb constructions, with V₂ as an andative or venitive verb. The andative verb appears in its usual form, yɔ33, but the venitive verb, hu33, has a suppletive imperative form, hɔ33 go.IMP.

- (757) bæ33 pɔ31-yɔ33.
 rope bring.IMP
 绳子 拿来

Bring over the rope!

把绳子拿来。

T:Tsodeluyizo.131

- (758) la33-yu13 tʰu33-my33 la33-zɔ33 ni33 zɔ33 la33-zɔ33 lə33-su13 zɔ33
 tiger skin DUR-wear baby tiger seem CRS baby tiger ACCOMP-kill PERF
 老虎皮 穿 小老虎 象 了 小老虎 杀 了

(She) said, "Wear a tiger skin (in order to) seem like a baby tiger, kill the baby tiger, 说你可以杀了小老虎, 穿上它的皮,

T:Tsodeluyizo.170

yɯ13	lə33-my33	zɔ33	ɲɔ13	tsu13	hɔ̃33	pi33.
skin	ACCOMP-wear	PERF	milk	squeeze	go.IMP	QUOT
皮	穿	了	奶	挤	去	

put on its skin, and go get milk.”

象小老虎一样去挤奶。”

(759) pi31-tʰa13 gy33 na33 pɔ13 ku33 lu33 kwɔ33 lə33-tɕi33
 axe nine CLS take forest LOC ACCOMP-put
 斧头 九 量词 拿 树林 里 放

Take nine axes, put (them) in the forest, (and) go cut right down

拿九把斧头放在树林里去砍掉

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.186

gy33	ɕi33	du33-tsʰu13	hɔ̃33.
nine	hundred	cut.DEL	go.IMP
九	百	一砍	去

nine hundred trees.

九百棵树。

(760) nɔ33 gy33 ɕi33 du33-tsa13 hɔ̃33.
 2SG.PRO nine wasteland scratch.DEL go.IMP
 你 九 荒地 一刨 去

Go have a scratch at nine plots of wasteland.

你去刨九块荒地。

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.206

15.2.2 Prohibitives

The prohibitive marker is tʰa33. It can appear preceding the V_H, as in (761), following the V_H but preceding a TAM marker, as in (762), or very commonly, in serial verb constructions preceding hɔ̃33 go.IMP, as in (763), (764), and (765). tʰa33 PROH is used with non-past TAM markers for semantic reasons—prohibiting an action which is taking place or has yet to take place is practicable, while prohibiting an action which has been completed is pragmatically marked. Although tʰa33 PROH can directly mark a V_H as in (761), it is notable that serial verb constructions where tʰa33 PROH marks a non-head hɔ̃33 go.IMP, are extremely common.

- (761) zu33-mi33 la33 nu31-mi33 ja33-tæ33-mi33 t^hu33 zu31 mə33-du33
 wife and girl horizontal-eyed woman 3SG.PRO both NEG-obtain
 老婆 和 姑娘 眼睛横的女人 她 不-得

A wife and a horizontal-eyed girl, (he) thought (if) (he) didn't obtain the two of them,
 老婆和横眼睛的姑娘，她们两个如果得不到，

T:Tsodeluyizo.192

pe33	t ^h a33	du33	hu33	ʃu33 du33	lə33-bi33	ze33	pi33.
then	PROH	obtain	FUT.REM	think	ACCOMP-go	CSM	QUOT
就	别	得		想	去	了	

then (he) wouldn't obtain (them), (and) said, "(I) am going."
 就算了，不要了，说是回家去。

- (762) a33-p^hu33-a33-su33 lə33-ʃu33 t^hæ13 ki33 ʃe33 ʃo33 ha33 ʃo33
 ancestors ACCOMP-die such DAT meat clean food clean
 祖先 死 那些 肉 干净 饭 干净

To the dead ancestors, clean meat, clean food,
 给死去的祖先们敬献干净的肉和干净的饭，

T:Muphadaba.35

la33	t ^h æ13	t ^h u33-qæ33	t ^h i13	ʃi33	zu33	ʃ31-ə31	a33-wə33
and	such	DUR-consecrate	so	REFL	both	REFL-home	home
和	那些	敬献	所以			我家	家

and such are consecrated, in order
 对他们说，我们家里

hi33	du33	wu33	gu31-t ^h e33	ze31	du33-wə33	zu31	ga13
people	one	CLS	be born	CSM	bless.DEL		help
人	一	个	出生	了	保佑		帮忙

to announce, "A new member has been born to our family, bless the child
 出生了一个人，希望你们能保佑他

go33-ts ^h u33	la33	t ^h æ13	du33	t ^h a33	hu33	pi33.
illness	and	such	arrive	PROH	FUT.REM	QUOT
病痛	和	那些	得到	别	会	

so that illness and such won't come."
 不会得到病痛和那些。

- (763) gu33 k^hu13 ku33 mə33-ni33 lə33-ba33 t^ha33 h33 pi33.
 nine year EXIST.T unless ACCOMP-open PROH go.IMP QUOT
 九 年 有 扒开 别

He said, "If nine years haven't passed, you shouldn't open it."
 说没有九年，你不要去把开。

T:Tsodeluyizo.53

15.3 INTERROGATIVES

Na has a variety of methods for creating interrogatives. These are α_{31} QM + V (§15.3.1), V + α_{31} QM (§15.3.2), A-not-A questions (§15.3.3), α_{31} QM + A-not-A questions (§15.3.4), questions using question words (§15.3.5), and questions marked with rising intonation (§15.3.6).

15.3.1 α_{31} QM + V questions

One common way to construct an interrogative in Na is to insert α_{31} QM preceding the verb. This construction is common with stative verbs (766) and (767), as well as with modals (769) and verbs of motion (770).

(766) nɔ33 α31-fu33?
 2SG.PRO QM-happy
 Are you happy?
 E:

(767) nɔ33 ts^hu33-pi33 α31-t^hε13?
 2SG.PRO today QM-tired
 你 今天 吗-累
 Are you (sg.) tired today?
 你今天累吗?
 E:

(768) du33 ji33 t^hu33-mæ13 tɕ^hi33 ni33 t^hu33-mæ13 tɕ^hi33
 one day DUR-aim at INTERJ CERT.STR DUR-aim at INTERJ
 一 天 瞄准 语气词 瞄准 语气词
 One day, he aimed, he aimed, but would he hit it or not,
 他一天瞄准不赶打,
 T:Tsodeluyizo.235

lɔ33-qæ13	zε33	t ^h u33-mə33-zɔ33	lɔ33-dzε33	tɕ ^h i33	α31-yī33 ?
ACCOMP-hit	PERF	DUR-NEG-hit	ACCOMP-fly	INTERJ	QM-can
打	了	没打中	飞	语气词	吗-会

would it be able to fly away?
 害怕打不中, 飞掉了。

- (769) bu33-dzæ33-hī33, la33-dzæ33-hī33, zɥwæ33-dzæ33-hī33, tʰu31-ni13
 yak-ride-NOM_{Agt} tiger-ride-NOM_{Agt} horse-ride-NOM_{Agt} this way
 牦牛骑的 老虎骑的 马骑的 这样
 The yak rider, the tiger rider, the horse rider, and one
 骑牦牛的人, 骑老虎的人, 骑马的人, 还有一种
 T:Yzt.12

du33-wɔ33 dzæ33-hī33 tʰu33-ta33 la33 ku13 nɔ33-sɣ33 ku31 tʰu31-ni13
 a type ride-NOM_{Agt} DUR-coming off ABLT 2PL.PRO this way
 一种 骑的 掉起来 会 你们 这样
 who can ride coming off this way, can you people from over there do it
 是骑这样的人, 你们那里会不会做

yī33 a31-ku13?
 do QM-ABLT
 做 吗-会
 like this?
 这样的?

- (770) tʰi13 nɔ33 bu33 tʰa33 = ə31 dʒɔ33 bɔ31-ɣu13 pɔ33 lə33-ku33 ni33
 so 2SG.PRO POSS book TOP pig skin INSTR ACCOMP-make COP
 所以 你 的 书 猪皮 用 做 是
 So (he) said, “Your book is made from pig skin,
 所以说, “你的书是猪皮做的,
 T:Muphadaba.14

ʃi13 zu31 lə33-dzi33 a31-bi33 pi33.
 REFL both ACCOMP-eat QM-go QUOT
 自己 两 吃 吗-去
 (why) don't we eat (it) up?"
 我们两个要不要把它吃掉了? ”

15.3.2 v + =ae31 =QM

Interrogatives can also be formed by placing the question marker =a31 following the verb. This pragmatically-marked constituent order yields a reading that the speaker anticipates agreement in the response, so that (771) anticipates a response of, “Yes, I know his/her name”; (772) anticipates a response of, “Yes, s/he is sick”; and (773) anticipates a response of, “Yes, s/he has read this book.”

As Na grammar is fundamentally concerned with source of knowledge and speaker certainty—Na has a system of person and verbal semantics (an areal feature found in many Himalayan languages, see Bickel 2000 and the associated articles in his edited volume), see §11.7 and 14.9 for Na; a five-part evidential system (§14); and an epistemic marker (§14.8.1) and epistemic strategy (§14.8.2)—one might wonder whether the presence of a specific interrogative strategy indicating speaker expectation of addressee agreement is another facet of the importance of source of knowledge and speaker certainty. However, interrogatives which anticipate addressee agreement are cross-linguistically extremely common, so it seems a bit precipitous to argue that this structure is a part of Na’s focus on source of knowledge and speaker certainty.

(771) nɔ33 tʰu33 bu33 mɿ33 si33 a31?
2SG.PRO 3SG.PRO POSS name know QM
你 他 的 名字 知道 吗

Do you know his/her name?

你知道他的名字?

E:

(772) tʰu33 go31 a31?
3SG.PRO sick QM
你 生病 吗

Is s/he sick?

他生病吗?

E:

(773)	t ^h u33	t ^h æ=ɤ31	t ^h u33	pɤ31	li33	tɕi31	a31?
	3SG.PRO	book	this	CLS	read	EXPER	QM
	他	书	这	本	看	过	吗

Has s/he read this book?

他看过这本书吗?

E:

15.3.3 A-NOT-A QUESTIONS

A-not-A questions can be obtained through elicitation, but receive a reading from native speakers as being less commonly used and a less-preferred strategy for forming questions. A-not-A questions, nevertheless, can be overheard in everyday conversations. The following structure, shown in (774), was given as a possible structure for an interrogative, where the blank slot can be filled with a common noun, such as a foodstuff or household item. Speakers suggest that the structure “_____ =a31 dzɔ33?” where =a31 is the question marker and dzɔ33 is an existential verb, is preferred over this A-not-A question structure. However, a31 =QM can also be used in conjunction with the A-not-A question structure, as will be discussed in §15.3.4. A-not-A questions are a common feature of Sinitic languages and languages in contact with Sinitic languages, and it is possible that this structure is found in Na due to language contact rather than an inherent feature.

(774)	_____	dzɔ33	mə33-dzɔ33?
		EXIST	NEG-EXIST
		有	没有

Is there any _____?

_____, 有没有?

E:

15.3.4 ɑ31 QM + A-NOT-A QUESTIONS

In this strategy for creating interrogatives, the V_H is followed by the question marker ɑ31, which is then followed by an A-not-A construction. In the following examples, the ‘A’ in the A-not-A construction is the future marker hɔ33.

- (775) t^hi13 ɔ̃31-sɿ33 ku31 my33-di33 kwɔ33 zu33-tu33 t^hu33
 so 1INC.PRO land LOC family succeed
 所以 咱们 土地 里 家庭 成功

So, (we) (will) test (whether) a family on our land would
 所以，我们土地里的家庭会不会做成功了，
 T:Tsoɖeluyizo.144

ɑ31-hɔ33	mɔ33-hɔ33	ɕɿ13	ni33	zɛ33.
QM-FUT.DES	NEG-FUT.DES	try	CERT.STR	PERF
会	不会	试一下		了

succeed or not.
 要试验一下。

- (776) t^hi13 t^hu33 nu33 ku13 ni33 ɔ̃13 tɔ31 tɔ31 mi33 nɔ13 my33 ki33
 so 3SG.PRO AGTV test CERT.STR INTERJ intend REFL girl give
 所以 他 考验 语气词 故意 自己 女孩儿 给

So, intending to test him as he would give his daughter to him,
 所以，故意的考验他因为女儿会给他，
 T:Tsoɖeluyizo.160

nu33	ki33	hɔ33	zu33-tu33	t ^h u33	ɑ31-hɔ33	mɔ33-hɔ33.
EMPH	give	FUT.DES	family	succeed	QM-FUT.DES	NEG-FUT.DES
	给	会	家庭	成功	会	不会

so he tested whether the family would be successful or not.
 所以考验他家庭会不会成功。

15.3.5 QUESTIONS USING QUESTION WORDS

(777) t^hi13 duu33-huu33 a33-ts^hε33 zε33 ʂu33 du33.
 so a little how CRS think
 所以 一点 怎么 了 想

So, he thought, “What is going on?”

所以，他想，“怎么了？”

T:çinami.35

(778) q^ha33-ni13 zo33 t^hu33 my33-di33 t^hu33 k^hwɿ33 dzɔ33 lə33-ts^hu13
 how PERF this land this CLS TOP ACCOMP-cut
 怎样 了 这 土地 这 量词 砍

He thought, “How can I

他想怎么样

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.180

lə33-t^hu33 yĩ33 ʂu33 du33.
 ACCOMP-succeed CAUS think
 成功 想

clear this piece of land?”

才能把这块土地的树砍好。

(779) wa! ɲa33 bu33 t^ha33 = ə31 duu33-ta13 lə33-dzi33 lə33-sɛ13
 INTERJ 1SG.PRO POSS book all ACCOMP-eat ACCOMP-complete
 哇 我 的 书 全部 吃 完

The daba said, “Wa! My books have all been eaten,

哇！达巴说，我的书全部吃掉了，

T:Muphadaba.18

(dzɔ33) ɲa33 q^ha31-ni13 yĩ33 zo33 ni33 pi33.
 1SG.PRO how do should CERT.STR QUOT
 我 该怎么样 做 应该

what should I do?”

我应该怎么样去做呢？

15.3.6 RISING INTONATION

Rising intonation at the end of a sentence can also be used to mark an interrogative. This can be seen in example (780), where the sentence-final verb appears with low rising tone, as ki13. This verb has mid, even tone in isolation form, where it appears as ki33. In sentence-final position in declarative sentences, it appears with low tone, as ki31 (cf. §15.1.1). ki33 ‘give’ is related to ki33 DAT, which also appears in example (780) through a process of grammaticalization (cf. §10.5.2).

(780)	ɲɑ33	tʰu33	ki33	<i>pingguo</i> (loan)	ki13?
	1SG.PRO	3SG.PRO	DAT	apple	give
	我	他		苹果	给
	Do I give him/her an apple?				
	我会给他苹果吗?				
	E:				

16 Clause combining

Coordination and subordination are generally thought to represent two ends of a continuum, where constructions fall along the continuum, showing lesser (coordination) or greater (subordination) degrees of clausal integration. Na is very much a language where clause combining strategies are not always clear-cut examples of coordination or subordination. This is due in part to the fact that nominal arguments can be ellipsed if they can be understood from the discourse context, and TAM marking is not obligatorily marked. Because of these characteristics, it is not always clear whether a clause is fully independent and just has unfilled morphosyntactic slots because the slots are not obligatorily filled even in independent clauses, or whether the clause is better analyzed as dependent. It is thus important to acknowledge that there is a distinct middle ground between what is clearly coordination, where nominals are overt and each clause has its own TAM marking, and subordination, where one of the clauses is not grammatical if it appears by itself.

Na has a sizable number of coordinative and subordinative markers. However, these often do not show a one-to-one correspondence with cross-linguistically attested semantic types of clause combinations; one Na marker may convey a number of different semantic relations between clauses depending upon discourse context, and conversely, one type of relationship between clauses may be coded in a number of different ways in Na.

Another striking characteristic of clause combining in Na is the wide role that asyndesis plays. Asyndesis can indicate conjunction; disjunction (though very minimally—only with negative polarity due to the logical equivalence of conjunction with narrow scope negation and disjunction with wide scope negation); adversative (contrastive reading); reason; purpose; conditional (reality: present); sequential; and cause-and-effect. Most, but not all, of these relationships can also be indicated with a marker when the speaker wants to make the relationship between the combined clauses explicit. Nevertheless, as at almost all levels of the grammar, listeners rely on discourse context to interpret morphosyntactic information that often is obligatorily marked in other languages. It is common in non-written languages for the connection between clauses not to be explicitly marked, and such languages frequently borrow coordinators and subordinators from languages with which they are in contact. Na has not borrowed coordinators or subordinators from Chinese, either Yunnanese or Mandarin.¹

¹ dzɔ31 ‘then’ might seem similar to Mandarin jiù [tɕəu51] ‘then’; however, Na dzɔ31 has a voiced initial where Mandarin has a voiceless initial, and there is no phonological pattern of Mandarin voiceless initials becoming voiced in loans into Na.

The Na forms used to indicate clause linkage virtually all occur following the first of the two combined clauses (cf. Table 16.1). Cross-linguistically, verb-argument constituent order only partially correlates with the position of coordinators as prepositive or postpositive in a language (Haspelmath 2007:9). In conjunctive coordination, postpositive position correlates with verb-final constituent order, while prepositive position correlates with verb-initial order (Stassen [2000] in Haspelmath 2007:9); however, for disjunctive coordination, these correlations do not stand (Haspelmath 2007:9). Na has verb-final constituent order. The conjunctive coordinator, *la*₃₃, for which there is cross-linguistic evidence that constituent order correlates with coordinator position, and the disjunctive coordinator, *no*₃₃, for which there is cross-linguistic evidence that constituent order does not correlate with coordinator position, are postpositive. Note, however, that conjunctive *la*₃₃ only occurs at the phrasal level in Na; conjunction at the clausal level is through asyndesis. The adversative coordinators, *no*₃₁ and *dzo*₃₁, are also postpositive.

The Na methods of clause combining are presented in Tables 16.1. Table 16.1 is organized by Na form, with the corresponding functions given for each form. This allows the reader to get a sense of the relationship between the various usages of each form, and indeed, how the language itself organizes the semantic relationships signaled in clause combining.

Method of coordination / subordination	Coordinative or subordinative?	Formal Structure	Na forms	Possible Hosts	Reading
Conjunctive / AND	Coordinative	A, B	Asyndesis (Ø-marked)	NP, VP, CL	‘A and B’
Disjunctive / OR	Coordinative	A-CO B with VP; A B-CO with CL	nɔ33	VP, CL	‘A or B’
Disjunctive / OR	Coordinative		mɑ33- NEG-	VP, CL?	‘A or B’
Adversative / BUT	Coordinative	A-CO B	nɔ31	CL	‘A but B’ – concessive
Adversative / BUT		A-CO B	dʒɔ31	CL	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ‘A but B’ – contrary to expectation 2. ‘A then B’ – temporal succession 3. ‘A then B’ – logical succession 4. ‘A however B’ – contrastive conjunction 5. (Also a non-coordinative use: cf. cinami.48)
JUST / UNTIL	Subordinative	A-CO B	nɔ33	CL	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ‘(when) A then/until B’ – temporal/logical succession 2. (Also a related adverbial use)

Table 16.1 Coordinators and subordinators

THEN	Coordinative	A-CO B	pε33	CL	‘A then B’ – concessive
THEN	Subordinative		pε33		‘(When) A then B’ ‘(If) A then B’ 1. temporal succession 2. logical succession
THEN	Coordinative	A-CO B?	lɑ31		‘A then B’
PURPOSE / ‘IN ORDER TO’		A, B	Asyndesis	CL	‘in order to’
NEG. PURPOSE / ‘LEST’	Coordinative	A, B	Asyndesis	CL	‘A, lest B’
REASON / ‘BECAUSE’	Coordinative	A, B	Asyndesis	CL	‘(Because) A, so B’
REASON / ‘BECAUSE’	Coordinative	A CO-B	tʰi13	CL	‘(Because) A, so B’
SIMULTANEOUS / ‘WHILE’	Subordinative		tə31 ‘when,’ kwə LOC		
SUBSTITUTIVE / ‘INSTEAD OF’	Coordinative	NEG-A, B	mə33- NEG-	CL	‘(Because) ~A, so B’

Table 16.1 Coordinators and subordinators (cont’d)

16.1 Clausal coordination

There are four major types of clausal coordination in Na: conjunctive coordination, disjunctive coordination, adversative coordination, and reason / ‘because’ coordination.

16.1.1 CONJUNCTIVE COORDINATION

In noun phrase conjunction, Na makes a strong distinction between natural conjunction, where the coordinands habitually appear together, and accidental conjunction, where there is no salient conceptual link between the coordinands. This distinction between natural conjunction and accidental conjunction is apparent in that natural conjuncts coordinate through asyndesis, while accidental conjuncts coordinate with *la*₃₃. In verb phrase conjunction, verbs can conjoin through asyndesis (serial verb constructions) or with *la*₃₃. In clause conjunction, by contrast, Na only uses asyndesis to coordinate clauses. Thus, there is no dichotomy between natural and accidental conjunction at the clause level. However, conjoined clauses in Na exhibit syntactic and/or semantic parallelism, as will be shown shortly.

Asyndesis is also used to coordinate clauses in sequential relationships, in cause-and-effect relationships, and in contrastive relationships. These usages are discussed in §16.1.7 and 16.1.3, as the semantic relationship between the coordinated clauses is not conjunction, even though it is coded through asyndesis. Furthermore, it should be noted that sequential and cause-and-effect coordinations do not show the syntactic and semantic parallelism evident in clausal conjunction.

There are several ways to distinguish conjunctive coordination from independent clauses which are separate sentences. Distinct sentences have lowered intonation at the end of the sentence, with the sentence-final verb taking falling (31) tone, while a non-final clause shows minimal intonational change and its verb retains its ordinary tone.² Additionally, separate sentences tend to be followed by a pause, while the pause between conjoined clauses is fairly slight. Furthermore, although t^{hi}13 ‘so’ can mark reason / ‘because’ coordination, it most frequently appears sentence-initially, where it operates at the discourse-level to indicate subsequent action within a narrative. When it appears in this discourse usage, there typically are pronounced pauses both preceding and following it; its low rising tone (13) has a wider pitch range than is typical for a (13) tone; and the speaker’s volume may increase slightly.

The examples of asyndetic coordination given here show events which occur simultaneously. Clauses which give a sequential reading can also coordinate through asyndesis; I discuss these in the sections that follow, as the relationship between the coordinated clauses is better described as reason / ‘because,’ adversative: contrastive, temporal succession / ‘then,’ and so on, than as conjunction. One might instead group all of the different readings that can be obtained from a given coding in Na (here, asyndesis), but grouping the different strategies together which code a particular semantic relationship between coordinated clauses will make the data more accessible for typological and comparative work.

² This is the case for declaratives. Interrogative generally have a rising intonational curve at the end of the clause; non-final interrogative clauses have this rising intonational curve, but it is less pronounced, with a pitch crest less high than in a final-clause interrogative. No examples of conjoined imperatives were recorded or overheard. One would anticipate that a non-final conjoined imperative would have a less salient lowering of the intonational clause, while a final conjoined imperative would have a distinctly descending intonational curve, similar to that found in a simple imperative. This question remains for future research.

When clauses are conjoined through asyndesis in Na, the conjoined clauses may be in one of several different relationships: a parallel relationship, a sequential relationship, or a cause-and-effect relationship.

In a parallel relationship, the conjoined clauses roughly mirror each other, either in syntactic structure or in meaning, or both. When clauses are syntactically parallel, they may share similar argument structure, Aktionsart marking, and/or aspectual marking. Temporal adverbs tend to occur just once and thus do not contribute to the parallelism. Nouns may be ellipsed when they can be understood from the discourse context, at times lessening the parallelism (i.e., in (783), ‘the vertical-eyed woman’ appears only once). The clauses also share polarity, although this is as much a semantic criterium as a syntactic one. When the clauses are parallel in meaning, the second clause is not merely restating the first, but rather, there is similarity in the assertions being made, as will be shown.

The agents/subjects of the conjoined clauses can be the same (781), or they can be different, for example in (783), where there are three different agents: the vertical-eyed woman’s daughter, her son, and her husband (the referent of the 2SG.PRO). When there is a change in agent/subject the new agent/subject will appear overtly (783); if the agent/subject remains the same, it can be ellipsed, as in (781).

Examples (781) and (782) are examples of sentences in which the conjoined clauses are in a parallel relationship. In (781), the first two clauses have the same syntactic structure—with the slight exception of the temporal adverb *zɔ31 nɔ33* ‘now’ which appears only in the first clause—while in the third clause, the slot filled by a common noun in the first two clauses is filled by *cheng* (loan) *kwɔ33 tʰu33-tɕʰi33 ɔ33-tɔ33 dʒɔ33* ‘whatever they have in the city.’ All three clauses are semantically parallel, with each clause describing a change in the material life of the village. Thus, the conjoined clauses in (781) are mostly syntactically parallel and strongly semantically parallel.. (782) shows less syntactic parallelism—the subject appears in the first clause but not the second, and the second clause has the coordination *lɔ31-yi33-zu31-yi33 la33 ɔ33-tɔ33-ma33-ni33* ‘work and whatever’ while the first clause does not. However, the two clauses show semantic parallelism: each describes a positive attribute of the goddess Gemu.

In example (781), three clauses are conjoined through asyndesis.³ Each clause is fully independent and could occur on its own. However, native speakers receive a clear reading that the sentences does not end until after the third clause.

(781) [*zɔ31 nɔ33 dian* (loan) *lɔ33-dʒɔ33 zɛ33*] [*dianshiji* (loan) *lɔ33-dʒɔ33 zɛ33*]
 now electricity ACCOMP-EXIST CSM t.v. ACCOMP-EXIST CSM
 现在 电 有 了 电视机 有 了
 Today, (we all) have electricity, (we all) have televisions,
 T:Change.5

[*cheng* (loan) *kwɔ33 tʰu33-tɕʰi33 ɔ33-tɔ33 dʒɔ33 lɔ33-dʒɔ33 zɛ33*.]
 city LOC 3PL.PRO.FAM whatever EXIST ACCOMP-EXIST CSM
 成 理 他们 什么 有 有 了
 whatever (they) have in the city, (we) have.

³ Note that this sentence can be interpreted as either, “Now, we all have electricity, we all have televisions, whatever they have in the city, we have” or as “Now, there is electricity, there are televisions, whatever there is in the city, there is,” because the existential verb can be used either as a verb of possession (i.e., ‘have’) or as an existential verb, and nominal arguments need not appear overtly if they can be understood from the discourse context.

- (782) [tʰu33 a31 wu55 zɥwæ13] [lɔ31-yĩ33-zu31-yĩ33 la33 a33-tso33-mə33-ni33
 3SG.PRO good-looking INTS work and whatever
 她 好看 很 劳动 和 什么
 She was very beautiful; (she) excelled in work
 她很好看，劳动和一切事情
 T:Gemu.2

hu13 zɥwæ13.]
 strong INTS
 厉害 很
 and such.
 很厉害。

(783) shows semantic parallelism and some syntactic parallelism between the first two clauses. The relationship between the first two clauses and the third is not sequential—the first two clauses take the future tense, but the third does not—and is also not cause-and-effect, although one might well be able to get such a reading without the discourse context. Rather, a reading of ‘and yet’ or ‘but’ expresses the speaker’s disapproval of Tsodeluyizo hiding under a barrel rather than partaking in the ceremony.

- (783) [nu31-mi33 ɲa33-tsu33-mi33 tsʰu33-ɲi33 mu33-zo33 tʰæ33-ki13
 girl vertical-eyed woman today young woman skirt-wearing ceremony
 姑娘 眼睛竖的女人 今天 姑娘 穿裙子的仪式
 The vertical-eyed woman’s daughter will have a skirt-wearing ceremony today,
 竖的眼睛的姑娘今天女儿要穿裙子，
 T:Tsodeluyizo.130

hɔ33] [zo33-hɔ33 ɬi33-ki13 hɔ33]
 FUT.DES little boy pants-wearing ceremony FUT
 要 小男孩子 穿裤子的仪式 要
 (her) son will have a pants-wearing ceremony,
 儿子要穿裤子，

[nɔ33 tso33 mi33 tʰæ33-kwɔ33 næ33.]
 2SG.PRO wooden barrel underneath hide
 你 木桶 下 藏
 (and) you hid under a wooden barrel.
 你藏在木桶的下面。

16.1.2 Disjunctive coordination

Disjunctive coordination of clauses (i.e., ‘A or B,’ where A and B are clauses) is created by linking the clauses with the disjunctive coordinator *nɔ33*. When both clauses have negative polarity, disjunctive coordination can also be formed through asyndesis. Coordination in Na generally takes the structure A- *co* B, both at the phrasal level and at the clausal level: with *la33* in noun phrase and verb phrase coordinations, with *mɔ33-ni31* in noun phrase disjunction, with *nɔ31* and *dʒɔ31* in adversative coordinations, and even in disjunctive coordination of verb phrases with *nɔ33*. However, clausal disjunctive coordination with *nɔ33* takes the structure A B-*co*.

In example of disjunctive coordination is given in (784), where *ɲa33 nuu33 tsʰu33-ɲi33 wu33 la13 duu33-hu33 dʒɔ13-hu33-bi33 mɔ33-ni33 nɔ33 bu33 duu33 qʰwɤ33 dzi33 bi33 ʂu33 du33* ‘Today, I think about improving (my) business, even if I will take away from you’ and *nɔ33 ɲa33 bu33 duu33 qʰwɤ33 dzi33 bi33* ‘you will take away from me’ take disjunctive coordination with *nɔ33* ‘or,’ with *nɔ33* appearing after the B clause. The sentence in the narrative directly following this example is given, so that one can see that *nɔ33* is not coordinating material from the following sentence.

(784) [ɲa33 nuu33 tsʰu33-ɲi33 wu33 la13 duu33-hu33 dʒɤ13 hu33 bi33
 1SG.PRO AGTV today business a little good go FUT
 我 今天 生意 一点 好 去

(I) think, “Won’t (I) improve (my) business a bit today,
 每天都想我自己的
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.283

mɔ33-ni33 nɔ33 bu33 duu33 qʰwɤ33 dzi33 bi33 ʂu33 du33]
 NEG-COP 2SG.PRO POSS one CLS eat FUT think
 不是 你 的 一 量词 吃 想

(even if) (I) will take away from you (lit., “eat a bowl of yours”)
 生意好一点，不然就是

[nɔ33	ɲa33	bu33	du33	q ^h wɤ33	dzi33	bi33	nɔ33.]
2SG.PRO	1SG.PRO	POSS	one	CLS	eat	FUT	or
你	我	的	一	量词	吃		或者

or you will take away from me (lit., “eat a bowl of mine”).

去吃掉你的一块儿东西。

[[tɕi33-di33	kwɔ33	t ^h i13	du33-hu33	t ^h u33	mə33-yī33	dʒɔ33]
world	LOC	so	a little	this	NEG-make	TOP
人间地	里	所以	一点	这	不做	

So in the earthly world, there is a little evil,

在人间里有一点点不好，

T:Tsoḍeluyizo.284

[t ^h i31-ni13	ku13]	ni33.]
this way	can	CERT.STR
这样	会	

(it) came to be in this way.

是这样变成的。

When both clauses have negative polarity, a disjunctive coordination can be created through asyndesis. As discussed in the section on noun phrase disjunction, some languages show a similarity between conjunctive coordination and emphatic negative coordination because ‘not A, not B’ can be expressed through a conjunctive coordination, $\sim A \ \& \ \sim B$, or through a disjunctive coordination, $\sim(A \vee B)$ (Haspelmath 2007:17). For noun phrase coordination, Na is such a language, and uses $\text{la}33$ for both conjunctive coordination and negative emphatic coordination.

For clausal coordination, Na uses asyndesis. Thus, it is not surprising that two clauses with negative polarity can conjoin through asyndesis to yield a disjunctive reading. Although such constructions are not emphatic in the sense that they do not use $\text{du}33\text{-s}33$ ‘at all,’ as negative emphatic noun phrase coordinations do, both clauses are marked with the negative, so conjunctive ($\sim A \ \& \ \sim B$) or disjunctive ($\sim[A \vee B]$) readings both are possible. In example (785), a disjunctive reading is given in English: “...one couldn’t sit on a stool or wear shoes,” but a conjunctive reading is perhaps better, “...one couldn’t sit on a stool and one couldn’t wear shoes.” The possibility of receiving a disjunctive reading is nevertheless discussed for thoroughness.

There is another possible explanation for why disjunctive readings can be obtained for asyndetically-coordinated clauses. Na can use the conjunctive coordinator la_{33} for noun phrase disjunction, with discourse context providing the appropriate conjunctive or disjunctive reading. Is Na showing a similar phenomenon for clausal disjunction? If Na noun phrases can receive both conjunctive and disjunctive readings when joined with the coordinator la_{33} , could Na clauses be receiving both conjunctive and disjunctive readings from asyndetic coordination? The formal difference, using monosyndetic coordination (la_{33}) for noun phrases versus using asyndetic coordination for clauses, is minimal because monosyndetic conjunction is the most flexible strategy for noun phrase conjunction and asyndetic conjunction is the only strategy for clausal conjunction. While this is certainly possible, it is better to analyze this as a conjunction with narrow scope negation versus disjunction with wide scope negation phenomenon, because within the sizeable corpus of narrative texts there is no example in which the coordinated clauses do not have negative polarity.

(785) $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}_{33}$ $\text{dz}\text{ɔ}_{33}\dots$ a_{31} yi_{33} ʂe_{33} $\text{dz}\text{ɔ}_{33}$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}_{31}\text{-ni}_{13}$ ni_{33} , $\text{a}_{33}\text{-mi}_{33}$
 this TOP long, long ago TOP this way COP mother
 这 很久以前 这样 是 妈妈
 This... long, long ago, it was like this, (they) say (that) (when) (one's) mother passed away,
 这个是，以前是这样的，说是妈妈去世
 T:saozi.16

$\text{l}\text{ə}_{33}\text{-ʂu}_{33}$ $\text{dz}\text{ɔ}_{33}$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}_{13}$ [*bandeng* (loan) $\text{t}\text{ɔ}_{31}$ dzu_{33} $\text{m}\text{ə}_{33}\text{-tu}_{33}$,]
 ACCOMP-pass away TOP so wooden stool ADESS sit NEG-can
 去世 所以 板凳 上面 坐 不-可以
 (one) couldn't sit on a wooden stool,
 以后板凳上面不可以坐，

[$\text{dza}_{33}\text{-k}^{\text{h}}\text{w}\text{ɿ}_{13}$ ki_{13} $\text{m}\text{ə}_{33}\text{-tu}_{33}$] pi_{33} .
 shoes wear NEG-can QUOT
 鞋子 穿 不-可以 说
 couldn't wear shoes.
 鞋子不可以穿的。

16.1.3 Adversative coordination

Adversative coordination of clauses (i.e., ‘A but / however / and yet B,’ where A and B are clauses) can be coded in either of two ways in Na: by using the conjunction *dʒoʒi* or through asyndesis. When *dʒoʒi* is used, it appears following the A clause, so that the coordination has the structure A-co B.

Adversative coordination in Na has two related subtypes—adversative coordination with a contrary-to-expectation reading (‘but’) and adversative coordination with a contrastive reading (‘however’). The similarity between these two subtypes can be seen by the fact that both subtypes could also be translated as ‘and yet.’

The most basic meaning of adversative coordination is to indicate semantic opposition. In the contrary-to-expectation subtype, the A clause makes a statement, which is then followed by a B clause which makes a statement or assertion which is opposite of what one would anticipate given the information presented in the A clause. In the contrastive subtype of adversative coordination, the A clause describes an action performed which has a clear intended result, and the B clauses states the frustrated result of this action. Examples of the contrary-to-expectation adversative are given in (786), (787), and (788), while examples of the contrastive adversative are given in (789) and (790).

In (786), the farm owners do not give the boy food to eat out of miserliness. This action is given in the A clause. Then, in the B clause, the boy returns to the farm with his mouth covered in oil, which is unexpected given that the boy has no clear source of food in the text. Thus, this example receives a contrary-to-expectation reading. This reading is distinct from a contrastive reading, in which the B clause indicates frustration of the intended result of the action in the A clause. If the farm owners in example (786) were purposely starving the boy because they wanted to keep him weak and the boy returned with oil staining his mouth, then (786) would be a contrastive adversative. However, because the A clause describes an action which we know from the discourse context is performed without such an intention, the example receives a contrary-to-expectation reading.

(787) is similar: in the A clause, the boy slices off a piece of fish without any intention regarding the fish's well-being, but rather simply to eat something, and in the B clause, the fish regenerates. Thus, the B clause describes a surprising event, but it does not describe a frustration of the action given in clause A, so (787) shows a contrary-to-expectation adversative. For (787) to receive a contrastive reading, the boy in clause A would have to be cutting off pieces of the fish with the intention of harming it.

(786)	[ha33	la33	duu33-sɔ33	tʰu33	mə33-ki33	dʒɔ31]	[tʰu33	ɲi33	ni31
	rice	etcetera	at all	3SG.PRO	NEG-give	but	everyday		
	饭	等等	一样	他	没给	但是	每一天		

(They) didn't give him any food or such, but every day
 饭，等等什么都没有给他，但是每一天都
 T:ɕinami.33

ni31	tɔ33	mɿ33	ɲi33	ni33	lɔ33-tsʰu33.]
mouth	oil	stain	ACCOMP-come		
嘴巴	油	沾	来		

(he) came back (with) (his) mouth stained (with) oil.
 吃的，嘴巴有很多油回来。

(787)	tɔ31 bu33	tʰu33	ni33	lɔ33-hæ13	lɔ33-dzi33	dʒɔ31
	next	this	day	ACCOMP-cut	ACCOMP-eat	but
	头	这	天	割	吃	但是

The next day (he) cut off (a slice) and ate (it), but

头一天割了吃掉;

T:ɕinami.39

tʰu33	gi13	tʰu33	ni33	ʂɛ33	wɤ13	lɔ33-wɔ13	lɔ33-gwɤ13	zɔ33
this	after	this	day	meat	again	ACCOMP-return	ACCOMP-grow	ADVB
这	后来	这	天	肉	又	重新	长	的

the following day, again the meat grew back

后面一天, 有长起来和

tɔ31 bu33	tʰu33	ni33	la33	tʰa31 ni31 ni31	ku33.
next	this	day	and	exactly the same	seem
头	这	天	和	一某一样	象

exactly like the first day.

头一天的一某一样。

There is a strong tendency in the corpus of oral narratives to signal this relationship between the clauses overtly rather than through asyndesis. This likely is because the adversative generally introduces new or unexpected information into the discourse, and new and unexpected information cross-linguistically tends to be marked explicitly for ease of listener processing.

(788) shows asyndetic coding of a contrary-to-expectation adversative. Clause B is in direct semantic opposition with the assertion made in clause A, so the sentence has a contrary-to-expectation reading. Here, the crow is summarizing information already known in the narrative—it has been established previously that the land is considered untillable and Tsoodeulyizo and his friend’s tilling of the soil has just been described. The fact that both pieces of information are already known probably licenses the use of asyndetic coordination here.

(788) [tʰu33 kʰwɿ33 dʒo33 lu33 mə33-hĩ33] [nɔ33 zu33 dʒo33 lə33-lu33 zɛ33.]
 this CLS TOP till NEG-okay 2SG.PRO both TOP ACCOMP-till PERF
 这 量词 耕 不-行 你 耕 了
 “This piece of land is untillable, (but) you two tilled it.”
 “这块儿是耕种不了的，你们两个把它耕好了。”
 T:Tsodeluyizo.25

(789) illustrates the contrastive subtype of adversative coordination. In this example, the protagonists are trying to grow turnips. In the A clause, they are able to grow fairly large turnips, but the B clause describes the frustrated result of the A clause—the turnips have turned to water inside. Thus, the adversative *dʒo31* is contrasting an action with an intended result—growing turnips to eat—with the frustrated result of the action—the turnips turn out to be inedible. In (790), the speaker discusses the difficulties of learning the *daba* shamanic canon. In the A clause, he says that one studies it and thinks that one has memorized it, and then in the B clause, he states that except for the very extraordinary person, one can’t learn it well, so the B clause describes the frustration of the action given in the A clause.

(789) ɛ33 kʰu31 tʰu33 lu33 pʰo13 dʒo33 [tʰu33 du55-du55 ku13 dʒo31]
 turnip this CLS plant TOP this big.INTSF ABLT but
 圆根 这 量词 播种 这 大大 会 但是
 Planting the turnips, (they) could be this big, but
 这个圆根播种去来这么大大的，但是
 T:Tsodeluyizo.261

[kwə33-lə33 dʒi33 tsɿ33] ni33.
 INESS water become CERT.STR
 里边 水 变成
 became water inside.
 里边全部变成水了。

(790) tʰi13 du33 tʰæ13 gi33 du33 tʰæ13 [nɔ33 ɲa33 ki33
 so one generation following one generation 2SG.PRO 1SG.PRO DAT
 所以 一 代 后面 一 代 你 我
 So, from generation to generation, you teach me, (I teach you),
 所以一代一代的你教我，我教你，
 T:Muphadaba.29

lə33-sə33]	[nu31 mi13	kwə33	ʃu33 du33	dzə31]	[yiban (loan)	du33	wu33
ACCOMP-teach	heart	LOC	think	but	usually	one	CLS
教	心	里	想	但是	一般	一	个

(we) think (it) is in our hearts, however, unless the person is very extraordinary,
全部记在心里边除了个别一个一个以外

du33	wu33	mə33-ni33	dʒɿ13	mə33-wə33.]
one	CLS	unless	good	NEG-ABLT
一	个		好	不-能够

(one) can't (learn) (it) well.
学好的很少。

The adversative conjunction also appears as a discourse-marker, where it is not conjoining clauses, but rather highlighting or contrasting particular information in a sentence, much the way ‘however’ can do so in English. In this latter usage, dzə31 appears sentence-finally, as in (791). The sentence following (791) is shown so that one can see the sentence-final dzə31 is not joining (791) with the following sentence.

(791)	tʰu33 = ʃ13	ga31-ga13	bə13	lu13	zə33-hə33	du33	lu33	dzə33	dzə31.
	3SG. PRO = family	help	pig	feed	little boy	one	CLS	EXIST	but
	他=家	帮忙	猪	放	小男孩子	一	个	有	但是

But there was one young boy helping his family to raise pigs.
但是有一个在他家帮忙放猪的小男孩儿。

T:ɕinami.11

a33-wə33	hī33	a33-da33-a33-mi33	la33	du33-sə33	mə33-dzə33.
family	people	parents	and	at all	NEG-EXIST
家里	人	父亲-母亲	和	一样	没有

(His) family didn't have parents at all.
家里人父亲和母亲一样没有。

T:ɕinami.12

16.1.4 REASON / 'BECAUSE' COORDINATION

Reason / 'because' coordination of clauses can be formed using the coordinator t^hi13 'so' or through asyndesis. It is also very common for reason to be indicated without coordination of the associated clauses, i.e., at the discourse level rather than intrasententially. Although coordination in Na shows a strong tendency towards postpositional marking, in reason coordination, the coordinator appears prepositional to the B clause, A co-B. It seems likely that this is because t^hi13 is commonly used as a discourse marker to indicate a consequence or a subsequent event, and this discourse marker was grammaticalized into a coordinator through reanalysis.

In reason coordination, a clause that describes an event is linked with another clause that gives the reason for that event. Languages differ with respect to the ordering of the two clauses and to which clause receives marking. In English, these clauses can occur in either order; for example, the event clause can precede the reason clause: '[He ran] [*because* he had to catch a train]' or the reason clause can precede the event clause: '[*Because* he had to catch a train,] [he ran].' The marking can occur on either the reason clause: '[*Because* he had to catch a train,] [he ran]' or on the event clause: '[He had to catch a train,] [*so* he ran].' (Though note that in English, when the event clause is marked with 'so,' clause order is not flexible: *'[*So* he ran] [he had to catch a train]'; however, without explicit marking, this clause order is possible: '[He ran]—[he had to catch a train],' with the loose integration of the two clauses marked with either a long hyphen or a semicolon.) In Na, the reason clause precedes the event clause, and it is the event clause which receives marking with t^hi13 'so.' Examples of reason coordination with t^hi13 'so' are given in (792), (793), and (794).

When reason constructions are asyndetically-coded, the clause order is the same as in those with overt marking—the reason clause precedes the event clause; however, the reason clause also is marked with $z\epsilon 33$ PERF. Asyndetically-coded reason coordinations are shown in (795) and (796). An example of reason expressed at the discourse-level rather than intrasententially is given in (797).

- (792) [p^hɔ33-bi33-di33 mǎ33-di33] [t^hi13] hu33 li31 zɔ33 zɔ33-hǎ33
 place to which to escape NEG-EXIST.P so quickly ADVB child
 逃跑的地方 没-有 所以 快 的 小孩子
 There was no place to escape to, so (she) quickly grabbed the two children
 逃跑的地方没有，所以很快抓了两个小孩儿，
 T:çinami.54

ni33 lu33 dzɤ33 zɔ33] [bɔ31-gu13 kwɔ33 dzu31 tɕi31 hu33.]
 two CLS grab CSM pig trough LOC sit CAUS go
 两 量词 抓 了 猪槽 里 坐 放 去
 (and) sat them in the pig trough.
 让他们坐在猪槽里面。

- (793) [k^hu33 lǎ33-ʂǎ33 lǎ33-pɔ31-ts^hu33] [t^hi13] tsɤ31 hɔ33 ʂu33 du33.]
 dog ACCOMP-carry ACCOMP-bring so be okay FUT think
 狗 带 拿来 所以 行 会 想
 (He) took the dog hunting (and) brought (it) back, so (they) thought (he) would be alright.
 打猎回来，所以想这个人可以。
 T:Tso deluyizo.159

- (794) [hī33 pɔ13 t^hæ31-t^hæ13 hu33 ku13] [t^hi13] tɕ^hi31 ʂu33 lɔ33 t^hæ13
 person be itchy.INTSF go ABLT so religious and such
 人 把 痒痒 去 会 所以 敬神的 和 那些
 ...[oats and tsampa] can make a person itchy, so (it) isn't okay to make religious items
 (燕麦，炒面)会让人痒痒，所以敬神的时候，
 ET:Tso deluyizo.280

yī33 mǎ33-hī33.]
 make NEG-okay
 做 不-行
 and such (out of them).
 不可以用它。

- (795) [[zɿ13 mi33 lə33-ʂæ33 lə33-zwæ13 zɔ33] [ŋy33 hæ31
road ACCOMP-long ACCOMP-very, strong PERF silver gold
路 长 很, 厉害 了 白银 黄金

“The road was long (and) arduous; it’s not possible to carry silver (and) gold
说路太长, 太远了, 黄金和白银

T:Tsodeluyizo.135

- lə33-pɿ33 pɿ33 pɔ31-yɔ33 ma33-tʰa13] pi33] qæ13] ni33.
ACCOMP-carry on one’s back bring NEG-POSSIB QUOT cheat CERT.STR
背着 拿来 不-可以 骗

on one’s back (such a long distance),” (he) said (and) tricked (them) (in this way).
背来不了, 这样骗他们。

- (796) [tsu33 zɿ33 lə33-lu13 zɔ33] [lə33-ʂu33 zɔ33] [mɿ33-di33 kwɔ33
test ACCOMP-enough PERF ACCOMP-carry land LOC
考验 够 了 带 了 土地 里

The tests were enough, (he) carried (her) off, (he) would go take (her)
考验做够了, 准备带着(姑娘)回到他的地方

T:Tsodeluyizo.245

- lə33-pɔ13 bi33 hɔ33 ni33 zɛ33.]
ACCOMP-take go FUT CERT.STR PERF
拿 去 会 了

to (his) land.
上去了。

- (797) [ni33 zɔ33 la33 qʰa33-yɿ13 tʰæ31-tʰæ13] [pɔ31-tsʰi33] [tʰu33 dzi33 dzɔ33.]
fish etc. lots biting bring 3SG.PRO eat PROG
鱼 很多 咬 拿来 它 吃 正在

(They) ate a lot of fish; (they) bit (it) back and forth, brought (it) (out), (and) were eating it.
咬了很多的鱼, 拿出来正在吃。

T:ɕinami.22

- [tʰi13 zɔ33-hɔ33 tʰu33 lu33 bɔ13 gi13 tɕʰɔ31] [æ31-qʰy33 kwɔ33-lɔ31
so little boy this CLS pig behind follow cave INESS
所以 男孩子 这 个 猪 后面 跟在 山洞 里边

So the boy followed behind the pigs,
所以那个男孩儿跟在后面钻进

T:ɕinami.23

lə33-huu33 dʒə33.]
 ACCOMP-go PROG
 去 正在
 entering into the cave.
 山洞里头。

16.1.5 PURPOSE / 'IN ORDER TO' COORDINATION

It has been noted that cross-linguistically, it is quite common for languages to code reason / 'because' and purpose / 'in order to' clausal relationships using similar constructions, because reason and purpose clauses overlap semantically: they both give an explanation for the action or state described in the coordinated clause, with a purpose clause used for an unrealized event and a reason clause used for a realized event (Thompson et al., 2007:250-251). In Na, both purpose and reason can be coded by juxtaposing the clauses indicating an event and its explanation, so Na adheres to this cross-linguistic tendency. Furthermore, when a reason clause is linked to its event clause using asyndesis, the reason clause is marked with ʒə33 PERF, which indicates the realized state of the clause. In contrast, when a purpose clause is linked to its event clause using asyndesis, the purpose clause does not take perfective marking, thus indicating the unrealized status of the clause. Note, however, purpose and reason clauses are not always coded using asyndesis—reason clause can also be coordinated overtly with tʰi13 (see §16.1.4 above). When reason clauses are marked with tʰi13, perfective marking is no longer required, presumably because there no long is ambiguity between a reading of a reason clausal relationship and a purpose clausal relationship.

A consequence of purpose clauses not receiving separate aspectual marking is that they are more closely integrated with the clauses to which they are linked.

- (798) [[[[la33-yu13 t^hu33-my33] [la33-zo33 ni33 zo33]] [la33-zo33
 tiger skin DUR-wear baby tiger seem CRS baby tiger
 老虎皮 穿 小老虎 象 了 小老虎
 (She) said, “Wear a tiger skin (in order to) seem like a baby tiger, kill the baby tiger,
 说你可以杀了小老虎, 穿上它的皮, 象小老虎一样
 T:Tso deluyizo.170

lə33-su13 zo33] [yu13 lə33-my33 zo33] [ɲo13 tsu13 hō33]] pi33.]
 ACCOMP-kill PERF skin ACCOMP-wear PERF milk squeeze go.IMP QUOT
 杀 了 皮 穿 了 奶 挤 去
 put on its skin, and go get milk.”
 去挤奶。”

- (799) wə33 ta33 dzɤ33 gi33 dzə33 tsɿ31 qwɤ13 dzə33 [mu33 du55 bu33 tsə31
 before side TOP east room TOP daughter big POSS room
 前面 边 东房 女儿 大 的 房子
 The facing side, the east room, (one) makes into the eldest daughter’s
 前面的房子是大女儿的
 T:Fangzi.21

du33 tsə31 ku31] [mu33 du55 bu33 t^hu33-zu33 hu33.]
 one CLS make daughter big POSS DUR-sleep go
 一 间 做 女儿 大 的 睡觉 去
 room, (so that) (she) goes (and) sleeps (in) the eldest daughter’s (room).
 卧室, 让大女儿去那里睡觉。

- (800) [tsu33 tæ33 kwə33 lu33-mi33 du33 lu33 qwæ13] [a33-phə13 bi33 zo33]
 foundation LOC stone one CLS dig up outside go OBL
 地基 里 石头 一 个 挖 外面 去
 ...(one) must go outside (in order to) dig up a stone from the foundation
 首先在地基里边挖一个石头出来
 ET:Fangzi.3

[da31 pɤ33 la33 = a31 dzə33 la33 mɤ33 ki33] [su33 wə33 ta33 lə33-tɤ33 tɤ31
 daba or = CMKN lama give first before ACCOMP-divine
 达巴 或者 喇嘛 给 第一 算卦
 (and) give (it) to a daba, as everyone knows, or a lama (so that he can) first do a divination
 拿去给达巴或者喇嘛面前

lə33-tɤ33 tɤ31.]
 ACCOMP-divine
 算卦
 in front.
 去算卦。

(801) [tɔ31 mi13 du33 dzu33 (tɔ31 mi13 tʰu33 dzu33) dzɔ33 su33-dzu33
 pillar one CLS pillar this CLS TOP tree
 柱头 一 柱头 这 树
 ... as for a pair of pillars,
 柱头是树木一棵
 ET:Fangzi.6

du33 dzu33 da13] [lɛ33-pɔ31-yɔ33] [ni33 tæ13 lɛ33-pu33 pu33]
 one CLS cut down ACCOMP-bring two section ACCOMP-divide
 一 棵 拿来 两 段 分成
 a tree is cut down, brought back, (and) divided into two sections
 拿回来的，把它分成两段

[tɔ31 mi13 du33 dzu33 yɪ33.]
 pillar one CLS make
 柱头 一 做
 to make a pair of pillars.
 做两个木柱的。

16.1.6 NEGATIVE PURPOSE / 'LEST' COORDINATION

Na negative purpose / 'lest coordination' is the same as purposive / 'in order to' coordination, with the addition of the prohibitive marker to mark the undesired result.

(802) [[tʰi13 nɔ33 nu33 dzɿ13 du33-wɔ33 zu31] [gɔ33-tsʰu33 la33 tʰæ13
 so 2SG.PRO AGTV good bless.DEL illness and such
 所以 你 好 保佑一下 病痛 和 那些
 To say, "(Please) carefully bless (him/her) (so that) illness and such
 说请你好好的保佑一下病痛和那些
 T:Muphadaba.36

du33 tʰa33 hu33] pi33.]
 arrive PROH FUT QUOT
 得到 会
 won't come."
 不要让他得到。

16.1.7 SEQUENTIAL COORDINATION

In (803), there is a clear sequential reading of the two conjoined clauses: the second clause, ‘threw it in front of Gemu’ could not occur without the god having taken the pearl necklace (‘it’) from around his neck. The sequential reading, however, is not solely from conjunction of the two clauses and discourse context. The first clause takes perfective marking, and this gives the reading that the action of the first clause ends before the action in the second clause.

(804) is another example of asyndetically coordinated clauses with a sequential reading. In this example, not only does the first clause take perfective marking, but the second clause has ^hi13 ‘so’ following the agent nu31-mi33 ɲa33-tsu33-mi33. ^hi13 primarily functions at the discourse level, where it appears sentence-initially, and indicates temporal or logical succession between sentences. Here, ^hi13 is not sentence-initial; rather, it follows the agent of the second clause. Furthermore, it indicates temporal succession between the two clauses, not between two sentences, as it does in sentence-initial position.

(803) [nɔ13 bu33 ɣwæ33 lu31 kwɔ33 su33 ə33 du33 kwɣ33 zu31 zɔ33]
 self POSS neck LOC pearl one CLS take PERF
 自己 的 脖子 里 珍珠 一 串 拿 了

(He) took a string of pearls from around (his) own neck
 他把自己脖子上面的
 T:Gemu.43

[ku31 mu33 ki33 kwɣ13.]
 Gemu DAT throw
 格姆 扔

(and) threw (it) to Gemu.
 一串珍珠扔在格姆的面前。

(804) [tʰi13 lə33-tsʰu33 zə33] [nu31-mi33 ɲa33-tsu33-mi33
 so ACCOMP-come PERF girl vertical-eyed woman
 所以 来 了 姑娘 眼睛竖的女人
 So (he) came back, (and) the vertical-eyed girl
 所以回来了，竖眼睛的姑娘
 T:Tsodeluyizo.182

tʰi13 tʰu33 sɔ13 ni33.]
 so 3SG.PRO teach CERT.STR
 所以 他 教
 taught him.
 就教给他了。

In example (805), the clause du33 sɔ33 mɔ33-dzə33 ‘(He) had nothing at all’ and the clause tʰa33 tʰu33=ʃ13 ɣa13 bɔ31-lu13 la33 tʰa13 ɣa13 ‘(he) often helped the man’s family feed the pigs and such’ are joined with dzə31 ‘so,’ which follows the first clause.

logical succession:

(805) [du33-sɔ33 mɔ33-dzə33 dzə31] [tʰa33 tʰu33=ʃ13 ɣa13 bɔ31 lu13
 at all NEG-EXIST so often 3SG.PRO=family help pig feed
 一样 没有 所以 经常 他=家 帮忙 猪 放
 (He) had nothing at all, so (he) often helped his family feed the pigs
 什么都没有，所以就经常帮他家放猪
 T:çinami.13

la33 tʰa13 ɣa13.]
 and such help
 和 那些 帮忙
 and such.
 和这些。

(806) [[tʰi13 du33 tsɔ1 pe33] [nu33-tʃwæ33 hɔ33] ni33.]
 so rest then trust FUT CERT.STR
 所以 休息 就 放心 会
 So (when) (you) rest, (you) will have peace of mind.
 所以休息一下都会很放心的。
 T:Saozi.13

Cause-and-effect coordination is related to sequential coordination: cause-and-effect is a sequential reading where the first event necessarily leads to the second event. (807) is an example of two clauses in a cause-and-effect relationship. Even though the sentence does not contain any overt marking to indicate that ‘the earth also started to tremble’ is caused by ‘(He) sprinkled it on the ground,’ and yet this is clearly the idea that the sentence is communicating. Even though the two events are in sequence, there is no perfective marking on the first clause, as there is when conjoined clauses receive a sequential reading. It is possible that disjoining the two clauses into two separate sentences by inserting a pause between them and giving a sentence-final falling intonational curve to the first clause might soften the cause-and-effect relationship; however, given the significant role that discourse context plays in Na, perhaps not. This issue remains for future research.

- (807) [di33-kwɔ33 mu33 bu13] [di33 dzɯ31 dzɯ13 hu33.]
 earth to sprinkle earth tremble go
 地 到 撒 地 震动 去
 (He) sprinkled (it) on the ground, (and) the earth trembled.
 撒到地里，大地也震动起来了。
 T:Tsodeluyizo.174

pe33 ‘then’ occurs after the first of the two clauses which it joins, forming the structure A-co B, mirroring the structure for disjunctive coordination with nɔ33, and adversative coordination with nɔ31 and dzɔ31. It generally gives a reading of consecutive coordination (‘then’), although occasionally a reading of ‘even though’ may be more literal. Here pe33 ‘then’ is classified as a linking adverb, as it can co-occur with a coordinator. One of the common formal criteria for distinguishing coordinators from linking adverbs is that coordinators cannot co-occur, while linking adverbs can and do co-occur with coordinators (Haspelmath 2007:48).

- (808) [bi33 mi33-dzi33-ha33 la33 zu31-bæ13 kwɔ33 lə33-zwɿ33 pɛ33]
 stomach-to eat-food and such LOC ACCOMP-say then
 肚子-吃-饭 和 那种 里 说 就

With regard to life (lit. ‘things to eat and such),
 T:Change.14

- [wɔ33 ta33 tɔ31 tsʰɛ33 tɔ31 pi13.]
 before COMP ten turn over
 以前 比 十 翻转
 then (it’s) many, many times (better) than before.

16.1.8 SUBSTITUTIVE / ‘INSTEAD OF’

Substitutive / ‘instead of’ coordination takes the structure ~A, B in Na, where A and B are juxtaposed clauses. Examples are given in (809) and (810). Substitutive readings can overlap with a reading of ‘so’ sometimes, as can be seen in (811).

- (809) [tʰu33 dzɔ33 ɣa33 ʌa33 = ə33 mə33-ni33,]
 this TOP Buddhist god = PL NEG-COP
 这 佛教的神 不-是
 This isn’t (one of the) Buddhist gods;
 这个不是佛教的神,
 T:Yzt.15

- [ʃ33-sɿ31 ku31 bu33 shanshen (loan) ni33.]
 1INC.PRO POSS mountain god COP
 我们 的 山神 是
 (rather) (this) is our mountain god.
 这个只是我们的山神。

- (810) [ɲa33-tsu33-mi33 dzɔ33 ʃɛ33 mə33-du33];
 vertical-eyed woman TOP look for NEG-obtain
 眼睛竖的女人 找 不-得
 (He) didn’t find a vertical-eyed woman;
 竖眼睛的没有找到,
 T:Tsoyeluyizo.101

[ɲa33-tæ33-mi33 t^hu33 wu33 ʂe33 du33 zɔ33.]
 horizontal-eyed woman this CLS look for obtain CSM
 眼睛竖的女人 这 量词 找 得 了

(rather), (he) found the horizontal-eyed woman.

只是找到一个眼睛横的了。

- (811) [zɰæ33 dʒɔ33 mə33-dʒɔ33 zɔ33]; [zɰæ33 wɔ33-lu33 k^hu33 lə33-pɔ31-ts^hu33.]
 horse TOP NEG-EXIST horse head steal ACCOMP-bring
 马 没有 了 马 头 偷 拿来

There weren't (any) horses; (instead), (they) stole a horse head (and) brought (it) back.

马是没有，只是偷了马的头拿回来了。

T:Tsoodeluyizo.277

- (812) [hĩ33 pi33 mə33-lu31] [hĩ33 dʒɔ33 mə33-wɔ33] [zɔ33-mu33
 person toward NEG-shape person TOP NEG-ABLT child
 人 对 没-形状 人 不-能 小孩儿

(It) didn't take the shape of a person; (it) wasn't able to (become) a person, (a person)

没有人的形状，没有能够生出人

T:Tsoodeluyizo.71

la33 t^hæ13 t^hu33-ʂu33] [zi13 la33 t^hæ13 tsɤ33.]
 and such DUR-carry monkey and such become
 那些 带 猴子 那些 变成

carrying his/her children and such; (instead) it became a monkey.

带着他们的小孩儿，变成猴子。

16.1.9 CIRCUMSTANTIAL

- (813) [t^hi13 bɔ31-gu33 pɔ13 zɰu31 gu33 yĩ33] [dʒi33 kwɔ33 ʂe33-ʂe33.]
 so pig trough use boat make water LOC go
 所以 猪槽 用 船 做 水 里 行走

So, (by) using a pig trough as a boat, (they) went across in the water.

所以用猪槽来做船，在水里面行走。

T:çinami.60

16.1.10 CONCESSIVE

Concessive coordination with *nɔ31* ‘even though’ also takes the form A-CO B. In example (814), the clauses *lə33-nu33* *lə33-bi33* *zɔ33* *hɔ33* *zɯ33-tu33* *yī33* *bi33* *zɔ33-hɔ33* *ni33* ‘He should go, he should go set up a family’ and the clause *tʰi13* *æ̃31-tɕi13* *pɣ33* *tɔ31* *mə33-dzɔ33* *ni33* *mæ33* ‘he didn’t even have a baby chick!’ are joined with the adversative coordinator *nɔ31* ‘even though,’ which follows the first clause.

- (814) [[*lə33-* *nu33* *lə33-bi33* *zɔ33-hɔ33*], [*zɯ33-tu33* *yī33* *bi33* *zɔ33-hɔ33*]
 ACCOMP- EMPH ACCOMP-go should family make go should
 去 应该 家庭 做 去 应该

(He) should go, (he) should go set up a family,
 去是要回去的, 建立家庭,
 T:Tsodeluyizo.248

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>ni33</i> | <i>nɔ31</i>] | [<i>tʰi13</i> | <i>æ̃31-tɕi13</i> | <i>pɣ33</i> | <i>tɔ31</i> | <i>mə33-dzɔ33</i>] | <i>ni33</i> | <i>mæ33</i> .] |
| CERT.STR | but | so | chick | all | | NEG-EXIST | CERT.STR | CERT.M |
| | 但是 | 所以 | 小鸡 | 都 | | 没有 | | |

even though (he) didn’t have even a baby chick, oh!
 但是连一只小鸡都没有。

- (815) *tʰi13* *sɔ33* *dzi33* *tsɔ33* *ti31* *ti31* *tʰu33* *wu33* *nu33* [*ai31* *tʰi13* *tʰu33* *tʂu33*
 so Sondzhitsontiti this CLS AGTV INTERJ so 3SG.PRO thrive
 所以 Sondzhitsontiti 这 个 所以 他 兴旺

So Sondzhitsontiti sighed, “Ai!” (and) said, “(Even though) he won’t come to thrive,
 所以 Sondzhitsontiti 叹息了, 一下说, 即使他不能够兴旺
 T: Muphadaba.26

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>mə33-tʰu33</i> | <i>pɛ33</i>] | [<i>tʰu33</i> | <i>qʰwɣ31-yī13</i> | <i>hī33</i> | <i>mə33-hɔ33</i> | <i>zɛ33</i> | <i>æ̃31</i>] | <i>pi33</i> .] |
| NEG-arrive | then | 3SG.PRO | harm | be okay | NEG-FUT | PERF | INTERJ | QUOT |
| 不到 | 就 | 他 | 迫害 | 可以 | 不会 | | 了 | |

he (also) will not be able to be harmed.”
 也不可以去迫害他了。

- (816) *zɯ33-mi33* *tʰu33* *lu33* *ku13* *tɔ31...* [*zɯ33-tu33* *du33* *lu33* (*ɑ33-pʰɔ13*)
 hearth room this CLS build when family one CLS outside
 祖屋 这 个 修 时候 家庭 一 个

When building the hearth room... (when) a family
 修这个祖屋的时候, 一个家庭
 T:Fangzi.2

a33-ph ^h ɔ13-dzu31	ha31]	[zu33-tu33	a33-tso33	mə33-du33	pe33]
split families	INTERJ	family	whatever	NEG-obtain	then
分家	语气词	家庭	什么	没-得到	就

is splitting into separate households, (even) (when) the family doesn't have
分家的时候，既是什么都没有

[zu33-mi33	t ^h u33	lu33	su33	wɔ33 ta33	ts ^h u13	zɔ33-hɔ33	ni33.]
hearth room	this	CLS	still	before	build	should	CERT.STR
祖屋	这	个	还	首先	修建	应该	

anything at all, the hearth room should still be built first.
得到；祖屋这个是必须首先修建的。

16.1.11 *CONDITIONALS*

‘Conditional’ denotes a relationship between two clauses where one clause (the protasis or ‘if’ clause) presents a situation or condition, which when satisfied, results in an event given in another clause (the apodosis or ‘then’ clause). Conditionals can be classified into realis conditionals, which refer to presently occurring or anticipated to occur events; habitually occurring events; and past events, and irrealis conditionals, which describe hypothetical events; events which have not or could not occur (‘counterfactual’); and predicted events (Thompson et al. 2007:255 following [J. Schacter (1971)]).

The primary distinction that Na makes for conditionals is between realis conditionals, which do not receive marking, and irrealis conditionals, which do receive marking. Coding this fundamental distinction between the ‘real’ and ‘unreal’ worlds is cross-linguistically very common (Thompson et al. 2007:255). In Na, distinguishing among present, habitual/generic, and past conditionals is a little tricky, as tense/aspect is not obligatorily marked in Na. Table 16.2 presents an overview of conditional constructions, their formal structure, and their marking in Na.

Real / Unreal	Conditional type	Formal structure	Na forms	Reading
REALITY	Present	Asyndesis	(Ø-marked)	‘If A is happening, B is happening’
	Habitual / Generic	Asyndesis	(Ø-marked)	‘If / when A happens, B happens’
	Past	Asyndesis	(Ø-marked)	‘If A happened, B’
UNREALITY	Imaginative: Hypothetical	A-CO B	pi33, pi33 zɔ31	‘If A were to happen, B would happen’
	Imaginative: Counterfactive	A-CO B	pi33 zɔ31 dʒɔ33	‘If A had happened, then B would have happened’
	Predictive	A-CO B FUT	pi33 dʒɔ33; FUT = hɔ33, yi33, or ku13	‘If A happens, B will happen’
OTHER	Negative	As in non-negative counterpart, but with NEG- marking on A	mə33-ni33, mə33-v	‘If not / unless A, B’
	Concessive	Asyndesis	(Ø-marked)	‘Even if A, B’

Table 16.2 Conditional construction types and their marking in Na

In realis conditionals, neither the protasis nor the apodosis receives marking; the clauses are combined asyndetically, and the conditional reading is received through discourse context. However, the protasis and apodosis clauses are very clearly more tightly integrated, both syntactically and semantically, than the clauses which are conjoined through asyndesis in conjunctive coordination. Syntactically, the protasis clause does not receive its own aspectual marking or other sentence-final marking such as epistemic or evidential marking. To a degree, this is a semantic issue—when the protasis has perfective marking, the conditional would receive a counterfactual reading, while when it has future marking, the conditional would no longer be realis. Nevertheless, the syntactic integration of the clauses is real; the first clause of (817) might be acceptable as the response to a question in certain contexts, but in general, would likely sound incomplete without CSM/CRS/PERF or CERT.STR marking, as would the first clauses of (818) and (819). In (820), there is perfective marking in the protasis, but this is for a sub-event in the VP (cf. §13.1.4 on first event in sequence perfective marking), not for the entire VP. The full VP does not receive perfective marking.

In Na conditionals, there is a strong tendency for the protasis clause to precede the apodosis. This is likely due to temporal succession—only when the condition specified in the protasis has been satisfied can the event in the apodosis occur—so cognitive processes may condition the clause order.

16.1.11.1 Present conditionals

The reading of a present conditional can shade between ‘if’ and ‘since,’ as in the present conditional given in (817). In the narrative from which the example is extracted, Tsodeluyizo has gone to ask the god Apato how he can find a wife, so the condition specified in the protasis has been met—Tsodeluyizo does want to look for a wife. The apodosis clause is not an imperative, but rather an instruction or directive.

- (817) [zu33-mi33 ʂe33 hɔ33] [ʂwæ33-su33 ʂwæ33-hĩ33 da13.]
 wife look for DES (type of tree) tall-NOM cut down
 老婆 找 要 (树的一个种类) 高-的 砍
 (If) (he) wants to look for a wife, cut down the tallest shwaesi tree.
 要找老婆的话，要砍最高的 ʂwæ33-su31 树。
 T:Tsoḍeluyizo.49

16.1.11.2 Habitual / generic conditionals

The reading of an habitual / generic conditional can range along the continuum from ‘if’ to ‘when.’ This may be because an event that occurs habitually typically has a good possibility of occurring yet again. For example, in (818), either an ‘if’ reading or a ‘when’ reading can be obtained.⁴

- (818) [[di33 ɡɔ33] [[di33 ɕi13 yi33] [di33 pɔ13 lə33-q^hwɔ33
 land ill land cure CAUS land take ACCOMP-cure
 土地 病 土地 治好 做 土地 把 治好
 (If / when) the land is ill, (it) says to cure the land,
 土地病了，说是把土地治好。
 T:Yzt.7

hu33] pi33] ni33.]
 go QUOT CERT.STR
 go cure the land.

⁴ In fact, in the Chinese translation, my native speaker consultant chose to translate the Na very literally, using neither ‘if’ nor ‘when’ in the Chinese translation. He did so even though use of ‘if’ or ‘when’ in such a sentence in Mandarin would sound more natural.

16.1.11.3 Past conditionals

In (819), the past reading is received from the sentence-initial temporal adverb wɔ33 ta33 ‘before.’ In (820), the past reading is received from the discourse context and from the temporal adverb duu33 ni33 ‘(for) one day,’ which appears in an independent clause conjoined to the conditional. In the protasis, there is a VP composed of two sub-events: lə33-qæ13 ‘shoot’ and tʰu33-mə33-zɔ33 ‘didn’t hit.’ zɛ33 PERF marks the first sub-event, lə33-qæ13 ‘shoot,’ not the entire VP, so that the conditional has a realis reading rather than an irrealis / counterfactual reading.

- (819) [wɔ33 ta33 dzɔ33 a33-mi33 tʰu33-tɕi33 dzɔ33 zu33 tsʰɛ33 gy33 ha33
 before TOP mother 3PL.PRO TOP four ten nine night
 以前 母亲 她们 四 十 九 晚上
 Before, (for) (one’s) mother and such, (if) forty-nine nights had not passed,
 以前的母亲那些, 如果不满四十九天的话,
 T:Saozi.22

mə33-lu13]	[tʰu33	ha31	hæ33 pɣ33	la33	tʰæ13	tɕʰæ33	mə33-ku13.]
NEG-be enough	this	such	hair	and	such	wash	NEG-ABLT
不够	这		头发	和	那些	洗	不会

(one) couldn’t wash (one’s) hair and such.
 头发那些是不会去洗的。

- (820) [duu33 ni33 tʰu33-mæ13 tɕʰi33 ni33] [tʰu33-mæ13 tɕʰi33]
 one day DUR-aim at INTERJ CERT.STR DUR-aim at INTERJ
 一天 瞄准 语气词 语气词 瞄准 语气词
 (For) one day (he) aimed and aimed;
 他一天瞄准不赶打,
 T:Tsoodeluyizo.235

[[lə33-qæ13	zɛ33]	[tʰu33-mə33-zɔ33]]	[lə33-dzɛ33	tɕʰi33	a31	yī33?]
ACCOMP-shoot	PERF	DUR-NEG-hit	ACCOMP-fly	INTERJ	QM	can
打	了	没打中	飞	语气词	吗	会

(if) (he) shot (and) didn’t hit (the bird), couldn’t (the bird) fly away?
 害怕打不中, 飞掉了。

16.1.11.4 Hypothetical conditionals

Irrealis conditionals refer to events that are unrealized at the time of speaking. These events can be imagined (hypothetical or counterfactual) or predicted. In Na, the irrealis conditionals initially may appear to be more subordinative than realis conditionals because the protases in irrealis conditionals receive marking, so their syntactic dependency is more overt, while realis conditionals are unmarked, so their syntactic dependency is not as salient. Furthermore, because asyndesis is used for combining fully independent clauses in conjunctive coordination, realis conditionals look similar to conjunctive coordination with respect to formal structure. However, this similarity is illusory—in fact, as discussed in §16.1.11, the protases of realis conditionals do not show the aspectual and sentence-final marking found in fully independent clauses. Irrealis conditionals also lack the aspectual and sentence-final markers found in independent clauses, with a possible exception as discussed below, and the clauses are as tightly integrated as those in realis conditionals.

A hypothetical conditional proposes a possible situation and imagines the ensuing result. In Na hypothetical conditionals, the protasis is marked with pi33, and the apodosis is unmarked. pi33 also means ‘say,’ and it seems likely that pi33 ‘say’ has grammaticalized into a conditional marker.⁵ In colloquial English, ‘say’ can mark a hypothetical conditional, i.e., “Say you can’t get a plane ticket—then what will you do?” so such a grammaticalization pathway is attested in at least one language.

⁵ pi33 ‘say’ has also grammaticalized into a quotative evidential (§x.x), where it appears sentence-finally and generally has scope over the entire sentence. If pi33 ‘say’ is in fact the source for pi33 COND.HYP, then it is the source for two grammatical markers.

Example (821) shows a hypothetical conditional.. This example might seem to potentially be either a hypothetical or a predictive conditional, but in fact, the speaker is the one who will lock up her son if he goes down to the mortal world again, and thus has control over the situation. Thus, the sentence is not making a prediction, but rather presenting the results of a hypothetical situation. Examples (822) and (823) are further examples of hypothetical conditionals.

- (821) [[wɿ13 hu33 pi33] [du33 zu33 tʰu33-tæ13 kʰu13 mə33-bi33] pi33.]
 again go COND.HYP one lifetime DUR-shut up CAUS NEG-go QUOT
 又 去 一 辈子 关 不-去

(She) said, “If (you) go again, (you) will be shut up for (your) entire life (so you) won’t go (again).”

说如果再去就一辈子关起来不会放。

T:Gemu.29

- (822) [ɲa33-tsu33-mi33 ʂe33 du33 pi33] [ɲa33-lu33 ɲa33-tsi31 tʰu33-ni13]
 vertical-eyed woman look for obtain COND.HYP eye eyebrow this way
 眼睛竖的女人 找 得 眼睛 眉毛 这样

If (one) finds a vertical-eyed woman, finds (a woman) (with) eyes (and) eyebrows like this, 如果找到竖眼睛的女人的话, 就是眼睛和眉毛这样的,

T:Tso deluyizo.285

ʂe33 du33] [a33 pɔ31 pɔ31.]

look for obtain INTERJ
 找 得 语气词

excellent!

找到的话, 不得了!

- (823) [Ga13 zɔ33 hɔ33 pi33] [ɲa55 tʰu33 ki33 tienhwa (loan) la13 bi33.]
 help need COND.HYP 1SG.PRO 3SG.PRO DAT telephone strike FUT
 帮忙 需要 我 他 电话 打

If (I) need help, I will give him a call.

E:12505

16.1.11.5 Counterfactive conditionals

Counterfactive conditionals propose a situation which did not or could not happen, and imagine the likely result. Thus, counterfatives differ from hypotheticals in that counterfatives refer to situations which are unattainable, while hypotheticals refer to possible situations. The two are similar in that both imagine the ensuing result.

In Na counterfactive conditionals, the protasis is marked with pi³³ zə³¹ dzə³³, and the apodosis is not marked. The provenance of pi³³ zə³¹ dzə³³ is obscure. pi³³ is the same form found in the hypothetical conditional (pi³³) and the predictive conditional (pi³³ dzə³³). However, it is not clear where zə³¹ and dzə³³ come from. pi³³ zə³¹ dzə³³ and pi³³ dzə³³ are both unanalyzable to native speakers. Matisoff notes that in Lahu, the use of a conditional in conjunction with CSM or PERF marking on the verb in the protasis indicates a counterfactive conditional (Matisoff 1973:413). It is possible that the zə³¹ in pi³³ zə³¹ dzə³³ is related to the Na CSM/CRS/PERF marker zε³³/zə³³, with the vowel weakening in unstressed position. However, such an analysis is problematic because zə³¹ in pi³³ zə³¹ dzə³³ has (31) tone while zε³³/zə³³ has (33) tone. Additionally, it would seem odd for an aspectual marker to follow the conditional marker rather than precede it, although it may be that appearing following the conditional marker is more consistent with the apodosis being a dependent clause. dzə³³ may be related to dzə³³ EXIST/PROG or even dzə³¹ ‘then,’ or it may be merely homophonous. It is also possible that pi³³ zə³¹ dzə³³ is a contraction of pi³³ zə³¹ and =a³¹ dzə³³ CMKN. pi³³ zə³¹=a³¹ dzə³³ does occur in (825), and both (824) and (826) present information that is well known to any Na and thus could potentially be marked with =a³¹ dzə³³ CMKN. However, even if this is the case, it is not clear why predictive conditionals are marked with pi³³ dzə³³ and why there is the formal similarity between pi³³ zə³¹ dzə³³ and pi³³ dzə³³.

(824), (825), and (826) are all taken from a narrative describing how to build a Na home. The speaker had built his own home several years prior to the time of recording. Thus, in (824), when he says, “If (one) didn’t have silver and gold, (one) puts in some money and such,” he uses the counterfactive because he did have silver and gold, and he wants to explain what one would do if one were not so fortunate. The counterfactive reading is perhaps clearest in (825), where the speaker discusses the consequences if the fire were ever to go out, an event which does not usually occur. (826) is similar to (824) in that the speaker discusses how a house would be set up if one did not store things in the south room as he has.

The examples of counterfatives are limited in the sense that these examples all describe situations which did not occur, but could have occurred. In future research, it would be useful to obtain examples of counterfatives which describe situations which could not occur, to see if they share the same structure.

(824) [tʰi13 ŋy33 la33 hæ33 mə33-dʒə33 pi33 zə31 dʒə33] [dzɛ33 la33
 so silver and gold NEG-EXIST COND.CTRF money and
 所以 白银 和 黄金 没有 的话 钱 和
 So, if (one) didn’t have silver and gold,
 所以白银和黄金没有的话,
 T:Fangzi.11

tʰæ13 du33-pi13 tʰu33-kʰu13.]
 such some DUR-put
 那些 一些 放
 (one) puts in some money and such.
 一些钱和那些可以装进去。

(825) [lə33-gɣ13 pi33 zə31 = a31 dʒə33] [zɯ33-tu33 kwə33 gɣ31 dzæ13
 ACCOMP-extinguish COND.CTRF = CMKN family LOC on lots
 灭掉 的话 家庭 里 上 很多
 As everyone knows, if the fire ever went out, it is very bad for the family.
 灭掉的话家庭里会有很多不好的。
 T:Fangzi.36

mə33-dʒɿ13.]

NEG-good

不好

- (826) [tʰi13 zɯ33-ɣæ33 tsə33 kwə33 dʒə33 tsə33 tsə33 la33 tʰæ13 tɕi33 mə33-ni33
 so south room room LOC TOP things and such put NEG-COP
 所以 南房 房子 里 东西 和 那些 放

So, unless (one) stored things in the south room,
 所以南边的房子如果不放东西的话,

T:Fangzi.16

pi33 zə31 dʒə33]	[a33-wu33	zɯ31-wə33	tʰu33	a33-wu33	zɯ33-wə33	yī33.]
COND.CTRF	uncle	bedroom	this	uncle	bedroom	make
的话	舅舅	卧室	这	舅舅	卧室	做

(one) makes (it) into a bedroom for an uncle.
 做舅舅的卧室。

16.1.11.6 Predictive conditionals

Predictive conditionals describe the anticipated results if a situation is realized. In Na, predictive conditionals are constructed by parking the protasis with pi33 dʒə33 and the apodosis with a future marker. In (827), the future marker is yi33 FUT, while in (828), the future marker is hə33 FUT (predictive-desire). It may be the case that predictive conditionals can be marked with other future markers, such as bi33 FUT (immediate), hu33 FUT (remote), or particularly, the other predictive future marker, ku13 FUT (predictive-ability), and future research should address this.

Cross-linguistically, there is variation with respect to whether predictive conditionals pattern with realis conditionals or with imaginative conditionals. This is because a predicted event can be viewed as either fundamentally realis (it is predicted that it will occur and thus is not imaginative) or irrealis (it is, nonetheless, a prediction and thus has not yet occurred) (Thompson et al. 2007:259). In Na, predictive conditionals clearly pattern with hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals: the realis conditionals all are formally and functionally unmarked, while the irrealis conditionals all employ conditional markers based on pi33.

(827) t^hu33 ts^hu33 pi33 dzɔ33 q^ha31 ni13 pɛ33 lə33-t^hu33 yi33.
 3SG.PRO come COND.PRED however then ACCOMP-succeed FUT
 他 来 的话 怎么样的 就 成功
 If he comes, (he) will certainly have success.
 如果他来，他一定会成功。
 E:127051

(828) [t^hu33 k^hwɔ33 lu33 pi33 dzɔ33] [mɿ33 la33 di33 lə33-tɔ31 pi13 ho33.]
 this CLS till COND.PRED heaven and earth ACCOMP-turn over FUT
 这 量词 耕 的话 天 和 地 翻转
 If this piece of land is tilled, heaven and earth will switch places.
 如果这块儿地耕种的话，天和地会翻转。
 T:Tsodeluyizo.26

16.1.11.7 Negative conditionals

Negative conditionals are those which describe the ensuing results if a condition is not met, i.e., ‘If not A, then B’ or ‘Unless A, then B.’ In Na, the present, habitual / generic, past, hypothetical, counterfactive, and predictive conditionals have negative counterparts; these have the same structure as the non-negative conditionals, but have negative marking in the protasis.

The negative marking typically takes the form of a negative-marked copula following the main verb of the protasis, and preceding the conditional marker in negative irrealis conditionals. However, sometimes the main verb itself receives the negative marking rather than being followed by a negative-marked copula, i.e., in (824) above, where dzɔ33 EXIST takes the negative marking; in (819) above, where the verb lu13 ‘be enough’ takes the negative marking; in (820) above, where the verb zɔ33 ‘hit’ takes the negative marking; in (832) below, where ki33 ‘give’ takes the negative marking; and in (833) below, where yī33 ‘make’ takes the negative marking. Use of a negative-marked copula versus a negative-marked main verb does not correlate with whether the conditional is realis versus irrealis, nor does it correlate with type of conditional.

Rather, Na has both conditionals where the main verb takes negative marking, where the semantics are compositional ('if not...'), and true negative conditionals, where the semantics are non-compositional and a reading of 'unless...' is received. 'Unless' conditionals differ from 'if not' conditionals in that an 'unless' conditional gives the reading that the speaker thinks the condition specified in the protasis is unlikely to actually occur, while in 'if not' conditionals, the speaker is not evaluating either way the likelihood of the condition given in the protasis actually occurring (Thompson et al. 2007:261).

For example, in (829), the speaker uses NEG-COP 'unless' rather than NEG-V because he regards it as unlikely that the listener will be able to wait nine years for the log to magically turn into a wife. In (830), the speaker knows that the addressees will not be able to plant the seeds in a warm place, as the Na live in a mountainous region with a very short growing season. In (831), by definition, most people are not extraordinary, so one uses 'unless' because the condition 'the person is very extraordinary' is unlikely to obtain. In (826), there is less context to make the use of 'unless' explicit, but its use here indicates that the speaker thinks that it would be unlikely for someone to store things in a home's south room (through the true negative conditional marking) and that things are not, in fact, stored in the south room (through the counterfactive marking). In contrast, in (824), which is a counterfactive conditional and has negative marking, but is not a true negative conditional, the condition in the protasis is not satisfied (the counterfactive marking), but the speaker has not made any judgement as to whether the condition in the protasis will be satisfied (there is no true negative conditional marking). This seems paradoxical, but I think the speaker uses 'if not...' rather than 'unless' because he does not want to judge the likelihood of whether or not someone building a house would have silver and gold, but uses a counterfactive to indicate that when he was building his house, he did have silver and gold, i.e., "If one didn't have silver and gold (but I did)..."

In examples where there is negative marking, but no true negative conditional, there is no indication from the discourse contexts as to the likelihood of the condition in the protasis being satisfied. In (832), the speaker is discussing the process of naming a baby; as any Na woman might have a child, he is not giving a judgement as to the likelihood of any one of thousands of women not giving a child the correct name, and thus uses an ‘if not’ construction rather than an ‘unless’ construction. Similarly, in (833), as the speaker is making a general statement about the consequences of not working, he does not indicate whether he thinks it likely that people will not work, so he uses an ‘if not’ conditional rather than an ‘unless’ conditional.

The structure of both ‘if not’ and ‘unless’ conditionals is the same as their non-negative counterparts, with the addition of negative marking on the verb head in ‘if not’ conditionals and neg-cop ‘unless’ following the verb head in ‘unless’ conditionals. Realis ‘if not’ and ‘unless’ conditionals do not employ a conditional marker, as can be seen in (819), (820), (829), and (831), while hypothetical (832), counterfactive (824) and (826), and predictive (833) ‘if not’ and ‘unless’ conditionals use the same conditional markers as their non-negative counterparts.

- (829) [gy33 k^hu13 ku33 mə33-ni33] [lə33-ba33 t^ha33 h533.]
 nine year EXIST.T unless ACCOMP-open PROH go.IMP
 九 年 有 扒开 不 去

Unless nine years have passed, don't open (it) up.
 没有九年（的话），不要把开。
 T:Tso deluyizo.50

- (830) [[zɯ33-di33 tu33 mə33-ni33] [nɔ33 wɤ33-di33 tu33
 warm-NOM_{Loc} plant unless 2SG.PRO mountain-NOM_{Loc} plant
 热-地 播种 你 山-地 播种

(The heavens) said, “Unless (you) plant (them) (in) a warm place, don't plant
 说，除了热的地方以外，高山的
 地方，
 T:Tso deluyizo.254

t^hɑ33 h533] pi33.]
 PROH go.IMP QUOT
 不 去 说
 (them) in the mountains.”
 你不可以种。

- (831) t^hi13 du33 tɕ^hæ13 gi33 du33 tɕ^hæ13 [nɔ33 ɲɑ33 ki33
 so one generation following one generation 2SG.PRO 1SG.PRO DAT
 所以 一 代 后面 一 代 你 我
 So, from generation to generation, you teach me, (I teach you),
 所以一代一代的你教我，我教你，
 T:Muphadaba.29

lɑ33-sɔ33] [nu31 mi13 kwɔ33 ɕu33 du33 dzɔ31] [yiban (loan) du33 wu33
 ACCOMP-teach heart LOC think but usually one CLS
 教 心 里 想 但是 一般 一 个
 (we) think (it) is in our hearts, however, unless the person is very extraordinary,
 全部记在心里边除了个别一个一个以外

du33 wu33 mɑ33-ni33] [dzɤ13 mɑ33-wɔ33.]
 one CLS unless good NEG-able
 一 个 好 不-能够
 (one) can't (learn) (it) well.
 学好的很少。

- (832) [mɤ33 t^hwu33 k^hwɤ33 t^hwu33 mɑ33-ki33 pi33] [dzi33-q^hy33 lɑ33
 name this CLS 3SG.PRO NEG-give COND.HYP spring goddess and
 名字 这 他 不-给 水井 和
 If (one) doesn't give the (correct) name (to) him/her, the spring goddess and
 如果名字不给他的话，水井神和
 T:Muphadaba.33

zu31 tɕɛ13 lɑ33 t^hæ13 q^hwɤ31 yī13 ku13.]
 mountain god and such destroy FUT
 山神 和 那些 迫害
 the mountain god and such will destroy (the child).
 山神和那些会迫害他。

- (833) lɔ31-k^hwɤ33 lɔ33-dzɤ13 zɔ33 lɔ31 mɑ33-yī33 pi33 dzɔ33
 hand, skill ACCOMP-good CRS labor NEG-make COND.PRED
 手, 技术 好 了 劳 不-做 的话
 If (one's) skill has become good (but) (one) doesn't work,
 技术好了，如果不劳动的话，
 T:Tsoyeluyizo.40

ha33 lə33-ni33 di33 dʒə33 ma33-ku13.
 food ACCOMP-be full TOP NEG-FUT
 饭 饱 的 不会

(one) won't eat to the point of being full.

饭吃饱的时候不会有。

16.2 Relative clauses (with nominalization, relativization and possession)

16.2.1 Nominalization, relativization, and possession

The relationship between nominalization, relativization, and possession in Tibeto-Burman languages has been much discussed (i.e., Matisoff 1972, DeLancey 1986, Noonan 1997, Bickel 1999, Lahaussois 2003). Table 16.x presents an overview of the markers for nominalization, relativization, non-relative attributives, the associative, and possession in Na.

hi33	di33	bu33
NOM: VP + -hi33 => N	NOM: VP + -di33 => N	
	REL	
	NON-RELATIVE ATTRIBUTIVE	NON-RELATIVE ATTRIBUTIVE
		ASSOC
		POSS

Table 16.3 Overview of nominalizer and relativizer markers

16.2.2 NOMINALIZATION WITH -hi33

There are two nominalizers, -hi33 and -di33. -hi33 NOM has been grammaticalized from hi33 'person' (see §8.1.4.4). In example (834), one can see that $sv + -hi33 \Rightarrow N$. In examples (835), (836), and (837), $vp + -hi33 \Rightarrow N$. -hi33 can be used to form two types of nominalizations: the general nominal (examples (834), (835), (836)) and the agentive nominal, as found in example (837).

- (834) nu55 ɕi31-hĩ33
 beautiful-NOM
 漂亮-的
 beautiful things
 漂亮的
 ET:Tsoḍeluyizo.12
- (835) tv33-di33-hĩ33
 wings-EXIST.P-NOM
 翅膀-有-的
 things with wings,
 有翅膀的
 ET:Tsoḍeluyizo.12
- (836) lə33-ɣu33 du33-hĩ33
 ACCOMP-think-NOM
 想-的
 thoughts
 想的
 ET:Fangzi.63
- (837) lɔ33 yi33-hĩ33
 labor-NOM_{Agt}
 劳动-者
 laborer(s)
 ET:Tsoḍeluyizo.4

The boundary between compound and affix is often unclear when grammaticalization is involved. This is particularly so because in Na, the three usages are present synchronically and are isomorphic. I argue that -hĩ33, when appearing as a general nominalizer and an agentive nominalizer, is a suffix. First, use of hĩ33 by itself always receives a clear reading of ‘person,’ never ‘entity’. Second, suffixation with -hĩ33 is extremely productive. Third, when -hĩ33 acts as a general nominalizer, it receives a clear and consistent translation from Chinese as ‘的,’ the general nominalizer in Chinese.

16.2.3 NOMINALIZATION, RELATIVIZATION, & NON-RELATIVE ATTRIBUTIVES WITH -di33

The lexical noun di33 ‘earth, land, place’ has grammaticalized to become a locative nominalizer (§16.2.3.1), a purposive nominalizer (§16.2.3.2), a relativizer (§16.2.3.3), and a marker of non-relative attributives (§16.2.3.4).

16.2.3.1 -di33 as a locative nominalizer

The second nominalizer, -di33 NOM⁶, has been grammaticalized from di33 ‘earth, land, place’ (see §8.1.4.4). -di33 can be used to form locative (as in example [838]) and purposive (as in example [842]) nominalizations. Agentive and temporal nominalizations are not attested with -di33.

-di33 is becoming semantically bleached through a process of grammaticalization, so that categorizing it as a nominalizing suffix is more accurate than categorizing it as a compounding element. This view is supported by the fact that the process of grammaticalization continues, and -di33 becomes a purposive nominalizer.

- (838) na31-di33
Na-NOM_{Loc}
摩梭-地
Na areas
摩梭地区
ET:Gemu.10

The Na name for the town of Yongning is ɰi33-di33:

- (839) ɰi33-di33
rest-NOM_{Loc}
休息-地
Yongning (lit. ‘rest place’)
永宁
ET:Gemu.1

Example (840) shows that the noun created by suffixation with -di33 -NOM_{Loc} is truly a noun—it must take the classifier k^hwɿ33 ‘section, strip, piece.’

⁶ One could argue instead that -di33 NOM is a borrowing from Mandarin *de* (的) via Yunnanese -- however, it is not clear why the voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop initial (IPA /t/, but represented in *pinyin* with the grapheme *d*) of Mandarin and Yunnanese would become the voiced alveolar stop initial in Na /d/, as Na has a three-way contrast between the voiceless aspirated alveolar stop /t^h/, the voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop /t/, and the voiced alveolar stop /d/. (Other loanwords with an initial voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop initial in Chinese retain the voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop in Na, i.e., *dianshiji* (电视机) [tiē ʂi tɕi] ‘t.v.’)

(840)	[t ^h i13	t ^h u33	gɣ31-gwɣ33	wɔ33	tu33 = a31	dʒɔ33	tʂ ^h u33	tɔ31-di33	du33	k ^h wɣ33
	so	this	altar		before =	CMKN	“chudu”-NOM _{Loc}	one		CLS
	所以	这	神台		前面		“chudu”-地	一		

So, in front of the altar, as everyone knows, a “chudu” place
所以在神台的前面是安装上一个 chudu

T:Fangzi.23

t^hu33-tʂa13.]

DUR-set up

装上

is set up.

的一个地方。

(841)	[[zɯ33-di33	tu33	mə33-ni33]	[nɔ33	wɣ33-di33	tu33
	warm-NOM _{Loc}	plant	unless	2SG.PRO	mountain-NOM _{Loc}	plant
	热-地	播种		你	山-地	播种

(The heavens) said, “Unless (you) plant (them) (in) a warm place,
说, 除了热的地方以外, 高山的, 地方,

T:Tsoyeluyizo.254

t^ha33 h533] pi33.]

PROH go.IMP QUOT

不 去 说

don't plant (them) in the mountains.”

你不可以种。

16.2.3.2 -di33 as a purposive nominalizer

Examples (842), (843), and (844) show -di33 suffixed to various verbs to give purposive nominalizations. Both -di33 -NOM_{Loc} and -di33 -NOM_{Purp} are fairly productive.

(842)	dzi33-di33
	eat-NOM _{Purp}
	吃-的
	things to eat
	吃的
	ET:Muphadaba.12

- (843) my33-di33
 wear-NOM_{Purp}
 穿-的
 things to wear
 穿的
 ET:Change.12
- (844) dzi33-qwæ13-di33 la33 px31 yx13-tsa31 tsa13-di33
 water-ladling-NOM_{Purp} and bread-mix-NOM_{Purp}
 水-舀-的 和 粑粑-搅拌-的
 (implements) for ladling water and mixing bread
 做舀水的和搅拌粑粑的
 ET:Muphadaba.9

16.2.3.3 di33 as a relativizer

di33 can also mark relativization as can be seen in example (845). By contrast, there are no examples in the narrative texts of the first nominalizer, -hi33, marking relativization.

- (845) [tɕæ33 = æ31 ku31 di33] tsɔ33 mi33
 pickled vegetables = PL make REL wooden barrel
 酸菜 = 们 做 木桶
 wooden barrel for making pickled vegetables
 做酸菜的桶
 ET:Tso deluyizo.123
- (846) [wɔ31 bɔ33 ki33 ha33 ki33 di33] tsɔ33-kwɤ33 duu33 lu33
 livestock BEN food give REL kitchen one CLS
 动物 饭 给 灶 一 个
 a kitchen to prepare food for the livestock
 一个给动物煮饭的灶
 ET:Fangzi.17

16.2.3.4 di33 as marking non-relative attributives

-di33 NOM can also be used with a non-relative attributive (term as per Noonan 1997:4). This usage is fairly rare within the narrative texts, with non-relative attributives more commonly being marked with bu33, as will be discussed shortly in §16.2.4.3. In example (847), di33 is used with the postpositional phrase γuu33 bi33 ‘on the skin’ to form γuu33 bi33 di33 tʰa33=ə31 ‘the scripture on the skin.’ Note that this is then embedded within the larger non-relative attributive wə33-ta33 bu33 γuu33 bi33 di33 tʰa33=ə31 ‘the scripture written on the skin before.’ This larger non-relative attributive is formed from ADV + bu33.

- (847) [wə33 ta33 bu33 γuu33 bi33 di33] tʰa33=ə31
 before NRA skin on NRA book
 以前 的 皮子 上 书
 the scriptures (written) on the skin from before
 以前的写在皮子上的经文
 ET:Muphadaba.23

16.2.4 POSSESSIVE, ASSOCIATIVE, & NON-RELATIVE ATTRIBUTIVE WITH bu33

bu33 is the possessive marker, as depicted in example (848), but bu33 is also used for the associative (term as per Li and Thompson 1981:113–114) as shown in example (852) and for non-relative attributives as demonstrated in examples (857) and (858). Nominalizer usage for bu33 is not attested.

16.2.4.1 bu33 as possessive

- (848) [Ga33 ʰa33 tʰuu33 wu33 bu33] a33-mi33
 god this CLS POSS mother
 神 这 量词 的 母亲
 this god’s mother
 这个神的母亲
 ET:Gemu.25

(849) [[nɔ13 bu33] ywæ33 lu31] kwɔ33
 self POSS neck LOC
 自己 的 脖子 里
 around his own neck
 自己脖子上面
 ET:Gemu.43

(850) [mu13 ja33-tæ33-mi33 bu33] a33-mi33
 girl horizontal-eyed woman POSS mother
 女儿 眼睛横的女人 的 母
 the horizontal-eyed woman's mother
 眼睛横的女儿的母亲
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.132

(851) [hɪ33 bu33] wɔ33-hɔ33
 people POSS hair
 人 的 头发
 human hair
 人的头发
 ET:Saozi.6

16.2.4.2 bu33 as associative

The associative is similar to the possessive in that two noun phrases are connected, but the notion of possession in the associative is semantically bleached.

(852) [tʰu33 ga31-ga13 bu33] *shiqing* (loan)
 this help, cooperation ASSOC matter
 这 帮忙, 合作 的 事情
 this cooperative effort
 这个合作的事情
 ET:Saozi.8

(853) [di33-kwɔ33 bu33] mu33-zɔ33
 earth-LOC ASSOC young woman
 地里 的 姑娘
 a mortal young woman
 民间的女孩子
 ET:Gemu.26

(854) [a31-yi33-ʂe33 bu33] hi33
 long, long ago ASSOC people
 很久以前 的 人
 people of long ago
 很久以前的人
 ET:Saozi.1

(855) [[na13 bu33] zu33-tu33] kwɔ33
 Na ASSOC family LOC
 纳 的 家庭 理
 In Na families,
 在纳的家庭里
 ET:Fangzi.1

(856) [zu33-mi33 bu33] tsu33 tæ33
 hearth room ASSOC foundation
 祖屋 的 地基
 the hearth room's foundation
 祖屋的地基
 ET:Fangzi.3

16.2.4.3 bu33 as non-relative attributive marker

In example (857), the non-relative attributive contains the locative expression tɕi33 tʰæ33-kwɔ33 ‘on the ground.’

(857) [tɕi33 tʰæ33-kwɔ33 bu33] [bæ31 bæ13 la33 pʰi33 li31 la33 wu31-dzɛ33 la33.]
 dirt under-LOC NRA flower and butterfly and bird etc
 泥土 下面里 的 花 和 蝴蝶 和 鸟 等等
 Flowers, butterflies, and birds on the ground, and more.
 地下的花和蝴蝶和鸟，等等。
 T:Gemu.7

In example (858), there is the non-relative clause with the locative expression ɕi13 kwɔ33, bu33, and the noun phrase wɔ33 tɔ31 that is embedded within the larger non-relative clause of the adverb zɔ31-nɔ33 + bu33.

- (858) [[[[zɔ31 nɔ33 bu33] ci13] kwɔ33] bu33] wɣ33-tɔ31
 now NRA lake LOC NRA island
 现在 的 湖 的 海岛
 the island in present-day Lugu Hu.
 现在的泸沽湖的海岛
 ET:Gemu.45

16.3 Complement clauses

Complementation in Na involves several different methods of linking the complement taking predicate (hereafter, CTP) with its complement. These methods fall along a continuum, from most subordinate-like to most coordinate-like. The analysis here will follow Noonan's (2007:121–145) taxonomy of twelve major CTPs types: utterance, propositional attitude, pretence, commentative / factive, knowledge and acquisition of knowledge, fearing, desiderative, manipulative, modal, achievement, phasal / aspectual, and immediate perception. In Na, these CTPs can be analyzed into four categories based on the type of complement structure each CTP utilizes.

Type 1 CTPs include utterance and immediate perception CTPs, which take indicative complements. In Na, utterance CTPs can be further subcategorized as to whether speech is direct or indirect, and whether the complement has independent time reference (ITR) or dependent time reference (DTR). Requests, commands, and imperatives have DTR, and thus act somewhat differently than CTPs with ITR complements, as will be shown.

Type 2 is comprised of achievement and some phasal / aspectual predicates. In this category, the CTP and the verb head of its complement appear as a serial verb construction. There appear to be minimally two different types of phasal / aspectual predicates. ‘Finish’ and related CTPs belong here with Type 2 CTPs, but ‘start’ CTPs belong to Type 4b. It is not uncommon for phasal / aspectual CTPs to take different types of complements (Noonan 2007:140).

Type 3 consists solely of pretence predicates. These are scarce within the corpus, and are somewhat periphrastic in nature. Given the paucity of data, the analysis of pretence predicates as forming a separate CTP type is somewhat tentative, and it is possible that future research will allow these to be grouped with one of the other CTP types. However, in the available data, pretence CTPs and their complements belong to two separate clauses which join through parataxis.

The last group (‘Type 4’) consists of CTPs which take an infinitive-like complement. Type 4 CTPs can be distinguished into two subcategories, Type 4a and Type 4b, based upon whether the CTP and its complement are attested with different understood subjects.

Type of CTP	S-like / Non-s-like	Type of Complement	ITR vs. DTR	Truth-value Dependency	Discourse Dependency
Utterance	S-like	Indicative, both?	ITR, DTR		
Immediate perception	S-like	Indicative	DTR		
Propositional attitude	Non s-like	Infinitive-like	ITR	Yes	No (Yes for neg. PA)
Pretence	Non s-like	Parataxis	ITR?		
Commentative / factive	Non s-like	Infinitive-like	ITR?	Yes	Yes
Knowledge and acquisition of knowledge	Non s-like	Infinitive-like	ITR?	No	No
Fearing	Non s-like	Infinitive-like	ITR?	No	No
Desiderative	Non s-like	Infinitive-like	ITR/DTR?	No	No
Manipulative	Non s-like	Infinitive-like	DTR	No	No
Modal	Non s-like	Infinitive-like	DTR	No	No
Achievement	Non s-like	SVC	DTR		
Phasal / aspectual	Non s-like	Infinitive-like – ‘start’ SVC – ‘finish’	DTR	No	No

Table 16.4 Complementation in Na

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4a	Type 4b
Indicative	SVC Subjects of CTP and complement are the same	Parataxis	Infinitive-like Even if the subjects of the CTP and complement are different, the complement V is infinitive-like	Infinitive-like If the subjects of the CTP and complement are the same, the complement V is infinitive-like. Examples where subjects of the CTP and complement are unattested in the corpus.
Utterance Immed. Percep.	Achievement Phasal	Pretence	Manipulative Prop. Attitude	Modal Desiderative Commentative Fearing KAK

Table 16.5 Taxonomy of complement types in Na

16.3.1 Type 1

16.3.1.1 Utterance

Utterance CTPs can be used with either direct speech or indirect speech. When they are used with direct speech, the utterance CTP is extraposed to precede the complement. When utterance CTPs are used with indirect speech, the utterance CTP is not extraposed and appears following the complement, as is consistent with OV word order. In both direct and indirect speech constructions, the complement is sentence-like ('s-like') in that it could stand as a grammatical sentence by itself; thus, this complement type is called indicative. Direct speech and indirect speech constructions also differ in that the agent NP typically is overt in direct speech constructions, while it typically does not appear in indirect speech constructions if it can be understood from the discourse context.

In sentences with utterance CTPs that convey direct speech, the constituent order is SUBJ + CTP + COMPLEMENT, so that the complement, which fills the object argument role and thus should appear in object position, is extraposed to sentence-final position. This is quite striking in Na, which is a strongly verb-final language. Extraposition of s-like object complements is attested in SOV languages such as Persian, Armenian, and Uzbek (Noonan 2007:95), so perhaps it is not surprising that it occurs in Na, which also has SOV order.

Most Na complements are not marked with a complementizer. However, when Na direct speech complements and immediate perception complements are extraposed, they can be marked with the complementizer *dzo33*. This marking is not obligatory and does not correspond with a change in meaning. The complementizer *dzo33* is derived from *dzo33* topic marker. A structure like SUBJ + CTP + TOP + COMPLEMENT receives a reading of, “As for (what) SUBJ said, x” where x is the complement. The morphosyntactic slot for *dzo33* TOP is between the subject/topic and the complement, which has allowed *dzo33* to be reanalyzed from marking a topic to introducing the complement: SUBJ + CTP + COMPL + COMPLEMENT. Example (859) does not use a complementizer to set off the indicative direct speech complement, while (860) and (861) do.

- (859) *tʰi13 sɔ̃33 dʒi33 tsɔ̃33 ti31 ti31 pi33 [ɲa33 bu33 dzo33 ʂu33 ʂu13*
 so Sondzhitsontiti say 1SG.PRO POSS TOP paper
 所以 Sondzhitsontiti 说 我 的 纸
 So Sondzhitsontiti said, “Mine is only (written)
 所以 Sondzhitsontiti 说, 我的只是
 T:Muphadaba.13

ta31 ni33 lə33-dzi33 pe33] [du31-sɔ̃33 pʰi33 tʰɔ̃33 mə33-dzo33.]
 only COP ACCOMP-eat then at all good part NEG-EXIST
 才 是 吃 就 一样 好处 没有
 on paper, (if) (we) ate (it), there wouldn’t be any benefit at all.”
 纸做的, 吃了的话, 一样好处都没有。

- (860) *wɔ̃33 ta33 ɔ̃31-sɻ33 ku31 pi33 dzo33 lu31 dzɻ13 kʰu31 mə55-ku31*
 before 1INC.PRO say COMPL feathers good nest NEG-make
 以前 咱们 说 羽毛 好 窝 不-做
 Before, we said, “(With) good feathers, (one) doesn’t build a nest;
 以前咱们说, “羽毛好, 窝不做,
 T:Tsodeluyizo.37

kʰu31 zu33 zɻ31 mə33-dɔ̃33.
 skill disguise NEG-should
 技术 隐瞒 不-应该
 skill shouldn’t be disguised.”
 好的技术不应该隐瞒起来。”

- (861) zɥu31 mu33 ku33 dzɔ33 ʂ31-sɣ33 ku31 pi33 dzɔ33 dzi33-qʰy33 la33 tʰæ13 ni33.
 Zhimuku TOP IINC.PRO say COMPL spring and such COP
 Zhimuku 咱们 说 水井 和 那些 是
 ...as for ‘Zhimuku,’ we say, “‘spring’ and such.”
 “Zhimuku” 有“水井”和那些的意思。
 ET:Tsodeluyizo.5

If a direct quote is given but the speaker is not overt, the sentence-final pi33 receives a quotative reading. In these cases, because pi33 is an evidential, not an utterance CTP, there no longer is a complement construction.

- (862) gɥ33 kʰu13 ku33 mɔ33-ni33 lə33-ba33 tʰa33 hɔ33 pi33.
 nine year EXIST.T unless ACCOMP-open PROH go.IMP QUOT
 九 年 有 扒开 不 去
 (He) said, “Unless nine years have passed, don’t go open (it) up.”
 说没有九年，你不要去把开。
 T:Tsodeluyizo.53

Sentences with direct speech complements can also appear with the speaker taking agentive marking followed by the direct speech complement. In such cases, there is no verb extraposed to precede the complement, but the agentive marking indicates that a direct speech complement will follow, just as the extraposed utterance CTP or extraposed utterance CTP with topic marker do. A difficulty in these constructions is determining whether the sentence-final pi33 is an utterance CTP or a quotative marker: such constructions could either be analyzed as using the agentive marking colloquially as an utterance CTP and sentence-final pi33 is a quotative marker, or the agentive marking is acting as a complementizer and sentence-final pi33 is the utterance CTP. I suspect that the former analysis is correct because in example (865), my consultant received a clear evidential reading for pi33, which he rendered in Chinese as, “听说” ‘(I) heard.’⁷ Note, however, that the direct speech complements given above in examples (859), (860), and (861), are not marked with the quotative evidential, which always appears sentence-finally, which might be an argument for analyzing the sentence-final pi33 as an utterance CTP rather than as a quotative marker in the agentive-marked direct speech complements.

The agentive marking in (863) is not triggered by a change in speaker, although the agentive in (864) may be.

(863)	mu33	ɲa33-tæ33-mi33	bu33	a33-mi33	nu33	ts ^h u33-ɲi33	dzo33
	girl	horizontal-eyed woman	POSS	mother	AGTV	today	TOP
	女儿	眼睛横的女人	的	母		今天	

The horizontal-eyed woman’s mother said, “Today,
眼睛横的女儿的母亲说, “今天
T:Tsoɖeluyizo.132

⁷ In further discussion with my consultant, he noted the difficulties in rendering evidentiality in Chinese, which does not have evidentiality. He sometimes rendered pi33 QUOT as ‘(I) heard,’ which is actually the translation for tsi13 REP, because he wanted to indicate that there was a functional similarity between the two.

lɔ31	tsi33	zɔ33	gu31-ta33	la33	pi33.
hand	fasten	PERF	above-drop		QUOT
手	拴	了	上面-掉起来		

bind (his) hands (together) (and) drop (him) (from) above.”

把他的手拴起来在上面掉起来”。

(864)	ts ^h ɔ3133	lu33	yi33-zɔ33	nu33	hɔ33	nu31	mi33	ɲa33-tsu33-mi33
	Tsodeluyizo			AGTV	INTERJ	girl		vertical-eyed woman
	Tsodeluyizo				语气词	姑娘		眼睛竖的女人

Tsodeluyizo, (he) said, “Vertical-eyed woman,

Tsodeluyizo, 他说, “眼睛竖的女人,

T:Tsodeluyizo.133

ɑ31	su33	ɣy33	t ^h æ33	ɲa33	mu33	ɲa33	t ^h u33-di31	tsu31	p ^h u13
wait				1SG. PRO	name	1SG. PRO	DUR-EXIST.P	place	
等一下				我	名字	我	有	地方	

wait a minute, I have my name, my place

轻轻的等一下, 我有我的名字, 我的地方

ɲu33	hæ31	ni33	pi33	ni33.
silver	gold	COP	QUOT	CERT.STR
白银	黄金	是		

produces gold and silver.”

生产黄金和白银。”

(865)	zu33-t ^h u13	nɔ33	t ^h i13	zu31	mu33	ku33	t ^h u33	nu33	dzo33	sɣ31	tɕ ^h ɣ31
	separate families		so	Zhimuku			3SG.PRO	AGTV	COMPL	landscape	
	分家		的话	Zhimuku			她			山水	

In splitting families, Zhimuku said, “(I) want for myself

听说分家的话, Zhimuku

T:Tsodeluyizo.9

zu31-kwɔ33	gɣ55	dzɣ13	dzo33...	wɣ33	la33	t ^h æ13	sɣ31	tɕ ^h ɣ31
wherever	side	good	EXIST	mountain	and	such	landscape	
哪里	边	好		山	和	那些	山水	

wherever has the best landscape,... mountains and such,

把山水,

zu31-kwə33	dʒɤ13	dʒə33	nə13	ɲi33	pi33.
wherever	good	TOP	REFL	want	QUOT
哪里	好		自己	要	

wherever has the best landscape,” (they) say.

哪里最好，换成自己的。

In Na, when an utterance CTP takes an indirect speech complement, the utterance CTP is not extraposed as it is when it takes a direct speech complement. The quotative marker is not used with indirect speech complements because quotative evidentials mark information as coming from a direct speech source. In (868), one can see clearly that pi33 is an utterance CTP, not a quotative marker, because it is followed by the perfective marker, while the morphosyntactic slot for the quotative, reported, and inferential evidentials is after the aspectual markers. The speaker in indirect speech constructions typically is not overt, but rather, is understood from the discourse context. Example (866) is an example in which the speaker is overt in an indirect speech construction; there is no extraposition of the complement. Thus, we can see that in Na, complement extraposition is used to indicate direct speech and is not directly related to whether the speaker is overt or not.

(866)	ts ^h ə31	du33	lu33	yi33	zə33	lu33	mə33-hi33	pi33	dʒə31.
	Tsodeluyizo		till	NEG-be	okay	say	then		
	Tsodeluyizo		耕	不-行	说	就			

Tsodeluyizo said that it was untillable.

Tsodeluyizo 说是不能耕种的。

T:Tsodeluyizo.18

Indirect speech complements can have either DTR, as in commands/directives (867) and (868), or ITR (869) and (870). DTR complements are somewhat reduced. There are only several examples in the corpus, but the complement verbs are infinitive-like. The ITR complements are indicative, which can be seen most clearly below in (872).

(867) $\text{\textcircled{sw}\text{æ}33\text{-su}31}$ $\text{da}13$ $\text{bi}33$ $\text{pi}33$ $\text{\textcircled{sw}\text{æ}33\text{-su}31}$ $\text{k}\text{ɔ}33$ $\text{la}33$ $\text{la}31$ (loan).
 (type of tree) cut down go say (type of tree) empty, roomy
 (树的一个种类) 砍 去 说 (树的一个种类) 空

(He) (had) said to go cut down a shwaesi tree, (but) the shwaesi tree was empty.

说去砍 $\text{\textcircled{sw}\text{æ}33\text{-su}31}$ ，可是 $\text{\textcircled{sw}\text{æ}33\text{-su}31}$ 里边是空空的。

T:Tso deluyizo.57

(868) t^hi13 nɔ33 la33 zɔ33 wɔ33 lə33-ti13 pi33 zɔ33
 so then baby tiger head ACCOMP-hit say PERF
 所以才小老虎头打说了

So, then (she) (had) said to hit the baby tiger's head,
 所以，要打小老虎的头上，
 T:Tsoyeluyizo.169

la33 zɔ33 pɔ33 lə33-su13.
 baby tiger take ACCOMP-kill
 小老虎把杀
 kill the baby tiger.
 把小老虎杀掉。

(869) t^hi13 tsɿ33 pi33 nu31 su33, t^hi13 nu31 su33 t^hu33 tsu33 tæ33 kwɔ33
 so be good say after so after this foundation LOC
 所以好说以后所以以后这地基里

So, after (the daba or lama) says (it's) okay, after this (one) builds
 所以，（达巴或者喇嘛）说好了以后才能在这个地基里
 T:Fangzi.5

zɿ33-mi33 t^hu33 lu33 ts^hu13.
 hearth room this CLS build
 祖屋这个修
 the hearth room on this foundation.
 修这个祖屋。

(870) t^hi13 ku33 yi33 pi33 ni33 ku13 æ33 q^hwɿ31 t^hu33 lu33 kwɔ33
 so okay say two CLS copper bowl this CLS LOC
 所以可以说两个铜碗这个里

So (he) said (it) was okay, (and) the two cooked (the daba scriptures) in the copper bowl
 所以说是可以，他们两个把它在铜碗里煮了，
 T:Muphadaba.15

lə33-tɕɿ13 la33-dzi33 tɕi31.
 ACCOMP-cook ACCOMP-eat EXPER
 煮吃过
 (and) (they) had eaten (it).
 吃掉了。

The verb ‘think,’ when it has a reading of ‘consider to be (s.t.),’ is a propositional attitude CTP. However, when it reports someone’s thoughts, it patterns as an utterance CTP in Na. (871) is an example of ‘think’ used as an utterance CTP with a direct speech complement. It takes an indicative complement, and the CTP is extraposed and followed with the complementizer, just as in the examples of direct speech constructions discussed above. The direct speech complement in (871) takes the quotative evidential, even though no speech has occurred; this probably is used to emphasize that the complement contains direct speech because it is a bit counterintuitive to render someone’s thoughts as direct speech. (872) shows ‘think’ with an indirect speech complement; here, ‘think’ receives a reading of ‘wonder,’ which explains why it patterns as an utterance CTP. It takes an indicative complement and no extrapositioning occurs.

(871)	hĩ33	ɣæ33	p ^h æ31-tɕ ^h i33	t ^h u33	wu33	nɔ13	ɕu33 du33	dʒɔ33
	person	wealthy	man	this	CLS	self	think	COMPL
	人	富裕	男人	这	量词	自己	想	

The rich man thought to himself,
 所以那个有钱的男人，他自己想
 T:ɕinami.41

t ^h u33	ni33	zɔ33	t ^h u33	mi31	lɔ33-tu33	lɔ33-pɔ13	bi33	zɔ33
this	fish		this	CLS	ACCOMP-pull	ACCOMP-take	go	CSM
这	鱼		这	量词	拉	拿	去	了

“(I’ll) pull this fish out and bring (it) back,
 把这条鱼拉出来拿回

nɔ13	ɑ33-wɔ33	tɕi33	zɔ33	ɕe33	tɕ ^h i33	pi33.
own	home	put	CSM	meat	sell	QUOT
自己	家	放	了	肉	卖	

put (it in my) own home (and) sell the meat.”
 他自己家去卖鱼肉。

(872)	t ^h i13	t ^h u33	du33	my31-zɔ33	nu55	ɕi31	la33	ɑ31	wu55	hĩ33	dʒɔ33
	so	this	type	girl	beautiful	and	good-looking	person	TOP		
	所以	这	样	姑娘	漂亮	和	好看	人			

So, such a beautiful and good-looking young woman, (he) wondered
 所以他想这样漂亮和好看的姑娘是
 T:Gemu.19

ɑ33-tso33	du33	wu33	ni33	ʂu33 du33.
what	one	CLS	COP	think
什么	一	个	是	想

who she was?
什么人呢?

16.3.1.2 Immediate perception

Immediate perception CTPs pattern like utterance CTPs with direct speech complements. The complements to both are indicative, extraposed, and can be optionally marked with the complementizer *dʒoʒʒ*. The class of immediate perception CTPs consists of sensory verbs such as ‘see,’ ‘hear,’ ‘feel,’ ‘watch,’ ‘imagine,’ and the like which take complements describing what was perceived. The narrative corpus does not include any examples of ‘hear’ as a CTP. This may in part be because Na marks knowledge acquired through auditory means with either the reported or the quotative evidential, so that the resulting sentence has a structure of *CLAUSE + EVIDENTIAL* rather than *CTP + COMPLEMENT*. The examples given here use ‘see’ in the delimitive aspect; it seems likely that the use of the delimitive is simply a stylistic choice in these examples, although it is possible that it may be indicating that the perception is direct rather than otherwise.

Noonan notes that immediate perception CTPs usually have reduced complements because they have DTR as perception occurs at the same as the event in the complement (Noonan 2007:142). He also notes that there are a few exceptional languages in which immediate perception CTPs pattern as knowledge and acquisition of knowledge (hereafter, KAK) CTPs (Noonan 2007:143). However, Na differs from both of these patterns. Immediate perception CTPs take indicative complements, not reduced complements, and they pattern like direct speech utterance CTPs, not KAK CTPs. It may be the case that the immediate perception complements are patterning like direct speech complements because immediate perception, like direct speech, involves direct transmission of knowledge. Direct / visual evidence is formally and functionally unmarked in Na, so these examples in fact do have an evidential value of direct transmission of knowledge.

(873) ta31-ta31 æ̃13 twɿ33 pi33 tɕi33 dʒɔ33 ku31 mu33 gu31-tɕʰwæ33
 just chicken call almost TOP Gemu woke up
 刚刚 鸡 叫 将要 格姆 起来

(When) the rooster was just about to crow, Gemu woke up

刚刚公鸡将要叫的时候格姆醒过来

T:Gemu.36

du33-li33	dʒɔ33	pʰæ31-tɕʰi33	tʰu33	wu33	lɑ33	du33-sɔ33
see.DEL	COMPL	man	this	CLS	etcetera	at all
一看		男人	这	个	等等	一样

(and) saw at once that this man and all of his things

一看这个男和全部东西

tʰu33-mə33-dʒɔ33.

DUR-NEG-EXIST

不-在

were gone.

都不在。

(874) lə33-wɔ13 du33-li33 dʒɔ33 ku31 mu33 tʰu33-ni13 tʰu33-ŋu33 ɕu33 du33
 ACCOMP-turn see.DEL COMPL Gemu this way DUR-cry think
 回 一看 格姆 这样 哭 想

(He) turned (and) saw Gemu crying in this manner, and (he) thought (it) to be

回头一看得时候，看格姆这样的哭他想

T:Gemu.42

dʒɔ33 nu33 gɔ33 zɰwæ13.

COMPL be pitiable INTS

可怜 很

very pitiable.

很可怜。

16.3.2 Type 2

Type 2 is comprised of achievement and some phasal / aspectual predicates. In this category, the CTP and the verb head of its complement appear as an SVC. There appear to be minimally two different types of phasal / aspectual predicates. ‘Finish’ and related CTPs belong here with Type 2 CTPs, but ‘start’ CTPs belong to Type 4b. It is not uncommon for phasal / aspectual CTPs to take different types of complements (Noonan 2007:140).

16.3.2.1 Achievement

Noonan presents a number of achievement CTPs, including ‘manage,’ ‘chance,’ ‘dare,’ ‘remember to,’ ‘happen to,’ ‘get to,’ and negative achievement CTPs ‘try,’ ‘forget to,’ ‘fail,’ and ‘avoid’ (Noonan 2007:139). Many of these are unattested in the Na narrative text corpus, but ^hu₃₃ is used as a general achievement CTP. As a main verb, ^hu₃₃ can yield a variety of meanings: ‘arrive,’ ‘achieve,’ ‘succeed,’ ‘yield,’ ‘obtain,’ ‘until,’ and ‘come out (of the sun).’ It is similar in some respects to Chinese *dao* 到, which means ‘arrive,’ dative (locative and temporal), and in *de dao* 得到, ‘obtain.’ Achievement CTPs occur in serial verb constructions, where an event verb is V₁ and the achievement CTP is V₂. The two verbs do not represent separate subevents, but rather, V₂ indicates that the event in V₁ has been achieved. In this respect, an analysis of a serial verb construction is more appropriate than parataxis.

- (875) q^ha₃₃-ni₁₃ zɔ₃₃ t^hu₃₃ my₃₃-di₃₃ t^hu₃₃ k^hwɿ₃₃ dzɔ₃₃ lɔ₃₃-ts^hu₁₃
how this land this CLS TOP ACCOMP-cut
怎样 了 这 土地 这 量词 砍
(He) thought, “How can (I)
他想怎么样
T:Tsodeluyizo.180

lə33-t ^h u33	yī33	ʂu33 du33.
ACCOMP-succeed	CAUS	think
成功		想

succeed in clearing this piece of land?”
才能把这块土地的树砍好。

- (876) t^hi13 s̄533 d̄zi33 ts̄533 ti31 ti31 t^hu33 wu33 nu33 [ai31 t^hi13 t^hu33 t̄ʂu33
so Sondzhitsontiti this CLS AGTV INTERJ so 3SG.PRO thrive
所以 Sondzhitsontiti 这 个 所以 他 兴旺

So Sondzhitsontiti sighed, “Ai!” (and) said, “(Even though) he won’t come to thrive,
所以 Sondzhitsontiti 叹息了，一下说，即使他不能够兴旺

T: Muphadaba.26

mə33-t ^h u33	pɛ33]	[t ^h u33	q ^h wɔ31-yī13	hī33	mə33-hə33	ze33	æ31]	pi33.
NEG-arrive	then	3SG.PRO	harm	be okay	NEG-FUT	PERF	INTERJ	QUOT
不到	就	他	迫害	可以	不-会	了		

he (also) will not be able to be harmed.”
也不可以去迫害他了。

16.3.2.2 Phasal / aspectual

Phasal / aspectual CTPs are those which indicate the phase or stage of the event predicate, such as its beginning, continuation, or end. Some of these aspectual notions are conveyed through iconic means in Na (see §13.5–13.7) rather than through a plain predicate or aspectual marker. The two main phasal / aspectual CTPs in the Na corpus are *ts^hu33* ‘start’ and *se13* ‘complete, finish.’ These two CTPs pattern differently as to the complement type taken. *ts^hu33* ‘start’ takes a Type 4b complement, and is thus discussed in §16.3.4.2. *se13* ‘complete, finish’ appears as the second verb in a serial verb construction, and indicates that the event designated by the first verb has been completed or finished. Like achievement CTPs, the two verbs do not represent separate subevents, and thus an analysis of a serial verb construction is preferable to an analysis of separate clauses with non-overt nominal arguments joined through asyndesis. Additionally, there seems to be a strong tendency for the Aktionsart marking on the two verbs to synchronize, which may be an indication that they are quite tightly integrated.

A complicating factor in the analysis is that the phasal CTP ‘finish’ appears to be in the process of grammaticalizing from a main verb, which can appear in SVCs to indicate that an event has been completed, into an aspectual marker. In Na, there are a number of similar cases where a given form has both a lexical use and a grammatical use and thus appears to be midway through a process of grammaticalization, so the fact that ‘finish’ is not easily categorizable as solely lexical or grammatical in nature is not unusual. As historical linguists and sociolinguists often point out, language is constantly in change, so from diachronic, synchronic, and typological perspectives, this again is not unusual. However, it seems problematic to count an aspectual marker as a predicate in an analysis of CTPs. Thus, I have included only those examples where ‘finish’ clearly is acting as a predicate in the analysis of CTPs, and excluded those examples where ‘finish’ is either likely or arguably to be acting as an aspectual marker. It is important to note, however, that this decision as to dealing with ‘finish’ has been made, particularly for

typological and comparative work, as many languages in the area show similar patterns of grammaticalization although the lexical sources for a particular marker often differ and the processes of grammaticalization have reached different stages. Additionally, there are a number of examples in which there is significant ambiguity as to whether ‘finish’ is acting as a predicate or an aspectual marker.

(877)	a33-tso33	yi33	zo33	ni33	ʃ31-bu33	lə33-yi33	lə33-sɛ13
	whatever	do	OBL	CERT.STR	REFL.POSS	ACCOMP-do	ACCOMP-complete
	什么	做	需要		自己	做	完成

Whatever (you) need to do, (you) will
需要做什么事情要自己
T:Saozi.12

huu33 dzɔ31.
FUT then
会
do (it) to completion yourself.
把它做完成了。

(878)	wa!	ɲa33	bu33	tʰa33 = ə31	du33-ta13	lə33-dzi33	lə33-sɛ33
	INTERJ	1SG.PRO	POSS	book	all	ACCOMP-eat	ACCOMP-complete
	哇	我	的	书	全部	吃	完

(The daba said), “Wa! My books have all been eaten,
哇! 达巴说, 我的书全部吃掉了,
T:Muphadaba.18

(dzɔ31) ɲa33 qʰa31-ni13 yi33 zo33 ni33 pi33.
1SG.PRO how do should CERT.STR QUOT
我 怎么样 做 应该
what should I do?”
我应该怎么样去做呢?

16.3.3 Type 3

Type 3 CTPs use parataxis to link with the complement. Although parataxis is a fairly common structure used in complementation cross-linguistically, the only category of CTP in Na which makes use of parataxis is pretence predicates. Additionally, there are very few examples of pretence predicates within the corpus; thus, the analysis of pretence predicates as a distinct CTP type is tentative. Nevertheless, this paratactic structure does occur, and must be accounted for in the analysis.

16.3.3.1 Pretence

In the few examples of pretence CTPs in the corpus, the pretence CTP and the predicate of its complement clause are in a paratactic relationship. The two CTP and the complement predicate represent separate events, and thus are better analyzed as belonging to separate clauses which join through parataxis than as verbs within a serial verb construction. This analysis is further supported by my consultant's translation of the structure into Chinese as two separate clauses rather than as a serial verb construction, and by the fact that the complement in (879) takes clause-final quotative marking and the CTP takes clause-final epistemic marking. However, there are very few examples of pretence CTPs in the corpus, and it is possible that this structure represents a stylistic choice on the part of the speaker, and that there may be other structures available for complement constructions using pretence CTPs. This issue requires further research.

- (879) [[zɣ13 mi33 lə33-ʂæ33 lə33-zwæ13 zɔ33] [ŋɣ33 hæ31
road ACCOMP-long ACCOMP-very, strong PERF silver gold
路 长 很, 厉害 了 白银 黄金
“The road was long (and) arduous; it’s not possible to carry silver (and) gold
说路太长, 太远了, 黄金和白银
T:Tsodeluyizo.135
- lə33-pɣ33 pɣ33 pɔ31-yɔ33 ma33-tʰa13] pi33] [qæ13 ni33.]
ACCOMP-carry on one’s back bring NEG-POSSIB QUOT trick CERT.STR
背着 拿来 不-可以 骗
on one’s back (such a long distance),” (he) said (and) tricked (them) (in this way).
背来不了, 这样骗他们。

16.3.4 Type 4

Type 4 CTPs take infinitive-like complements. Infinitive-like complements do not take any sentence-final marking such as aspectual marking or ni33 CERT.STR. The infinitive-like complement predicate may take Aktionsart marking, as this operates at the level of morphological word; causative marking or negation are also possible. A type 4 CTP and its complement predicate belong to the same clause and do not represent separate subevents, so an analysis of parataxis is not appropriate. A type 4 CTP and its complement predicate are not in a cause-and-effect/resultative relationship and the CTP does not have directional semantics, and can be distinguished from a symmetrical serial verb construction in that the CTP has the clause complement as a nominal argument.

Type 4 CTPs can be distinguished into two subcategories, Type 4a and Type 4b, based upon whether the CTP and its complement are attested with different understood subjects. Whether or not a CTP and its complement can have different subjects is a crucial piece of information, because it means that the infinitive-like verb is not being induced by a process of equi-deletion (with the caveat that one really cannot talk about equi-deletion in a language where nominal arguments do not obligatorily appear in some contexts). As Na nominal arguments need not appear if they can be understood from context and there is no agreement marking, in Na one can only look at whether the CTP and its complement can have different understood subjects.

16.3.4.1 Type 4a

Type 4a consists of manipulative and propositional attitude predicates. These all take an infinitive-like verb in their complements even when the understood subjects of the CTP and the complement are clearly different.

16.3.4.1.1 Manipulative

In (880), S of CTP and complement are different, and there is an infinitival complement. In (881), probably the S of CTP and complement are understood to be different, but this is a bit unclear; nevertheless, there is an infinitival complement.

- (880) my33-suu33-ɲa13 tʰæ33 zɥwæ13 tɕɔ33 kwɔ33 ni33 zɔ33 ʂe33
 morning often strong cold LOC fish look for
 早晨 经常 厉害 冷 里 鱼 找

Often at the coldest point of the morning,
 经常早上最冷的时候
 T:Tsodeluyizo.149

pu13	hu33	ni33.
send	go	CERT.STR
派	去	

(they) sent (him) to go look for fish.
 去找鱼。

- (881) tʰæ33 tʰu33-ni13 my31-tɕɔ33 bi33 mæ33-tɕʰwɥ33.
 often this way below go NEG-allow
 经常 这样 下边 去 准

Often in this way (she) did not allow (him) to go below (to earth).
 经常这样不准他去下面。
 T:Gemu.28

16.3.4.1.2 Propositional attitude

Most complements of propositional attitude CTPs take stative verbs in Na. The subjects of the CTP and complement are clearly different in (882).

- (882) [du33-ta13 tʰu33 la31 dzɥ13 tɕɥ33.]
 all 3SG.PRO only be good regard as
 全部 她 才好 算

All (of them) thought her to be the best.
 全部算她最好。
 T:Gemu.11

- (883) *haishi* (loan) t^hu33 bu33 hɔ31 tu13 p^hu33 tʂɿ31 ni33 pa13.
 still 3SG.PRO POSS favor repay consider CERT.STR maybe
 还是 她 的 恩情 报答 算 可能
 (It) still is considered (a way) to repay her favor, maybe.
 还是算是报答她的恩情的吧。
 T: Saozi.29

16.3.4.2 Type 4b

Type 4b consists of modal, desiderative, commentative, fearing, knowledge and acquisition of knowledge predicates, and one type of phasal / aspectual predicate, ‘start.’ These CTPs, like those in Type 4a, take infinitive-like complements. However, for Type 4b CTPs, there are no examples where the understood subjects of the CTP and its complement differ in the naturalistic corpus. Thus, without such examples, we cannot rule out that the infinitive-like verb is occurring because of equi-deletion or counter equi-deletion, and these CTPs are provisionally classified as a distinct subtype pending further research. In the case of modal CTPs, it is semantically incongruous for the CTP and its complement to take different subjects (i.e., * ‘I should he go to Lijiang’ in English). However, for commentative, fearing, and knowledge and acquisition of knowledge CTPs, there is no such semantic restriction.

16.3.4.2.1 Modal

Abilitive

In both examples, S of CTP and complement are the same and there is an infinitival complement.

- (884) t^hu33 du33 ni33 ni31 su31 yɿ33-da13 dzo33 ts^he33 q^ha33 ʈi33
 3SG.PRO everyday yet sew hemp cloth TOP ten several CLS
 她 每一天 织麻布 十 几 丈
 Everyday (when) she sewed hemp cloth, (she) could weave
 她织麻布的时候，每一天能织
 T: Gemu.3

da13	wɔ33.
sew	ABLT
织	能

over a dozen measures.
十几丈。

(885) ci33 ts^hu13 pu13 hu33 pi31-mi33 pɔ13 hu33 du33 ji33 nu33
 tree cut send go axe INSTR go one day EMPH
 树 砍 派 去 斧头 去 一 天

(They) sent (him) to go cut down trees, (so) (he) went with an axe, (but) in one day,
 派去砍树拿着斧头去，
 T:Tsoyeluyizo.179

du33	dzu33	la31	ts ^h u13	wɔ33	ɕ33 tɕ ^h i33	zwæ13	ni33	zɛ33.
one	CLS	only	cut	ABLT	has no hope	INTS	CERT.STR	CSM
一	量词	才	砍	能	没有信心	很		了

(he) was only able to cut down one tree, so (he) felt completely hopeless.
 一天才能够砍掉一棵树，一点信心都没有了。

Ought

(886) du33 ji33 t^hu33-tɕu33 k^hu13 zɔ33-ku13.
 one day DUR-burn CAUS ought
 一 天 燃 应该

It ought to be made to burn all of the time.
 一天都要让这堆火燃着的。
 T:Fangzi.35

Should

(887) t^hu33 mu33 pi33 la31 ɤ31 yi13 pi33 du33 k^hwɤ33 wæ33 zɔ33 ni33.
 start say (sound) QUOT one CLS call should CERT.STR
 开始 说 一 叫 应该

(When) (one) says the start (of the daba scriptures), then (one) should call out “ɤ31 yi13”.
 所以，开始说经文的时候，是应该首先叫一声“ɤ31 yi13”。
 T:Muphadaba.22

(888)	lə33-nu33	lə33-bi33	zɔ33-hɔ33	zɥu33-tu33	yī33	bi33	zɔ33-hɔ33
	ACCOMP-EMPH	ACCOMP-go	should	family	make	go	should
		去	应该	家庭	做	去	应该

(He) should go, (he) should go set up a family,
 去是要回去的, 建立家庭,
 T:Tso deluyizo.248

ni33	nɔ31	tʰi13	æ̃31-tɕi13	pɤ33 tɔ31	mə33-dzɔ33	ni33	mæ33.
CERT.STR	but	so	chick	all	NEG-EXIST	CERT.STR	CERT.M
	但是	所以	小鸡	都	没有		

even though (he) didn't have even a baby chick, oh!
 但是连一只小鸡都没有。

(889)	tʰi13	tʰæ33	tʰu33-kʰu13	zɔ33-hɔ33	ni33	tʰu33-kʰu13	zɔ33-hɔ33	ni33.
	so	often	DUR-light	should	CERT.STR	DUR-light	should	CERT.STR
	所以	经常	点	应该		点	应该	

It should be always lit, it should be lit.
 所以是应该经常点上的, 应该是点上的。
 T:Fangzi.38

Obligative

(890)	tʰi13	la33	bu33	ɲɔ13	tsu13	pɔ31-yɔ33	zɔ33.
	so	tiger	POSS	milk	squeeze	bring	OBL
	所以	老虎	的	奶	挤	拿来	必须

So (he) needed to squeeze out (some) tiger milk and bring (it) back.
 所以必须把老虎的奶挤回来。
 T:Tso deluyizo.161

(891)	pʰæ31-tɕʰi33-mu33-zɔ33 = æ31	ɕ31-bu33	lɔ33-yi33	bi33	mə33-zɔ33.
	men-women = PL	REFL.POSS	labor	go	NEG-OBL
	男-女 = 们	自己	劳动	去	不用

People don't need to go labor (in the fields) themselves.
 T:Change.9

Possibility / ‘may’

(892)	dʒɛ33	du33-ta13	a33-wɔ33	dzu31	zɔ33	ʃɛ33	tʰa13.
	money	all	home	sit	ADVB	find	may
	钱	都	家	坐		找	可以

It's possible to make good money at home.

T:Change.8

(893)	du33-ta13	hɪ33-ɣa33	ʃɛ33	zɔ33	yɪ33	bi33	tʰa13.
	all	hired labor	find	ADVB	do	go	may
	都	雇工	找		作	去	可以

It's possible to do everything (by) finding hired labor.

T:Change.10

16.3.4.2.2 Desiderative

(894)	[zu33-mi33	ʃɛ33	hɔ33]	[ʃwæ33-su33	ʃwæ33-hɪ33	da13.]
	wife	look for	DES	(type of tree)	tall-NOM	cut down
	老婆	找	要	(树的一个种类)	高-的	砍

(If) (he) wants to look for a wife, cut down the tallest shwaesi tree.

要找老婆的话，要砍最高的 ʃwæ33-su31 树。

T:Tsodeluyizo.49

(895)	dʒɛ33	la33	ɬa13 pɣ31	du33	kʰwɣ33	dʒɔ33	a31-yi33	su33 du33.
	money	etc.	more	one	CLS	EXIST	maybe	want
	钱	等	更多	一	点	有	可能	想

Perhaps (he) wanted to have a bit more money.

可能想有更多一点的钱。

T:ɕinami.9

16.3.4.2.3 Phasal / aspectual: ‘start’

(896)	tʰi13	du33-ŋu33-du33-ŋu33	zɰwæ33	qʰwɣ33	bi13	kwɔ33	ɲa33-bæ33
	so	cry.SEM	horse	hoofprint	LOC	tears	
	所以	一哭一哭	马	脚印	里	眼泪	

So, (she) sobbed and sobbed (and) (her) tears

所以哭了又哭眼泪

T:Gemu.40

gu31-ʃu13	ts ^h u33.
fill up	start
装满	来

started to fill the hoofprint.

装满了马的脚印。

(897)	hi33	yæ33	p ^h æ31 tɕ ^h i33	t ^h u33	wu33	t ^h u33	li33	dʒo33
	person	wealthy	man	this	CLS	3SG.PRO	see	TOP
	人	富裕	男人	这	量词	他	看	

The well-to-do man saw him,

这个富裕的男人看他的样子, 他的脸色

T:cinami.34

p ^h æ33-q ^h wæ31	la33	dʒɤ13-hu33-dʒɤ13	ʃɛ33-di31-hu33-ʃɛ33-di31	lə33-ts ^h u33.
face	etc.	better and better	plumper and plumper	ACCOMP-start
脸	和	越来越好	越来越胖	

(his) face and such had started to become increasingly plump.

越来越好, 他越来越来越胖。

16.3.4.2.4 Commentative / factive

(898)	ʃi33-sɤ33	ku31	ɕi33-lu33	t ^h u33	dʒo33	yæ31	kwɔ33	mə33-ni33
	1INC.PRO		paddy	this	TOP	flatland	LOC	NEG-COP
	咱们		水稻	这		平地	里	不是

Our paddy, (if) (it) isn't in the flatlands, in the high mountains and such (places),

我们的这个水稻不是平地的话, 在山高的

T:Tso deluyizo.255

wɤ33-ʃwæ33	wɔ33	la33	t ^h æ13	kwɔ33	tu33	mə33-ya33.
high mountain	on	and	such	LOC	plant	NEG-good
高山	上	和	那些	里	播种	不好

(it) isn't good to plant.

上面是不可以播种的。

16.3.4.2.5 Fearing

(899)	wɔ33-ta33	du33	ni33	du33-sɔ33	mə33-dʒo33	dʒɛ33	mə33-dʒo33	dwæ13.
	before	one	day	at all	NEG-EXIST	money	NEG-EXIST	scared
	以前	一	天	一样	没-有	钱	没-有	怕

Before, (we were) afraid of having nothing, of having no money.

T:Change.11

16.3.4.2.6 Knowledge and acquisition of knowledge

- (900) a33 pa33 tɔ31 dʒɔ33 ʃ31-sɿ33 ku31 hĩ33 pi33 su33 zɔ33 hĩ33 tɕi31 hɔ33
 Apato TOP INC.PRO people humankind people clothes
 Apato 我们 人 人类 人 衣服
 Apato ... (when) we people, humankind, didn't wear clothes,
 Apato 是我们人类不会穿衣服,
 T:Yzt.17

mə33-mu33	lɔ31-yĩ33	mə33-si33,	zɕu33-tu33	yĩ33	mə33-si33
NEG-wear	labor	NEG-understand	family	make	NEG-understand
不-穿	劳动	不-懂	家庭	做	不-懂

didn't know to work, didn't know to set up a family,
 不懂劳动, 不知道建立家庭的时候

- t^hi13 a33 pa33 tɔ31 nu33 lɔ33-sɔ13.
 so Apato AGTV ACCOMP-teach
 所以 Apato 教
 Apato taught us.
 是 Apato 教的。

- (901) t^hi13 ʃ31-sɿ33 ku31 my33-di33 kwɔ33 zɕu33-tu33 t^hu33 a31-hɔ33
 so INC.PRO land LOC family succeed QM-FUT
 所以 咱们 土地 里 家庭 成功 会
 So, (we) (will) test (whether) a family on our land would succeed
 所以, 我们土地里的家庭会不会做成功了,
 T:Tsoyeluyizo.144

mə33-hɔ33	ɕɿ13	ni33	zɛ33.
NEG-FUT	try	CERT.STR	PERF
不-会	试一下		了

or not.
 要试验一下。

Narratives

The texts are glossed in Chinese and English. The Chinese translations of the texts were provided by Geze Dorje, a native speaker of Na who is bilingual in Mandarin. I provided the English translations, and have improved the sentence-by-sentence English translation to more closely match the Na original as my analysis of Na morphosyntax has developed. I have not, however, changed any of the Chinese sentence-by-sentence translation, as the consistency and precision with which Geze Dorje translated the Na into Chinese has often allowed me to check new analyses developed after leaving the field. Additionally, as I am not a native speaker of Chinese, I worry that any attempts on my part to edit the Chinese translations might yield ungrammaticalities in the Chinese.

The texts “Saozi,” “Yongzhutser Daba,” “Tipi Daba,” and “Mupha Daba” have a number of code-switches into Chinese. The code-switches in these texts should not be taken as evidence of language shift, but rather, as evidence of the speakers accommodating the listener(s). The interviews with the dabas were conducted along with Hua’er Zhao, a Chinese photographer and anthropologist who had lived in Hlirudzih periodically for three years, and two Na speakers from Luoshui village, Geze Dorje and Tseren Dorje.

The text “Tsodeluyizo” was recorded with Awu Daba of Wenchuan Village, with myself and Geze Dorje as audience. Some sections of the narrative are in the Daba shamanic register. As this register is not intelligible to non-initiates, I requested Awu Daba to give sentence-by-sentence translations into Na for the parts in the shamanic register. Lexical items in the shamanic register are indicated by grey highlighting of the Na transcription. When possible, glosses are given. However, as this register is rapidly being lost, in some places, Awu Daba could remember the pronunciation of the words, but could not give a word-by-word translation, or was not certain of the meaning of a sentence. In these cases, the space for glossing remains blank, and the word is highlighted in gray. In some cases, probable meanings for some of the lexical items of the shamanic register can be fairly certainly postulated, based on the Na translations and knowledge of Na morphosyntax. However, as the shamanic register has stylistic

elements for poetic effect and probably for ease of memorization, in many cases, the meanings remain obscure. I did my best to search for possible cognates among other Tibeto-Burman languages in Matisoff (2003b), but had extremely limited success. Research into the Daba shamanic register currently needs further work.

NARRATIVE 1 – INTRODUCTION

by Geze Dorje

My name is Geze. My family lives in Luoshui. My family name is Geze. My full name is Geze Dorje. My family has more than ten people. My mother has ten siblings. We have a lot of siblings.

ɲa33	gu31-dzɿ13	hi33	ni33.	ɲa33	a33-wɔ13	lu33-ʂu31	dzu31	ni33.
1SG.PRO	Geze	person	COP	1SG.PRO	family	Luoshui	sit	CERT.STR
我	格则	人	是	我	家	落水	坐	是
I am a Geze (family name).				My family lives (in) Luoshui.				
Intro.1				Intro.2				

ɲa33	a33-wɔ13	gu31-dzɿ13	my33-dzæ33.
1SG.PRO	family	Geze	be named
我	家	格则	名叫
My family is named Geze.			
Intro.3			

ɲa33	gu31-dzɿ13	dɔ33 dʒi33	my33-dzæ33.	ɲa33	ʈ13	a33-wɔ33	hi33
1SG.PRO	Geze	Dorje	be named	1SG.PRO	family	family	person
我	格则		名叫	我	家	家	人
I am named Geze Dorje.				My family			
Intro.4				Intro.5			

ts ^h e33	q ^h a33	ku13	dʒɔ33.	a33-mi33	bu33	a33-mu33-ku33-mi33	ts ^h e33	ku13	dʒɔ33.
ten	many	CLS	EXIST	mother	POSS	sibling	ten	CLS	EXIST
十	多	位	有	母	的	姐妹兄弟	十	位	有
has more than ten people.				My mother has ten siblings.					
				Intro.6					

ɲa33-sɿ33	ku31	a33-mu33-ku33-mi33	ma31	na33	dʒɔ33.
1EXC.PRO		sibling	very many		EXIST
我们		姐妹兄弟	很多		有
We have a lot of siblings.					
Intro.7					

NARRATIVE 2 – CHANGE

by Geze Dorje

Since 1995, it's been roughly ten years; Luoshui now and before, it's really different, not the same. Before, there was nothing in Luoshui; clothes, things to eat, none of these things. Now, there is everything; we have whatever you want to wear; we have whatever you want to eat. Today, we all have electricity, we all have televisions, everything they have in the city, we have it all. These last few years, men don't need to go to the outside world to find work. fixing our buildings to excellent condition, taking good care of guests. One can make good money at home. Men and women don't need to go labor in the fields. People can be invited to do any kind of work. Before, we were afraid of having nothing, of having no money. Scared of having no clothes to wear. Now we aren't scared of anything, we have completely everything. (lit. “food to eat”: life) One could say that in regards to food and other things, it's many, many times better than before.

95	<i>nian</i> (loan)	zɔ31 nɔ33	tʰu31	tʰu33	tsʰe33	kʰu13	ze33	qwæ31-gi33	lu33-ʂu31
95	year	now	until	this	ten	years	CSM	between	Luoshui
		现在	到	这	十	年	了	中间	落水

(From) 1995 until now, it's been ten years; Luoshui

Change.1

wɔ33	ta33	la33	dʒɤ31-kʰwɤ33	du33-bæ33	mə33-tɕɤ33.	wɔ33	ta33	du33	ɲi33
before	and	very much	same	NEG-be okay	before	one	day		
以前	和	很多	一样	不-行	以前	一	天		

(compared with) before is really different.

Before,

Change.2

lu33-ʂu31	du33-sɔ33	mə33-dʒɔ33	tɕi31 hũ33	bi33 mi33-dzi33-ha33 ¹	du33-sɔ33
Luoshui	at all	NEG-EXIST	clothes	stomach-to eat-food	at all
落水	一样	没-有	衣服	肚子-吃-饭	一样

Luoshui had nothing at all; clothes, things to eat, none of

¹ bi33 mi33-dzi33-ha33 is an expression that means ‘things to eat.’

mə33-dzə33.	zə31 nə33	ɑ33-tso33-mə33-ni33	lə33-dzə33	ze33
NEG-EXIST	now	whatever	ACCOMP-EXIST	CSM
没-有	现在	什么	有	了

these things. Now, there is everything;

Change.3

ɑ33-tso33	my33	bi33 ni31 ku13 2	dzə33.	ɑ33-tso33	dzi33	bi33 ni31 ku13	dzə33.
whatever	wear	want	EXIST	whatever	eat	want	EXIST
什么	穿	要	有	什么	吃	要	有

(we) have whatever (you) want to wear. (We) have whatever (you) want to eat.

Change.4

zə31 nə33	dian (loan)	lə33-dzə33	ze33	dianshiji (loan)	lə33-dzə33	ze33
now	electricity	ACCOMP-EXIST	CSM	t.v.	ACCOMP-EXIST	CSM
现在	电	有	了	电视机	有	了

Today, (we all) have electricity, (we all) have televisions,

Change.5

cheng (loan)	kwə33	tʰu33-tɕʰi33	ɑ33-tso33	dzə33	lə33-dzə33	ze33.
city	LOC	3PL.PRO	whatever	EXIST	ACCOMP-EXIST	CSM
成	理	他们	什么	有	有	了

whatever (they) have in the city, (we) have.

tʰu33	qʰɑ33	kʰu13	pʰæ31-tɕʰi33 = æ31	ɑ33-pʰo13	dze33	ʃe33	bi33	mə33-zə33.
this	several	years	men = PL	outside	money	look for	go	NEG-OBL
这	几	年	男人 = 们	外面	钱	找	去	不-需要

These last few years, men don't need to go to the outside world to find work.

Change.6

ʃ31-bu33	zə33 kʰwɔ33	dzɔ31-pɔ33	lə33-gu31	hi33-bæ55	dzɔ31-pɔ33
REFL.POSS	rooms, building	very good	ACCOMP-fix	guest	very good
自己	房子	特别好	修	客人	特别好

(We) fixed our buildings (to) excellent (condition), (and) take very good

Change.7

lə33-wə33 mə33.	dzɛ33	du33-ta13	ɑ33-wə33	dzu31	zə33	ʃe33	tʰɑ13.
ACCOMP-care for	money	all	home	sit	ADVB	find	POSSIB
照管	钱	都	家	坐		找	可以

care of guests. It's possible to make good money at home.

Change.8

p^hæ31-tɕ^hi33-mu31-zɔ33 = æ31 ʃ31-bu33 lɿ33-yi33 bi33 mə33-zɔ33.
 man-young woman = PL REFL.POSS labor go NEG-OBL
 男-姑娘 = 们 自己 劳动 去 不-需要

People don't need to go labor (in the fields) themselves.

Change.9

du33-ta13 hi33-ɣa33 ʃɛ33 zɔ33 yi33 bi33 t^ha13. wɔ33 ta33 du33 ji33
 all hired labor find ADVB do go POSSIB before one day
 都 雇工 找 作 去 可以 以前 一 天

It's possible to do everything (by) finding hired labor.

Before,

Change.10

Change.11

du33-sɔ33 mə33-dzɔ33 dze33 mə33-dzɔ33 dwæ13. tɕi31 hū33 mɿ33-di33
 at all NEG-EXIST money NEG-EXIST scared clothes wear-NOM_{purp}
 一样 没-有 钱 没-有 怕 衣服 穿-的

(we were) afraid of having nothing, of having no money.

Scared of not having clothes,

Change.12

mə33-dzɔ33 dwæ13. zɔ31 nɔ33 du33-sɔ33 mə33-dwæ13 a33-tsɔ33-mə33-ni33
 NEG-EXIST scared now at all NEG-scared whatever
 没-有 怕 现在 一样 不-怕 什么

things to wear. Now (we aren't) scared of anything, (we) have completely

Change.13

lə33-dzɔ33 zɛ33. bi33 mi33-dzi33-ha33 la33 zu31-bæ13 kwɔ33
 ACCOMP-EXIST CSM stomach-to eat-food and such LOC
 有 了 肚子-吃饭 和 那种 里

everything. With regard to life (lit. 'things to eat and such),

Change.14

lə33-zwɿ33 pɛ33 wɔ33 ta33 tɔ31 ts^he33 tɔ31 pi13.
 ACCOMP-say then before COMP ten turn over
 说 就 以前 比 十 翻转

then (it's) many, many times (better) than before.

NARRATIVE 3 – THE LAKE

Narrative and Chinese translation by Geze Dorje

很久很久以前，泸沽湖没有形成的时候，现在海地下的地方，听说全部是一片草坪，土地。很久以前在这块土地里住了很多的摩梭。有很多村镇。听说村镇里，摩梭村里，有一家很富裕的人。家里有很多的金钱，财物所以家里人很富裕。钱，等等有很多。他家这个男人很心很差。可能想有更多一点的钱。听说对他家里帮忙的人特别不好。但是有一个在他家帮忙放猪的小男孩儿。家里人父亲和母亲一样没有。什么都没有，所以就经常帮他家放猪和这些。每一天去放猪阿这些。他家中午和那些一样没给他。饭，那些什么都没给他。吃的只有一点点。经常饭吃不饱。吃不饱的时候，每一天还放猪和这样。饥饿的受不了。有一天放猪的时候全部的猪钻到一个山洞里去。咬了很多的鱼肉拿出来正在吃。所以那个男孩儿跟在后面钻进山洞里头。听说很大的一条鱼卡住在山洞里。正在卡住山洞里面。所以用刀子割鱼肉一片拿出来。外面烧了吃。第二天又去放猪，那一条鱼在山洞里。他再割掉的地方又重新长起来了。长的跟以前的一某一样。割掉的痕迹一点没有。从此以后，他就经常去放猪，每天烧鱼吃。饭，等等什么都没有给他，但是每一天都吃的，崔把有很多油回来。这个富裕的男人看他的样子。他的脸色越来越好，他越来越来越胖。所以，他想，“怎么了？”在第二天的时候悄悄的后面跟着他去看。有一条鱼卡在山洞里头；这个小孩儿正在烧鱼肉吃。然后问了一下。头一天割了吃掉；后面一天，有长起来和头一天的一某一样。所以赶快跑了回去回家。所以那个有钱的男人，他自己想把这条鱼拉出来拿回他自己家去卖鱼肉。如果他每天割鱼肉卖给别人，他自己就会有几代人就吃不完财富。想要自己不知道数量的钱。所以就回家了赶了几对牛，九对公牛，用绳子拴在鱼的身上想把它拉回自己的家。从早晨一直拉到下午才把这条鱼拉到外面来。拉到外面的时候，鱼的后面拉到外面的时候这条鱼是拉出来了。但是，洪水从鱼的后面爆发出来。所以，很快就牛，人，全部被洪水淹没。所以在这个时间里头，下午一点的时候，村里的人全部正在喂猪。所以这个老大妈，一家老大妈，正在喂猪的时候，洪水来了。洪水越来越大。所以

一会儿，这个猪槽，就是喂猪的猪槽，那个猪槽正在水的上面漂起来。逃跑的地方没有，所以很快抓了两个小孩儿，让他们坐在猪槽里面。所以这两个小孩儿跟着猪槽一直漂到水边的落水来了。所以以后就所有的人在水里死亡了。只生下这两个小孩儿。所以这两个后来在落水，这块地方，修了房子。所以用猪槽来做船，在水里面行走。这两个小孩儿算落水和摩梭的祖先。所以是这样的了。

Long, long ago, when Lu Gu Hu had not yet formed, underneath where the lake now is it is said that everything was a field of grass, earth. Long ago on this land many Na lived. There were many villages. It is said that in a village, a Na village, there was a very well-to-do family. The family had lots of money and belongings. So, the family was very well-to-do. They had a lot of money and such. The man of the family was base. Perhaps he wanted a bit more money. It is said that he was especially bad to the help.

But there was one young boy helping the family raise pigs. He had neither a father nor a mother. He had nothing at all, so he often helped the man's family feed the pigs and such. Everyday he went to feed the pigs and such. The family didn't give him lunch and such. They didn't give him any rice and such. They only gave him a tiny bit to eat. Often, he didn't get enough to eat. When he didn't get enough to eat, every day he still fed the pigs and such. He was so starved he couldn't stand it.

One day, while feeding the pigs, all of the pigs went into a cave. They ate a lot of fish. They brought it out and were eating it. So the boy followed behind entering the cave. It is said that there was a huge fish stuck in the cave, just stuck in the cave. So, using a knife, he cut off a slice of fish and brought it out. Once outside, he roasted it and ate it. The next day, he went to feed the pigs again. The fish was in the cave. The part of the fish that he had sliced off had grown back. It had grown back so that it was exactly the same as before. There was no trace at all of a cut.

From then on, he often went to feed the pigs and roasted fish to eat every day. They hadn't given him rice or anything to eat, but every day he ate until he came back with lots of oil around his mouth. The well-to-do man saw this. The boy had more color in his face, and he grew increasingly plump. So, he thought, "What is going on?" So, the

next day, he stealthily followed the boy to have a look. There was a fish caught in the cave; the boy was roasting the fish to eat. Then, he caught a whiff. The next day he cut off a slice and ate it. The next day, again it grew back exactly like the first day. So, he quickly ran back home.

So this rich man, he wanted to take this fish back himself, take it back to his own home to sell. If everyday he cut off fishmeat to sell to others, he himself could have more wealth than several generations could eat. He wanted to have more money than he could imagine. So he went home and harnessed nine pairs of oxen, with ropes to fasten the fish, planning to take the fish back to his home. He pulled it from morning to afternoon, until he pulled the fish outside. When he pulled the fish outside, when he pulled the back of the fish outside, the fish was completely brought out.

However, from behind the fish, flood water came bursting out. So, very quickly, the oxen, people, everything was submerged by the flood water. So at this time, at one p.m. in the afternoon, in the village, everyone was feeding the pigs. So one grandmother, the grandmother of one family, was feeding the pigs when the flooding started. The flood water was rising. So after a while, this pig trough, that is, a trough for feeding pigs, that pig trough floated up on the water. There was no place to escape to, so she quickly grabbed the two children and put them in the pig trough. So these two children in the pig trough escaped to the shores of Luoshui. So, afterwards, all the people drowned. Only these two children survived. So, these two children afterwards built a house on this land. So, by using a pig trough as a boat, they were able to cross the water. These two children are regarded as the ancestors of Luoshui and the Na. So it was like this.

a31 yi33 ʂe33 a31 yi33 ʂe33 dzɔ33 lu33-ʂu31 ɕi31-na31-mi33 mɔ33-tʂɿ33
 long, long ago long, long ago TOP Luoshui lake NEG-become
 很久以前 很久以前 落水 湖 没-变成
 Long, long ago, when Lugu Lake had not yet formed,
 很久很久以前, 泸沽湖没有形成的时候
 ɕinami.1

su31 tɔ31 mɔ33-dzɔ33 su33 tɔ31 ɕi13 tʰæ33-kwɔ33 dzɔ33
 yet at the time NEG-EXIST yet at the time lake underneath TOP
 还 时候 没-有 还 时候 海 下面里
 did not yet exist... Underneath the lake,
 现在海地下
 ɕinami.2

kʰɔ33 pʰy33 du33 pʰæ13 du33-ta13 dzɔ33 my33-di33 ni33 tsi13.
 grassland one CLS all TOP land COP REP
 草坪, 荒地 一 片 全部 土地 是
 it is said everything was a field of grass, earth.
 的地方, 听说全部是一片草坪, 土地。

tʰu33 my33-di33 kwɔ33 a31 yi33 ʂe33 na13 dzæ33-pi13 tʰu33-dzu31 dzɔ33.
 this land LOC long, long ago Na lots DUR-sit EXIST
 这 土地 里 很久以前 摩梭 很多 坐 有
 On this land, long, long ago, many Na lived.
 很久以前在这块土地里住了很多的摩梭。
 ɕinami.3

hɪ33-wɿ33 la33 dzæ33-pi13 tʰu33-di31. hɪ33-wɿ33 kwɔ33 na13 wɿ33 kwɔ33
 village etc. lots DUR-EXIST.P village LOC Na village LOC
 村镇 等等 很多 有 村镇 里 摩梭 村镇 里
 There were many villages. It is said (that) in a village, in a Na village,
 有很多村镇。 听说村镇里, 摩梭村里,
 ɕinami.4 ɕinami.5

hɪ33 yæ33 zɰwæ13 du33 zu33 dzɔ33 tsi13.
 person wealthy INTS one family EXIST REP
 人 富裕 很 一 家 有
 there was a very well-to-do family.
 有一家很富裕的人。

a33-wɔ33 dzɛ33-wɔ33 la33 dzæ33-pi13 dzɔ33. a33-wɔ33 hĩ33 ɣæ33 zɰwæ13.
 family wealth etc. lots EXIST family person wealthy INTS
 家里 财富 等等 很多 有 家里 人 富裕 很
 The family had lots of money, etc. The family was very well-to-do.
 家里有很多的钱，财物。 所以家里人很富裕。
 ɕinami.6

dzɛ33 la33 qʰa33-ɣɔ13 dzɔ33. tʰu33 ə13 pʰæ31-tɕʰi33 tʰu33 wu33
 money etc. lots EXIST 3SG.PRO family man this CLS
 钱 等等 很多 有 他 家 男人 这 量词
 (They) had a lot of money and such. The man of the family's heart
 钱，等等有很多。 他家这个男人人心
 ɕinami.7 ɕinami.8

nu31 mi13 dza33 zɰwæ13. dzɛ33 la33 ʎa31 pɔ31 du33 kʰwɔ33 dzɔ33 a31-yi33
 heart base INTS money etc. excess one CLS EXIST maybe
 心 差 很 钱 等等 超过 一 量词 有 也许
 was very base. Perhaps (he) wanted to have a bit more money.
 很差。 可能想有更多一点的钱。
 ɕinami.9

ʂu33 du33. tʰu33 = ə13 ɕa31-ɕa13 tʰu33-tɕʰi33 tɔ31 wɔ33-yĩ33 zɰwæ13 tsi13.
 want 3SG.PRO family help 3PL.PRO PAT be hard on INTS REP
 想 他 家 帮忙 他们 做坚硬 很
 It is said (that) (he) was very hard on those helping his family.
 听说对他家里帮忙的人特别不好。
 ɕinami.10

tʰu33 = ə13 ɕa31-ɕa13 bɔ31-lu13 zɔ33-hɔ33 du33 lu33 dzɔ33 dzɔ31.
 3SG. PRO family help pig-feed little boy one CLS EXIST but
 他 家 帮忙 猪-放 小男孩 一 个 有 但是
 But there was one young boy helping his family to raise pigs.
 但是有一个在他家帮忙放猪的小男孩儿。
 ɕinami.11

a33-wɔ33 hĩ33 a33-da33-a33-mi33 la33 du33-sɔ33 mɔ33-dzɔ33.
 family people parents etc. at all NEG-EXIST
 家里 人 父母 等等 一样 没有
 (His) family didn't have parents at all.
 家里人父亲和母亲一样没有。
 ɕinami.12

du33-sɔ33	mə33-dzɔ33	dzɔ31	tʰa33	tʰu33	ə13	ga13	bɔ31-lu13	la33	tʰa13
at all	NEG-EXIST	so	often	3SG.PRO	family	help	pig-feed	and	such
一样	没有		经常	他	家	帮忙	猪-放	和	那些

(He) had nothing at all, so (he) often helped his family feed the pigs

什么都没有，所以就经常帮他家放猪

çinami.13

ga13.	tʰu33 ni33 ni31	bɔ31-lu13	la33	tʰu33-ni13	hu33	dzɔ31.	tʰu33	ə13
help	everyday	pig-feed	and	this way	go	but	3SG.PRO	family
帮忙	每一天	猪-放	和	这样	去	但是	他	家
and such.	Everyday (he) went to feed the pigs and such.							The family
和这些。	每一天去放猪阿这些。							他家
	çinami.14							çinami.15

zɔ13	la33	tʰa13	du33-sɔ33	tʰu33	mə33-ki33.	ha33	la33	du33-sɔ33
lunch	and	such	at all	3SG.PRO	NEG-give	food	etc.	at all
中午饭	和	那些	一样	他	没-给	饭	等等	一样
didn't give him any lunch and such.						(They) didn't give him		
中午和那些一样没给他。						饭，那些什么都		
						çinami.16		

tʰu33	mə33-ki33	dzɔ31.	dzi33-di33	du33-hu33	ta31	dzɔ33.
3SG.PRO	NEG-give	but	eat-NOM _{PURP}	a little	only	EXIST
他	没-给	但是	吃-的	一点点	才	有
any food and such.			There was only a tiny bit to eat.			
没给他。			吃的只有一点点。			
			çinami.17			

tʰa33	ha33	lə33-dzi33	mə33-ni33.	lə33-dzi33	mə33-ni33	dzɔ33
often	food	ACCOMP-eat	NEG-full	ACCOMP-eat	NEG-full	TOP
经常	饭	吃	不-饱	吃	不-饱	
Often, (he) didn't get enough to eat.				(When) (he) didn't get enough to eat,		
经常饭吃不饱。				吃不饱的时候，		
çinami.18				çinami.19		

tʰu33 ni33 ni31	bɔ31-lu13	la33	tʰu33-ni13	dzɔ31.	ha33-zwɣ33	zɔ33
everyday	pig-feed	and	this way		food-starve	ADVB
每一天	猪-放	和	这样	的时候	饭-饿	
every day (he) (still) fed the pigs and such.					(He) was (so) starved	
每一天还放猪和这样。					饥饿的	
					çinami.20	

ni33 zɔ33-ʂɛ33 du33 pʰæ13 hǎi13 lə33-pɔ31-tshu33. a33-pʰɔ13 lə33-bu33
 fish meat one CLS cut ACCOMP-bring outside ACCOMP-roast
 鱼肉 一 片 割 拿来 外面 烧
 (he) cut off a slice of fish (and) brought (it) out. (Once) outside, (he) roasted (it)
 割鱼肉一片拿出来。 外面烧了
 çinami.27

lə33-dzi33. tʰu33 gi13 du33 ni33 wɣ13 bɔ31-lu13 hu33 dʒɔ33
 ACCOMP-eat this after one day again pig-feed go TOP
 吃 这 后来 一 天 又 猪-放 去
 (and) ate (it). The next day, (he) goes to feed the pigs again,
 吃。 第二天又去放猪,
 çinami.28

ni33 zɔ33 du33 mi31 æ31-qʰɣ33 kwɔ33 wɣ13 tʰu33-dʒɔ33. tʰu33 wɔ33 ta33
 fish one CLS cave LOC again DUR-EXIST 3SG. PRO before
 鱼 一 量词 山洞 里 又 有 他 以前
 (and) the fish was again in the cave. In (the place which)
 那一条鱼在山洞里。 他再
 çinami.29

du33 ni33 nɔ33 lə33-hæ13 kwɔ33 ʂɛ33 wɣ13 lə33-wɔ13
 one day just ACCOMP-cut LOC meat again ACCOMP-return
 一 天 才 割 里 肉 又 重新
 he had sliced off just the day before, (fish) meat had grown
 割掉的地方又重新

lə33-gwɣ13 zɛ33. du33-ta13 lə33-zi13 zɔ33 tɔ33 bu55 du33 ni33 la33
 ACCOMP-grow CSM all ACCOMP-grow ADVB next one day and
 长 了 全部 生长 的 头 一 天 和
 back again. (It) all had grown back (so that) (it) seemed exactly the same as
 长起来了。 长的跟以前的
 çinami.30

tʰa33 ni31 ni31 ku33. hǎi13 zɣ31 la33 du33-sɔ33 tʰu33-mə33-di31.
 exactly the same seem cut trace etcetera at all DUR-NEG-EXIST.P
 一某一样 象 割 痕迹 等等 一样 没有
 the day before. There was no trace at all of a cut.
 一某一样。 割掉的痕迹一点没有。
 çinami.31

t ^h i13	t ^h u33	gi13	t ^h a33	bɔ31-lu13	hu33	la31	t ^h u33	ɲi33	ni31	ni33	zɔ33	hæ13
so	this	after	often	pig-feed	go	then	everyday		fish		cut	
所以	这	后来	经常	猪-放	去	就	每一天		鱼		割	

So after this, (he) often went to feed the pigs, (and) then everyday (he) sliced off (a piece of)
 从此以后，他就经常去放猪，每天

ɕinami.32

lə33-bu33	lə33-dzi33.	ha33	la33	du33-sɔ33	t ^h u33	mə33-ki33
ACCOMP-roasted	ACCOMP-eat	rice, food	etcetera	at all	3SG.PRO	NEG-give
烧	吃	饭	等等	一样	他	没-给

fish, roasted (it), (and) ate (it). (They) didn't give him any food or such,
 烧鱼吃。饭，等等什么都没有给他，

ɕinami.33

dʒɔ31	t ^h u33	ɲi33	ni31	tɔ33	mɤ33	ɲi33	ni33	lə33-ts ^h u33.	hi33	ɣæ33
but	every day		mouth	oil	stain	ACCOMP-come	person	wealthy		
但是	每一天		嘴巴	油	沾	来	人	富裕		

but every day (he) came back (with) (his) mouth stained (with) oil.

但是每天都吃的，嘴巴有很多油回来。

The well-to-do

这个富裕的

ɕinami.34

p ^h æ31-tɕ ^h i33	t ^h u33	wu33	t ^h u33	li33	dʒɔ33	p ^h æ33-q ^h wæ31	la33	dʒɤ31-hu33-dʒɤ31
man	this	CLS	3SG.PRO	see	TOP	face	etc.	better and better
男人	这	量词	他	看		脸	等等	越来越好

man saw him, (his) face and such had
 男人看他的样子。他的脸色越来越好，

ʂɛ33-di31-hu33-ʂɛ33-di31	lə33-ts ^h u33.	t ^h i13	du33-hu33	ɑ33-ts ^h e33	zɛ33	ʂu33	du33.
plumper and plumper	ACCOMP-start	so	a little	how	CRS	think	
越来越胖	来	所以	一点	怎么	了	想	

started to become increasingly plump.

他越来越来越胖。

So, (he) wondered a bit what was going on.

所以，他想，“怎么了？”

ɕinami.35

t ^h u33	gi13	t ^h u33	ɲi33	dʒɔ33	na33-na33	zɔ33	gi13	t ^h u33	tɕ ^h ɔ31	zɔ33
this	after	this	day	TOP	stealthily	ADVB	after	3SG.PRO	follow	
这	后来	这	天		悄悄	的	后来		跟着	了

So, the next day, he stealthily followed the boy

在第二天的时候悄悄的后面跟着他

ɕinami.36

li33 hu33 dzɔ33. æ31-q^hɣ33 kwɔ33 ni33 zɔ33 du33 mi31 t^hu33-æ31 dzɔ33
 see go PROG cave LOC fish one CLS DUR-stick EXIST
 看 去 正在 山洞 里 鱼 一 量词 卡住 有
 to go see. There was a fish caught in the cave;
 去看。 有一条鱼卡在山洞里头;
 çinami.37

zɔ31-hɔ33 t^hu33 lu33 ʂɛ33 hæ13 zɔ33 t^hu33-bu33 dzɔ33.
 little boy this CLS meat cut PERF DUR-roast PROG
 小男孩子 这 个 肉 割 了 烧 正在
 the boy had sliced off meat (and) was roasting (it).
 这个小孩儿正在烧鱼肉吃。

t^hi13 du33-mɔ31 tɔ33 dzɔ33. tɔ31 bu33 t^hu33 ni33 lə33-hæ13 lə33-dzi33
 so ask.DEL PROG next this day ACCOMP-cut ACCOMP-eat
 所以 问一下 正在 头 这 天 割 吃
 So, he was asking about it. The next day (he) cut off (a slice) and ate (it),
 然后问了一下。 头一天割了吃掉;
 çinami.38 çinami.39

dzɔ31 t^hu33 gi13 t^hu33 ni33 ʂɛ33 wɣ13 lə33-wɔ13 lə33-gwɣ13
 but this after this day meat again ACCOMP-return ACCOMP-grow back
 但是 这 后来 这 天 肉 又 重新 长
 but the following day, again the meat grew back
 后面一天，有长起来和

zɔ33 tɔ31 bu33 t^hu33 ni33 la33 t^hu33 ni33 ni31 ku33. t^hi13 hu33 li31 lə33-bæ13
 ADVB next this day and exactly the same seem so quickly ACCOMP-run
 的 头 这 天 和 一某一样 象 所以 赶快 跑
 exactly like the first day. So, (he) quickly
 头一天的一某一样。 所以赶快
 çinami.40

lə33-hu33 zɔ33. hī33 ɣæ33 p^hæ31-t^hi33 t^hu33 wu33 nɔ13
 ACCOMP-go CSM person wealthy man this CLS self
 去 人 富裕 男人 这 量词 自己
 ran (back home). The rich man
 跑了回去回家。 所以那个有钱的男人,
 çinami.41

ʂu33 du33 dzɔ33 t^hu33 ni33 zɔ33 t^hu33 mi31 lə33-tu33 lə33-pɔ13 bi33 zɔ33
 think COMPL this fish this CLS ACCOMP-pull ACCOMP-take go CSM
 想 这 鱼 这 量词 拉 拿 去 了
 thought to himself, "(I'll) pull this fish out and bring (it) back,
 他自己想把这条鱼拉出来拿回

nɔ13 a33-wɔ33 tɕi33 zɔ33 ʂe33 tɕʰi33 pi33. tʰu33 ɲi33 ni31 ni33 zɔ33 ʂe33 tɕʰi33
 own home put CSM meat sell QUOT everyday fish meat sell
 自己家放了肉卖 每一天 鱼肉 卖
 put (it in my) own home (and) sell the meat.” (If) everyday (he) sold fish meat,
 他自己家去卖鱼肉。 如果他每天
 ɕinami.42

ni33 zɔ33-ʂe33 hæ13 hĩ33 ki33 ni33 zɔ33-ʂe33 tɕʰi33 nɔ13 tʰi13 qʰa33 tʂʰæ13
 fish meat cut others DAT fish meat sell self so many generation
 鱼肉 割 别人 给 鱼肉 卖 自己 所以 多 代
 cut off fishmeat to sell to others, (he) himself then could have more wealth
 割鱼肉卖给别人，他自己就会有几代人就

lɔ33-dzi33 se13 mɔ33-wɔ33 dzɔ33 yi33 dze33-wɔ33. tʰi13 ʃ13 mɔ33-si33
 ACCOMP-eat Cmpl NEG-ABLT EXIST can wealth so REFL NEG-know
 吃 完 不能 有 会 财富 所以 自己 不知道
 than several generations could eat. So (he) would have
 吃不完 的 财富。 想要自己不知道
 ɕinami.43

33 33 33 33 33 33 33 33 33 33
 dze33-wɔ33 dzɔ33 hu33 bi33. a33-wɔ33 lɔ33-hu33 zɔ33 (yi33 gy33 wɔ33)
 wealth EXIST go FUT.IMM family ACCOMP-go PERF cow nine CLS
 财富 有 去 去 家 去 了 牛 九 量词
 incomprehensible wealth. (He) went home,
 数量的钱。 所以就回家了赶了九对牛，
 ɕinami.44

zu31 wɔ33 gy33 wɔ33 di13 ni33 zɔ33 bi33 tʰu33-pʰæ33 pʰæ33 lɔ33-tu33
 ploughing oxen nine CLS drive fish on DUR-fasten.RECIP ACCOMP-pull
 耕牛 九 量词 赶 鱼 上 拴 拉
 drove nine pairs of oxen (to the cave), fastened (them) to the fish (with ropes), planning to pull (it) out
 九对公牛，用绳子拴在鱼的身上

lɔ33-pɔ31 bi33 ʂu33 du33. mɔ31-su33-ɲa13 du33-tu33-tu33
 ACCOMP-take go think morning pull.BACK AND FORTH.ITER
 拿 去 想 早晨 拉来拉去
 (and) take the fish back (to his home). (He) pulled (it) and pulled (it)
 想把它拉回自己的家。 从早晨一直拉到
 ɕinami.45

my31-lə33-kʰu31 nɔ33 ni33 zɔ33 tʰu33 mi31 lə33-tu33
 dusk until fish this CLS ACCOMP-pull
 下午 才 鱼 这 量词 拉
 from morning to afternoon, until (he) pulled
 下午才把这条鱼拉到

ɑ33-pʰɔ13 pɔ31-tʰu33. tu33 zɔ33 ɑ33-pʰɔ13 pɔ31-tʰu33 dʒɔ33 ni33 zɔ33 tʰu33
 outside bring pull CSM outside bring PROG fish this
 外面 拿来 拉 了 外面 拿来 正在 鱼 这
 the fish outside. (He) pulled, bringing (the fish) outside, (he) pulled the back of the fish,
 外面来。 拉到外面的时候，
 çinami.46

mi31 gi13 tu33 zɔ33 ɑ33-pʰɔ13 pɔ31-tʰu33 dʒɔ33 ni33 zɔ33 tʰu33 mi31 dʒɔ33
 CLS after pull CSM outside bring PROG fish this CLS TOP
 量词 后来 拉 了 外面 拿来 正在 鱼 这 量词
 bringing (it) outside, (and) the fish was
 鱼的后面拉到外面的时候这条鱼是

tu33 lə33-tʰu33. dʒi33-tɔ33 ni33 zɔ33 gi13 bu13 lə33-tʰu33.
 pull ACCOMP-come flood water fish after burst out ACCOMP-come
 拉 来 洪水 鱼 后来 爆发 来
 pulled out. Following the fish, flood water came bursting out.
 拉出来了。 但是，洪水从鱼的后面爆发出来。
 çinami.47

tʰi13 du33 dzu31 kʰɿ31 yi33 la33 hī33 la33 du33-ta13 dʒi33-tɔ33 dʒɔ33
 so one time cow and people and all flood water TOP
 所以 一 会儿 牛 和 人 和 全部 洪水
 So, in a moment, the floodwater submerged the cows,
 所以，很快就牛，人，全部
 çinami.48

lə33-næ13 lə33-sɛ13. tʰi13 tʰu33 dzæ33 kwɔ33 dʒɔ33 my31-kʰu31
 ACCOMP-submerge ACCOMP-finish so this CLS LOC TOP afternoon
 淹 完 所以 这 量词 里 下午
 people, everything. So at this time, (when) it was just getting dark,
 被洪水淹没。 所以在这个时间里头，下午
 çinami.49

ʂɛ33 ʂɛ33 dʒɔ33 wɿ33 kwɔ33 = æ31 dʒɔ33 du33-ta13 bɔ13 ha33 ki33 dʒɔ33.
 a little bit TOP village LOC = CMKN all pig food give PROG
 一点点 村 里 全部 猪 饭 给 正在
 in the village, as everyone knows, everyone was feeding the pigs.
 一点点的时候，村里的人全部正在喂猪。

t^hi13 a33-mə13 t^hu33 wu33 du33 zu33 a33-mə13 du33 wu33 bə13 ha33
 so grandmother this CLS one family grandmother one CLS pig food
 所以 老大妈 这 量词 一 家 老大妈 一 量词 猪 饭
 So while the grandmother, a family's grandmother, fed the pigs,
 所以这个老大妈，一家老大妈，正在喂猪
 ɕinami.50

ki33 tə31 dzi33-tə33 lə33-ts^hu33. dzi33-tə33 du33-hu33-du33 lə33-ts^hu33.
 give while flood water ACCOMP-come flood water bigger and bigger ACCOMP-come
 给 的时候 洪水 来 洪水 越来越大 来
 the flood waters came. The flood water became bigger and bigger.
 的时候，洪水来了。 洪水越来越大。
 ɕinami.51

t^hi13 æ31 ɦi33 bə31-gu13 t^hu33 lu33 bə13 ha33 ki33. bə31-gu13 t^hu33 lu33
 so a while pig trough this CLS pig food give pig trough this CLS
 所以 一会儿 猪槽 这 量词 猪 饭 给 猪槽 这 量词
 So after a while, this pig trough, (a trough) for feeding pigs. The pig trough
 所以一会儿，这个猪槽，就是喂猪的猪槽。 那个猪槽
 ɕinami.52 ɕinami.53

dzi33 wə33 k^hwɤ31 t^hu33-tse13 lə33-ts^hu33. p^hə33-bi33-di33 mə33-di31
 water on top DUR-float ACCOMP-come place to which to escape NEG-EXIST.P
 水 上面 漂 来 逃跑的地方 没有
 came floating upon the water. There was no place to escape to,
 正在水的上面漂起来。 逃跑的地方没有，
 ɕinami.54

t^hi13 hu33 li31 zə33 zə33-hə33 ni33 lu33 dzɤ33 zə33 bə31-gu13 kwə33
 so quickly ADVB child two CLS grab CSM pig trough LOC
 所以 快 的 小孩子 两 量词 抓 了 猪槽 里
 so (she) quickly grabbed the two children (and) sat them
 所以很快抓了两个小孩儿，让他们坐

dzu31 tɕi33 hu33. zə33-hə33 t^hu33 ni33 lu33 bə31-gu13 gi13 tɕ^hə31 zə33.
 sit CAUS go children this two CLS pig trough after follow PERF
 坐 去 小孩子 这 两 量词 猪槽 后来 跟着 了
 in the pig trough. These two children followed after the pig trough.
 在猪槽里面。 所以这两个小孩儿跟着猪槽。
 ɕinami.55

lə33-la33 la33 zɔ33 ɕi13 kʰi33 lu33-ɕu31 lə33-tsʰu33.
 ACCOMP-rock.BACK AND FORTH PERF lake CIS Luoshui ACCOMP-come
 摇来摇去 了 湖 边 落水 来

(The pig trough canoe) rocked back and forth, (and) (they) came to lakeside Luoshui.
 一直漂到水边的落水来了。

ɕinami.56

tʰi13 tʰu33 gi13 dzɔ33 hī33 du33-ta13 dzɔ33 dzi33 kwɔ33 lə33-ɕu33
 so this after TOP people all TOP water LOC ACCOMP-die
 所以 这 后来 人 全部 水 里 死

So, after this, all the people
 所以以后就所有的人

ɕinami.57

lə33-sɛ13. zɔ33-hɔ33 tʰu33 ni33 lu33 ta31 gu31-tse13.
 ACCOMP-finish children this two CLS only up-float
 完 小孩子 这 两 量词 只 上-漂

drowned. Only these two children survived.
 在水里死亡了。 只剩这两个小孩儿。

ɕinami.58

tʰi13 tʰu33 ni33 lu33 gi13 lu33-ɕu31 tʰu33 kʰwɔ33 kwɔ33 tʰu33-dzu31
 so this two CLS after Luoshui this CLS LOC DUR-live
 所以 这 两 量词 后来 落水 这 量词 里 住

So, these two (children) afterwards lived in Luoshui
 所以这两个后来在落水，这块地方，

ɕinami.59

zɔ33 qwɔ33 la33 lə33-tsʰu33. tʰi13 bɔ31-gu13 pɔ13 zɔu31-gu13 yī33
 house etcetera ACCOMP-build so pig trough use boat make
 房子 等等 建 所以 猪槽 用 船 做

and built a house. So, (by) using a pig trough as a boat, (they)
 修了房子。 所以用猪槽来做船，在水里面

ɕinami.60

dzi33 kwɔ33 sɛ33-sɛ33. zɔ33-hɔ33 tʰu33 ni33 lu33 lu33-ɕu31 la33 na13 bu33
 water LOC go children this two CLS Luoshui and Na POSS
 水 里 行走 小孩子 这 两 量词 落水 和 摩梭 的

went across in the water. These two children are regarded as
 行走。 这两个小孩儿算落水和

ɕinami.61

ɑ33-p ^h ɣ33-ə33-zu33	tʂɿ33.	t ^h i13	t ^h u33 la31	ni33	zɛ33.
ancestors	regard as	so	this way	COP	PERF
祖先	算	所以	这样	是	了
the ancestors of Luoshui and the Na.		So it was like this.			
摩梭的祖先。		所以是这样的了。			
		ɕinami.62			

NARRATIVE 4 – GEMU

Narrative and Chinese translation by Geze Dorje

很久，很久以前的时候永宁女神山的脚下，那个地方，摩梭的村转里有一个叫格姆的女孩子。她很好看，劳动和一切事情很厉害。她织麻布的时候，每一天能织十几丈。她织麻布的时候，眼睛里看见什么，都可以织在麻布上。天上的彩虹和天上的云彩飞过去就把它织在麻布上。地下的花和蝴蝶和鸟，等等。看见什么就能织在麻布上面。花儿和那末什么东西她都能够织的像一某一样的。所以摩梭的地方里头所有的小伙子们都喜欢她。全部算她最好。去她那里的人很多。但是她一个都不喜欢。谁去她那里的时候她送每一个人一条腰带。她的名字在摩梭地区是小伙子们的话全部知道它。她才算最好的。没有一个人不知道她。有一天一个天上的神，他从天上路过的时候看见了那个格姆。所以他想这样漂亮和好看的姑娘是什么人呢？去格姆那里看。所以后来他每一天晚上去格姆那里，格姆也很喜欢他。所以两个人每一天在一个山头上每一个晚上去山头上唱歌和跳舞。经常是这样。有一天，这个神，他家的母亲知道了。她说他们家的儿子不可能和民间的女孩子恋爱。把他们家的儿子抓起来关在家里。经常这样不准他去下面。说如果再去就一辈子关起来不会放。所以是这样的很长时间以后。有一天这个儿子从家里逃跑到外面来。去看格姆。所以两个人山头上哭一次，唱一次，又哭一次，又唱一次。所以将要天亮的时候格姆睡着了。睡着了的时候，这个神悄悄的骑在马上跳到天上去。刚刚公鸡将要叫的时候格姆醒过来一看这个男和全部东西都不在。所以一路追去一次赶过来。到这边的时候看见只有一个马的脚印。所以看着马的脚印哭了。所以哭了又哭眼泪装满了马的脚印。所以天上的神就回头看。看格姆这样的哭他想很可怜。他把自己脖子上面的一串珍珠扔在格姆的面前。往下丢的时候，全部掉在马的脚印里面。那一串扔在马脚印的珍珠成了现在的泸沽湖的海岛。因此格姆后来就想了很多。所以她就去山的山头把自己的灵魂附在悬崖上。所以她祈求所有的神明。所以

她要保护摩梭的地区时时代代的。所以她也保护年轻的人恋爱和这些家里的父母不准赶事。

Long, long ago at the foot of Goddess Mountain, that place, in this Na village there was a girl named Gemu. She was very beautiful; she excelled in work and such. When she sewed hemp cloth, she could weave over a dozen measures every day. When weaving hemp cloth, whatever she saw, she could embroider on the hemp cloth. Heaven's rainbows and clouds flying by, she could quickly embroider on the hemp cloth. Flowers, butterflies, and birds on the ground, and more. Whatever she saw she could embroider on the hemp cloth. Flowers and such, she could embroider them all true-to-life.

So, in all the Na areas, all of the young men liked her. All of them thought her the best. A lot of young men went to see her. But she didn't like any of them. Whoever went to visit her, she would give a belt. Her name in the Na areas was known by all of the Na youth. She was considered to be the best. There wasn't anyone who didn't know her. One day a god when he was visiting from the heavens, saw Gemu. So, he wondered who this beautiful girl was. He went to where Gemu was to look.

So after that every night he went to see Gemu and Gemu also really liked him. So, all the time the two were together on a mountaintop, every night they went to a mountaintop to sing and dance. Often it was like this.

One day, this god's mother found out. She said it was not possible for her son to court a regular girl. She shut their son up in their home. Often in this way he was not allowed to go down to earth. She said that if he went again he would be shut up for his entire life and he wouldn't be able to do so again. So, it was like this for a long time afterwards.

One day, the son escaped from home to the outside world. He went to see Gemu. So, on the mountain the two alternatively cried and sang for a long time. So when it was almost daylight Gemu went to sleep. While she was asleep, the god stealthily rode his horse, leaping up to the sky. When the rooster was just about to crow Gemu woke up and saw that this man and all of his things were gone. So she followed his path and then came back. Up to that point she only saw one hoofprint. So, seeing the hoofprint, she

cried. So, she cried and cried; her tears filled the hoofprint. So, from the heavens the god turned his head to look. When he turned his head to look seeing Gemu crying in this manner he thought it very pitiable. He took a string of pearls from around his neck and threw it in front of Gemu. When it fell, it fell into the hoofprint. That string of pearls thrown into the hoofprint became the island in present-day Lugu Hu.

Consequently, Gemu thought for a long time. So, she went to the top of the mountain and turned herself into a cliff. So, she prayed to all of the gods. So, she has protected Na areas for generations. She herself went to protect everything. So, she also protects young people courting and such things that parents do not permit. Things they do not permit.

a31 yi33 ʂe33 a31 yi33 ʂe33 dzɔ33 ɦi33-di33 ku31 mu33 kʰu33 tʰu33 kʰwɿ33 kwɔ33
 long, long ago long, long ago TOP Yongning Gemu CIS this CLS LOC
 很久以前 很久以前 永宁 格姆 这 量词 里
 Long, long ago, at the foot of Yongning's Gemu (Goddess Mountain), in this place,
 很久, 很久以前的时候永宁女神山的脚下, 那个地方,
 Gemu.1

na13 wɿ33 kwɔ33 ku31 mu33 my33-dzæ33 mu31-zɔ33 du33 lu33 dzɔ33.
 Na village LOC Gemu be named young woman one CLS EXIST
 摩梭 村 里 格姆 叫 姑娘 一 量词 有
 in a Na village there was a girl named Gemu.
 摩梭的村镇里有一个叫格姆的女孩子。

tʰu33 a31 wu55 zɰæ13 lɔ31-yi33-zu31-yi33 la33 a33-tso33-mə33-ni33
 3SG.PRO good-looking INTS work and whatever
 她 好看 很 劳动 和 什么
 She was very beautiful; (she) excelled in work
 她很好看, 劳动和一切事情
 Gemu.2

hɔ13 zɰæ13. tʰu33 tʰu33 ɲi33 ni31 su31 ɣɣ33 da13 dzɔ33
 be strong INTS 3SG.PRO everyday yet hemp cloth sew TOP
 厉害 很 她 每一天 麻布 织
 and such. Everyday (when) she sewed hemp cloth,
 很厉害。 她织麻布
 Gemu.3

tsʰe33 qʰa33 ɦi33 da13 wɔ33. tʰu33 ɣɣ33 da13 tɔ31
 ten several measures sew ABLT 3SG.PRO hemp cloth sew while
 十 几 丈 织 能 她 麻布 织 的时候
 (she) could weave over a dozen measures. When she wove hemp cloth,
 的时候, 每一天能织十几丈。 她织麻布的时候,
 Gemu.4

ɲa31-lɣ33 kwɔ33 a33-tso33 tɔ33 dzɔ33 lə33-da13 zɔ33 pʰi33 kwɔ33
 eyes LOC whatever see TOP ACCOMP-sew CSM hemp cloth LOC
 眼睛 里 什么 看见 织 了 麻布 里
 whatever (she) saw, (she) could embroider
 眼睛里看见什么, 都可以织

t^hu33-k^hu13 wɔ33. my33-wɔ33 bu33 zu33-mæ31-ts^hu13³-di33 la33 my33 bu33
 DUR-put ABLT heavens POSS rainbow-NOM and heavens POSS
 放 能 天上 的 彩虹 和 天上 的
 on the hemp cloth. Heaven's rainbows and heaven's
 在麻布上。 天上的彩虹和
 Gemu.5

tɕi33 du31-tɕɔ33 dze33 hu33 du33 dzu31 k^hɿ31 lə33-zu31 ɣɿ33 kwɔ33
 cloud that side to fly go a while ACCOMP-take hemp cloth LOC
 云彩 那边 飞 去 一会儿 拿 麻布 里
 clouds going flying by, (she) could quickly take (and) embroider on the hemp
 天上的云彩飞过去 就把它织在麻布
 Gemu.6

t^hu33-da13 wɔ33. tɕi33 t^hæ33-kwɔ33 bu33 bæ31 bæ33 la33 p^hi33 li31 la33
 DUR-sew ABLT dirt underneath POSS flower and butterfly and
 织 能 泥土 下面里 的 花 和 蝴蝶 和
 cloth. Flowers, butterflies, and birds
 上。 地下的花和蝴蝶
 Gemu.7

wu31-dze33 la33. a33-tsɔ33 tɔ33 dzɔ33 p^hi33 bi33 t^hu33-da13
 bird etc. whatever see TOP hemp cloth on DUR-sew
 鸟 等等 什么 看见 麻布 上 织
 on the ground, and more. Whatever (she) saw (she) embroidered
 和鸟，等等。 看见什么就能织
 Gemu.8

lə33-ts^hu33. bæ31 bæ33 la33 t^hæ13 a33-tsɔ33-mə33-ni33 lə33-ta13 zɔ33
 ACCOMP-come flower and such whatever ACCOMP-thread ADVB
 来 花 和 那些 什么 织的线
 on the hemp cloth. Flowers and such, (she) could embroider anything to seem exactly
 在麻布上面。 花儿和那些什么东西她都能够织的
 Gemu.9

³ “zu33-mæ31-ts^hu33,” ‘rainbow,’ literally means ‘inhale sulimajiu [a type of homemade grain alcohol].’ The spout of the bottle of alcohol is an arc-shape, and the spout must be sucked to start a siphon in order to pour the alcohol. The arc-shape of the spout serves is used in this expression as a metaphor for ‘rainbow.’

t^ha33 ni33 ni31 ku31 wɔ33. t^hi13 na31-di33 kwɔ33 p^hæ31-tɕ^hi33 = æ31
 exactly the same seem ABLT so Na-NOM_{LOC} LOC young guys = PL
 一某一样 像 能 所以 摩梭-地 里 小伙子 = 们

true-to-life.
 像一某一样的。

So, in the Na areas, all of the young men
 所以摩梭地区里头所有的小伙子们都
 Gemu.10

du33-ta13 t^hu33 fu33 yī33 zɥwæ13. du33-ta13 t^hu33 la31 dzɥ13 tɕɥ33.
 all 3SG.PRO like CAUS INTS all 3SG.PRO only be good regard as
 全部 她 喜欢 很 全部 她 才好 算

really liked her.
 喜欢她。

All (of them) thought her to be the best.
 全部算她最好。

Gemu.11

t^hu33 ki33 hu33 hī33 la33 t^hæ13 q^ha33-ɥ13 dzɔ33. da31 dɔ33 t^hu33
 3SG.PRO ALL go people and such lots EXIST but 3SG.PRO
 她 去 人 和 这些 很多 有 但是 她

Going to see her, there were a lot of people (young men) and such.
 去她那里的人很多。

But she
 但是她

Gemu.12

Gemu.13

du33 wu33 mə33-fu33 yī33. ni13 t^hu33 ki33 hu33 dzɔ33 du33 wu33 ki33
 one CLS NEG-like CAUS who 3SG.PRO ALL go TOP one CLS DAT
 一个 不-喜欢 谁 她 去 一个

didn't like any of them.
 一个都不喜欢。

Whoever went to visit her, to each
 谁去她那里的时候她

Gemu.14

ni33 su31 dzi31 ki33 du33 k^hu31 t^hi33-ki33. t^hu33 bu33 mɥ33 na31-di33 kwɔ33
 all belt one CLS DUR-give 3SG.PRO POSS name Na-NOM_{LOC} LOC
 都 腰带 一 量词 送 她 的 名字 摩梭-地 里

(she) would give a belt.
 送每一个人一条腰带。

Her name in the Na areas,
 她的名字在摩梭地区是

Gemu.15

p^hæ31-tɕ^hi33 ni33 zɛ33⁴ du33-ta13 t^hu33 si33. t^hu33 ta31 dzɥ13 tɕɥ33.
 young men COP PERF all 3SG.PRO know 3SG.PRO only be good regard as
 小伙子们 是 了 全部 它 知道 她 才好 算

(if) (they) were young men, all knew it.
 小伙子们的话全部知道它。

She was considered to be the best.
 她才算最好的。

Gemu.16

⁴ A more literal translation would be, "Her name, in Mosuo areas, if they were men, they knew her."

t ^h u33	mə33-si33	hī33	du33	wu33	mə33-dzə33.	du33	ji33	dzə33
3SG.PRO	NEG-know	people	one	CLS	NEG-EXIST	one	day	TOP
她	不-知道	人	一	个	没-有	一	天	

There wasn't anyone (who) didn't know her.
没有一个人不知道她。
Gemu.17

One day,
有一天
Gemu.18

mɤ33-wə33	ga33 ɬa33	du33	wu33	mɤ33-wə33	du31-tə33	dæ13	hu33	dzə33
heavens	god	one	CLS	heavens	that side	through	go	PROG
天上	神	一	个	天上	那边	过	去	正在

a god was passing through (from) the heavens, (and)
一个天上的神，他从天上路过的时候

ku31 mu33	t ^h u33	wu33	lə33-tə33.	t ^h i13	t ^h u33 du33	mu31-zə33	nu55 ɕi31
Gemu	this	CLS	ACCOMP-see	so	so, very	young woman	beautiful
格姆	这	个	看见	所以	这样	姑娘	漂亮

saw Gemu.
看见了格姆。
Gemu.19

So, such a beautiful and good-looking young woman,
所以他想这样漂亮

la33	a31 wu55	hī33	dzə33	a33-tə33	du33	wu33	ni33	ʂu33 du33.
and	good-looking	person	TOP	what	one	CLS	COP	think
和	好看	人		什么	一	个	是	想

(he) wondered who she was?
和好看的姑娘是什么人呢?

ku31 mu33	ki33	li33	hu33.	t ^h i13	t ^h u33	gi13	t ^h i13	tʂ ^h a33 ha31 pa13	ku31 mu33
Gemu	ALL	see	go	so	this	after	so	every night	Gemu
格姆		看	去	所以	这	后来	所以	每一天晚上	格姆

(He) went to where Gemu was to look. So, after this, every night (he) went to Gemu's (and)
去格姆那里看。所以后来他每一天晚上去格姆那里，
Gemu.20
Gemu.21

ki33	hu33	ku31 mu33	t ^h u33	fu33	yī33	zwæ13.
ALL	go	Gemu	3SG.PRO	like	CAUS	INTS
	去	格姆	他	喜欢		很

Gemu (also) really liked him.
格姆也很喜欢他。

tʰi13 ni33 ku13 ni33 ku13 dzɔ33 (wɔ33-ty31 duu33 lu33 tɔ31)
 so two CLS two CLS TOP mountaintop one CLS ADESS
 所以 两 个 两 个 山头上 一 量词 上面
 So, the two were together, every night (they) went
 所以两个人每一天 在一个山头上每一个晚上
 Gemu.22 Gemu.23

tʂʰa33 ha31 ja13 wɣ33-ty31 tɔ31 gwɣ13 la33 tsʰɔ55 hu33.
 every night mountaintop ADESS sing and dance go
 每一个晚上 山头上 上面 唱歌 和 跳舞 去
 to sing and dance on a mountaintop.
 去山头上唱歌和跳舞。

tʰæ33 tʰu33-ni13 dzɔ33. duu33 ji33 dzɔ33 tʰu33 ø13
 often this way PROG one day TOP 3SG.PRO family
 经常 这样 正在 一 天 他 家
 Often it was like this. One day, this god's
 经常是这样。 有一天，这个神，他家的
 Gemu.24 Gemu.25

ga33 ʰa33 tʰu33 wu33 bu33 a33-mi33 lə33-ny33 dzɔ31 nɔ13 zɔ33
 god this CLS POSS mother ACCOMP-know. then own son
 神 这 量词 的 母亲 知道 就 自己 儿子
 mother found out. (She) then (said), "It is not
 母亲知道了。 她说他们家的儿子
 Gemu.26

lə33-zu31 zɔ33 di33-kwɔ33 bu33 mu31-zɔ33 ga33 se33-se33 tsɣ31
 ACCOMP-take CSM land-LOC ASSOC young woman COM walk.RECIP be okay
 拿 了 的 姑娘 跟 恋爱 行
 possible for my son to court
 不可能和民间的女孩子

mə33-yi33 pi33. nɔ13 =ø13 zɔ33 pɔ13 lə33-zu31 zɔ33 a33-wɔ33
 NEG-can QUOT own family son take ACCOMP-grab CSM home
 不会 自己 家 儿子 拿 抓 了 家
 a mortal girl." (She) grabbed their son (and) shut (him) up at
 恋爱。 把他们家的儿子抓起来
 Gemu.27

t^hu33-tæ13. t^hæ33 t^hu33-ni13 my31-tɕ^hɔ33 bi33 mə33-tɕ^hwɣ33.
 DUR-shut often this way below go NEG-allow
 关经常这样下边去不准
 home. Often in this way (she) did not allow (him) to go below (to earth).
 关在家里。经常这样不准他去下面。
 Gemu.28

wɣ13 hu33 pi33 du33 zu33 t^hu33-tæ13 k^hu13 mə33-bi33 pi33.
 again go COND.HYP one lifetime DUR-shut up CAUS NEG-go QUOT
 又去一輩子关不去
 (She) said, “If (you) go again, (you) will be shut up for (your) entire life (so you) won’t go (again).”
 说如果再去就一辈子关起来不会放。
 Gemu.29

t^hi13 t^hu33-ni13 q^ha33-zwæ13 ku33 ni33 su31. du33 ni33 dzɔ33 zɔ33 t^hu33 lu33
 so this way a long time EXIST.T after one day TOP son this CLS
 所以这样很长时间有以后一天儿子这量词
 So, it was like this for a long time afterwards. One day, the son escaped
 所以是这样的很长时间以后。有一天这个儿子
 Gemu.30 Gemu.31

a33-wɔ33 lə33-p^hɔ33 a33-p^hɔ13 ts^hu33. ku31 mu33 li33 hu33. t^hi13 ni33 ku13
 at home ACCOMP-escape outside come Gemu see go so two CLS
 家里逃跑外面来格姆看去所以两个
 (from) home (and) came to the outside world. (He) went to see Gemu. So,
 从家里逃跑到外面来。去看格姆。所以两个人
 Gemu.32 Gemu.33

wɣ33-tɔ31 tɔ31 du33-ŋu33 ŋu33 la33 du33-gwɣ31 gwɣ13.
 mountaintop ADESS cry.ITER and sing.ITER
 山头上上面哭又哭和唱又唱
 on the mountain the two alternatively cried and cried and sang and sang.
 山头上哭一次，唱一次，又哭一次，又唱一次。

t^hi13 ja31-tɔ33 pi33 tɕi33 dzɔ33 ku31 mu33 lə33-zu31 ŋu33.
 so daylight almost TOP Gemu ACCOMP-sleep
 所以天亮将要格姆睡着
 So (when) (it was) almost daylight Gemu went to sleep.
 所以将要天亮的时候格姆睡着了。
 Gemu.34

lə33-zu31	ɲu33	tɔ31	ga33	ʔa33	tʰu33	wu33	na33-na33	zwaɛ33	tɔ31
ACCOMP-sleep		while	god	this	CLS	stealthily	horse	ADESS	
睡着		的时候	神	这	个	悄悄	马	上面	

While (she) slept, the god stealthily rode his horse,
睡着了的时候, 这个神悄悄的骑在马上

Gemu.35

tʰu33-dzæ33	gu31-tɕɔ33	tsʰɔ55	hu33.	ta31-ta31	æ̃13	twɿ33	pi33	tɕi33	dzo33
DUR-ride	upwards	leap	go	just	chicken	call	almost	TOP	
起	上边	跳	去	刚刚	鸡	叫	将要		

leaping up (to the sky).

跳到天上去。

(When) the rooster was just about to crow,
刚刚公鸡将要叫的时候

Gemu.36

ku31	mu33	gu31-tʂʰwæ33	du33-li33	dzo33	pʰæ31-tɕʰi33	tʰu33	wu33	la33
Gemu		woke up	see.DEL	COMPL	man	this	CLS	etcetera
格姆		起来	一看		男人	这	个	等等

Gemu woke up (and) saw at once that this man and all of his things

格姆醒过来一看这个男和全部东西

du33	sɔ33	tʰu33-mə33-dzo33.	tʰu13	gi13	du33-di13	lə33-hu33	du33-tse13
at all		DUR-NEG-EXIST	3SG.PRO	after	follow.DEL	ACCOMP-go	go.DEL
一样		不在	他	后面	一赶	去	一赶

were gone.

都不在。

So, after this, she went (and) followed (his path) (and then)

所以一路追去一次

Gemu.37

lə33-tʰu33.	tʰu33-dzɿ55	tʰu33	dzo33	zwaɛ33	qʰwɿ33	bi13	du33	lu33
ACCOMP-come	here	arrive	TOP	horse	hoofprint	one	CLS	
过来	这边	到		马	脚印	一	量词	

came back.

赶过来。

Arriving here, (she) saw only

到这边的时候看见只有

Gemu.38

ta31	tɔ33.	tʰi13	zwaɛ33	qʰwɿ33	bi13	pi33	tʰi33	li33	lə33-ɲu33.
only	see	so	horse	footprint	toward	this	see	ACCOMP-cry	
才	看见	所以	马	脚印	对着	这	看	哭	

one hoofprint.

一个马的脚印。

So, looking at the hoofprint, (she) cried.

所以看着马的脚印哭了。

Gemu.39

t^hi13 du33-ŋu33-du33-ŋu33 zɥæ33 q^hwɣ33 bi13 kwɔ33 ɲa33-bæ33 gu31-ʂu13 ts^hu33.
 so cry.SEML horse hoofprint LOC tears up-fill start
 所以 哭了又哭 马 脚印 里 眼泪 上面-满 开始

So, (she) sobbed and sobbed (and) (her) tears started to fill the hoofprint.

所以哭了又哭眼泪装满了马的脚印。

Gemu.40

t^hi13 mɥ33 ɕa33 ʔa33 t^hu33 wu33 mɥ33-wɔ33 lə33-wɔ13 li33 zɔ33.
 so heavens god this CLS heavens ACCOMP-turn look CSM
 所以 天上 神 这 个 天上 回 看 了

So, (from) the heavens the god turned to look.

所以天上的神就回头看。

Gemu.41

lə33-wɔ13 du33-li33 dzɔ33 ku31 mu33 t^hu33-ni13 t^hu33-ŋu33 ʂu33 du33 dzɔ33
 ACCOMP-turn look.DEL COMPL Gemu this way DUR-cry think COMPL
 回 一看 格姆 这样 哭 想

(He) turned (and) saw Gemu crying in this manner, and (he) thought (it) to be

回头一看得时候，看格姆这样的哭他想

Gemu.42

nu33 ɔ33 zɥæ13. nɔ13 bu33 ɣwæ33 lu31 kwɔ33 su33 ɤ33 du33 kwɣ33 zɥu31 zɔ33
 be pitiable INTS self POSS neck LOC pearl one CLS take PERF
 可怜 很 自己的 脖子 里 珍珠 一 串 拿 了

very pitiable. (He) took a string of pearls from around (his) own neck

很可怜。 他把自己脖子上面的一串珍珠

Gemu.43

ku31 mu33 ki33 kwɣ13. k^hu13 zɔ33 lə33-wɔ13 mɥ31-tɕɔ33 kwɣ13 dzɔ33
 Gemu DAT throw fall PERF ACCOMP-turn below fall PROG
 格姆 扔 往下丢 了 回 下边 丢 正在

(and) threw (it) to Gemu. (It) fell, (and) falling below, (it) turned (and)

扔在格姆的面前。 往下丢的时候，

Gemu.44

du33-ta13 zɥæ33 q^hwɣ33 bi13 kwɔ33 t^hu33-t^hu13. t^hu33 zɥæ33 q^hwɣ33 bi13 kwɣ13
 all horse hoofprint LOC DUR-fall this horse footprint fall
 全部 马 脚印 里 掉 这 马 脚印 丢

(the pearls) all fell into the hoofprint.

在马的脚印里面。

The string

那一串

Gemu.45

suɿ33 ə33 tʰuɿ33 kwɿ33 zɔ31 nɔ33 bu33 ɕi13 kwɔ33 bu33 wɿ33-tɔ31 tsɿ31.
 pearl this CLS now NRA lake LOC NRA island become
 珍珠 这 串 现在 的 湖 里 的 海岛 成为
 of pearls (which) fell (into) the hoofprint became the island in present-day Lugu Lake.
 扔在马脚印的珍珠成了现在的泸沽湖的海岛。

tʰi13 kuɿ31 mu33 tʰuɿ33 gi13 dzɔ33 qʰa33-bæ33 lə33-ʂu33 du33.
 so Gemu this after TOP lots of ways ACCOMP-think
 因此 格姆 这 后来 几种 想
 So, after this, Gemu thought deeply.
 因此格姆后来就想了很多。
 Gemu.46

tʰi13 nɔ13 guɿ31-tɕɔ33 huɿ33 zɔ33 ʂ31 hi55 lə33-zu31 wɿ33
 so REFL above go PERF soul ACCOMP-take mountain
 所以 自己 上面 去 了 灵魂 拿 山
 So, she went up (to the top of the mountain), took (her) soul (and) turned
 所以她就去山的山头把自己的灵魂
 Gemu.47

wɿ33-tɔ31 æ31-pʰæ13 bi33 ʂu13. tʰi13 nɔ13 mi33 lu33 la13 zɔ33.
 mountaintop cliff on top join so self prayer strike PERF
 山头 悬崖 上 附 所以 自己 祈求 打 了
 into a cliff. Then, she prayed.
 附在悬崖上。 所以她祈求所有的神明。
 Gemu.48

nɔ13 du33 zu33 du33 tʂʰæ13 zɔ33 na31-di33 kwɔ33 du33-ta13 nɔ13
 self one lifetime one era ADVB Na-NOM_{LOC} LOC all self
 自己 一 生 一 代 摩梭-地 里 全部 自己
 She went to protect everything herself in the Na areas for eternity.
 所以她要保护摩梭的地区时时代代。
 Gemu.49 Gemu.50

tʰuɿ33-li33-li33 bi33. tʰi13 hi33 tɔ31 kʰu33-pʰæ33-tɕi13 tɔ31
 DUR-see.BACK AND FORTH go so people PAT young people PAT
 去 所以 人 年轻的人
 So, (she also protects) people, young people
 所以她也保护年轻的人
 Gemu.51

fu33-fu33	la33	t ^h u33-ni13	a33-wɔ33	a33-da33-a33-mi33	du33-sɔ33
like.RECIP	and	this way	home	father-mother	at all
恋爱	和	这样	家	父亲-母亲	一样

courting and such things parents
 恋爱和这些家里的父母

zɿɿ33	mə33-tɿ ^h wɿ33.	ta33	mə33-tɿ ^h wɿ33.
say	NEG-permit	intervene	NEG-permit
说	不准	阻挡	不准
say (they) do not permit.		(Things) (they) intervene (in) (so as) not to permit.	
不准干涉		不准阻挡。	
		Gemu.52	

NARRATIVE 5 – TSO DELUYIZO

Narrative by Awu Daba; Chinese translation by Geze Dorje

Tsodeluyizo, 就是说咱们摩梭的 Tsodeluyizo, 他是一个男孩儿。听说很久以前, 他和 Zhimuku 是一家人。Zhimuku 和大家是一家人, 听说。Zhimuku 在晚上劳动, 可是其他人在白天劳动。彻底的不合气了。。。“Zhimuku”有“水井”和那些的意思。听说很久以前, 他们是一家人。以前, 他们是一家的时候, 咱们在, pilipitsizo 在白天劳动, Zhimuku 经常在晚上劳动。经常在晚上工作所以彻底不合气, 所以听说他们去分家。听说分家的话, Zhimuku 把山水, 哪里最好, 换成自己的。听说全部有翅膀的, 她要。听说是这样的了。有翅膀的, 咱们在山上的鸟和乌鸦和漂亮的和这些。。。分给我们人类的, 有翅膀的, 只有鸡和那些, 只给一些这样的, 会飞的这样一些, 才分给我们。鱼全部算是 Zhimuku 的。这样的分家。听说是给了一块儿土地。听说这块儿土地是不能耕种的。Tsodeluyizo 说是不能耕种的。听说是两个, Tsodeluyizo 和另外一个, 他们两个去耕种了。架了这两头耕牛。荒地用牛耕种, 耕牛像快疯一样, 听说挤在一起跳, 听说耕种不了。感谢他们两个! 翻好了这块儿土地。他们在翻转的时候, 一只乌鸦飞来了。“这块儿是耕种不了的, 你们两个把它耕好了。如果这块儿地耕种的话, 天和地会翻转。洪水会回来了。”说完洪水会来以后, 这只乌鸦对一个人说, “用细的针, 粗的线, 把牛杀了, [用牛皮缝了一大包]用线团来缝掉了, 坐在中间[把你的生命从洪水救了]”, 对另外一个人说, “用细的线, 粗的针缝好。”耕这块儿地刚刚开始, 耕还没有耕完的时候, 在翻荒地山坡的地方会有一种拴茅草的绳子。很久以前的时候, 会有这么高的茅草可以做绳子。这只乌鸦在茅草山坡的上面拴脖子马上就死掉了。飞了回来, 死掉了。马上就天和地, 那些, 翻转了, 洪水来了, 啊! 所以有一个人, 杀了这头耕牛, 杀了这两头, 因为用细的线, 粗的针, 这个就里边进水, 死掉了。有这个人因为用粗的线, 细的针, 没死亡了, 他叫 Tsodeluyizo, 漂在水的上面。Dabayu, 还没到这段。以前咱们说, “羽毛好, 窝不做, 好的技术不应该隐瞒

起来。”鸟，因为它有毛，所以它的窝不好好的做。人呢？就算是有特别好的技术，很好的艺术性的眼光；但是有好的手艺不劳动，一天都不会吃饱。技术好了，如果不劳动的话，饭吃饱的时候不会有。所以，洪水 tə tə tə 的来了。被洪水 tə tə tə。山上面所有的树上树木都飞走了。洪水的水天天不退，所以没有办法去任何地方。差不多的时候，水退了。所以所有的世界，怎么样了都不知道，全部这样，人的味道和人的种子一个都不看见。找了三天三夜，什么都看不见，所以去 Apato 那里。到了 Apato 那里，才去找老婆。要找老婆的话，要砍最高的 ɣwæ si 树。没有九年的话，不要扒开。叫的 ɣwæ si 就是长在我们的高山上面的树，把它砍回来。没有九年（把 ɣwæ si）做成人的样子埋在沙子里。说没有九年，你不要去扒开。没有九年你不要扒开。他等不了九年。等了九夜，就去扒掉了。说去砍 ɣwæ si，可是 ɣwæ si 里边是空空的。只有一点点的象人的样子，没有多少人的模样在上面。所以，(sentence 59 – Dabayu)，回去 Apato 那里。到了 Apato 那里。遇到 Apato 以后才用 mɔ si 砍成人的模样。会有一种叫 mɔ si 啊。mɔ si 和 ɣwæ si – mɔ si 砍成人的模样没有七年你不要扒开。说没有七年你不要扒开了。木头做的象人的模样，埋在沙子里，说是做的象人一样的去走路。等不了七年，只有七个晚上就扒开了。哎呀！人是变成不了。走是走路去了。一些去了，猴子的家去了石头的山。变成猴子，跳到岩石上面去了。没有人的形状，没有能够生出人带着他们的小孩儿，变成猴子。(sentence 72 – Dabayu)。黑熊那些是钻进去很密的树林。(sentences 74 and 75 – Dabayu)。变成龙和青蛙，去了池塘。所以没有办法了。(sentence 78 – Dabayu)。鸡和那些没有。叫的鸡和那些都没有。有一种鸟说，“tɕʰi pʰuə tɕʰi pʰuə tɕʰi pʰuə tɕʰi pʰuə”。(sentence 82 – Dabayu)。狗和那些都没有。(sentence 84 – Dabayu)。有一种鸟在树林上面说，“kwɣ kwɣ kwɣ”。(sentences 86-88 – Dabayu)。我们说，“tsɿ31 ɣɛ33 pɔ31 ɣɛ33”的话，我们现在说，“找老婆。”以前古代的摩梭语，“tsɿ31 ɣɛ33”是说“找老婆”和那些。“tsɿ31 ɣɛ33 pɔ31 ɣɛ33”是说，我们说找女人等等那些。说去“tsɿ31 ɣɛ33 pɔ31 ɣɛ33”。所以去了这里。去了，啊！是去天上的那里找。找在天上就是。去找一个眼睛竖的和眼睛横的女人。他是去找眼睛竖的女人。叫做“ja33 tsɿ31 mi31”的人眼睛这样竖着的人是在我们

地球上眼睛这样竖的人是不分你和我。没有听说我吃掉你的一点人间里特别的和平，非常好。竖眼睛的没有找到，只是找到一个眼睛横的了。做这样一点生意眼睛横的人经常想今天是不是吃掉你的一块儿呢？这样的人会这样的。听说找到了眼睛横的，眼睛竖的找不到，只找到了眼睛横的人。所以，去上面，天上去了的，去天上。所以是去找老婆的。听说会有一个泉水长在（那里）。去躲在这个泉水里面的。和家里有好长的距离。和姑娘的家有好长的距离。听说这一个女人会经常来用水桶背水。很久以前是拿水桶在泉水里去背水。所以就在这里认识。认识以后，她会拿来一个饭团，让他藏在泉水里吃饭团了。去吃了以后，听说是悄悄的养了小孩儿。听说生了小孩儿以后，小孩快要到十三岁的仪式 [穿裙子/穿裤子] 才会象我们一样请客。好像不会很快的去做这样的事。所以去了天上，说你的侄女要举行十三岁的仪式，你的儿子要穿裤子了。说儿子和女儿今天要穿裙子和穿裤子了。今天天上正在请客喝酒吃饭。正在请客。好像是盖在一个木桶下面。我们很久以前做酸菜的桶，木头的桶，很大的一个桶，把它带着回家躲在木桶的下面。所以在请客人吃完了的骨头和那些，我们是会把它丢在桌子下面的。丢在桌子的下面的，啊！所以，狗咬起来，两只狗咬起来了。两只狗因为抢骨头咬起来了。把这个木桶一脚踢了倒下去。这次是被她的妈妈看见了。竖的眼睛的姑娘今天女儿要穿裙子，儿子要穿裤子，他什么礼物都没有拿来，你藏在木桶的下面。把绳子拿来。眼睛横的女儿的母亲说，“今天把他的手栓起来在上面掉起来”。Tsodeluyizo, 他说，“眼睛竖的女人，轻轻的等一下，我有我的名字，我的地方生产黄金和白银。”他说，“我是天边的叫 Ge'er 的地方的人，你不可以轻视我，我们的土地经常生产黄金和白银，那些。”说路太长，太远了，黄金和白银背来不了，这样骗他们。所以被她家女儿的爸爸看见了。爸爸看见了，说，“今天女儿要穿裙子，儿子要穿裤子，说砍掉，杀了”，从腰上拔出刀子来。说是去杀掉他。（所以不是。。。） Tsodeluyizo 对竖眼睛的女儿这样说：我的地方到你们这里，山水和路太长了，我的绵羊和牛是很多的，但是山沟和路都很长，小孩儿赶牛和绵羊太困难了。我的土地里边牛和绵羊，那些，是有的，可是路程太困难了，没有赶到这里来。后面，会拿来的。所以，说“hō!” 把刀子插回来插在刀壳里。所以，我们土地里的家庭会不会做成功了

，要试验一下。被爸爸妈妈两个人逼迫了。女儿是会给他的。带着她从天上到人间去建立家庭的。家庭会不会成功？经常早上最冷的时候去找鱼。早上的天空亮一点点，(sentence 150 – Dabayu) 去找鱼了。去找鱼，鸡叫的时候就派去找鱼是特别冷的。(sentence 152 – Dabayu)。他捡到了一洞鱼的窝。首先把鱼头拴起来， ta la la ta la la 啊。背着拿回来，放在爸爸妈妈的面前。是考验，家庭会不会成功的。(sentence 157 – Dabayu)。他又打猎回来了。打猎回来，所以想这个人可以。所以，故意的考验他因为女儿会给他，所以考验他家庭会不会成功。(sentence 161 – Dabayu)。所以必须把老虎的奶挤回来。这一次， Tsodeluyizo 没有一点信心了。(sentence 163 – Dabayu)。没有找到老婆，就算了，我自己回家去了。说是要回到我们的土地去了。哎呀，这次是女人来劝他了。(sentence 167 – Dabayu)。雪下了九天九夜的时候，听说老虎会藏在老虎的洞里边。所以，要打小老虎的头上，把小老虎杀掉。说你可以杀了小老虎，穿上它的皮，象小老虎一样去挤奶。因为（她这样）教（给他）以后，所以他这样去做了。有了九天九夜以后，小老虎走到外面来，把小老虎杀了，挤了一碗老虎奶，撒到天上 (sentence 172 – Dabayu)，天都动起来。(sentence 173 – Dabayu)。撒到地里，大地也震动起来了。所以这次成功了。所以回来了啊！所以回来了以后又要考验家庭会不会成功。派他去把树子砍掉，是为了要给他播种粮食。派去砍树拿着斧头去，一天才能够砍掉一棵树，一点信心都没有了。他想怎么样才能把这块土地的树砍好。砍掉了，砍掉了，一天才砍一棵树，手上没有力气，手上没有力气了。所以回来了，横眼睛的姑娘就教给他了。(sentence 183 – Dabayu)。这把斧头放在树林里，我们说的树林里，它自己 ki ywæ ki ywæ 的砍起来了。把斧头叫做 “pi31 tʰa13”。拿九把斧头放在树林里去砍掉九百棵树。所以全部砍掉了。所以派去买稻谷，派去烧树枝。他烧树枝，把他砍掉的树枝堆起来烧掉，我们以前荞麦杆和那些会烧掉的。去烧木头一天才烧一堆，没有兴趣了，也没有办法了，他就回去了。所以回家了，到了一点不好意思的时候。老婆和横眼睛的姑娘，她们两个如果得不到，就算了，不要了，说是回家去。又是女人去教他。(sentence 194 – Dabayu)。放在九个地方，站在山沟的上面，吹九次口哨。说是站在山坡上面，燃九个火把，点着九堆树枝，站

在山坡上面，*ʃü ʃü* 的吹九次口哨去。吹口哨的时候，风 *wo wo* 的吹过来。所以九片树木全部烧完了。烧掉了，回家了。回家以后，又派去翻荒地了。翻地是经常用锄头的，拿九把锄头，一天自己坐的一小块都没有翻。一天翻地完成不了，一点信心都没有了。一点精神都没有了，扛着这把锄头回家了。所以被女人教给他。拿九把锄头，放在九块方向里。你去刨九块荒地。这九把锄头放在九个方向里，这九把锄头，它自己 *ki kwɔ ki kwɔ* 的挖了起来，挖了起来，把这块荒地全部翻完了。(sentence 208 – Dabayu)。所以，去播种了荞麦。播种先去播种。(sentence 211 – Dabayu)。叫 *k^hu33 tu31*，我们有一种。所以，收割的时候，连种子的钱都没有得到。象撒下的种子一样都没有得到。所以，是没有办法了。所以，种子钱没有得到。所以，没有办法了，就去了。这个树木有三棵很高的。首先一棵树是住 *Kunazo* 和 *Baenazo*。叫 *Kunazo* 和 *Baenazo* 是鸭子，和叫 *Kunazo* 的一种鸟，住在这里。去粪便里看的时候，发现他们的粪便里没有吃过的荞麦。最中间的这棵树有一种叫 *Kuphezo* 的鸟，有一种叫 *Kuphezo* 和 *Gaephezo*，他们住在这里。粪便里没有饭。最先的，最中间的，最后的一棵树，看了一眼，发现 *Kutsemi* 住在里面。粪便里有了！我们摩梭的语言里叫做 *Kutsemi*。叫做 *Ribubu* 和 *Rilasi* 的。住这 *Ribubu* 和 *Rilasi*。xa, *Tsodeluyizo* 今天在粪便里找到了荞麦的种子，荞麦被它吃掉了，一点收入都没有了，xa! 有一天，*Tsodeluyizo* 去砍弓箭，弓箭就是我们现在说的弓箭。一天，去找弓箭的箭，听说我们以前会有一个叫“*ʃæ bæ*”的箭。一天，去砍藤，做绳子的藤，听说我们以前有一种藤可以做绳子。*Tsodeluyizo* 是想去射箭。(sentence 234 – Dabayu)。他一天瞄准不敢打，害怕打不中，飞掉了。不打又不行，所以一天在瞄准。眼睛横的姑娘正在他的面前织麻布。我们有一个织麻布的槽，是不是，拿这个槽在麻布上穿过来，穿过去。所以，在横眼睛的女人的面前一天就是这样瞄准着。所以感谢她用织麻布的这个槽，打在弓箭的扳机。(sentence 241 – Dabayu)。用麻布的槽，我们织麻布的槽，打下去，弓箭射到了，*Kutsemi* 的上面，把 *Rilasi* 杀掉了。(sentence 243 – Dabayu)。所以，成功了。考验做够了，准备带着（姑娘）回到他的地方上去了。一样东西都没有办法。什么都没有，没有办法，啊！去是要回去的，建立家庭，但是连一只小鸡都没有。所以

，要带着横眼睛的姑娘回来了。所以，没有办法。所以，女人特别聪明。(sentence 252 – Dabayu) 我们的水稻种子是她梳了头，放在头发的中间的。所以，被天上诅咒了。说，除了热的地方以外，高山的地方，你不可以种。我们的这个水稻不是平地的话，在山高的上面是不可以播种的。这个是被天上诅咒了。(sentence 257 – Dabayu)。圆根的种子是被她偷了，藏在手指头中间拿回来的。被天上诅咒。(sentence 260 – Dabayu)。这个圆根播种出来这么大的，但是里边全部变成水了。这是被天上诅咒。(sentence 263 – Dabayu)。猫，这个是跟着牲畜跑去的。(sentence 265 – Dabayu)。养猫的时候，可以养三个，四个的猫，但是他的肉不可以吃，这个是被天上诅咒的。(sentence 267 – Dabayu)。猪是要不回来了，是我们蒸酒的酒糟因为这个女人太聪明，她在路上一个地方撒了几颗酒糟，这样把猪骗回来了。猪是追赶酒糟，从天上骗回来的。(sentence 270 – Dabayu)。鸡是用饭在路上一颗一颗的撒下，鸡追赶饭，ta ta的吃，被她骗回来的。(sentence 272 – Dabayu)。听说牛是追赶草地来的。牛是天上偷了拿回来的。(sentence 275 – Dabayu)。牦牛是偷了拿回来的。马是没有，只是偷了马的头拿回来了。马是没有偷到了。所以，燕麦炒面和那些是藏在干净的地方了偷回来了，所以我们在敬神的时候不可以用它做祭品。燕麦，炒面是被她藏在下身带回来的，会让人痒痒，所以敬神的时候，不可以用它。所以，找不到竖眼睛的姑娘，只找到横眼睛的姑娘。所以，在人间里的人，心 (sentence 282 – Dabayu) 特别坏。每天都想我自己的生意好一点，不然就是去吃掉你的一块儿东西。在人间里有一点点不好，是这样变成的。如果找到竖眼睛的女人的话，就是眼睛和眉毛这样的，找到的话，不得了！（如果找到竖眼睛的姑娘），不分别你和我，你的和我的，在人间里会变得特别好。

Tsodeluyizo, our Na Tsodeluyizo of Tsuhodzedzemi and Tsodeluyizo, was a boy. It is said that long ago, he and Zhimuku were married. Zhimuku and a mortal were married, it is said. Zhimuku⁵ worked only at night, but ordinary people worked during the day. Completely incompatible... It is said that a long time ago, they were one family.

Before, when they were one family, when we humans, when *pilipitsizo* labored during the day, Zhimuku labored only at night. Having to work at night was absolutely incompatible, so they said, “We will split into separate families.” In splitting families, Zhimuku said, “I want for myself wherever has the best landscape, mountains and such, wherever has the best landscape.” She said she wanted for herself everything with wings. It is said that it was like this. Things with wings, our birds and crows in the mountains, and beautiful things and such... Given to us mortals, of things with wings, only chickens were given; of things that can fly, only chickens were given to us.⁶ All fish were allotted as Zhimuku’s. They split households in this way.

It is said that she gave Tsodeluyizo a strip of land, but it was untillable. Two of them, Tsodeluyizo and another, went to till the field, it is said. Two oxen were harnessed for ploughing. The oxen were as fast as the wind, but they were leaping all over and couldn’t till the land, they say. Much thanks to those two! Tsodeluyizo and the other man did manage to finish tilling the land. As they were finishing tilling the soil, a crow flew over, and said, “This piece of land is untillable, but you two tilled it. If this piece of land is tilled, heaven and earth will switch places. Floodwaters will return.”

The crow said that the floodwaters would come. Then the crow said to Tsodeluyizo, “Use a thin needle and thick thread,⁷ kill an ox (to sew the leather into a large bag), and using a ball of thread, sit inside and sew it closed to save yourself from the floodwaters” and said to the other man, “Use thin thread and a wide needle to sew the

⁵ Zhimuku is the Na animist deity of (water) springs.

⁶ This is an example of Na humour. Chickens cannot really fly, so to allot chickens to the mortals when dividing up animals with wings is trickery.

bag closed.” They were still tilling the land when the crow said that on the wilderness hillside there would be a very tall type of vegetation called rope-making grass. The crow went to the wilderness hillside, came flying back, and then roped its neck and died. Immediately, heaven and earth changed places and the floodwaters came, tə tə!

So, as for the man who used used thin thread and a thick needle, water entered inside his bag and he died. As for the person who used wide thread and a thin needle, he didn’t die, he was called Tsodeluyizo. He floated up!

Before, we said, “With good feathers, one doesn’t build a good nest; skill shouldn’t be disguised.” The bird, because it has feathers, does not make a good nest. As for people, however good one’s skill, whatever one’s artistic vision, if one’s skill is good but one doesn’t work, one won’t ever eat to the point of being full.

So, the floodwaters came, tə tə tə. The floodwaters fell everywhere, tə tə tə. On the mountains, wood from the trees flew by. The floodwaters didn’t retreat, so there was nowhere to go. When the time came, the water retreated. One didn’t see a trace of humankind anywhere. Tsodeluyizo searched for three days and three nights and saw nothing, so he went to visit Apato.⁸ After he went to Apato’s place, he would go look for a wife. Apato told him that if he wanted to find a wife, he should cut down the tallest *shwaesi* tree, bury it, and wait until nine years had passed to dig it up. The *shwaesi* tree is found on our high mountains. Over the years, the buried *shwaesi* tree takes on the appearance of a person. Apato said, “Don’t open it up until nine years have passed.” Tsodeluyizo didn’t have time to wait nine years. He waited nine nights, and then he opened it. Apato had said to cut down a *shwaesi* tree, but the *shwaesi* tree was empty. It sort of looked a tiny bit like a person, it hadn’t been able to take on much of the appearance of a person.

⁷ i.e., if one uses thick thread and a thin needle, the bag will be watertight, but if one uses thin thread and a wide needle, the water will seep in.

⁸ Apato is the main god of the Na pantheon, equivalent to Buddha.

So, he returned to Apato's. Apato told him to cut a *mosi* tree into the shape of a person, bury it, and not to open it up until seven years have passed. He said, "Don't open it up until seven years have passed." Tsodeluyizo carved the wood into the image of a person and buried in the sand like this. He said had made it look like a person walking. He didn't have time for seven years to pass, so after seven nights, he went and opened it up. Ooh! It hadn't been able to become a person. As for walking, oh it walked! It walked a little bit, going off to the monkey's home in the stony mountains. It had become a monkey, and went leaping up to a cliff. It wasn't able to become a person, instead it had become a monkey.

There was a black bear and such; it entered into the forest, the very dense forest. [Sentences in the Daba register.] It became a reptile, and went to live in a pond. So there was nothing to be done. There weren't any chickens and such. There weren't any roosters' crows. There was a type of bird that says, "cheeper cheeper cheeper cheeper." There weren't any dogs. High in the forest, there was a type of bird, a type that says, "gwuh gwuh gwuh."

When we say *tsih shay bo shay* in the Daba register, it means 'look for a wife' and such. Tsodeluyizo had said that he was going to *tsih shay bo shay*. So he went to the heavens to search. He went to look for a vertical-eyed woman and a horizontal-eyed woman. He went to find a vertical-eyed woman. What we call a *nyatsihmee*, her eyes are vertical like this.⁹ In our world, a vertical-eyed person doesn't distinguish between you and me. He didn't find a vertical-eyed woman; rather, he found the horizontal-eyed woman. A horizontal-eyed person often thinks, "Won't I eat a bowl of yours in order to do business today?"¹⁰ This type of person will be like this. It is said he didn't find a vertical-eyed woman, instead he found a horizontal-eyed woman.

⁹ Her eyes are arranged vertically on her face rather than horizontally.

¹⁰ i.e., a horizontal-eyed person acts out of self interest, while a vertical-eyed person does not.

So he went up, he went up to the heavens to look for a wife. It is said that there would be a spring there. He went to hide in this spring. It is said that a woman often would carry a water barrel on her back to the spring to fill it. Long, long ago, one took a water barrel and went to fill it with water in a spring. So, they met here. After they met, she brought him a ball of rice and hid him in the spring to eat the ball of food. He ate it up, so it is said that they secretly had a child.

It is said that long, long ago, having given birth to a child, the child would have a coming-of-age ceremony (at 13 years of age), and only then would the family invite guests.¹¹ It seems that they wouldn't do this casually. So he went to the heavens and said (to her parents), "Today, your girl will have her skirt-wearing ceremony; your son will have his pants-wearing ceremony."

Today, in the heavens, the parents were inviting guests to drink liquor and eat food. He would hide underneath a wooden barrel, the type of wooden barrel we used to make pickled vegetables long, long ago. He took the barrel, carried it back, and hid underneath the barrel, ha! So, when having guests over to eat, we take the left-over bones from meat dishes and toss them under the table. Toss them under the table! So, two dogs started biting each other. The two dogs fought over the bones and started biting each other. They knocked over the wooden barrel with one kick. This time, her mother spotted him. She said, "The vertical-eyed woman's daughter will have a skirt-wearing ceremony today, her son will have a pants-wearing ceremony, and you hid under a wooden barrel. Bring out the rope."

The vertical-eyed woman's mother said, "Today, bind his hands together and drop him from above." Tsodeluyizo, he said, "Vertical-eyed woman, wait a minute, I have my name, my place produces gold and silver." He said, "I am from Ge'er, at the end of the earth; you may not look down upon me, our land often yields gold, silver, and such. The road was long and arduous; it's not possible to carry silver and gold on one's back such a

¹¹ I think the idea is that only then, at the coming of age ceremony, would the parents' relationship be made public.

long distance,” he said and tricked them in this way. So, the vertical-eyed woman’s father spotted him. The father saw him and said, “Today the girl will have a skirt-wearing ceremony, the boy will have a pants-wearing ceremony, cut him down, kill him!” He said to cut him down with a knife, and he took out a knife from around his waist. He said, “I am going to kill him.”

Tsodeluyizo spoke to the vertical-eyed girl in this way. “The road to my land is very long and hard. On my land, I have many cattle and sheep, but the trip was difficult, and I didn’t herd them here. Later, I will bring them here.” So the father said, “Huh!” and put his knife back in its case. The parents coerced them: they would give the girl to him, but first, they would test whether the family would succeed in the mortal world.

In the coldest hours of the early morning, they sent him to fish. When the morning sky had just begun to lighten, it was extremely cold. When the rooster had just crowed, they sent him to fish. He caught all of the fish in the fishing hole. He fastened them together, ta la la ta la la. Carrying them on his back, he brought them back and put them in front of her parents. It was to test whether the family would succeed or not.

Then, they sent him to take the dog hunting. He took the dog hunting and brought it back, so they thought he would be alright. They intended to continue testing him, as they would give their daughter to him. Would the family succeed or not? [Sentence in the Daba register.]

He must milk a tiger and bring its milk back. This time, Tsodeluyizo felt a little bit hopeless. If he didn’t obtain the horizontal-eyed woman, then he wouldn’t obtain her [phrase in the Daba register.] He hadn’t found a wife, so he’d drop the matter, and he said, “I am going to return to my land.” Oh, this time, it was the woman who tricked him. [Sentence in the Daba register.] When snow is falling for nine days and nine nights, it is said that the tiger will hide in its den. So, she said to hit the baby tiger’s head, kill the baby tiger. She said, “Wear a tiger skin in order to look like a baby tiger—kill the baby tiger, put on its skin, and go get the tiger milk.” She taught him this, and he went to

do so. Nine days and nine nights passed and then the baby tiger came outside. He killed the baby tiger, milked a bowl of tiger milk, and sprinkled it to the heavens, [phrase in the Daba register] *tə tə*, and the heavens moved. [Sentence in the Daba register.] He sprinkled it on the ground, and the earth trembled. So this time he succeeded. So he came back!

He came back, and then they decided to test again whether the family would succeed or not. They sent him to cut down trees; when he had cut down the trees, they wanted to make him plant grain. They sent him to go cut down trees, so he went with an axe, but in one day, he was only able to cut down one tree, so he felt completely hopeless. He thought, “How can I succeed in clearing this piece of land?” He chopped and chopped, but in one day he only cut down one tree, so he felt weak. So he came back, and the vertical-eyed woman taught him. Put this axe in the forest and it will start to say *ki qwæ ki qwæ* (i.e., cut down the trees) by itself. The axe, we call it a *phithah*. Take nine axes, put them in the forest, and cut down nine hundred trees. So the axes chopped back and forth, and the trees fell.

Then, they sent him to buy rice paddy, they sent him to burn branches. He stacked the branches together that he had cut down and burned them; long ago we burned buckwheat stems and such. Ha! In one day, he only burned one stack; he felt hopeless and came back. He returned quickly, feeling a bit embarrassed. He thought that if he didn’t obtain a wife, then he wouldn’t obtain her, and said, “I am going.” Again, the woman taught him. [Phrase in the Daba register.] ... burn these nine sticks of pine resin. Place them in the nine directions, and whistle nine times in a mountain valley. She said, “Stand on a hillside, burn the nine stacks of pine resin branches, and whistle “*şü şü*” nine times on the hillside.” Whistling, the wind went, “*wə wə*.” So, he burned the nine pieces of wood and came back.

He came back, and they sent him to go overturn wasteland. Using nine hoes, in one day he hadn't overturned the space he was sitting in. He had no hope; he wasn't able to overturn the land. He had no hope, so he came back, and put the hoe on his shoulder. The woman taught him. Take nine hoes and put them in the nine directions, and go scratch at the nine plots of wasteland. He took the nine hoes and put them in the nine directions. The nine hoes went, "ki kwɔ ki kwɔ" by themselves, digging and digging, and they finished overturning the nine plots of wasteland. So, buckwheat [phrase in the Daba register.]

So, he went to plant buckwheat. [Sentence in the Daba register.] We have a type called *khutu*. He harvested the grain, but he didn't even get back seed money! He didn't have any seeds to sow. So, there was no way, and he left. There were three very tall trees. In the first one, *kunazo* and *baenazo* live. [What in the Daba register] were called *kunazo* and *baenazo* are a duck and a type of bird called *kunazo*,¹² they lived there. Going to look in their dung, there weren't any digested buckwheat seeds. In the middle tree, there would be types of birds called *kuphezo* and *gaephezo* living there. There weren't any digested buckwheat seeds in their dung. In the last tree, *kutsemi* lived. In our Na language, it is called *kutsemi*. [In the Daba register] they are called *ribubu* and *rilasi*. *Ribubu* and *rilasi* lived there. The digested buckwheat seeds were there in *kutsemi's* dung! Ha, today, Tsodeluyizo found the seeds of the digested buckwheat *kutsemi* had eaten in its dung. He hadn't had any income, and now, ha!

One day, Tsodeluyizo went to cut a bow. [In the Daba register] they are called a *suhso* ('bow') and *shaebae* ('arrow'). Long ago, there was this type of arrow. He went for vines to make rope; it is said that on our trees there would be a type of vine called *lobae*, a type of rope-making vine. Tsodeluyizo planned to go shooting. [Sentence in the Daba register.] For one day he aimed and aimed. If he shot and didn't hit the bird, couldn't the bird fly away? He didn't shoot, he just kept aiming. The horizontal-eyed woman was weaving hemp cloth in front of him. She was using a shuttle for weaving

¹² i.e., 'baenazo' means 'duck' in Na, and it is no longer known what kind of bird a 'kunazo' is.

hemp cloth, right?, the shuttle that is passed back and passed forth through the weft. So, in front of the horizontal-eyed woman, he was aiming in this manner. So, thanking her, he took the shuttle and put it on the trigger. [Sentence in the Daba register.] With the shuttle, our shuttle, he struck the bird, he hit *kutsemi; rilasi* fell and died. [Sentence in the Daba register.] He succeeded, oh!

The tests were enough, he would carry her off to his land. He had nothing at all, there was no way, oh! He should go, he should go set up a family, but he didn't even have a baby chick, oh! So, there was no way. The woman was extremely clever. [Phrase in the Daba register] our paddy seeds, she combed her hair and put them in her hair. But the heavens cursed the seeds. The heavens said, "Don't plant them in the mountains unless you plant them in a warm place." Our paddy won't grow in the high mountains and such places, unless it is in the flatlands. The heavens cursed the seeds.¹³

She stole turnip seeds by putting them between her fingers.. The heavens cursed the seeds. [Sentence in the Daba register.] Planting the turnips, they could become quite big, but they would be watery inside. The heavens cursed them. [Sentence in the Daba register.]

Cats escaped following the livestock. [Sentence in the Daba register.] Raising cats, one could get three or four of them, but the cat meat wasn't good to eat, the heavens had cursed it. [Sentence in the Daba register.] The pigs were not willing to come. They say the woman obtained wine lees, our wine lees from distilling wine, and tricked the pigs. This woman, she was extremely clever, she sprinkled the lees on the road, a couple lees in one place and a couple lees in another, and the pigs followed the wine lees. The pigs came following the wine lees, she tricked the heavens and brought the pigs back. [Sentence in the Daba register.] As for the chickens, she took rice kernels and put them on the road one by one; the chickens pecked at the rice kernels, ta ta, in this way, she tricked them and they came. [Sentence in the Daba register.] They say the cows came

¹³ Most types of rice will not grow in the Na areas due to the high altitude growing conditions. Himalayan red rice is grown.

following the grass. The cows were stolen and brought back, the heavens... [Sentence in the Daba register.] The yaks were stolen and brought back. There weren't any horses; instead, they stole a horse head and brought it back. Oats, tsampa, and such, she hid in her private parts. This is the reason one can't use them in religious items and such.¹⁴

So, he didn't find a vertical-eyed woman; instead he found a horizontal-eyed woman. So, in the earthly world, [phrase in the Daba register]. I think, "Won't I improve my business a bit today, even if I will take away from you, or you take away from me?" So in the earthly world, there is a little evil, it came to be in this way. If one finds a vertical-eyed woman, finds a woman with eyes and eyebrows like this, excellent! If one finds a vertical-eyed woman, she doesn't distinguish between you and me, between mine and yours, and the world would become very good.

¹⁴ In Tibetan Buddhism, one makes sculptures out of grain doughs or yak butter to place on the altar.

ts^hɔ31 du33 lu33 yi33 zɔ33 pi33 jiushi (loan) ʃ31-sɿ33 ku31 na13 bu33
 Tsodeluyizo be called that is 1INC.PRO Na POSS
 Tsodeluyizo 就是 咱们 摩梭 的
 Tsodeluyizo, that is, our Na Tsodeluyizo
 Tsodeluyizo, 就是说咱们摩梭的Tsodeluyizo
 Tsodeluyizo.1

ts^hɔ31 du33 lu33 yi33 zɔ33 la33 ts^hɿ31 hɔ35 tse33 tse33 mi33 ts^hɔ31 du33 lu33 yi33 zɔ33
 Tsodeluyizo and Tshodzedzemi Tsodeluyizo
 Tsodeluyizo 和 Tshodzedzemi Tsodeluyizo
 of Tshodzedzemi and Tsodeluyizo, Tsodeluyizo,

pi33 dzɔ33 zɔ33 t^hu33 du33 wu33 ni33. t^hu33 ɑ31 yi33 ʃɛ33 dzɔ33
 be called TOP boy 3SG.PRO one CLS COP 3SG.PRO long, long ago TOP
 儿子 他 一 量词 是 他 很久以前
 he was a boy. It is said (that) a long time ago, he
 他是一个男孩儿。 听说很久以前，他
 Tsodeluyizo.2

zu31 mu33 ku33 la33 du33 zu33 ni33 tsi13. zu31 mu33 ku33 la33 hi33 dzɔ33
 Zhimuku and one family COP REP Zhimuku and people TOP
 Zhimuku 和 一 家 是 Zhimuku 和 人
 and Zhimuku were of the same family. Zhimuku and people
 和Zhimuku是一家人。 Zhimuku和大家
 Tsodeluyizo.3

du33 zu33 ni33 tsi13. zu31 mu33 ku33 dzɔ33 hæ33 q^hɿ33 ta31 lɔ31-yi33
 one family COP REP Zhimuku TOP evening only labor
 一 家 是 Zhimuku 晚上 才 劳动
 were of one family, it is said. Zhimuku worked only at night,
 是一家人，听说。 Zhimuku 在晚上劳动，
 Tsodeluyizo.4

hi33 dzɔ33 ji33-ɦi31 ku33 lɔ31-yi33. mɔ33-hɔ33-hɔ33 dzɔ33 t^hu33 kwɔ33 ni33...
 people TOP daytime labor NEG-compatible TOP absolutely
 人 白天 劳动 不合气 彻底
 (but) people worked during the day. Completely incompatible...
 可是其他人在白天劳动。 彻底的不合气了。。。.
 Tsodeluyizo.5

zɯ31 mu33 ku33 dzɔ33 ʃ31-sɻ33 ku31 pi33 dzɔ33 dzi33-qʰɣ33 la33 tʰæ13 ni33.
 Zhimuku TOP 1INC.PRO say COMPL spring and such COP
 Zhimuku 咱们 说 水井 和 那些 是

as for ‘Zhimuku,’ we say, “‘spring’ and such.”

“Zhimuku” 有“水井”和那些的意思。

ɑ33-wɔ33 ɑ31 yi33 ʃɛ33 dzɔ33 du33 zɯ33 ni33 tsi13. wɔ33 ta33 dzɔ33
 home long, long ago TOP one family COP REP before TOP
 家 很久以前 一 家 是 以前

It is said (that) a long time ago, (they) were one family.

听说很久以前，他们是一家人。

Tsodeluyizo.6

Before,

以前，

Tsodeluyizo.7

du33 zɯ33 yī33 dzɔ33 hī33 dzɔ33 ʃ31-sɻ33 ku31 hī33 dzɔ33
 one family make people 1INC.PRO people
 一 家 做 人 咱们 人

(when) (they) were one family, (when) we humans,

他们是一家的时候，咱们在，

pi33 li33 pi33 tsʰu31 zɔ33 dzɔ33 tʰæ33 pi33-ti31 ku33 lɔ31-yi33 zɯ31 mu33 ku33 nu33
 pilipitsizo¹⁵ often daytime labor Zhimuku CONTR
 pilipitsizo 经常 白天 劳动 Zhimuku

when “pilipitsizo” would often labor during the day, Zhimuku

pilipitsizo在白天劳动，Zhimuku

dzɔ33 tʰã33 hæ33 qʰɣ33 ta31 lɔ31-yi33. hæ33 qʰɣ33 lɔ31-yi33 zɔ33
 TOP often night only labor night labor OBL
 经常 晚上 才 劳动 晚上 劳动 必须

would often labor only at night.

经常在晚上劳动。

Having to work at night was

经常在晚上工作所以

Tsodeluyizo.8

tʰu33 kwɔ33 ni31 mə33-hɔ33-hɔ33 zɔ33 zɯ33-tʰu13 bi33 pi33 ni33.
 absolutely NEG-compatible PERF separate families FUT.IMM QUOT CERT.STR
 彻底 不合气 了 分家 去

absolutely incompatible, (so they) said, “(We) will split into separate families.”

彻底不合气,所以听说他们去分家。

¹⁵ Term of humility used by the Na to refer to themselves, and also used as an insult.

zɯ33-tʰu13	nɔ33	tʰi13	zɯ31 mu33 ku33	tʰu33	nu33	dʒɔ33	sv31 tʂʰɤ31
separate families		so	Zhimuku	3SG.PRO	AGTV	COMPL	landscape
分家	的话	所以	Zhimuku	她			山水

In splitting families, Zhimuku said, “(I) want for myself
听说分家的话, Zhimuku
Tsodeluyizo.9

zu31-kwɔ33	gɤ55	dʒɤ13	dʒɔ33...	wɤ33	la33	tʰæ13	sv31 tʂʰɤ31	zu31-kwɔ33
wherever	side	good	EXIST	mountain	and	such	landscape	wherever
哪里	边, 面	好		山	和	那些	山水	哪里

wherever has the best landscape,... mountains and such, wherever has
把山水, 哪里

dʒɤ13	dʒɔ33	nɔ13	ji33	pi33.	ty33-di31 ¹⁶	yi31 ha13	nɔ13	ji33	pi33.
good	TOP	REFL	want	QUOT	wings-EXIST.P	all	REFL	want	QUOT
好		自己	要		翅膀-有	全部	自己	要	

the best landscape,” (they) say. (She) said (she) wanted for herself everything with wings.
最好, 换成自己的。听说全部有翅膀的, 她要。
Tsodeluyizo.10

tʰu33-ni13	ku33	ni33	tsi13.	ty33-di31-hi33	ʂ31-sɤ33 ku31
this way	seem	COP	REP	wings-EXIST.P-NOM	INC.PRO
这样	象	是		翅膀-有-的	咱们

It is said that it was like this. Things with wings, our birds and crows
听说是这样的了。有翅膀的, 咱们在山上的
Tsodeluyizo.11 Tsodeluyizo.12

dʒi33 wɤ33	gɤ55	wu31-dʒɛ33	la33	læ31 ɥæ33	la33	nu55 ɛi31-hi33	tʰæ13...
in the mountains	side	bird	and	crow	and	beautiful-NOM	such
在山上	边, 面	鸟	和	乌鸦	和	漂亮-的	些

in the mountains, and beautiful things and such...
鸟和乌鸦和漂亮的和这些。。。

ʂ31-sɤ33 ku31	pi33 li33 pi33 tsʰu31 zɔ33	ki33	dʒɔ33	æ13	la33	tʰæ13
INC.PRO	pilipitsizo	DAT	TOP	chicken	and	such
咱们	pilipitsizo	给		鸡	和	些

(Given) to us people, chickens and such,
分给我们人类的, 有翅膀的, 只有鸡和那些,
Tsodeluyizo.13

¹⁶ This existential verb usually has tʰl33 as a part of it, but appears here without tʰl33 because of Classical Mosuo syntax.

ty33-di31-hi33	t ^h u33-ni13	du33-pi13	ta31	ki33	dze33	ku13	t ^h u33-ni13
wings-EXIST.P-NOM	this kind	some	only	give	fly	ABLT	this kind
翅膀-有的	这样	一些	才	给	飞	会	这样

(of) things with wings, only some of these (chickens) were given; (of) things that can fly,

只给一些这样的，会飞的这样一些，

du33-pi13	ta31	ki33.	ni33 zɔ33	px33 tɔ31	zu31 mu33 ku33	bu33	tɕɣ33.
some	only	give	fish	all	Zhimuku	POSS	allot
一些	才	给	鱼	都	Zhimuku	的	算

only (chickens) were given (to us).

才分给我们。

All fish were allotted as Zhimuku's.

鱼全部算是Zhimuku的。

Tsodeluyizo.14

t ^h u33-ni13	zu33-t ^h u13.	my33-di33	t ^h u33	dzɔ33	du33	k ^h wɣ33
this way	separate families	land	this	TOP	one	CLS
这样	分家	土地	这		一	量词

(They) split households in this way.

这样的分家。

Tsodeluyizo.15

As for land, it is said that

听说是给了一

Tsodeluyizo.16

ki33	ni33	tsi13.	t ^h u33	k ^h wɣ33	dzɔ33	lu33	mə33-hi33	pi33	tsi13.
give	CERT.STR	REP	this	CLS	TOP	till	NEG-be okay	QUOT	REP
给			这	量词		耕	不-行		

(she) gave a strip (of it).

块儿土地。

It is said that (they) said this strip of land was untillable.

听说这块儿土地是不能耕种的。

Tsodeluyizo.17

ts ^h ɔ31	du33	lu33	yi33	zɔ33	lu33	mə33-hi33	pi33	dzɔ31.
Tsodeluyizo			till	NEG-be okay	say	then		
Tsodeluyizo			耕	不-行	说	就		

Tsodeluyizo said that it was untillable.

Tsodeluyizo说是不能耕种的。

Tsodeluyizo.18

ni33	ku13	ni33	ts ^h ɔ31	du33	lu33	yi33	zɔ33	la33	wɣ13	du33	wu33
two	CLS	COP	Tsodeluyizo					and	again	one	CLS
两	量词	是	Tsodeluyizo					和	又	一	量词

It is said that there were two of them, Tsodeluyizo and another,

听说是两个，Tsodeluyizo和另外一个，

Tsodeluyizo.19

t^hu33 zu31 lu33 hu33 ni33 tsi13. zu31 wə33 t^hu33 ni33
 3SG.PRO both till go CERT.STR REP ploughing oxen this two
 他 耕 去 耕牛 这 两
 those two went to till (the field). These two oxen
 他们两个去耕种了。 架了这两头

Tsodeluyizo.20

p^hɔ13 t^hu33-*ji*a (loan). pɔ33 lu33-yi33 (yi33) t^hu13 lu33-yi33
 CLS DUR-be harnessed to plow. wasteland ploughing oxen cow use ploughing oxen
 量词 架 荒地 耕牛 牛 用 耕牛
 were harnessed to plow. Using the oxen to till the wasteland, the oxen seemed
 耕牛。 荒地用牛耕种，耕牛

Tsodeluyizo.21

hæ33 ʃu31 tsɿ33 tsi33-tsi33 zɔ33 ts^hɔ55 pi33 pi31 lu33 mə33-hi33
 wind be fast seem fasten.RECIP PERF leap till NEG-be okay
 风 快 象 拴起来 了 跳 耕 不-行

as fast as the wind; (they) say that harnessed together, (they) were leaping (all over), (they) say (they)
 像快疯一样,听说挤在一起跳,

pi33 hæ31. t^hu33 zu33 ɣa33 mi33 dzɔ31. lu33 du33 k^hwɿ33 lə33-tse31 p^hu13
 QUOT INTERJ 3SG.PRO both thank then till one CLS ACCOMP-overturn
 语气词 他 两 谢谢 就 耕 一 量词 翻转
 couldn't till (it). Much thanks to those two! They finished tilling the
 听说耕种不了。 感谢他们两个! 翻好了这块儿

Tsodeluyizo.22

Tsodeluyizo.23

t^hu33-tɕi33. tse31 p^hu13 hu33 dzɔ33 t^hi13 lə31 ɣæ33 t^hu33 du33 mi31
 DUR-put overturn go PROG so crow this one CLS
 放 翻转 去 正在 所以 乌鸦 这 一 量词
 land. While (they) were going to overturn (the soil), a crow
 土地。 他们在翻转的时候，一只乌鸦

Tsodeluyizo.24

lə33-dzɛ33 lə33-ts^hu33 zɔ33. t^hu33 k^hwɿ33 dzɔ33 lu33 mə33-hi33
 ACCOMP-fly ACCOMP-come CSM this CLS TOP till NEG-be okay
 飞 来 了 这 量词 耕 不-行

flew over.
 飞来了。

“This piece of land is untillable,
 “这块儿是耕种不了的，

Tsodeluyizo.25

no33 zu33 dzo33 la33-lu33 ze33. t^hu33 k^hwɿ33 lu33 pi33 dzo33 mɿ33 la33
 2SG.PRO both TOP ACCOMP-till PERF this CLS till COND.PRED heaven and
 你 耕 了 这 量词 耕 天 和
 (but) you two tilled it. If this piece of land is tilled, heaven and
 你们两个把它耕好了。 如果这块儿地耕种的话, 天和
 Tsodeluyizo.26

di33 la33-tɔ31 pi13 ho33. pi31 p^hu13 dzi33 la33-yɔ33 ho33 pi33 zo33."
 earth ACCOMP-turn over FUT.DES flood water ACCOMP-come FUT.DES say CRS
 地 翻转 要 洪水 来 要 了
 earth will switch places. Floodwaters will return."
 地会翻转。 洪水会回来了。”
 Tsodeluyizo.27

pi31 p^hu13 dzi33 la33-yɔ33 pi33 hæ31 dzo31 læ31 yæ33 t^hu33 mi31 nu33
 flood water ACCOMP-come say INTERJ then crow this CLS AGTV
 洪水 来 说 语气词 乌鸦 这 量词
 (It) said that the floodwaters would come, (and) then this crow said to one person,
 说完洪水会来以后, 这只乌鸦
 Tsodeluyizo.28

du33 wu33 ki33 dzo33 wɔ13 t^hu33 hu33 k^hu33 bu33 hu33 zu31 wu33
 one CLS DAT TOP needle thin go thread wide go ploughing oxen
 一 量词 给 针 细 去 线 粗 去 耕牛
 “Use a thin needle (and) a wide thread, kill an ox [to sew the leather into a large bag],
 对一个人说, “用细的针, 粗的线, 把牛杀了, [用牛皮缝了一大包]

la33-k^hɔ13 k^hu33 tɕ^hɿ31 tɕ^hɿ31 pɔ13 la33-zu13 kwɔ33-lɔ31 dzu31
 ACCOMP-kill thread ball INSTR ACCOMP-sew INESS sit
 杀 线 团 缝 里边 坐
 (and) with a ball of thread, sit inside (and) sew (it) closed [to save yourself from the floodwaters]”
 用线团来缝掉了, 坐在中间[把你的生命从洪水救了]”,

du33 wu33 ki33 dzo33 t^hi13 k^hu33 t^hu33 hu33 wɔ13 bu33 hu33 la33-zu13.
 one CLS DAT TOP so thread thin go needle wide go ACCOMP-sew
 一 量词 给 所以 线 细 去 针 粗 去 缝
 (and) said to another, “So, use thin thread (and) a wide needle (and) sew (it) closed.”
 对另外一个人说, “用细的线, 粗的针缝好。”

t^hu33 k^hwɿ33 lu33 t^hu33 k^hwɿ33 se13 mɔ33-wɔ33 su31 t^hu33-lu33
 this CLS till this CLS finish NEG-ABLT still DUR-till
 这 量词 耕 这 量词 完 不-能 还 耕
 Tilling this strip of land, (they) still hadn't been able to finish (tilling) the strip of land (and)
 耕这块儿地刚刚开始, 耕还没有耕完的时候,
 Tsodeluyizo.29

tə31 bi13 zə33 pi31 p^hu13 dzi33 lə33-ts^hu33 zə33 tə33 tə33.
 overturn CSM floodwaters ACCOMP-come CSM tə33 tə31
 翻转 了 洪水 来 了 tə33 tə31

changed places (and) the floodwaters came, tə33 tə31!
 那些, 翻转了, 洪水来了, tə33 tə31!

t^hi13 zu31 wu33 t^hu33 p^hɔ13 lə33-k^hɔ13 yi33 t^hu33 ni33 p^hɔ13
 so ploughing oxen this CLS ACCOMP-kill cow this two CLS
 所以 耕牛 这 量词 杀 牛 这 两 量词

So, there was one (who) killed this ox, killed these two oxen,
 所以有一个人, 杀了这头耕牛, 杀了这两头,
 Tsodeluyizo.34

lə33-k^hɔ13 du33 wu33 dʒə33 t^hi13 k^hu33 ts^hu33 hu33 wɔ13 bu33
 ACCOMP-kill one CLS EXIST so thread thin go needle wide
 杀 一 量词 有 所以 线 细 去 针 粗

so (because) (he) used thin thread (and) a thick needle [to sew the large bag he made to escape the
 因为用细的线, 粗的针,

hu33 t^hu33 wu33 dʒə33 kwə33-lə33 dzi33 lə33-hu33 lə33-ʂu33.
 go this CLS TOP INESS water ACCOMP-go ACCOMP-die
 去 这 量词 里边 水 去 死

floodwaters], this man, water entered inside [the large bag], (and) he died.
 这个就里边进水, 死掉了。

k^hu33 bu33 hu33 wɔ13 ts^hu33 hu33 t^hu33 wu33 dʒə33 mə33-ʂu33 zə33
 thread wide go needle thin go this CLS TOP NEG-die PERF
 线 粗 去 针 细 去 这 量词 没-死 了

As for the person (who) used wide thread (and) a thin needle, (he) didn't die,
 有这个人因为用粗的线, 细的针, 没死亡了,
 Tsodeluyizo.35

ts^hɔ31 du33 lu33 yi33 zə33 pi33 dʒə33 gu31-tse13 ni33 mə33
 Tsodeluyizo be called TOP float up CERT.STR CERT.M
 Tsodeluyizo 漂

(he) was called Tsodeluyizo, (he) floated up!,
 他叫 Tsodeluyizo, 漂在水

dzi33 wə33-k^hwɔ33 gu31-tse33 ni33.
 water on top float up CERT.STR
 水 上面 漂

(he) floated on top of the water.
 的上面。

bu33 lu31 yi33 t ^h u31	t ^h u33	k ^h wɿ33	su31	mə33-ni33.	wə33 ta33
?	this	CLS	yet	NEG-COP	before
?	这	量词	还	不是	以前
..., (we) haven't reached this part yet. [intertextual comment]					Before,
..., 还没到这段。					以前
Tsodeluyizo.36					Tsodeluyizo.37

ɕ31-sɿ33 ku31	pi33	dʒə33	lu31	dʒɿ13	k ^h u31	mə33-ku31	k ^h u31 zɿ33
IINC.PRO	say	COMPL	feathers	good	nest	NEG-make	skill
咱们	说		羽毛	好	窝	不-做	技术
we said, "(With) good feathers, (one) doesn't build a nest; skill							
咱们说, "羽毛好, 窝不做, 好的技术							

zy31	mə33-də33.	wu31-dze33	t ^h u33	hɔ̃33	t ^h u33-di31	zə33
disguise	NEG-should	bird	3SG.PRO	fur	DUR-EXIST.P	CRS
隐瞒	不-应该	鸟	他	毛	站	了
shouldn't be disguised."		The bird, (because) it has feathers,				
不应该隐瞒起来。"		鸟, 因为它有毛,				
Tsodeluyizo.38						

k ^h u31	t ^h u33	lu33	mə33-ku31.	hɿ33	t ^h u33	lɔ31-mɿ33	q ^h a33-ni13	dʒɿ13
nest	this	CLS	NEG-make	people	this	skill	however	be good
窝	这	个	不-做	人	这	技术	怎样	好
does not make a nest.				As for people, however good (one's) skill,				
所以它的窝不好好的做。				人呢? 就算是有特别好的				
Tsodeluyizo.39								

a33-tɕə33-mə33-ni33	ɲa33-dʒi33-di31	zə33	lɔ31-mɿ33	a33-tɕə33-mə33-ni33
whatever (EMPH)	artistic vision	PERF	skill	whatever (EMPH)
什么	艺术性的眼光	了	技术	什么
whatever (one's) artistic vision, if (one has) the skill to be able				
技术, 很好的艺术性的眼光; 但是有好的				

yɿ33	ku13	pe33	dʒə31	ɕ13	mə31-yɿ33	pi33-dʒə33	lɔ31	dʒɿ13
make	ABLT	but	then	REFL	NEG-make	COND.PRED	hand	be good
做	会	但是		自己	不-做	的话	手	好
to make anything, but one doesn't make (anything), (one's) hand is good								
手艺								

lɔ31	mə33-yɿ33	du33	ɲi33	ɲi33	mə33-ku13.	lɔ31-k ^h wɿ33
labor	NEG-make	one	day	full	NEG-FUT.ABL	skill
劳动	不-做	一	天	饱	不-会	技术
(and) (one) doesn't work, (one) won't be able to be full for one day.						If (one's) skill
不劳动, 一天都不会吃饱。						技术好了,
Tsodeluyizo.40						

lə33-dzɿ13	zə33	lə31	mə33-yĩ33	pi33-dzə33	hə33	lə33-ɲi33	di33
ACCOMP-be good	CSM	labor	NEG-make	COND.PRED	food	ACCOMP-full	
好	了	劳	不-做	的话	饭	饱	的

has become good (but) (one) doesn't work, (one) won't eat to the point of

如果不劳动的话，饭吃饱的时候

dzə33	mə33-ku13.	tʰi13	tə31 tə31 tə31	pi31 pʰu13 dzi33	yə33	ni33	zɛ33.
TOP	NEG-FUT.ABL	so	tə tə tə	floodwaters	come	CERT.STR	CSM
	不-会	所以	tə tə tə	洪水	来		了

being full.

不会有。

So, the floodwaters came, tə tə tə.

所以，洪水tə tə tə的来了。

Tsodeluyizo.41

pi31 pʰu13 dzi33	nu33	tə31 tə31 tə31.	wɿ33-wə33	gɿ31	tʰə̃33	nu33
floodwaters	AGTV	tə tə tə	mountains	side	often	EMPH
洪水		tə tə tə	山上	边，面	经常	

The floodwaters fell everywhere, tə tə tə.

被洪水tə tə tə。

On the mountains, often

山上面所有的

Tsodeluyizo.42

Tsodeluyizo.43

su33-dzu33	bi33	tʃwɿ33	su33-dzu33	dze33	lə33-hu33.
tree	on	caught on	tree	fly	ACCOMP-go
树木	上	抓住	树木	飞	去

wood from the trees flew by.

树上树木都飞走了。

pi31 pʰu13 dzi33	dzi33	lə33	tʰə̃33	mə33-kwə31	tʰi13	yĩ33-bi33-di33-mə33-di31.
floodwaters	water	etc.	often	NEG-retreat	so	no way
洪水	水	等等	经常	不-退	所以	没有办法

The floodwaters didn't retreat, so there was no way (to go anywhere).

洪水的水天天不退，所以没有办法去任何地方。

Tsodeluyizo.44

<i>chabuduo</i> (loan)	ku33	dzə33	tʰi13	dzi33	lə33-kwə31.
more or less	EXIST.T	TOP	then	water	ACCOMP-retreat
差不多	有		所以	水	退

When the time came, then the water retreated.

差不多的时候，水退了。

Tsodeluyizo.45

t ^h i13	t ^h u33-	di33 mə31 su33	kwə33	t ^h æ33	nu33	q ^h ɑ33-ni13	ku33	=ə31
so	DUR-	place	LOC			how	seem	=INTERJ
所以		所有的地	里	所有的		怎样	象	语气词

So, in every place, (one) didn't see how (things) were,

所以所有的世界, 怎么样了都不知道,

Tsodeluyizo.46

mə33-tə33	du33-ta13	t ^h u33-ni13	hi33	tɕ ^h i33	hi33	tɕɣ33	du33	ly33
NEG-see	all	this way	people	scent	people	origin	one	CLS
不-看见	全部	这样	人	味道	人	人的种子	一	量词

(it was) all this way, (one) didn't see a trace of humankind.

全部这样, 人的味道和人的种子一个都

mə33-tə33.	sə31	ji33	sə31	ha33	ʂe33	mə33-tə33	t ^h i13	ɑ33 pa33 tə31
NEG-see	three	day	three	night	look for	NEG-see	so	Apato
不-看见	三	天	三	夜	找	不-看见	所以	Apato

(He) searched for three days and three nights and saw nothing, so (he) went
不看见。 找了三天三夜, 什么都看不见, 所以去Apato

Tsodeluyizo.47

ki33	hu33.	ɑ33 pa33 tə31	ki33	t ^h u33	nə31	t ^h i13	zu33-mi33
ALL	go	Apato	ALL	arrive	then	so	wife
	去	Apato		到	才	所以	老婆

to Apato's. (When) (he) arrived at Apato's (place), then (he) would
那里。 到了Apato那里, 才去

Tsodeluyizo.48

ʂe33	hə33	ni33.	zu33-mi33	ʂe33	hə33	ʂwæ33-su33
look for	FUT.DES	CERT.STR	wife	look for	DES	(type of tree)
找	会		老婆	找	要	(树的一个种类)

go look for a wife. (If) (he) wants to look for a wife,
找老婆。 要找老婆的话,

Tsodeluyizo.49

ʂwæ33-hi33	da13.	gy33	k ^h u13	ku33	mə33-ni33
tall-NOM	cut down	nine	year	EXIST.T	unless
高-的	砍	九	年	有	

cut down the tallest shwaesi tree. Unless nine years have passed,
要砍最高的ʂwæ33-su31树。 没有九年的话,

Tsodeluyizo.50

lə33-ba33	tʰa33	hɔ̃33.	ʂwæ33-su33	pi33	zɔ33	dʒɔ33
ACCOMP-open	PROH	go.IMP	(type of tree)	be called	CRS	TOP
扒开	别	去	(树的一个种类)		了	

don't open (it) up.
不要扒开。

The (one) called a shwaesi tree,
叫的ʂwæ33-su31就是
Tsodeluyizo.51

ɔ̃31-sɿ33	ku31	wɿ33	ʂwæ33	wɔ33	ʂwæ33-su33	lə33-da13.
INC.PRO		mountain	be tall	on	(type of tree)	ACCOMP-cut down
咱们		山	高	上	(树的一个种类)	砍

the shwaesi tree on our high mountains, cut (that) down.
长在我们的高山上面的树, 把它砍回来。

gy33	kʰu13	mə33-ku33	tʂe31	my13	kwɔ33	hɿ33
nine	year	NEG-EXIST.T	sand		LOC	people
九	年	没有	沙子		里	人

(When) nine years have not (yet) passed, (the shwaesi tree) (buried)
没有九年 (把ʂwæ sɿ) 做成人的
Tsodeluyizo.52

ni33	lə33-ku31	zɔ33.	gy33	kʰu13	ku33	mə33-ni33
seem	ACCOMP-make	CSM	nine	year	EXIST.T	unless
象	做	了	九	年	有	

takes on the appearance of a person. (He) said, "Unless nine years have passed,
样子埋在沙子里。说没有九年,
Tsodeluyizo.53

lə33-ba33	tʰa33	hɔ̃33	pi33.
ACCOMP-open	PROH	go.IMP	QUOT
扒开	别	去	

don't go open (it) up."
你不要去扒开。

gy33	kʰu13	ku33	mə33-ni33	nɔ33	tʰu33-ba33
nine	year	EXIST.T	unless	2SG.PRO	DUR-open
九	年	有		你	扒开

Unless nine years have passed, don't go
没有九年你
Tsodeluyizo.54

t^ha33 h533. t^hu33 nu33 gy33 k^hu13 h33 mə33-mə33.
 PROH go.IMP 3SG.PRO FOC nine year wait NEG-have time
 别 他 九 年 等 不-空闲

open (it). He didn't have time to wait nine years.

不要扒开。 他等不了九年。

Tsodeluyizo.55

gy33 ha33 lə33-ba33 hu33.

nine night ACCOMP-open go

九 夜 扒开 去

(He waited) nine nights, (and) opened (it).

等了九夜，就去扒掉了。

Tsodeluyizo.56

ʃwæ33-su33 da13 bi33 pi33 ʃwæ33-su33 kə33 la33 la31 (loan).

(type of tree) cut down go say (type of tree) empty, roomy

(树的一个种类) 砍 去 说 (树的一个种类) 空

(He) (had) said to go cut down a shwaesi tree, (but) the shwaesi tree was empty.

说去砍ʃwæ33-su31，可是ʃwæ33-su31里边是空空的。

Tsodeluyizo.57

t^hu33-ni13 zə33 *suibian* (loan) zə33 hī33 ni33 du33-ku33 la31 lu31

this way ADVB as you wish ADVB person seem seem.DEL nothing more

这样 的 随便 的 人 象 一象 而已

(It) sort of looked a tiny bit like a person,

只有一点点的象人的样子，

Tsodeluyizo.58

dʒæ13 hī33 bi33 mu31 lu33 t^hu33 mə33-wə33 ni33 zɛ33.

much person on appearance achieve NEG-ABLT CERT.STR PERF

很多 人 上 样子 形成 不-能

(it) wasn't able to take on much of the appearance of a person.

没有多少人的模样在上面。

t^hi13 nə33 h531 ku31 h555 lə31 di31 a33 pa33 tə31 wɿ13

so Apato again

所以 Apato 又

So, ?????, (he) again returned (to) Apato, (he) went

所以，????，回去

Tsodeluyizo.59

lə33-wə13	ɑ33 pa33 tə31	ki33	hu33.	ɑ33 pa33 tə31	ki33	tʰu33.
ACCOMP-return	Apato	ALL	go	Apato	ALL	arrive
回	Apato		去	Apato		到

to Apato's. (He) arrived at Apato's.
 Apato那里。 到了Apato那里。
 Tsodeluyizo.60

ɑ33 pa33 tə31	wə33 bu31	nə31	mə33-su33	mə33	hi33	da13.
Apato	meet	then	(type of tree)	appearance	person	cut down
Apato	遇见	才	(树的一个种类)	模样	人	砍

(He) met Apato, then (he) cut a mosi tree (into) the shape of a person.
 遇到Apato以后才用mə33-su33砍成人的模样。
 Tsodeluyizo.61

mə33-su33	pi33	du33-wə33	dʒə33	ku13	kwə31.
(type of tree)	be called	a type	EXIST	FUT.ABL	INTERJ
(树的一个种类)	叫	一种	有	会	语气词

There will be a type (of tree) called mosi, ah!
 会有一种叫mə33-su33啊。
 Tsodeluyizo.62

mə33-su33	la33	ʃwə33-su33	mə33-su33	mə33	hi33	da13
(type of tree)	and	(type of tree)	(type of tree)	appearance	person	cut down
(树的一个种类)	和	(树的一个种类)	(树的一个种类)	模样	人	砍

The mosi tree and the shwaesi tree – cut a mosi tree (into) the shape of a person, (and)
 mə33-su33和ʃwə33-su33 - mə33-su33砍成人的模样, 没有七年
 Tsodeluyizo.63

ʃu33	kʰu13	ku33	mə33-ni33	nə33	lə33-ba33	tʰã33	hə33.
seven	year	EXIST.T	unless	2SG.PRO	ACCOMP-open	PROH	go.IMP
七	年	有		你	扒开	别	

unless seven years have passed, don't open (it) up.
 你不要扒开。

ʃu33	kʰu13	ku33	mə33-ni33	nə33	lə33-ba33	tʰã33
seven	year	EXIST.T	unless	2SG.PRO	ACCOMP-open	PROH
七	年	有		你	扒开	别

(He) said, "Unless seven years have passed, don't open
 说没有七年你
 Tsodeluyizo.64

h533 pi33 ni33 zε33. su33 t^hu33 hī33 ni33 lə33-ku31
 go.IMP QUOT CERT.STR CSM wood this person seem ACCOMP-make
 了 木 这 人 象 做

(it) up. The wood was made into the image of a person,
 不要扒开了。 木头做的象人的模样,
 Tsodeluyizo.65

tʂε31 mɿ13 kwɔ33 t^hu33-ni13 t^hu33-k^hu31 zɔ33 hī33 ni33 lə33-ku31
 sand LOC this way DUR-bury CSM person seem ACCOMP-make
 沙子 里 这样 埋 了 人 象 做

buried in the sand like this, (he) said (he) went (and) made (it) look like a person
 埋在沙子里,

hu33 zɔ33 sε33-sε33 hu33 pi33 ni33.
 go CSM walk go QUOT CERT.STR
 去 了 走路 去

going walking.
 说是做的象人一样的去走路。

ʂu33 k^hu13 ku33 mə33-mə33 ʂu33 ha31 lə33-ba33 hu33.
 seven year EXIST.T NEG-have time seven night ACCOMP-open go
 七 年 有 不-空闲 七 夜 扒开 去

(He) didn't have time (for) seven years to pass, (so) (after) seven nights (he) (went) and opened (it) up.
 等不了七年, 只有七个晚上就扒开了。

Tsodeluyizo.66

ɔ13 hī33 dzɔ33 tɕ^hi33 wɿ31 mə33-wɔ33 ni33 zε33.
 INTERJ person TOP become NEG-ABLT CERT.STR CSM
 哎呀 人 变成 不-能 了

Ooh! (It) hadn't been able to become a person.
 哎呀! 人是变成不了。

Tsodeluyizo.67

sε33 dzɔ33 sε33-sε33 hu33. yi31 k^hu55 bi33 zε33
 walk TOP walk.BACK AND FORTH go some go CSM
 走路 走路 去 一些 去 了

As for walking, (oh) (it) walked.
 走是走路去了。

Tsodeluyizo.68

(It) went a bit,
 一些去了,

Tsodeluyizo.69

zi13 ki33 lə33-hu33 æ31-ʂæ33 lə33-hu33.
 monkey ALL ACCOMP-go stone mountain ACCOMP-go
 猴子 去 石头山 去

(it) went to the monkey's (home), (it) went to the stony mountains.
 猴子的家去了石头的山。

zi13 tsɿ33 æ31-wɔ33 gu31-tsʰɔ55 lə33-hu33 ni33 zɛ33.
 monkey become cliff leap up ACCOMP-go CERT.STR CSM
 猴子 变成 悬崖 跳上 去 了

(It) had become a monkey, (and) went leaping up to a cliff.
 变成猴子，跳到岩石上面去了。

Tsodeluyizo.70

hi33 pi31 mə33-lu31 hi33 dʒɔ33 mə33-wɔ33 zɔ33-mu33
 person toward NEG-shape person TOP NEG-ABLT child
 人 对 没-形状 人 不-能 小孩儿

(It) didn't take the shape of a person; (it) wasn't able to (become) a person, (a person)
 没有人的形状，没有能够生出人

Tsodeluyizo.71

la33 tʰæ13 tʰu33-ʂu33 zi13 la33 tʰæ13 tsɿ33.
 and such DUR-carry monkey and such become
 和 那些 带 猴子 和 那些 变成

carrying his/her children and such; (instead) it became a monkey.
 带着他们的小孩儿，变成猴子。

pi33 zɛ31 ki31 lə33 ki33 tsʰɿ31 di31 tɕʰi33 lə33 hu33.

Tsodeluyizo.72

gi33-na33-mi33 la33 tʰæ13 dʒɔ33 tsʰu33 kwɔ33 tɕi33-na33-mi33
 black bear and such EXIST forest LOC very dense
 黑熊 和 那些 有 树林 里 很密

There was a black bear and such; (it) entered into the forest, the very dense
 黑熊那些是钻进去很密

Tsodeluyizo.73

tsʰu33 kwɔ33 tɕʰi33 lə33-hu33. pi33 zɛ31 ki31 lə33 ki33 tsʰɿ31
 forest LOC enter ACCOMP-go
 树林 里 钻 去

forest.
 的树林。

Tsodeluyizo.74

di31 tɕʰi33 lə33 hu33. dzɿ31 dzɿ31 pɿ33 lu31 ki33 tsʰe33 kwɔ31

Tsodeluyizo.75

dʒɔ31	lə33	hu33.	pu33 zɯ33-pɤ31 mi13	tsɤ33	ts ^h e31	kwɔ33	mu33	dzu31
			dragon-frog	become	pond	LOC	INTERJ	live
			龙-青蛙	变成	池塘	里	语气词	住
			(It) became a reptile, (and) went to live					
			变成龙和青蛙，去了					
			Tsodeluyizo.76					

lə33-hu33. t^hi13 yĩ33-bi33-di33-mə33-di31.

ACCOMP-go so no way
去 所以 没有办法

in a pond. So there was nothing to be done.

池塘。 所以没有办法了。

Tsodeluyizo.77

t ^h i13	hõ31	ku31	hõ33	lu31	twɤ33	lu33	ã13
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Tsodeluyizo.78

mə33	dʒɔ31	tɕ ^h i33	pi31	ɤ33	lu31	twɤ31	twɤ31.
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ã13 lu33 t^hæ13 mə33-dʒɔ33. twɤ33 ã13 t^hæ13

chicken etc such NEG-EXIST call chicken such
鸡 等等 那些 没-有 叫 鸡 那些

There weren't any chickens and such. There weren't any roosters'

鸡和那些没有。 叫的鸡和那些

Tsodeluyizo.79

Tsodeluyizo.80

mə33-dʒɔ33. wu31-dzɛ33 du33-wɔ33 dʒɔ33 tɕ^hi p^huə tɕ^hi p^huə tɕ^hi p^huə tɕ^hi p^huə

NEG-EXIST bird a type EXIST tɕ^hi p^huə tɕ^hi p^huə tɕ^hi p^huə tɕ^hi p^huə
没-有 鸟 一种 有 tɕ^hi p^huə tɕ^hi p^huə tɕ^hi p^huə tɕ^hi p^huə

crows. There was a type of bird that says, "cheeper cheeper cheeper cheeper."

都没有。 有一种鸟说, "tɕ^hi p^huə tɕ^hi p^huə tɕ^hi p^huə tɕ^hi p^huə"。

Tsodeluyizo.81

pi33. lɔ31 lɔ31 k^hu33 mə33-dzɔ33. k^hu33-mi13 lu33
 say dog NEG-EXIST dog and
 说 狗 没-有 狗 和
 ?? there weren't any dogs. There weren't any dogs
 狗和
 Tsodeluyizo.82 Tsodeluyizo.83

t^hæ13 mə33-dzɔ33. lɔ31 lɔ31 k^hu33 mə33 dzɔ31 tɔ33
 such NEG-EXIST
 那些 没-有
 and such.
 那些都没有。
 Tsodeluyizo.84

kwɔ33 kwɔ33 lu31. t^hɔ33 bɔ31 wɔ33 gɔ33 æ31 mi33 kwɔ33 kwɔ33 kwɔ33
 forest above side INTERJ kwɔ kwɔ kwɔ
 树林 上 边, 面 语气词 kwɔ kwɔ kwɔ
 High in the forest,
 有一种鸟
 Tsodeluyizo.85

kwɔ33 kwɔ33 kwɔ33 pi33 du33-wɔ33 wu31-dzɛ33 du33-wɔ33 dzɔ33.
 kwɔ kwɔ kwɔ say a type bird a type EXIST
 说 一种 鸟 一种 有
 there was a type of bird, a type (that) says, "gwuh gwuh gwuh."
 在树林上面说, "kwɔ kwɔ kwɔ".

lu31 lu31 k^hu33 mə33 dzɔ31 t^hɔ33 kwɔ33 kwɔ33 lu31
 Tsodeluyizo.86

twɔ33 lu31 æ13 mə33 dzɔ31 tɕ^hi p^huə nu31 twɔ33.

t^hi13 hɔ31 ku31 hɔ55 lu31 di31 ɓ^hu31 nu31 sɔ31
 so
 所以
 Tsodeluyizo.87

kɤ31	ɸ ^h u31	tsɔ31	sɔ31	kɤ31	da31	ɸ ^h u31	ny31	mə33-
								NEG-
								不

ny33	ha33	ny31	lu31	ɸ ^h u31	ha33	tɕi31	sɔ31	q ^h wɤ13
							three	bowl
							三	碗

t ^h u33	tɕi31	ny31	mæ33	ny33	yi33	pi31.	tsu31	ɕɛ33	mə33
							wife	look for	
							老婆	找	

Tsodeluyizo.88

lə33-hu33	pɔ33	ɕɛ33	mə33	lə33-hu33	pi33.
ACCOMP-go	husband	look for		ACCOMP-go	say
去	老公	找		去	说

ɕ31-sɤ33 ku31	tsu31	ɕɛ33	pɔ33	ɕɛ33	pi33	dʒɔ33	ɕ31-sɤ33 ku31
INC.PRO	wife	look for	husband	look for	say	TOP	INC.PRO
咱们	老婆	找	老公	找	说		咱们

(When) we say, “tsih shay bo shay”, (what) we would
 我们说, “tsu31 ɕɛ33 pɔ31 ɕɛ33”的话, 我们现在

Tsodeluyizo.89

ts ^h u33-qæ33	tɕ ^h u33-mi33	ɕɛ33	pi33	ni33.	wɔ33 ta33	a31 yi33 ɕɛ33
now	wife	look for	say	CERT.STR	before	long, long ago
现在	老婆	找	说		以前	很久以前

say now is, “look for a wife”.
 说, “找老婆。”

Before, in the Daba register,
 以前古代的

Tsodeluyizo.90

na31-zwɤ33	dʒɔ33	tsu31	ɕɛ33	dʒɔ33	tɕ ^h u33-mi33	la33	t ^h æ13
Na language	TOP	wife	look for	TOP	wife	and	such
摩梭语		老婆	找		老婆	和	那些

“tsih shay” means “look for a wife”

摩梭语, “tsu31 ɕɛ33”是说“找老婆”

ʂɛ33 pi33 ni33. tsu31 ʂɛ33 pɔ33 ʂɛ33 pi33 dzɔ33 ʂɔ31-sɿ33 ku31
 look for say CERT.STR wife look for husband look for say TOP 1INC.PRO
 找 说 老婆 找 老公 找 说 咱们
 and such. (When) (we) say “tsih shay bo shay”, we mean
 和那些。 “tsu31 ʂɛ33 pɔ31 ʂɛ33”是说，我们
 Tsodeluyizo.91

hɿ33-mæ31 la33 tʰæ13 ʂɛ33 pi33 ni33. tsu31 ʂɛ33 pɔ33
 woman etc. such look for say CERT.STR wife look for husband
 女人 等等 那些 找 说 是 老婆 找 老公
 “look for a woman and such”. (He) said (he’s) going to “tsu31 ʂɛ33
 说找女人等等那些。 说去“tsu31 ʂɛ33
 Tsodeluyizo.92

ʂɛ33 hu33 pi33. tʰi13 tʰu33 kʰwɿ33 kwɔ33 hu33 ni33 ze33.
 look for go say so this CLS LOC go CERT.STR PERF
 找 去 说 所以 这 量词 里 去 了
 pɔ31 ʂɛ33”. So (he) went this place.
 pɔ31 ʂɛ33”. 所以去了这里。
 Tsodeluyizo.93

hu33 dzɔ33 taɿ31. mɿ33-wɔ33 ki33 ʂɛ33 hu33 ni33.
 go TOP INTERJ heavens DAT look for go CERT.STR
 去 啊 天上 找 去
 (He) went, oh! (He) went to the heavens to search.
 去了，啊！ 是去天上的那里找。
 Tsodeluyizo.94 Tsodeluyizo.95

mɿ33-wɔ33 ki33 ʂɛ33 jiushi (loan). nu31-mi33 ɲa33-tsu33-mi33
 heavens DAT look for that is girl vertical-eyed woman
 天上 找 就是 姑娘 眼睛竖的女人
 To the heavens to search, that’s right. (He) went to look for a vertical-eyed woman and
 找在天上就是。 去找一个眼睛竖的
 Tsodeluyizo.96 Tsodeluyizo.97

la33 ɲa33-tæ33-mi33 ʂɛ33 hu33. ɲa33-tsu33-mi33 ʂɛ33
 and horizontal-eyed woman look for go vertical-eyed woman look for
 和 眼睛横的女人 找 去 眼睛竖的女人 找
 a horizontal-eyed woman. (He) went to find a vertical-eyed
 和一个眼睛横的女人。 他是去找眼睛竖的
 Tsodeluyizo.98

hu33 ni33. ja33-tsu33-mi33 pi33 ja33-tsu33 t^hu33-ni13
 go CERT.STR vertical-eyed woman call vertical-eyed this way
 去 眼睛竖的女人 眼睛竖的 这样
 woman.
 女人。
 (What we) call a “nyatsihmee”, (her) eyes
 叫做“ja33-tsu31-mi31”的人眼睛这样
 Tsodeluyizo.99

t^hu33-tsu33 zo33 ʃ31-sɿ33 ku31 di33 mɿ31 su33 kwɔ33 ja33-tsu33
 DUR-vertical PERF 1INC.PRO everywhere LOC vertical-eyed
 竖的 了 咱们 所有的地 里 眼睛竖的
 are vertical like this; in our world, a vertical-eyed person
 竖着的人是在我们地球上眼睛

t^hu33-ni13 t^hu33-tsu33 dzɔ33 nɔ33 la33 ja33 pi33 mɔ33-dzɔ33.
 this kind DUR-vertical TOP 2SG.PRO and 1SG.PRO say NEG-EXIST
 这样 竖 你 和 我 说 不-有
 doesn't distinguish between you and me.
 这样竖的人是不分你和我。

ja33 nu33 nɔ33 bu33 du33 q^hwɿ33 dzi33 pi33 t^hæ13
 1SG.PRO AGTV 2SG.PRO POSS one CLS eat say often
 我 你 的 一 量词 吃 说 经常
 If I eat a bowl of yours, often
 没有听说我吃掉你的
 Tsodeluyizo.100

nu33 di33 mɿ31 su33 kwɔ33 t^hæ13 nu33 twæ31 pu33 zo33
 EMPH everywhere LOC often EMPH be peaceful CRS
 所有的地 里 经常 和平 了
 everywhere, it would often be peaceful,
 一点人间里特别的和平,

t^hi13 zɰwæ13 tsi13. ja33-tsu33-mi33 dzɔ33 ʃɛ33 mɔ33-du33
 so be strong REP vertical-eyed woman TOP look for NEG-obtain
 所以 很, 厉害 听说 眼睛竖的女人 找 不-得
 be great.
 非常好。
 (He) didn't find a vertical-eyed woman;
 竖眼睛的没有找到,
 Tsodeluyizo.101

ja33-tæ33-mi33 t^hu33 wu33 ʃɛ33 du33 zo33. ja33-tsi31
 horizontal-eyed woman this CLS look for obtain CSM eyes and eyebrows
 眼睛横的女人 这 量词 找 得 了 眼睛和眉毛
 (rather), (he) found the horizontal-eyed woman.
 只是找到一个眼睛横的了。

Tsodeluyizo.102

tæ33-tæ33	zɔ33	tʰæ33	nu33	ɲa33	nu33	mə33-ni33	nɔ33
horizontal.INTSF	ADVB	often	EMPH	1SG.PRO	AGTV	NEG-COP	2SG.PRO
横的	的	经常		我		不-是	你

A horizontal-eyed (person) often (thinks), “Won’t I

做这样一点生意眼睛横的人经常想

bu33	du33	qʰwɿ33	dzi33	zɔ33	ni33	nɔ31	tsʰu33-ɲi33	wu33 la13
POSS	one	CLS	eat	PERF	CERT.STR	QM	today	business
的	一	量词	吃	了		吗	今天	生意

eat a bowl of yours (in order) to do business

今天是不是吃掉你的

du33	qʰwɿ33	tʰu33-yĩ33	zɔ33.	hĩ33	tʰu33	tʰu33-ni13	ku13	zɔ33.
one	CLS	DUR-do	PERF	person	this	this way	FUT.ABL	CRS
一	量词	做	了	人	这	这样	会	了

today?”

一块儿呢？

This type of person will be like this.

这样的人会这样的。

Tsodeluyizo.103

ɲa33-tæ33-mi33	ʂe33	du33	ni33	tsi13	ɲa33-tsu33
horizontal-eyed woman	look for	obtain	CERT.STR	REP	vertical-eyed
眼睛横的女人	找	得			眼睛竖的

It is said (he) found a horizontal-eyed woman; it is said

听说找到了眼睛横的，眼睛竖的

Tsodeluyizo.104

ʂe33	mə33-du33	ɲa33-tæ33-mi33	ʂe33	du33	ni33	tsi13.
look for	NEG-obtain	horizontal-eyed woman	look for	obtain	CERT.STR	REP
找	不-得	眼睛横的女人	找	得		

(he) didn’t find a vertical-eyed woman, (instead) (he) found a horizontal-eyed woman.

找不到，只找到了眼睛横的人。

tʰi13	gu31-bi33	hu33	dʒɔ33	tɕɿ31	my33-wɔ33	hu33	ni33
so	up	go	TOP	INTERJ	heavens	go	CERT.STR
所以	上面	去		语气词	天上	去	

So (he) went up, (he) went to the heavens,

所以，去上面，天上去

Tsodeluyizo.105

ze33 mæ33 my33-wɔ33 hu33. tʰi13 zu33-mi33 ʂɛ33 hu33 ni33.
 CSM INTERJ heavens go so wife look for go CERT.STR
 了 语气词 天上 去 所以 老婆 找 去
 (he) went to the heavens. So (he) went to look for a wife.
 了的，去天上。 所以是去找老婆的。

Tsodeluyizo.106

dzi33-qʰy33 tʰu33 du33 lu33 tʰi33-di31 ku13 tsi13. dzi33-qʰy33
 spring this one CLS DUR-EXIST.P FUT.ABL REP spring
 泉水洞 这 一 量词 有 会 泉水洞
 It is said that there would be a spring (there). (He) went
 听说会有一个泉水长在（那里）。 去
 Tsodeluyizo.107 Tsodeluyizo.108

tʰu33 lu33 kwɔ33 tʰu33-næ33 hu33 ni33.
 this CLS LOC DUR-hide go CERT.STR
 这 量词 里 藏 去
 to hide in this spring.
 躲在这个泉水里面的。

a33-wɔ33 la33 dzɿ31-kʰwɿ33 di31 zɔ33. my13 la33
 home etc. very long EXIST.P CRS girl and
 家 等等 好长 有 了 姑娘 和
 (It) was a long way from (his) home. The girl and Tsodeluyizo
 和家里有好长的距离。 和姑娘的家
 Tsodeluyizo.109 Tsodeluyizo.110

tsʰɔ31 du33 lu33 yi33 zɔ33 dzɿ31-kʰwɿ33 di31. tʰu33 mi31 zu13 tʰu33
 Tsodeluyizo very long EXIST.P this woman this
 Tsodeluyizo 好长 有 这 女人 这
 were very far (apart). It is said that this woman
 有好长的距离。 听说这一个女人
 Tsodeluyizo.111

wu33 dzɔ33 tʰæ33 nu33 dzi33-pu13 pɿ33 lu31 ku13 tsi13.
 CLS TOP often EMPH water barrel carry on one's back FUT.ABL REP
 量词 经常 水桶 背着 会
 often would carry a water barrel on her back (to the spring to fill it).
 会经常来用水桶背水。

ɑ31 yi33 ʃɛ33	dzi33-pu13	pɔ13	zɔ33	dzi33-q ^h ɣ33	kwɔ33	dzi33
long, long ago	water barrel	take	CRS	spring	LOC	water
很久以前	水桶	拿	了	泉水洞	里	水

Long, long ago, (one) took a water barrel (and) went to fill (it) with
很久以前是拿水桶在泉水

Tsodeluyizo.112

px33 px33	huu33.	t ^h i13	t ^h u33	kwɔ33	nuu33	lɔ33-si33-si33.
carry on one's back	go	so	this	LOC	EMPH	ACCOMP-know.RECIP
背着	去	所以	这	里		认识

water in a spring.
里去背水。
So, (they) met here.
所以就在这里认识。

Tsodeluyizo.113

t ^h u33	nuu33	lɔ33-si33-si33	sɛ13	t ^h u33	nuu33	ha33-ɬu31	duu33	ɬu31
3SG.PRO		ACCOMP-know.RECIP	CMPL	3SG.PRO	AGTV	ball of food	one	CLS
他		认识	完	她		饭团	一	量词

(After) they met, she brought (him) a ball of rice,
认识以后, 她会拿来一个饭团,

Tsodeluyizo.114

pɔ31-ts ^h u33	zɔ33	dzi33-q ^h ɣ33	kwɔ33	t ^h u33-næ33	huu33	zɔ33	ha33-ɬu31
bring	PERF	spring	LOC	DUR-hide	go	PERF	food ball
拿来	了	泉水洞	里	藏	去	了	饭团

hid (him) in the spring to eat
让他藏在泉水里吃

lɔ31-dzi33	huu33.	lɔ33-dzi33	huu33	t ^h i13	na33 na33	zɔ33	zɔ33-mu33
ACCOMP-eat	go	ACCOMP-eat	go	so	stealthily	ADVB	child
吃	去	吃	去	所以	悄悄		小孩儿

the ball of food.
饭团了。
(He) ate (it) up, so it is said that they secretly
去吃了以后, 听说是悄悄

Tsodeluyizo.115

lɔ33-zɔ33	ni33	tsi13.	zɔ33-mu33	lɔ33-zɔ33	dzɔ33
ACCOMP-give birth to	CERT.STR	REP	child	ACCOMP-give birth to	TOP
养			小孩儿	养	

had a child.
的养了小孩儿。
It is said
听说

Tsodeluyizo.116

a31 yi33 ʃɛ33 dʒo33 zo33-mu33 tʰæ33-ki13 ʰi33-ki13 ho33
 long, long ago LOC child skirt-wearing ceremony pants-wearing ceremony FUT.DES
 很久以前 小孩儿 穿裙子的仪式 穿裤子的仪式 要
 that long, long ago, having given birth to a child, the child would have
 生了小孩儿以后, 小孩快要到

nu33 no31 hi33-qʰy33 zo33.
 EMPH then invite guests CSM
 才 请客 了
 a coming-of-age ceremony [at 13 years of age], (and only) then (would) (the family) invite guests.
 十三岁的仪式 [穿裙子/穿裤子] 才会象我们一样请客。

tʃʰwæ33-tʃʰwæ33 dʒo33 dzæ13 tʰu33 yĩ33 mə33-ku13 pʰæ33-di31.
 fast.INTSF TOP often this do NEG-FUT.ABL INFR
 快快 经常 这 做 不会

It seems that (they) wouldn't often do this casually.
 好像不会很快的去做这样的事。
 Tsodeluyizo.117

tʰi13 my33-wo33 hu33 tsʰu33-pi33 dʒo33 tʰi13 nu31-mi33 tʰæ33-ki13
 so heavens go today TOP so girl skirt-wearing ceremony
 所以 天上 去 今天 所以 姑娘 穿裙子的仪式
 So (he) went to the heavens (and said), "Today, (your) girl will have (her) skirt-wearing
 所以去了天上, 说你的侄女
 Tsodeluyizo.118

ho33 no33 zo33 ʰi33-ki13 ho33 pi33. zo33 la33 my13
 FUT.DES 2SG.PRO son pants-wearing ceremony FUT.DES QUOT son and daughter
 要 你 儿子 穿裤子的仪式 要 儿子 和 女儿
 ceremony, your son will have (his) pants-wearing ceremony."
 (He) said, "(Your) son and
 要举行十三岁的仪式, 你的儿子要穿裤子了。
 说儿子和女儿
 Tsodeluyizo.119

tsʰu33-pi33 tʰæ33-ki13 ʰi33-ki13 ho33 pi33.
 today skirt-wearing ceremony pants-wearing ceremony FUT.DES QUOT
 今天 穿裙子的仪式 穿裤子的仪式 要
 daughter will have their skirt- and pants-wearing ceremonies today."
 今天要穿裙子和穿裤子了。

tsʰu33-pi33 hi33-qʰy33 hæ31 my33-wo33 zɹu33 tʰu33 ha33 dzi33.
 today invite guests INTERJ heavens liquor drink food eat
 今天 请客 语气词 天上 酒 喝 饭 吃
 Today, in the heavens, (they) were inviting guests to drink liquor (and) eat food.
 今天天上正在请客喝酒吃饭。
 Tsodeluyizo.120

hī33 wæ13 hæ31 dzɔ33. tsɔ33 mi33 tʰæ33-kwɔ33 γɿ13 ni33 hɔ33.
 person ask INTERJ PROG wooden barrel underneath cover CERT.STR FUT.DES
 人 叫 语气词 正在 木桶 下 盖 会
 (They) were inviting guests. (He) would hide underneath a wooden barrel.
 正在请客。 好像是盖在一个木桶下面。
 Tsodeluyizo.121 Tsodeluyizo.122

ʃ31-sɿ33 ku31 α31 yi33 ʃɛ33 tɕæ33 æ31 ku31 di33 tsɔ33 mi33 su33
 1INC.PRO long, long ago pickled vegetables make REL wooden barrel wood
 咱们 很久以前 酸菜 做 的 木桶 木头
 The (type of) wooden barrel we (used) to make pickled vegetables long, long ago,
 我们很久以前做酸菜的桶，
 Tsodeluyizo.123

tsɔ33 mi33 qʰα33-du55 du33 lu33 kwɔ33 lə33-ʃu33 lə33-pɔ13 hu33
 wooden barrel very big one CLS LOC ACCOMP-carry ACCOMP-take go
 木桶 多大 一 量词 里 带 拿 去
 in a very large wooden barrel, (he) went, took (it), carried (it) (back),
 木头的桶，很大的一个桶，把它带着回家

tsɔ33 mi33 tʰæ33-kwɔ33 γɿ13 hæ31. tʰi13 hī33 wæ33 dzɔ33
 wooden barrel underneath cover INTERJ so person ask PROG
 木桶 下面里 盖 语气词 所以 人 叫 正在
 (and) hid underneath the barrel, ha! So, (when) having guests over,
 躲在木桶的下面。 所以在请客
 Tsodeluyizo.124

hī33 lə33-dzu33 ɛ13 ʃæ31 ʃ33 lɑ33 tʰæ13 dzɔ33 ʃ31-sɿ33 ku31 lə33-zu31
 person ACCOMP-eat CMPL bone and such TOP 1INC.PRO ACCOMP-take
 人 吃 完 骨头 和 那些 咱们 拿
 as for people's left-over bones and such, we take (them)
 人吃完了的骨头和那些，我们是会把它丢

qwæ33 tʰæ33-kwɔ33 kwɿ13. zhuozi (loan) tʰæ33-kwɔ33 kwɿ13 ni33 mæ33.
 table underneath toss table underneath toss CERT.STR CERT.M
 桌子 下 丢 桌子 下 丢
 (and) toss (them) under the table. Toss (them) under the table!
 在桌子下面的。 丢在桌子的下面的，啊！
 Tsodeluyizo.125

t ^h i13	k ^h u33-mi33	t ^h æ31-t ^h æ13	lə33-pɔ13	ts ^h u33	k ^h u33-mi33	ni33	yɿ13	nu33
so	dog	bite.RECIP	ACCOMP-take	come	dog	two	CLS	AGTV
所以	狗	咬	拿	来	狗	两	量词	

So, the dogs started biting each other, two dogs started biting
所以，狗咬起来，两只狗咬

Tsodeluyizo.126

t ^h æ31-t ^h æ13	lə33-pɔ13	ts ^h u33.	k ^h u33-mi33	ni33	yɿ13	nu33	ʂæ31 ɔ33
bite.RECIP	ACCOMP-take	come	dog	two	CLS	AGTV	bone
咬	拿	来	狗	两	量词		骨头

each other.
起来了。

The two dogs fought over the bones
两只狗因为抢骨头

Tsodeluyizo.127

tʂæ33-tʂæ31	zɔ33	t ^h æ31-t ^h æ13	lə33-pɔ13	ts ^h u33.	tsɔ33 mi33	t ^h u33	lu33
grab.RECIP	CRS	bite.RECIP	ACCOMP-take	start	wooden barrel	this	CLS
争抢	了	咬	拿	起来	木桶	这	量词

(and) started biting each other.
咬起来了。

(They) knocked over the wooden barrel
把这个木桶

Tsodeluyizo.128

du33	tsa13	t ^h u33-dzɿ31	hu33.	t ^h u33	ʂɿ33	dzɔ33	t ^h i13	t ^h u33	a33-mi33	nu33
one	kick	DUR-overturn	go	this	time	TOP	so	3SG.PRO	mother	AGTV
一	踢	倒	去	这	次		所以	她	母	

with one kick.
一脚踢了倒下去。

This time, (her) mother
这次是被她的妈妈

Tsodeluyizo.129

lə33-tɔ33.	nu31-mi33	ŋa33-tsu33-mi33	ts ^h u33-ŋi33	mu31-zɔ33
ACCOMP-see	girl	vertical-eyed woman	today	young woman
看见	姑娘	眼睛竖的女人	今天	姑娘

spotted (him).
看见了。
The vertical-eyed woman's daughter
竖的眼睛的姑娘今天女儿

Tsodeluyizo.130

t ^h æ33-ki13	hɔ33	zɔ33-hɔ33	fi33-ki13	hɔ33
skirt-wearing ceremony	FUT.DES	little boy	pants-wearing ceremony	FUT.DES
穿裙子的仪式	要	小男孩子	穿裤子的仪式	要

will have a skirt-wearing ceremony today, (her) son will have a pants-wearing ceremony,
要穿裙子，儿子要穿裤子，

nɔ33 tsɔ33 mi33 tʰæ33-kwɔ33 næ33. bæ33 pɔ31-yɔ33.
 2SG.PRO wooden barrel underneath hide rope bring.IMP
 你 木桶 下 藏 绳子 拿来
 (and) you hid under a wooden barrel. Bring out the rope.
 你藏在木桶的下面。 把绳子拿来。
 Tsodeluyizo.131

mu13 ɲa33-tæ33-mi33 bu33 a33-mi33 nuu33 tsʰu33-ɲi33 dzɔ33
 girl horizontal-eyed woman POSS mother AGTV today TOP
 女儿 眼睛横的女人 的 母 今天
 The horizontal-eyed woman's mother said, "Today, bind (his)
 眼睛横的女儿的母亲说, "今天
 Tsodeluyizo.132

lɔ31 tsi33 zɔ33 gu31-ta33 la33 pi33. tsʰɔ31 du33 lu33 yi33 zɔ33 nuu33 hɔ33
 hand fasten PERF above-drop QUOT Tsodeluyizo AGTV INTERJ
 手 拴 了 上面-掉起来 Tsodeluyizo 语气词
 hands (together) (and) drop (him) (from) above. Tsodeluyizo, (he)
 ”把他的手拴起来在上面掉起来”。 Tsodeluyizo,
 Tsodeluyizo.133

nu31-mi33 ɲa33-tsu33-mi33 a31 su33 ɣɣ33 tʰæ33 ɲa33 mɿ33
 girl vertical-eyed woman wait 1SG.PRO name
 姑娘 眼睛竖的女人 等一下 我 名字
 said, "Vertical-eyed woman, wait a minute, I have my name,
 他说, "眼睛竖的女人, 轻轻的等一下, 我有我的名字,

ɲa33 tʰu33-di31 tsu31 pʰu13 ɲɿ33 hæ31 ni33 pi33 ni33. ɲa33
 1SG.PRO DUR-EXIST.P place silver gold COP QUOT CERT.STR 1SG.PRO
 我 有 地方 白银 黄金 我
 my place produces gold and silver.” (He) said, "I am
 我的地方生产黄金和白银。” 他说, "我是
 Tsodeluyizo.134

mɿ33 ʂwæ31 ku33 ɤ31 ni33 nɔ33 hæ33 pi33 mɔ33-tʰa13 ɲa33-sɿ33 ku31
 at the end of the earth Ge'er COP 2SG.PRO look down on NEG-POSSIB 1EXC.PRO
 天边 Ge'er 是 你 轻视 不-可以 我们
 (from) Ge'er, at the end of the earth; you may not look down upon (me), our
 天边的叫Ge'er 的地方的人, 你不可以轻视我, 我们的

my33-di33 kwɔ33 dzɔ33 tʰæ33 ŋy33 hǎ31 la33 tʰæ13 tʰu33 ni33 pi33.
 land LOC TOP often silver gold and such yield CERT.STR QUOT
 土地 里 经常 白银 黄金 和 那些 出产
 land often yields gold, silver, and such.”
 土地经常生产黄金和白银，那些。”

zɿ13 mi33 lə33-ʂæ33 lə33-zwæ13 zɔ33 ŋy33 hǎ31
 road ACCOMP-long ACCOMP-very, strong PERF silver gold
 路 长 很，厉害 了 白银 黄金
 “The road was long (and) arduous; it’s not possible to carry silver (and) gold
 说路太长，太远了，黄金和白银
 Tsodeluyizo.135

lə33-pɿ33 pɿ33 pɔ31-yɔ33 mə33-tʰa13 pi33 qæ13 ni33.
 ACCOMP-carry on one’s back bring NEG-POSSIB QUOT trick CERT.STR
 背着 拿来 不-可以 骗
 on one’s back (such a long distance),” (he) said (and) tricked (them) (in this way).
 背来不了，这样骗他们。

tʰi13 tʰu33 my13 a33-da33 nu33 lə33-tɔ33 ni33.
 so 3SG.PRO girl father AGTV ACCOMP-see CERT.STR
 所以 她 女儿 爸爸 看见
 So, her daughter’s father spotted (him).
 所以被她家女儿的爸爸看见了。
 Tsodeluyizo.136

a33-da33 lə33-tɔ33 hɔ33 tsʰu33-pi33 my31-zɔ33 tʰæ33-ki13 hɔ33
 father ACCOMP-see INTERJ today girl skirt-wearing ceremony FUT.DES
 爸爸 看见 语气词 今天 女儿 穿裙子的仪式 要
 The father saw (him) (and) said, “Today the girl will have a skirt-wearing ceremony,
 爸爸看见了，说，“今天女儿要穿裙子，
 Tsodeluyizo.137

nu31-mi33 ʔi33-ki13 hɔ33 lə33-su13 lə33-da13 pi33
 girl pants-wearing ceremony FUT.DES ACCOMP-kill ACCOMP-cut down QUOT
 姑娘 穿裤子的仪式 要 杀 砍
 the girl will have a pants-wearing ceremony,¹⁸ cut (him) down, kill (him);
 姑娘要穿裤子，”说砍掉，杀了，

¹⁸ Note that this should read, “...and the boy will have a pants-wearing ceremony...” The narrator mispoke here.

suu31-t ^h i13	pɔ13	da13	pi33	bi33	yi31-tʂæ13	kwɔ33	suu31-t ^h i13	guu31-puu13.
knife	INSTR	cut down	say	go	waist	LOC	knife	above-take out
刀子	拿	砍	说	去	腰	里	刀子	上面-拔

(He) said to cut (him) down with a knife” (and) (he) took out a knife from (his) waist.

从腰上拔出刀子来。

lə33-suu13	bi33	zɛ33	pi33	ni33.	t ^h i13	mə33-ni33...	nu31-mi33
ACCOMP-kill	FUT.IMM	CSM	QUOT	CERT.STR	so	NEG-COP	girl
杀	去	了			所以	不-是	姑娘

(He) said, “(I) am going to kill (him).”

说是去杀掉他。

Tsodeluyizo.138

(So it’s not...) Tsodeluyizo spoke to

(所以不是。。。) Tsodeluyizo 对

Tsodeluyizo.139

ŋa33-tsu33-mi33	ts ^h ɔ31	duu33	lu33	yi33	zɔ33	ki33	t ^h u33-ni13	zɣwɣ33	ni33.
vertical-eyed woman	Tsodeluyizo					DAT	this way	say	CERT.STR
眼睛竖的女人	Tsodeluyizo						这样	说	

the vertical-eyed girl in this way.¹⁹

竖眼睛的女儿这样说：

ŋa33	mɣ33	ŋa33	t ^h i33-di31	ku33	ʂæ33	zɣ13	ʂæ33	zɛ33
1SG.PRO	sky	1SG.PRO	DUR-EXIST.P	landscape	be long	road	be long	PERF
我	天	我	有	山水	长	路	长	了

“(To) my place, the landscape is long, the road is long,

我的地方到你们这里，山水和路太长了，

Tsodeluyizo.140

zɔ33-hɔ33	t ^h u33-mə33-hɔ33	lɔ33	ʂæ33	zɣ13	ʂæ33	zɛ33
little boy	DUR-NEG-withstand	valley	be long	road	be long	PERF
小男孩子	不-受得了	山沟	长	路	长	了

a little boy would not withstand (it); the valleys are long, the road is long,

我的绵羊和牛是很多的，但是山沟和路都很长，小孩儿赶牛和绵羊

t ^h i13	p ^h u33	dzi33-yɔ33	ni33.	ŋa33	mɣ33	ŋa33	di33	kwɔ33
goat	cow	be many	CERT.STR	1SG PRO	sky	1SG.PRO	place	LOC
羊	牛	很多		我	天	我	地	里

(and) (I) have many sheep and cattle.²⁰

太困难了。

In my land,

我的土地里边

Tsodeluyizo.141

¹⁹ The narrator says, “The vertical-eyed woman’s daughter spoke to Tsodeulyizo...” when he means to say, “Tsodeluyizo spoke to the vertical-eyed woman’s daughter...”

²⁰ i.e., it would be too difficult for a shepherd boy to herd the goats and cattle such a long way.

t ^h æ13	yi33	la33	yɔ33	t ^h u33	t ^h æ13	dʒɔ33	ni33	lə33-ʒ33	zɔ33
such	cow	and	sheep	this	such	EXIST	CERT.STR	ACCOMP-difficult	PERF
那些	牛	和	绵羊	这	那些	有		困难	了

(I) have cattle and sheep, such; (but) (the trip) was difficult,
牛和绵羊，那些，是有的，可是路程太困难了，

lə33-di13	t ^h u33-mə33-mæ33.	gi13	pɔ31-yɔ33	tsɔ33	yĩ33	ni33.
ACCOMP-drive	DUR-NEG-catch up	after	bring		FUT	CERT.STR
赶	没-追	后面	拿来			

(and) (I) didn't herd (them) (here). Later, (I) will bring (them) (here).”
没有赶到这里来。后面，会拿来的。

Tsodeluyizo.142

t ^h i13	hõ33	pi33	suu31-t ^h i13	lə33-wɔ13	t ^h u33-tʂ ^h wæ13	huu33.
so	INTERJ	say	knife	ACCOMP-return	DUR-insert	go
所以	语气词	说	刀子	回	插	去

So (he) said “Huh!”, (and) put his knife back (in its case).

所以，说“hõ! ”，把刀子插回来插在刀壳里。

Tsodeluyizo.143

t ^h i13	ʒ31-sɔ33	ku31	mɤ33-di33	kwɔ33	zɯ33-tu33	t ^h u33	ɑ31	hɔ33	mə33-hɔ33
so	INC.PRO		land	LOC	family	succeed	QM	FUT.DES	NEG-FUT.DES
所以	咱们		土地	里	家庭	成功		会	不会

So, (we) (will) test (whether) a family on our land would succeed or not.

所以，我们土地里的家庭会不会做成功了，

Tsodeluyizo.144

ɕɔ13	ni33	zɛ33.	ɑ33-da33-ɑ33-mi33	ni33	ku13	nuu33	kuu13	ni33	zɛ33.
try	CERT.STR	PERF	parents	two	CLS	AGTV	coerce	CERT.STR	PERF
试一下		了	父母	两	量词		逼迫		了

要试验一下。

The two parents coerced (them).²¹

被爸爸妈妈两个人逼迫了。

Tsodeluyizo.145

mu13	dʒɔ33	ki33	dʒɔ33	ki33	hɔ33	ni33.
girl	TOP	give	TOP	give	FUT.DES	CERT.STR
女儿		给		给		

As for the girl, (they) would give (her to him).

女儿是会给他的。

Tsodeluyizo.146

²¹ i.e., The parents coerced them by setting up a long string of tests that Tsodeluyizo would need to pass in order for them to give him their daughter.

lə33-ʂu33	zɔ33	ʂ31-sɿ33	ku31	my33-wɔ33	nuu33	lə33-ʂu33	zɔ33
ACCOMP-carry	PERF	1INC.PRO		heavens	ABL	ACCOMP-carry	PERF
带	了	咱们		天上	从	带	了

(He) carried (her) off, (he) carried (her) off from our heavens;
带着她从天上

Tsodeluyizo.147

di33-kwɔ33	zɯ33-tu33	yī33	pu13	huu33	hɔ33	ni33.	zɯ33-tu33	tʰu33
earth-LOC	family	make	send	go	FUT.DES	CERT.STR	family	succeed
地里	家庭	做	派	去	会		家庭	成功

(they) would send (them) to set up a family in the mortal world.
到人间去建立家庭的。

Would the family
家庭

Tsodeluyizo.148

ɑ31	hɔ33	mə33-hɔ33?	my33-su33-ŋɑ13	tʰæ̃33	zɯæ13	tʂɔ33	kwɔ33
QM	FUT.DES	NEG-FUT.DES	morning	often	INTS	cold	LOC
	会	不-会	早晨	经常	很	冷	里

succeed or not?
会不会成功?

Often at the coldest point of the morning,
经常早上最冷的时候

Tsodeluyizo.149

ni33	zɔ33	ʂɛ33	pu31	huu33	ni33.	kʰu33	my33	ʂy33-ʂy33
fish	look for	send	go	CERT.STR	morning	sky	lighten	
鱼	找	派	去	是	早上	天	亮亮	

(they) sent (him) to go look for fish.
去找鱼。

When the morning sky had
早上的天空亮

Tsodeluyizo.150

ku31	ku31	tæ31	pɔ33	lə31	tsʰɿ31	ni33	ʂɛ33	pɔ13
						fish	look for	take
						鱼	找	拿

begun to lighten,
一点点, ???

huu33	ze33.	ni33	zɔ33	ʂɛ33	huu33	(huu33)	ni33	ʂɛ33	dzo33
go		fish	look for	go	go	fish	look for	TOP	
去	了	鱼	找	去	去	鱼	找		

he went to fish. (He) went to look for fish, to look for fish,
去找鱼了。去找鱼, 鸡叫的时候就

Tsodeluyizo.151

tɕɔ33 zwæ13 ni33 mæ33 æ̃13 twɿ33 la31 ni33 ʂɛ33 pu13 hu33.
 cold INTS CERT.STR CERT.M chicken call just fish look for send go
 冷 很 鸡 叫 才 鱼 找 派 去
 (it) was extremely cold; the rooster had just crowed (when) (they) sent (him) to go look for fish.
 派去找鱼是特别冷的。

ɬu31	ty33	tɕʰi33	mə33	tɕʰi33	ni33-tu31	du33	qʰy33	mæ33.
					fish nest	one	CLS	gather
					鱼窝	一	洞	捡到

Tsodeluyizo.152

tʰu33 nu33 ni33-qʰy33 tʰu33 du33 qʰy33 mæ33.
 3SG.PRO AGTV fish hole this one CLS gather
 他 鱼洞 这 一 洞 捡到
 He gathered a fishnest's worth (from) the fishnest.
 他捡到了一洞鱼的窝。

Tsodeluyizo.153

ni33-qʰy33 tʰu33 ni33-qʰy33 tʰu33 lə33- su31 tsi33 ɔ13
 fish hole this fish hole this ACCOMP- first fasten INTERJ
 鱼洞 这 鱼洞 这 先 拴 语气词
 The fishnest, the fishnest, first (he) fastened (them) together,
 首先把鱼头拴起来，

Tsodeluyizo.154

ta33 la33 la33 ta33 la33 la33. lə33-pɿ33 pɿ33 lə33-pɔ31-tʰu33
 ta la la ta la la ACCOMP-carry on one's back ACCOMP-bring
 ta la la ta la la 背着 拿来
 ta la la ta la la. Carrying (them) on (his) back, (he) brought (them) back,
 ta la la ta la la 啊。 背着拿回来，

Tsodeluyizo.155

a33-da33-a33-mi33 wɔ33 ta33 tʰu33-tɕi33.
 parents in front of DUR-put
 父母 面前 放
 (and) put (them) in front of (her) parents.
 放在爸爸妈妈的面前。

zu33-tu33 tʰu33 a31 hɔ33 mə33-hɔ33 ku13 ni33 mæ33.
 family succeed QM FUT.DES NEG-FUT.DES test CERT.STR CERT.M
 家庭 成功 会 不会 考验

(It) (was) to test (whether) the family would succeed or not.
 是考验，家庭会不会成功的。

Tsodeluyizo.156

k^hu33-mə31 ʂu33-ʂu33 ku13 wɤ33 k^hu33 ʂæ33
 dog carry.BACK AND FORTH FUT.ABL again dog lead (on a leash)
 狗 带 会 又 狗
 (He) would carry the dog back and forth; again (they) sent (him) to take the dog hunting.
 Tsodeluyizo.157

pu13 hu33 ni33. wɤ13 k^hu33 t^hu33 nu33 lə33-ʂæ33
 send go CERT.STR again dog 3SG.PRO AGTV ACCOMP-lead (on a leash)
 派 去 又 狗 他
 Again he took the dog hunting
 他又打猎
 Tsodeluyizo.158

lə33-pə31-t^hu33 ni33.
 ACCOMP-bring CERT.STR
 拿来
 (and) brought (it) back.
 回来了。

k^hu33 lə33-ʂæ33 lə33-pə31-t^hu33 t^hi13 tsɤ31 hə33 ʂu33 du33.
 dog ACCOMP-lead (on a leash) ACCOMP-bring so be okay FUT.DES think
 狗 拿来 所以 行 会 想
 (He) took the dog hunting (and) brought (it) back, so (they) thought (he) would be alright.
 打猎回来，所以想这个人可以。
 Tsodeluyizo.159

t^hi13 t^hu33 nu33 ku13 ni33 ə13 tə31 tə31 mi33 nə13 mɤ13
 so 3SG.PRO AGTV test CERT.STR INTERJ intend REFL girl
 所以 他 考验 语气词 故意 自己 女孩儿
 So, he intended to test (him), oh!; (he) would give his daughter (to him),
 所以，故意的考验他因为女儿
 Tsodeluyizo.160

ki33 nu33 ki33 hə33 ʂu33-tu33 t^hu33 ə31-hə33 mə33-hə33.
 give EMPH give FUT.DES family succeed QM-FUT.DES NEG-FUT.DES
 给 给 会 家庭 成功 会 不会
 would the family succeed or not?
 会给他，所以考验他家庭会不会成功。

du31 la33 pə31 ts^hɤ33 yə31 zə31 t^hi13 la33 bu33 ɲə13
 so tiger POSS milk
 所以 老虎 的 奶
 So (he) needed to squeeze out (some)
 所以必须

Tsodeluyizo.161

tsu13 pɔ31-yɔ33 zɔ33. tʰu33 ʂɻ33 tsʰɔ31 du33 lu33 yi33 zɔ33 hĩ33 zɔ33
 squeeze bring OBL this time Tsodeluyizo person son
 挤 拿来 必须 这 次 Tsodeluyizo 人 儿子
 tiger milk and bring (it) back. This time, Tsodeluyizo
 把老虎的奶挤回来。 这一次, Tsodeluyizo
 Tsodeluyizo.162

du33-hu33 ɔ33 tɕʰi33 ni33 zɛ33.
 one little has no hope CERT.STR PERF
 一点 没有信心 了
 felt a little bit hopeless.
 没有一点信心了。

nu31-mi33 ɲa33-tæ33-mi33 mɔ33-du33 tʰa33 du33 hu33
 girl horizontal-eyed woman NEG-obtain PROH obtain go
 姑娘 眼睛横的女人 没-得 别 得 去
 (If) (he) didn't obtain the horizontal-eyed woman, (then) don't obtain (her)
 Tsodeluyizo.163

tsʰi31	za31	fi31	mɔ33	di31	zɔ33	lɔ33-wɔ13	bi33	zɛ33
					son	ACCOMP-return	go	CSM
					儿子	回	去	了

pi33 ni33. mɔ33-ʂɛ33 bɛ33 tʰu33-kwɻ13 hu33 zu33-mi33 la33 tʰæ13
 say CERT.STR NEG-look for then DUR-drop go wife and such
 说 没-找 就 丢 去 老婆 和 那些
 (He) hadn't found (a wife), so (he'd) drop (the matter);
 没有找到老婆, 就算了,
 Tsodeluyizo.164

mɔ33-du33 zɔ33 ɲa33 bu33 ɲa33 lɔ33-bi33 zɛ33 pi33 ni33.
 NEG-obtain CSM 1SG.PRO POSS 1SG.PRO ACCOMP-go CRS QUOT CERT.STR
 没-得 了 我 的 我 去 了
 (he) hadn't obtained a wife and such; "I'll go back to my (home)."
 我自己回家去了。

ɔ31-sɻ33 ku31 bu33 mɻ33-di33 kwɔ33 lɔ33-yɔ33 bi33 zɛ33 pi33 ni33.
 1INC.PRO POSS land LOC ACCOMP-come FUT.IMM CSM QUOT CERT.STR
 咱们 的 土地 里 来 了
 (He) said, "(I am) going to return to our land."
 说是要回到我们的土地去了。
 Tsodeluyizo.165

513 t^hu33 ʃɿ33 dzɔ33 mi31 zɿ13 nu33 qæ13 ni33 zɛ33.
 INTERJ this time TOP woman CONTR trick CERT.STR PERF
 语气词 这 次 女人 骗 了

Oh, this time, it was the woman who tricked (him).

哎呀，这次是女人来劝他了。

Tsodeluyizo.166

ny31 mi33 ɲa33 tsi33 mi33 tɕi13 nu33 tɕɔ33 tʃwæ13 hu33

Tsodeluyizo.167

qwx33 nu33 na31 tʃwæ13 hu33 ku31 nu33 pi33 ɸ^hu31

ki33 ʃu33 nu33 pi33 na31 ki31.

gy33 ɲi33 gy33 ha33 pi33 gi33 dzɔ33 la33 t^hu33 dzɔ33 la33-q^hy33 kwɔ33
 nine day nine night snow fall PROG tiger 3SG.PRO TOP tiger den LOC
 九 天 九 夜 雪 下 正在 老虎 它 老虎洞 里

(When) snow is falling for nine days and nine nights,

雪下了九天九夜的时候，

Tsodeluyizo.168

t^hu33-ku31 ku13 tsi13 mæ33. t^hi13 nɔ33 la33-zɔ33 wɔ33 lə33-ti13
 DUR-hide FUT.ABL REP CERT.M so then baby tiger head ACCOMP-hit
 藏 会 所以 才 小老虎 头 打

it is said the tiger, it will hide in its den.

听说老虎会藏在老虎的洞里边。

So, then (she) (had) said to hit the baby tiger's head,

所以，要打小老虎的头上，

Tsodeluyizo.169

pi33 zɔ33 la33-zɔ33 pɔ13 lə33-su13.

say PERF baby tiger take ACCOMP-kill

说 了 小老虎 把 杀

kill the baby tiger.

把小老虎杀掉。

la33-yu13	t ^h u33-my33	la33-zo33	ni33	zo33	la33-zo33	la33-su13	zo33
tiger skin	DUR-wear	baby tiger	seem	CRS	baby tiger	ACCOMP-kill	PERF
老虎皮	穿	小老虎	象	了	小老虎	杀	了

(She) said, "Wear a tiger skin (in order to) seem like a baby tiger, kill the baby tiger,
说你可以杀了小老虎，穿上它的皮，象小老虎一样

Tsodeluyizo.170

yu13	la33-my33	zo33	jo13	tsu13	hō33	pi33.
skin	ACCOMP-wear	PERF	milk	squeeze	go.IMP	QUOT
皮	穿	了	奶	挤	去	

put on its skin, and go get milk."

去挤奶。"

t ^h i13	t ^h u33-so13	dzo33	t ^h i13	hu33	ni33	ze33.
so	DUR-teach	TOP	so	go	CERT.STR	PERF
所以	教		所以	去		了

Because (she) taught (this to him), so he went (to do so).

因为（她这样）教（给他）以后，所以他这样去做了。

Tsodeluyizo.171

gy33	ni33	gy33	ha33	ku33	dzo31	la33-zo33	a33-pho13	ts ^h u33
nine	day	nine	night	EXIST.T	then	baby tiger	outside	come
九	天	九	夜	有	就	小老虎	外面	来

Nine days (and) nine nights passed, then the baby tiger came outside;

有了九天九夜以后，小老虎走到外面来，

Tsodeluyizo.172

la33-zo33	la33-su13	la33-jo13	du33	q ^h wɿ33	tsɿ13	zo33
baby tiger	ACCOMP-kill	tiger milk	one	CLS	squeeze	PERF
小老虎	杀	老虎奶	一	碗	挤	了

(he) killed the baby tiger, (and) milked a bowl of tiger milk,

把小老虎杀了，挤了一碗老虎奶，

my33-wo33	bu13	mu33	la31	bu31	tə31 tə31	my33	t ^h u33-lu31 lu13
heavens	sprinkle					sky	DUR-move.BACK AND FORTH
天上	撒					天	动

sprinkled it to the heavens, ??? tə33 tə33 (sound), (and) the heavens

撒到天上????，天都动

hu33.	la31	nu33	du33	wo33	ts ^h o31	k ^h u33	nu31	qwx33
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go

去

moved.

起来。

Tsodeluyizo.173

lə33	k ^h ɣ31	k ^h u31	la31	zywæ31	ɲɔ33	ɲɔ33.	di33-kwɔ33	mu33		
							earth-LOC	to		
							地	到		
							(He) sprinkled (it)			
							撒到地里，大地也			
							Tsodeluyizo.174			
bu13	di33	dzu31	dzu13	hu33.	t ^h u33	ʂɣ33	t ^h i13	lə33-tɕɣ13.		
sprinkle	earth	tremble		go	this	time	so	ACCOMP-succeed		
撒	地	震动		去	这	次	所以	成功		
on the ground, (and) the earth trembled.					So this time (he) succeeded.					
震动起来了。					所以这次成功了。					
					Tsodeluyizo.175					
t ^h i13	lə33-ts ^h u33	ze33	taɿ.31	t ^h i13	lə33-ts ^h u33	dzo31	wɣ13			
so	ACCOMP-come	CSM	INTERJ	so	ACCOMP-come	then	again			
所以	来	了	语气词	所以	来	就	又			
So (he) came back!				So (he) came back, (and) then (they decided to test) again						
所以回来了啊!				所以回来了以后又						
				Tsodeluyizo.177						
t ^h æ13	zu33-tu33	t ^h u33	a31	hɔ33	mə33-hɔ33.	ci33	ts ^h u13	pu13		
such	family	succeed	QM	FUT.DES	NEG-FUT.DES	tree	cut down	send		
那些	家庭	成功		会	不-会	树	砍	派		
whether the family would succeed or not.						(They) sent (him) to cut down trees;				
要考验家庭会不会成功。						派他去把树子砍掉，				
						Tsodeluyizo.178				
hu33	ni33	ɕ31-sɣ33	ku31	nu33	ci33	ts ^h u13	dzo33	ɕ31-sɣ33	ku31	su33-dzu33
go	CERT.STR	1INC.PRO		EMPH	tree	cut down	TOP	1INC.PRO		tree
去	是	咱们			树	砍		咱们		树
to cut down our trees,										
la33	t ^h æ13	da13	pu13	hu33	su33-dzu33	lə33-ts ^h u13	zo33	bæ31-p ^h ɔ13		
and	such	cut down	send	go	tree	ACCOMP-cut down	PERF	plant		
和	那些	砍	派	去	树	砍		了	播种	
(they) sent (him) to cut down our trees and such; (when) (he) had cut down the trees, (they) wanted to										
是为了要给他播种										
k ^h u13	hɔ33	ni33	mæ33.	ci33	ts ^h u13	pu13	hu33	pi31-mi33		
CAUS	DES	CERT.STR	CERT.M	tree	cut down	send	go	axe		
	要			树	砍	派	去	斧头		
make (him) plant (grain).				(They) sent (him) to go cut down trees, (so) (he) went						
粮食。				派去砍树拿着斧头去，						
				Tsodeluyizo.179						

pɔ13 huu33 du33 ni33 nu33 du33 dzu33 la31 ts^hu13 wɔ33
 INSTR go one day EMPH one CLS only cut ABLT
 去 一 天 一 量词 才 砍 能

with an axe, (but) in one day, (he) was only able to cut down one tree,
 一天才能够砍掉一棵树，一点

ɔ̃33 tɕ^hi33 zwaɛ13 ni33 zɛ33. q^ha33-ni13 zɔ33 t^hu33 my33-di33
 has no hope INTS CERT.STR CSM how this land
 没有信心 很 了 怎样 了 这 土地

so (he) felt completely hopeless. (He) thought, "How can (I)
 信心都没有了。 他想怎么样

Tsodeluyizo.180

t^hu33 k^hwɿ33 dzɔ33 lə33-ts^hu13 lə33-t^hu33 yī33 ʂu33 du33.
 this CLS TOP ACCOMP-cut down ACCOMP-succeed CAUS think
 这 量词 砍 想

succeed in clearing this piece of land?"
 才能把这块土地的树砍好。

lə33-ts^hu13 zɔ33 lə33-ts^hu13 zɔ33 du33 ni33 du33 dzu33 ta31 ɠa31
 ACCOMP-cut down PERF ACCOMP-cut down PERF one day one CLS only
 砍 了 砍 了 一 天 一 量词 才

(He) cut (them) down (and) cut (them) down; in one day (he) only cut down
 砍掉了，砍掉了，一天

Tsodeluyizo.181

ts^hu13 lə31-k^hwɿ33 ɔ̃33 lə33 tɕ^hi33 zɔ33 lə31-k^hwɿ33 ɔ̃33 mə33 t^hu33 ni33 zɛ33.
 cut down hand has no strength PERF hand has no strength CERT.STR PERF
 砍 手 没有力气 了 手 没有力气 了

one tree, (so) (he) felt weak, (he) felt weak.
 才砍一棵树，手上没有力气，手上没有力气了。

t^hi13 lə33-ts^hu33 zɔ33 nu31-mi33 ɲa33-tsu33-mi33 t^hi13 t^hu33 sɔ13 ni33.
 so ACCOMP-come PERF girl vertical-eyed woman so 3SG.PRO teach CERT.STR
 所以 来 了 姑娘 眼睛竖的女人 所以 他 教

So (he) came back, (and) the vertical-eyed girl taught him.
 所以回来了，竖眼睛的姑娘就教给他了。

Tsodeluyizo.182

tsɿ31 zu33 æ31 t^hæ33 lə33 qwɿ33 næ33 wɔ31 t^ha33

Tsodeluyizo.183

tɕ ^h i33	pi33	k ^h u33	bu33	na33	kɔ31	bu31	zu33	kwɔ31
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lə33	tɕ ^h i31	ku33	ɕi33	du33	ts ^h ɿ31	mə33	ku31.
------	---------------------	------	------	------	---------------------	------	-------

pi31-mi33	t ^h u33	ku33	lu33	kwɔ33	lə33-tɕi33	ɔ̃31-sɿ33	ku31	ku33	ts ^h wɿ33	kwɔ33	tɕi33
axe	this	forest	LOC	ACCOMP-put	1INC.PRO		forest	LOC	put		
斧头	这	树林	里	放	咱们		树林	里	放		

Put this axe in the forest, put (it) in our “ku33 ts^hwɿ33”;

这把斧头放在树林里，我们说的树林里，

Tsodeluyizo.184

nɔ13	bu33	nɔ13	pi31-mi33	nɔ13	ki33	qwæ31	ki33	qwæ31	pi33	lə33-t ^h u33.
REFL	POSS	REFL	axe	REFL	ki	qwæ	ki	qwæ	say	ACCOMP-start
自己	的	自己	斧头	自己	ki	qwæ	ki	qwæ	说	来

your axe will start to say ki qwæ ki qwæ [i.e., cut down the trees] by itself.

它自己ki qwæ ki qwæ的砍起来了。

pi31-mi33	ki33	dʒɔ33	pi31-t ^h ɿ3	pi33	ku13	mæ33.	pi31-t ^h ɿ3	gy33	na33
axe	DAT	TOP	axe	say	ABLT	CERT.M	axe	nine	CLS
斧头			斧头	说	会		斧头	九	量词

The axe, (we) can call (it) a “pi31 t^hɿ3”.

把斧头叫做“pi31 t^hɿ3”。

Tsodeluyizo.185

Take nine axes,

拿九把斧头

Tsodeluyizo.186

pɔ13	ku33	lu33	kwɔ33	lə33-tɕi33	gy33	ɕi33	du33-t ^h u13	hɔ33.
take	forest	LOC	ACCOMP-put	nine	hundred	cut.DEL	go.IMP	
拿	树林	里	放	九	百	一砍	去	

put (them) in the forest, (and) go cut right down nine hundred (trees).

放在树林里去砍掉九百棵树。

t ^h i13	ts ^h u31-t ^h u13	t ^h u33-kwɿ13	ni33.	t ^h i13	ʂu33	hwæ33	pu13	hu33
so	cut.BACK AND FORTH	DUR-drop	CERT.STR	so	paddy	buy	send	go
所以	砍	丢		所以	稻谷	买	派	去

So (they) chopped back and forth, (and) (the trees) fell.

所以全部砍掉了。

Tsodeluyizo.187

So (they) sent (him) to buy rice paddy,

所以派去买稻谷，

Tsodeluyizo.188

ni33	ʃu33	qæ13	pu13	hu33	ni33.	ʃu33	qæ13	tʰu33	lə33-tsʰu13
CERT.STR	branch	burn	send	go	CERT.STR	branch	burn	3SG.PRO	ACCOMP-cut
	树枝	烧	派	去		树枝	烧	他	砍

sent (him) to burn branches.
派去烧树枝。

(He) burned branches, those he had cut
他烧树枝，把他砍掉的树枝

Tsodeluyizo.189

tʰu33	lə33-wɿ33	wɿ33	zɔ33	ʃɔ1-sɿ33	ku31	a31	yi33	ʃe33	ya33	qʰa33
this	ACCOMP-stack.BACK AND FORTH		PERF	1INC.PRO		long, long ago			buckwheat	
这	堆起来		了	咱们		很久以前			荞麦	

down, stacked them together; long, long ago we ought to
堆起来烧掉，我们以前荞麦秆和那些

la33	tʰæ13	lə33-qæ13	zɔ33-ku13.	qæ13	hu33	hæ31	du33	ji33	du33	wɿ33
and	such	ACCOMP-burn	ought	burn	go	INTERJ	one	day	one	CLS
和	那些	烧		烧	去	语气词	一	天	一	量词

burn buckwheat [stems] and such.
会烧掉的。

(He) went to burn (branches), ha!; in one day,
去烧木头一天

Tsodeluyizo.190

la31	qæ13	ʃɔ3	lə33	tɕʰi33	zɔ33	lə33-qæ13	zɔ33	yɿ33-bi33-di33-mə33-di31	zɔ33
only	burn	has no hope	PERF	ACCOMP-burn	PERF	no way			PERF
才	烧	没有信心	了	烧	了	没有办法			了

(he) only burned one stack; (he) felt hopeless, (he) burned (them) (but) there was no way,
才烧一堆，没有兴趣了，也没有办法了，

lə33-tsʰu33	ni33.	tʰi13	lə33-tsʰu33	ni33	ze33	du33-hu33
ACCOMP-come	CERT.STR	so	ACCOMP-come	CERT.STR	PERF	a little
来		所以	来		了	一点

(and) (he) came back.
他就回去了。

So (he) came back; (he) returned quickly while feeling
所以回家了，

Tsodeluyizo.191

ya33	ə33	kwɔ33	dʒwæ31	ni33	ze33.	zu33-mi33	la33
be embarrassed	LOC	return quickly	CERT.STR	PERF	wife	and	
不好意思	里	到		了	老婆	和	

a bit embarrassed.
到了一点不好意思的时候。

A wife and
老婆和

Tsodeluyizo.192

nu31-mi33	na33-tæ33-mi33	tʰu33	zu31	mə33-du33	pe33	tʰa33	du33
girl	horizontal-eyed woman	3SG.PRO	both	NEG-obtain	then	PROH	obtain
姑娘	眼睛横的女人	她		不-得	就	别	得

a horizontal-eyed girl, (he) thought (if) (he) didn't obtain the two of them, then (he) wouldn't
横眼睛的姑娘，她们两个如果得不到，

tɕi31	ɕi55	kʰu13	dʒo33	hǎɛ33	nuu33	wɔ33	wɔ33	pi33.
whistle (n.)	blow	TOP	wind	AGTV	wɔ wɔ	QUOT		
口哨	吹		风		wɔ wɔ	说		

Whistling, the wind went, “wɔ31 wɔ33.”

吹口哨的时候，风wo wo的吹过来。

Tsodeluyizo.197

tʰi13	gy33	ɕi55	lə33-qæ13	ni33	lə33-qæ13	ni33	ze33	hɔ33.
so	nine	CLS	ACCOMP-burn	CERT.STR	ACCOMP-burn	CERT.STR	PERF	
所以	九	片	树木	烧	烧		了	

So, (he) burned nine pieces of wood; (he) burned (them).

所以九片树木全部烧完了。

Tsodeluyizo.198

lə33-qæ13	lə33-tsʰu33.	lə33-tsʰu33	dʒo31	wɣ13	ɕi33-pʰu13
ACCOMP-burn	ACCOMP-come	ACCOMP-come	then	again	overturn wasteland
烧	来	来	就	又	翻荒地

(He) burned (them) (and) came back.

烧掉了，回家了。

Tsodeluyizo.199

(He) came back, (and) then again (they) sent (him) to go

回家以后，又派去翻

Tsodeluyizo.200

pu13	huu33	ni33	ze33.	ɕi33-pʰu13	dʒo33	tʰǎɛ33	nuu33	dzywæ33	pɔ13	zo33
send	go	CERT.STR	PERF	overturn wasteland	TOP	often	EMPH	hoe	use	CRS
派	去		了	翻荒地		经常		锄头	用	了

overturn wasteland.

荒地了。

As for overturning wasteland, (we) often use a hoe;

翻地是经常用锄头的，

Tsodeluyizo.201

dzywæ33-pʰu33	gy33	na33	pɔ13	du33	ni33	nuu33	ʃ13	tʰu33-dzu31	du33	kʰwɣ33
hoe	nine	CLS	INSTR	one	day	EMPH	REFL	DUR-sit	one	CLS
锄头	九	量词		一	天		自己	坐	一	量词

with nine hoes, in one day (he) hadn't overturned the space (he) was

拿九把锄头，一天自己坐的一小块都

mə33-pʰu13.	ʃ33	lə33	tɕʰi33	zo33	lə33-pʰu13	tʰu33	mə33-tʰu13.
NEG-overturn	has no hope	PERF	ACCOMP-overturn	succeed	NEG-POSSIB		
没-翻	没有信心	了	翻	成功	不-受得了		

sitting in. (He) had no hope; (he) wasn't able to succeed in overturning the land.

没有翻。一天翻地完成不了，一点信心都没有了。

Tsodeluyizo.202

ɕ33 lə33 tɕʰi33 lə33-tɕʰu33 zɛ33 dzɥwæ33 tʰu33 na33 lə33-ku13.
 has no hope ACCOMP-come PERF hoe this CLS ACCOMP-put on shoulder
 没有信心 来 了 锄头 这 量词 扛

(He) had no hope, (he) came back, (and) put the hoe on his shoulder.

一点精神都没有了，扛着这把锄头回家了。

Tsodeluyizo.203

tʰi13 mi31 zu13 nu33 tʰi33-sɔ13 ni33. dzɥwæ33-pʰu33 gy33 na33 pɔ13
 so woman AGTV DUR-teach CERT.STR hoe nine CLS take
 所以 女人 教 锄头 九 量词 拿

So the woman taught (him).

所以被女人教给他。

Tsodeluyizo.204

Take nine hoes

拿九把锄头，

Tsodeluyizo.205

gy33-zu33 kwɔ33 lə33-tɕi33. nɔ33 gy33 ɕi33 du33-tsa13 hɔ33.
 nine directions LOC ACCOMP-put 2SG.PRO nine wasteland scratch.DEL go.IMP
 九方向 里 放 你 九 荒地 一刨 去

(and) put (them) in the nine directions.

放在九块方向里。

Go scratch at nine plots of wasteland a bit.

你去刨九块荒地。

Tsodeluyizo.206

dzɥwæ33 tʰu33 gy33 na33 pɔ13 gy33-zu33 kwɔ33 lə33-tɕi33 dzɥwæ33 tʰu33
 hoe this nine CLS take nine directions LOC ACCOMP-put hoe this
 锄头 这 九 量词 拿 九方向 里 放 锄头 这

(He) took the nine hoes (and) put (them) in the nine directions;

这九把锄头放在九个方向里，

Tsodeluyizo.207

gy33 na33 nu33 nɔ13 bu33 nɔ13 nu33 ki31 kwɔ31 ki31 kwɔ31
 nine CLS EMPH REFL POSS REFL AGTV ki kwɔ ki kwɔ
 九 量词 自己 的 自己 ki kwɔ ki kwɔ

the nine hoes, by themselves went, “ki31 kwɔ31 ki31 kwɔ31”

这九把锄头，它自己ki kwɔ ki kwɔ

du33-tsa33-tsa31-du33-tsa33-tsa31 nu33 ɕi33 tʰu33 ku33
 dig.SEM EMPH wasteland this CLS
 挖 荒地 这 量词

digging and digging, (and) finished overturning the nine plots

的挖了起来,, 把这块荒地全部

lə33-p^hu13 lə33-sɛ13.
 ACCOMP-overtum ACCOMP-finish
 翻 完
 of wasteland.
 翻完了。

t ^h i13	ya33	q ^h a33	ŋa33	mɔ31	mi31	pi31.	t ^h i13	ya33	q ^h a33	t ^h u33-p ^h ɔ13
so		buckwheat					so		buckwheat	DUR-plant
所以		荞麦					所以		荞麦	播种
So, buckwheat ???							So, (he) went to plant			
							所以, 去播种了			
							Tsodeluyizo.209			

Tsodeluyizo.208

hu33	ni33.	bæ31-p ^h ɔ13	su31	bæ31-p ^h ɔ13	hu33	ni33.
go	CERT.STR	plant	first	plant	go	CERT.STR
去		播种	首先	播种	去	
buckwheat.		To plant (buckwheat), first (he) went to plant (buckwheat).				
荞麦。		播种先去播种。				
		Tsodeluyizo.210				

ya33	q ^h a33	ma33	mu31	mi31	sɔ33	lə33	t ^h i13	lə33	p ^h ɔ33
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Tsodeluyizo.211

æ33	ha31	ɲi33	ha13	lɔ33	ɲi33	ha13	t ^h i13	lə31
-----	------	------	------	------	------	------	--------------------	------

lu31	k ^h u33	tu31	tɕi33	lə31	tɔ31	tɕɛ33	la31	tɕi33
------	--------------------	------	-------	------	------	-------	------	-------

lə31	lə31.	k ^h u33 tu31	pi33	ʂ31-sɿ33 ku31	du33-wɔ33	dʒɔ33.
		k ^h u tu	be called	1INC.PRO	a type	EXIST
		k ^h u tu	叫	咱们	一种	有
		We have a type called “k ^h u33 tu31.”				
		叫k ^h u33 tu31, 我们有一种。				
		Tsodeluyizo.212				

t^hi13 lə33-ʂu33 dʒə31 γæ13 p^hu33 lə33-wə13 mə33-du33 kwɿ31 ni33.
 so ACCOMP-harvest but seed money ACCOMP-return NEG-obtain INTERJ CERT.STR
 所以 收割 种子 钱 回 没-得 语气词

So, (he) harvested (the grain), but (he) didn't (even) get back seed money!

所以，收割的时候，连种子的钱都没有得到。

Tsodeluyizo.213

γæ13 t^hu33-bu13 ni33 mə33-du33.
 seed DUR-sprinkle seem NEG-obtain
 种子 撒 象 没-得

(He) seemed not to have obtained (any) seeds to sow.

象撒下的种子一样都没有得到。

Tsodeluyizo.214

t^hi13 yī33-bi33-di33-mə33-di31 ni33 zɛ33. t^hi13 γæ13 p^hu33 mə33-du33.
 so no way CERT.STR PERF so seed money NEG-obtain
 所以 没有办法 了 所以 种子 钱 没-得

So, there was no way.

所以，是没有办法了。

Tsodeluyizo.215

So, (he) didn't get seed money.

所以，种子钱没有得到。

Tsodeluyizo.216

t^hi13 yī33-bi33-di33-mə33-di31 hu33 ni33 zɛ33.
 so no way go CERT.STR PERF
 所以 没有办法 去 了

So, there was no way, (and) (he) left.

所以，没有办法了，就去了。

Tsodeluyizo.217

su33-dzu33 t^hu33 twæ13 ʂwæ33 t^hu33 sɔ31 dzu33 t^hi33-di31.
 tree this INTS tall this three CLS DUR-EXIST.P
 树 这 很 高 这 三 量词 有

There were three very tall trees.

这个树木有三棵很高的。

Tsodeluyizo.218

tɕə31-ku33 t^hu31 du33 dzu33 ku31 na33 zɔ33 la33 bæ33 na31 zɔ33 ha13 ni33.
 first one CLS kunazo and baenazo live CERT.STR
 首先的 一 量词 kunazo 和 baenazo 住

(In) the first one, kunazo and baenazo live.

首先一棵树是住kunazo和baenazo。

Tsodeluyizo.219

ku31 na33 zɔ33	la33	bæ33 na31 zɔ33	pi33	dzɔ33	bæ33 mi33	la33	ku31 na33 zɔ33
kunazo	and	baenazo	be called	TOP	duck	and	kunazo
kunazo	和	baenazo			鸭子	和	kunazo

[What in the Daba register] were called kunazo and baenazo, a duck and a type of bird called 叫kunazo和baenazo是鸭子和叫kunazo的
Tsodeluyizo.220

pi33	wu31-dze33	du33-wɔ33	tʰu33-ha13.	qæ33	kwɔ33	li33	hu33	dzɔ33
call	bird	a type	DUR-live	dung	LOC	look	go	PROG
说	鸟	一种	住	粪便	里	看	去	正在

“kunazo”²² lived (there).
一种鸟，住在这里。
Going to look in their dung,
去粪便里看的时候，
Tsodeluyizo.221

ya33 qʰa33	lɔ33-dzi33	tʰu33	tʰu33-mə33-zu33	ni33	ze33.
buckwheat	ACCOMP-eat	this	DUR-NEG-EXIST.C	CERT.STR	PERF
荞麦	吃	这	没-有		了

there weren't any buckwheat remains.
发现他们的粪便里没有吃过的荞麦。

tɕɔ31-i33 ku33	tʰu33	dzu33	ku33 pʰɣ31 zɔ33	(ku33 pʰɣ31 zɔ33)	pi33	wu31-dze33
middle	this	CLS	kuphezo	kuphezo	call	bird
最中间	这	量词	kuphezo	kuphezo	说	鸟

In the middle (tree), there would be a type of bird called kuphezo;
最中间的这棵树有一种叫kuphezo的鸟，
Tsodeluyizo.222

du33-wɔ33	dzɔ33	ku13	ku33 pʰɣ31 zɔ33	la33	qæ33 pʰɣ33 zɔ33	pi33
a type	EXIST	FUT.ABL	kuphezo	and	gaephezo	be called
一种	有	会	kuphezo	和	gaephezo	说

there would be types of birds called kuphezo and gaephezo,
有一种叫kuphezo和gaephezo,

wu31-dze33	du33-wɔ33	dzɔ33	ku13	ku33	la33	qɔwɔ33	tʰu33-ha13.
bird	a type	EXIST	FUT.ABL	K.	and	G.	DUR-live
鸟	一种	有	会	K.	和	G.	住

K. and G. lived (there).
他们住在这里。

²² i.e., ‘baenazo’ means ‘duck’ in modern Na, and it is no longer known what kind of bird a ‘kunazo’ is.

qæ33	kwɔ33	ha33	tʰu33-mə33-zu33.	tɕɔ31-ku33 tʰu31	tɕɔ31-ti33 ku33
dung	LOC	food	DUR-NEG-EXIST.C	first	middle
粪便	里	饭	没-有	最先的	最中间的

There wasn't (any) food in (their) dung. Going to have a look in the first, the middlemost,
粪便里没有饭。最先的, 最中间的,
Tsodeluyizo.223 Tsodeluyizo.224

tɕɔ31-mu33 tʰu31	du33	dzu33	kwɔ33	du33-li33	hu33	dʒɔ33	ku33 tse33 mi33
last	one	CLS	LOC	look.DEL	go	PROG	kutsemi
最下面的	一	量词	里	一看	去		kutsemi

(and) the last (trees), kutsemi
最后的一棵树, 看了一眼, 发现kutsemi

tʰu33-ha13	ni33	ze33.	qæ33	kwɔ33	tʰu33-zu33	ni33	ze33.
DUR-live	CERT.STR	PERF	dung	LOC	DUR-EXIST.C	CERT.STR	PERF
住		了	粪便	里	有		了

lived (there). (It) was there in (its) dung!
住在里面。粪便里有了!
Tsodeluyizo.225

ɔ̄31-sy33 ku31	na31-zwɣ33	dʒɔ33	ku33 tse33 mi33	pi33	ni33.
INC.PRO	Na language	TOP	kutsemi	be called	CERT.STR
咱们	摩梭语		kutsemi	叫	

In our Na language, (it) is called kutsemi.
我们摩梭的语言里叫做kutsemi。
Tsodeluyizo.226

yɯ13 bu33 bu31	la33	yɯ13 la33 si31	pi33	ni33.	yɯ13 bu33 bu31	la33
ribubu	and	rilasi	be called	CERT.STR	ribubu	and
ribubu	和	rilasi	叫		ribubu	和

[In the Daba register] (they) are called ribubu and rilasi. ribubu and
叫做Ribubu和Rilasi的。住这ribubu
Tsodeluyizo.227 Tsodeluyizo.228

yɯ13 la33 si31	tʰu33-ha13.	ha31	tsʰɔ31 du33 lu33 yi33 zɔ33	tsʰu33-pi33	dʒɔ33
rilasi	DUR-live	INTERJ	Tsodeluyizo	today	TOP
rilasi	住	语气词	Tsodeluyizo	今天	

rilasi lived (there). Ha, today Tsodeluyizo
和rilasi。Ha, Tsodeluyizo今天
Tsodeluyizo.229

qæ33 kwɔ33 ya33 q^ha33 lə33-dzi33 zɔ33 ya33 q^ha33 bu33 yæ13
 dung LOC buckwheat ACCOMP-eat buckwheat POSS seed
 粪便 里 荞麦 吃 了 荞麦 的 种子
 in the dung (found) the seeds of the digested buckwheat
 在粪便里找到了荞麦的种子，荞麦

t^hu33 nu33 lə33-dzi33 zɔ33 *shouru* (loan) mə33-t^hu33 zɔ33 ha31.
 3SG.PRO AGTV ACCOMP-eat PERF income NEG-obtain PERF INTERJ
 它 吃 了 收入 没-得 了 语气词
 it had eaten; (he) hadn't had any income, ha!
 被它吃掉了，一点收入都没有了，ha!

du33 ni33 ts^hɔ31 du33 lu33 yi33 zɔ33 (su33 sɔ31 hu33) su33 sɔ31 dzo33
 one day Tsodeluyizo bow go bow TOP
 一天 Tsodeluyizo 弓箭 去 弓箭
 One day, Tsodeluyizo – a bow,
 有一天，Tsodeluyizo去砍弓箭，
 Tsodeluyizo.230

ɔ31-sy33 ku31 su33 sɔ31 zu31 mi33 da13 zu31 mi33 da13 hu33 ni33.
 1INC.PRO bow bow cut bow cut go CERT.STR
 咱们 弓箭 弓箭 砍 弓箭 砍 去
 cut a bow, our “su33 sɔ31”, (he) went to cut a bow.
 弓箭就是我们现在说的弓箭。

du33 ni33 su33 sɔ31-ɕæ33 bæ33 pi33 a31 yi33 ɕe33 zɛ33 t^hu33 du33-wɔ33
 one day bow-arrow be called long, long ago arrow this a type
 一天 弓箭-箭 叫 很久以前 箭 这 一种
 One day, (it) is called a bow (and) “ɕæ33 bæ33”; it is said that long, long ago, there would be this
 一天，去找弓箭的箭，听说我们以前会有一个
 Tsodeluyizo.231

dzo33 ku13 tsi13. du33 ni33 pɤ33 bɔ31 hu33 pɤ33 bɔ31 lə33 bæ33 ku31
 EXIST FUT.ABL REP one day vine go vine rope make
 有 会 一天 藤 去 藤 绳子 做
 type of arrow.²³ One day, (he) went (for) vines, vines to make rope,
 叫“ɕæ33 bæ33”的箭。 一天，去砍藤，做绳子的藤，
 Tsodeluyizo.232

²³ This sentence reads a little oddly, because the speaker has already introduced the Daba term for a bow (su31 sɔ31) in the previous sentence and is now introducing the Daba term for a type of arrow (ɕæ33 bæ33). su31 sɔ31 and ɕæ33 bæ33 probably form a coordinate compound here, as they are items that have a strong natural relationship.

ɔ̄31-sy33	ku31	su33-dzu33	bi33	lɔ33	bæ33	pi33	du33-wɔ33	dʒɔ33	ku13
INC.PRO		tree	on	rope		be called	a type	EXIST	FUT.ABL
咱们		树	上	绳子		叫	一种	有	会

it is said on our trees there would be a type (of vine) called lɔ31 bæ33;
听说我们以前有一种藤可以做绳子。

tsi13	mæ33	bæ33	tʰu33	du33-wɔ33	dʒɔ33	ku13	tsi13.
REP	CERT.M	rope	this	a type	EXIST	FUT.ABL	REP
		绳子	这	一种	有	会	

it is said there would be a type of rope-vine.

tsʰɔ31	du33	lu33	yi33	zɔ33	qæ31-qæ13	bi33	ʂu33	du33.
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Tsodeluyizo			shoot		go	think
Tsodeluyizo			打枪		去	想

Tsodeluyizo thought to go shooting.

Tsodeluyizo 是想去射箭。

Tsodeluyizo.233

qæ13	zɛ31	pɔ31	ya33	ʂɛ31	ma33	qæ33	tx31	yi33	ɕi33.
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Tsodeluyizo.234

du33	ji33	tʰu33-mæ13	tɕʰi33	ni33	tʰu33-mæ13	tɕʰi33	lɔ33-qæ13	zɛ33
one	day	DUR-aim at	INTERJ	CERT.STR	DUR-aim at	INTERJ	ACCOMP-shoot	PERF
一	天	瞄准	语气词		瞄准	语气词	打	了

(For) one day (he) aimed and aimed; (if) (he) shot (and)

他一天瞄准不敢打，

Tsodeluyizo.235

tʰu33-mə33-zɔ33	lɔ33-dzɛ33	tɕʰi33	ɑ31	yɪ33?
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DUR-NEG-hit	ACCOMP-fly	INTERJ	QM	can
没-打中	飞	语气词		会

didn't hit (the bird), couldn't (the bird) fly away?

害怕打不中，飞掉了。

mə33-qæ13	nu33	tʰu33-ni13	tʰu33-mæ13	tɕʰi33	ni33.
NEG-shoot	CONTR	this way	DUR-aim at	INTERJ	CERT.STR
不-打		这样	瞄准	语气词	

(He) didn't shoot, this way (he) (just) kept aiming.

不打又不行，所以一天在瞄准。

Tsodeluyizo.236

nu31-mi33 ja33-tæ33-mi33 t^hu33 wɔ33 ta33 ɣɣ33 da13 zɔ33.
 girl horizontal-eyed woman 3SG.PRO in front of hemp cloth weave CRS
 姑娘 眼睛横的女人 他 面前 麻布 织 了

The horizontal-eyed woman was weaving hemp cloth in front of him.
 眼睛横的姑娘正在他的面前织麻布。

Tsodeluyizo.237

t^hu33-ni13 zɔ33 ɣɣ33 gu33 ʂ31-sɿ33 ku31 ɛ31 ki31 zɔ33 pa33
 this way CRS hemp cloth shuttle 1INC.PRO isn't that right shuttle
 这样 了 麻布 槽 咱们 是不是 槽

This way, a shuttle [for weaving] hemp cloth, right?,
 我们有一个织麻布的槽, 是不是,

Tsodeluyizo.238

duu33 luu33 dzɔ33 ku13 t^hu33-ni13 duu31 suu33 ki33 t^hu33 suu33 ki33
 one CLS EXIST FUT.ABL this way there pass CAUS here pass CAUS
 一 量词 有 会 这样 那边 穿 这边 穿

there would be a shuttle; the kind (that) is passed back (and) passed forth repeatedly
 拿这个槽在麻布上穿过来,

t^hæ33 ni33. t^hi13 my13 ja33-tæ33-mi33 wɔ33 ta33 nu33
 often CERT.STR so woman horizontal-eyed woman in front of EMPH
 经常 所以 女人 眼睛横的女人 面前

[through the weft]. So, in front of the horizontal-eyed woman,
 穿过去。 所以, 在横眼睛的女人的面前

Tsodeluyizo.239

duu33 ji33 t^hu33-ni13 t^hu33-mæ13 dzɔ33. t^hi13 t^hu33 ɣa33 mi33 dzɔ33
 one day this way DUR-aim at PROG so 3SG.PRO thank PROG
 一 天 这样 瞄准 正在 所以 她 感谢

one day, (he) was aiming in this manner. So, thanking her,
 一天就是这样瞄准着。 所以感谢她

Tsodeluyizo.240

ɣɣ33-gu33 t^hu33 luu33 pɔ13 ta33 na31 bi33 t^hu33-la13 lə33-hu33.
 shuttle this CLS take trigger on DUR-hit ACCOMP-go
 麻布槽 这 量词 拿 扳机 上面 打 去

(he) took the shuttle (and) went (and) put (it) on the trigger.
 用织麻布的这个槽, 打在弓箭的扳机。

ny31 mi33 ja33 tæ33 mi33 yi33 ze33 la31 st31 ʂe33.

Tsodeluyizo.241

ɣɣ33-gu33	ʂ31-sɿ33	ku31	ɣɣ33-gu33	pɔ13	la13	lə33-hu33
shuttle	1INC.PRO		shuttle	INSTR	hit	ACCOMP-go
麻布槽	咱们		麻布槽	拿	打	去

With the shuttle, our shuttle, (he) went to hit (him),
用麻布的槽，我们织麻布的槽，打下去，弓箭射到了，

Tsodeluyizo.242

ku33 tse33 mi33	tɔ31	tʰu33-zɔ33	ɣu13 la33 su31	lə33-su13	tʰu33-kwɿ13.
kutsemi	ADESS	DUR-hit	rilasi	ACCOMP-die	DUR-fall
kutsemi	上面	打中	rilasi		丢

(he) hit kutsemi, rilasi fell (and) died.

kutsemi的上面，把rilasi杀掉了。

ya33	qa33	na33	my31	mi33	sɔ33	lə33	lə33	tʰu33	æ33
------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	-------	-----

Tsodeluyizo.243

ɣæ31	ki33	la33	zɪ31	ni31	la31	lə33	tʰu33	kʰu33	tʰu33
------	------	------	------	------	------	------	-------	-------	-------

tɕi33	ʎa31	lə33	tʰu33.	tʰi13	lə33-tʰu33	zɔ33	taɿ31.
				so	ACCOMP-succeed	PERF	INTERJ
				所以	成功	了	语气词

So, (he) succeeded, oh!

所以，成功了。

Tsodeluyizo.244

tsu33 zu33	lə33-lu13	zɔ33	lə33-ʂu33	zɔ33	my33-di33	kwɔ33
test	ACCOMP-be enough	PERF	ACCOMP-carry	PERF	land	LOC
考验	够	了	带	了	土地	里

The tests were enough, (he) carryied (her) off, (he) would go take (her)

考验做够了，准备带着（姑娘）回到他的地方

Tsodeluyizo.245

lə33-pɔ13	bi33	hɔ33	ni33	ze33.	duu33-sɔ33	mə33-dzɔ33
ACCOMP-take	go	FUT.DES	CERT.STR	PERF	at all	NEG-EXIST
拿	去	会		了	一样	没有

to (his) land.

上去了。

(He) had nothing at all,

一样东西都

Tsodeluyizo.246

yī33-bi33-di33-mə33-di31. duu33-sə33 mə33-dzə33 yī33-bi33-di33-mə33-di31 laŋ31.
 no way at all NEG-EXIST no way INTERJ
 没有办法 一样 没-有 没有办法 语气词
 there was no way. (He) had nothing at all, there was no way, oh!
 没有办法。 什么都没有，没有办法，啊！
 Tsodeluyizo.247

lə33- nuu33 lə33-bi33 zə33-hə33 zuu33-tu33 yī33 bi33 zə33-hə33 ni33
 ACCOMP- EMPH ACCOMP-go should family make go should CERT.STR
 去 应该 家庭 做 去 应该
 (He) should go, (he) should go set up a family,
 去是要回去的，建立家庭，
 Tsodeluyizo.248

nə31 tʰi13 æ̃31-tʰi13 pɿ33 tə31 mə33-dzə33 ni33 mə33.
 but so chick all NEG-EXIST CERT.STR CERT.M
 但是 所以 小鸡 都 没-有
 even though (he) didn't have even a baby chick, oh!
 但是连一只小鸡都没有。

tʰi13 ɲa33-tæ33-mi33 lə33-ʃu33 lə33-ɣə33 hə33 ni33 zɛ33.
 so horizontal-eyed woman ACCOMP-carry ACCOMP-come DES CERT.STR PERF
 所以 眼睛横的女人 带 来 要 了
 So, (he) wanted to carry off the horizontal-eyed woman (and) come (home).
 所以，要带着横眼睛的姑娘回来了。
 Tsodeluyizo.249

tʰi13 yī33-bi33-di31-mə33-di31. tʰi13 mi31 zu13 mə33-ɣə33 lə33-zwæ13 zə33.
 so no way so woman NEG-good ACCOMP-strong PERF
 所以 没有办法 所以 女人 不好 厉害 了
 So, there was no way. So, the woman was extremely clever.
 所以，没有办法。 所以，女人特别聪明。
 Tsodeluyizo.250 Tsodeluyizo.251

ɕi33	pʰu33	ɲa31	ʃɿ31	wə33	tsʰɿ33	ɣwæ13	lə33	hu31	ɕi33	ɣæ13
										seed
										种子

Tsodeluyizo.252

ɔ̄31-sɿ33	ku31	ɕi33	ɣæ13	tʰu33	nu33	hæ33 pɿ33	lə33-tsʰɿ13	qwæ31-gi33
IINC.PRO		paddy	seed	3SG.PRO	AGTV	hair	ACCOMP-comb	middle
咱们		水稻	种子	她		头发	梳	中间

our paddy seeds, she combed (her) hair (and) put (them)
 我们的水稻种子是她梳头，放在头发的

hæ33 pɿ33	kwɔ33	kʰu13	ni33.	my33-wɔ33	nu33	lə33-tɕi33	zɔ33.
hair	LOC	put	CERT.STR	heavens	AGTV	ACCOMP-curse	PERF
头发	里	放		天上		诅咒	了

in (her) hair. So, the heavens cursed (them).
 中间的。所以，被天上诅咒了。

Tsodeluyizo.253

zu33-di33	tu33	mə33-ni33	nɔ33	wɿ33-di33	tu33	tʰa33	hɔ̄33	pi33.
warm-NOM _{Loc}	plant	unless	2SG.PRO	mountain-NOM _{Loc}	plant	PROH	go.IMP	QUOT
热-地	播种	除了	你	山-地	播种	别	去	说

(The heavens) said, “Unless (you) plant (them) (in) a warm place, don’t plant (them) in the mountains.”
 说，除了热的地方以外，高山的地区，你不可以种。

Tsodeluyizo.254

ɔ̄31-sɿ33	ku31	ɕi33 lu33	tʰu33	dʒɔ33	ɣæ31	kwɔ33	mə33-ni33	wɿ33-ɕwæ33
IINC.PRO		paddy	this	TOP	flatland	LOC	NEG-COP	high mountain
咱们		水稻	这		平地	里	不是	高山

Our paddy, (if) (it) isn’t in the flatlands,²⁴ in the high mountains and such (places),
 我们的这个水稻不是平地的话，在山高的

Tsodeluyizo.255

wɔ33	la33	tʰæ13	kwɔ33	tu33	mə33-ɣa33.	tʰu33	my33-wɔ33	nu33
on	and	such	LOC	plant	NEG-good	this	heavens	AGTV
上	和	那些	里	播种	不好	这	天上	

(it) isn’t good to plant. The heavens
 上面是不可以播种的。这个是

Tsodeluyizo.256

²⁴ NEG-COP has grammaticalized into a true negative conditional marker (‘unless’), as can be seen in the previous sentence (cf. §x.x for discussion of true negative conditionals). However, the language of course retains the negative-marked copula use, too. It is clear that here, mə33-ni33 is a negative-marked copula because the locative construction requires a copula. The conditional is unmarked because Na realis conditionals are unmarked (cf. §x.x).

tɕi33	ni33	mæ33.	ɛ33 k ^h u31	ŋa13	ʂɻ31	lɔ33	zu31
curse	CERT.STR	CERT.M	ɛ33 k ^h u31				
诅咒			圆根				
cursed (the seeds).							
被天上诅咒了。							

Tsodeluyizo.257

qwæ31	lɔ33	k ^h u31.	ɛ33 k ^h u31	ɣæ13	t ^h u33	nu33	lɔ33-k ^h u33	zɔ33
			turnip	seed	3SG.PRO	AGTV	ACCOMP-steal	PERF
			圆根	种子	她		偷	了
Turnip seeds, she stole, putting (them)								
圆根的种子是被她偷了，								
Tsodeluyizo.258								

lɔ31-zu33	qwæ31	k ^h u13	lɔ33-pɔ31-t ^h u33.	my33-wɔ33	lɔ33-tɕi33.
finger	between	put	ACCOMP-brought	heavens	ACCOMP-curse
指头	中间	放	拿来	天上	诅咒
between (her) fingers, (she) brought (them) back.				The heavens cursed (the seeds).	
藏在手指头中间拿回来的。				被天上诅咒。	
Tsodeluyizo.259					

p ^h ɔ33	lu31	ku31	hɔ31	tɕɻ33	tɕi31	tsa33	hɔ33.
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Tsodeluyizo.260

ɛ33 k ^h u31	t ^h u33	lu33	p ^h ɔ13	dʒɔ33	t ^h u33	du55-du55	ku13	dʒɔ31
turnip	this	CLS	plant	TOP	this	big.INTSF	ABLT	but
圆根	这	量词	播种		这	大大	会	但是
Planting the turnips, (they) could be this big, but								
这个圆根播种出来这么大大的，但是								
Tsodeluyizo.261								

kwɔ33-lɔ33	dʒi33	tsɻ33	ni33.	t ^h u33	my33-wɔ33	nu33	tɕi33	ni33.
INESS	water	become	CERT.STR	this	heavens	AGTV	curse	CERT.STR
里边	水	变成		这	天上	被	诅咒	
became water inside.				The heavens cursed them.				
里边全部变成水了。				这是被天上诅咒。				
Tsodeluyizo.262								

hwa31 li33 ni33 tsa31 zu31 li31 p^hɔ13 lə33 hɔ̃31. hwa31 li33 t^hu33 dʒɔ33
 cat this TOP
 猫 这
 Cats, these
 猫, 这个是
 Tsodeluyizo.263 Tsodeluyizo.264

kɔ31 pɔ33 gi13 p^hɔ33 lə33-hu33. zu31 ni33 ku31 k^hu33 li33 t^ha31 tsɪ31.
 livestock after escape ACCOMP-go
 牲畜 后面 逃跑 去
 escaped following the livestock.
 跟着牲畜跑去的。
 Tsodeluyizo.265

hwa31 li33 zɿ33 ɲa33 dʒɔ33 hwa31 li33 sɔ31 lu33 la33 zu33 lu33 t^hæ13 du33
 cat raise while TOP cat three CLS and four CLS such obtain
 猫 养 的时候 猫 三 量词 和 四 量词 那些 得
 Raising cats, (one) got three or four (of them),
 养猫的时候, 可以养三个, 四个的猫,
 Tsodeluyizo.266

hwa31 li33-ʂe33 dzi33 mə33-ya33 dʒɔ33 my33-wɔ33 nu33 lə33-tɕi33 ni33.
 cat meat eat NEG-good TOP heavens AGTV ACCOMP-curse CERT.STR
 猫肉 吃 不-好 天上 诅咒
 (but) the cat meat wasn't good to eat, the heavens had cursed (it).
 但是他的肉不可以吃, 这个是被天上诅咒的。

t^hi13 pɔ33 na31 yi33 mə33 hɪ31 pi33 pɔ31 yi33 nu33 qæ31 pi31.

Tsodeluyizo.267

bɔ13 t^hu33 dʒɔ33 yi33 mə33-hɪ33 dʒɔ33 pi33 pɔ33 du33 ni33 qæ13 pi33
 pig this TOP come NEG-be okay TOP lees obtain CERT.STR trick QUOT
 猪 这 来 不行 酒糟 得 骗
 The pigs, (they) were not willing to come, (they) say (she) obtained wine lees (and) tricked (them);
 猪是要不回来了,
 Tsodeluyizo.268

531-sy33 ku31 zu33 bu33 u13 pi31 ly33 t^hu33 mi31 zu13 t^hu33 nu33 mə33-ya33
 IINC.PRO wine steam lees this woman 3SG.PRO AGTV NEG-good
 咱们 酒 蒸 酒糟 这 女人 她 不好

our wine lees (from) steaming wine; this woman, she was extremely
 是用我们蒸酒的酒糟因为这个女人

lə33-zwə13 zə33 zɣ31 mi33 kwə33 t^hu33-ni13 du33 yi33 nu33 du33 sə33
 ACCOMP-strong PERF road LOC this way one place CONTR one three
 厉害 了 路 里 这样 一 地方 一 三

clever, on the road, like this, in one place a couple lees (and) (in another place)
 太聪明，她在路上一个地方撒了几颗酒糟，

ly33 du33 sə33 ly33 t^hu33-ni13 zə33 t^hu33-ʂu33 ʂu33 bə13 dʒə33
 CLS one three CLS this way ADVB DUR-sprinkle pig TOP
 量词 一 三 量词 这样 的 撒 猪

a couple lees, (she) sprinkled (the lees) in this manner, (and) the pigs
 这样把猪

pi31 ly33 gi13 di33 lə33-ts^hu33. bə13 nu33 pi31 ly33 gi13 di33
 lees after follow ACCOMP-come pig AGTV lees after follow
 酒糟 后面 跟 来 猪 酒糟 后面 跟

came following after the wine lees.
 骗回来了。

The pigs came following the wine lees,
 猪是追赶酒糟，

Tsodeluyizo.269

lə33-ts^hu33 zə33 mɤ33-wə33 lə33-qə13 lə33-pə31-ts^hu33.
 ACCOMP-come PERF heavens ACCOMP-trick ACCOMP-bring
 来 了 天上 骗 拿来

æ33 nə31

(she) tricked the heavens (and) brought (them) back.
 从天上骗回来的。

Tsodeluyizo.270

ya33 mə33 hi33 tɕ^hwə33 lu33 pə31 nu31 qə31 bi31.

ə13 t^hu33
 chicken this
 鸡 这
 The chickens,
 鸡

Tsodeluyizo.271

dʒə33 ha33 ly33 pə13 zə33 zɣ31 mi33 kwə33 nu33 du33 lu33 du33 lu33
 TOP rice CLS take PERF road LOC EMPH one CLS one CLS
 饭 量词 拿 了 路 里 一 量词 一 量词

(she) took rice kernels (and) put (them) on the road one by one;
 是用饭在路上一颗一颗的撒下，

t^hu33-tɕi33 æ13 t^hu33 dzɔ33 ha33 lɿ33 k^hɿ13 zɔ33 ta31 ta31 pi33 qæ13
 DUR-put chicken this TOP rice CLS peck ADVB ta ta QUOT trick
 放 鸡 这 饭 量词 啄 的 ta ta 骗

the chickens pecked at the rice kernels, ta31 ta31, (she) (thus) tricked (them)
 鸡追赶饭, ta31 ta31的吃, 被她骗

lə33-ts^hu33. yi31 wu33 yi33 mə33 hɪ31 zɿ31 pɔ33 du33 nu33 qæ31.

ACCOMP-come

来

(and) (they) came.

回来的。

Tsodeluyizo.272

yi33 t^hu33 dzɔ33 k^hɔ33 p^hɿ33 gi13 di13 lə33-ts^hu33 pi33 ni33.
 cow this TOP grass after follow ACCOMP-come QUOT CERT.STR
 牛 这 草地 后面 追赶 来

(They) say the cows, (they) came following the grass.

听说牛是追赶草地来的。

Tsodeluyizo.273

yi33 lə33-k^hu33 lə33-pɔ31-ts^hu33 ni33 mɿ33-wɔ33...
 cow ACCOMP-steal ACCOMP-bring CERT.STR heavens
 牛 偷 拿来 天上

The cows were stolen (and) brought back, the heavens...

牛是天上偷了拿回来的。

Tsodeluyizo.274

yi31 mə33 yi31 mə33 hɪ31 zɿ31 pɔ33 du33 ni33 qæ33

Tsodeluyizo.275

ni33 pɔ31 ku33 tɕ^hi33 ki31 tɕ^hu33 wu33 tɕ^hi33 mə33 ki33

tɕ^hu33 wu33 du31 lu31 k^hu33 ɬɔ33 ɓ^hu33 tɔ31 lə33 qæ13.

puw33 t^hu33 dzɔ33 jiushi (loan) lə33-k^hu33 lə33-pɔ31-ts^hu33.
 yak this TOP then ACCOMP-steal ACCOMP-bring
 牦牛 这 就是 偷 拿来

The yaks, (these) then (they) stole (and) brought back.
 牦牛是偷了拿回来的。

Tsodeluyizo.276

zɰwæ33 dzɔ33 mə33-dzɔ33 zɔ33 zɰwæ33 wɔ33-ly33 k^hu33 lə33-pɔ31-ts^hu33.
 horse TOP NEG-EXIST PERF horse head steal ACCOMP-bring
 马 没有 了 马 头 偷 拿来

There weren't (any) horses; (instead), (they) stole a horse head (and) brought (it) back.
 马是没有，只是偷了马的头拿回来了。

Tsodeluyizo.277

zɰwæ33 dzɔ33 lə33-k^hu33 mə33-duw33 zɔ33.
 horse TOP ACCOMP-steal NEG-succeed PERF
 马 偷 没-到 了

Horses, (they) didn't succeed in stealing.
 马是没有偷到了。

Tsodeluyizo.278

t^hi13 ʂɔ33-sɤ33 ku31 mɤ31 zi13 tsa33 pɤ33 la33 t^hæ13 dzɔ33 mə33-ʂɔ31 kwɔ33
 so 1INC.PRO oats tsampa and such TOP NEG-be clean LOC
 所以 咱们 燕麦 炒面 和 那些 不-干净 里

So, our oats, tsampa, and such, (she) hid in an unclean (place),
 所以，燕麦炒面和那些是藏在干净

Tsodeluyizo.279

tʂ^hwæ13 zɔ33 tʂ^hi31 ʂu33 la33 t^hæ13 kwɔ33 pɔ13 mə33-hi33.
 hide PERF religious items and such LOC use NEG-be okay
 藏 了 敬神的 和 那些 里 用 不-行

[this is the reason] (it) isn't okay to use (them) in religious items and such.²⁵
 的地方了偷回来了，所以我们在敬神的时候不可以用它做祭品。

mɤ31 zi13 tsa33 pɤ33 t^hu33 nu33 na33 zu31 kwɔ33 tʂ^hwæ13 lə33-pɔ31-ts^hu33
 oats tsampa 3SG.PRO AGTV private parts LOC hide ACCOMP-bring
 燕麦 炒面 她 下身 里 藏 拿来

Oats and tsampa, she hid in (her) private parts (and) brought back,
 燕麦，炒面是被她藏在下身带回来的，

Tsodeluyizo.280

²⁵ In Tibetan Buddhism, one makes sculptures out of grain doughs or yak butter to place on the altar.

hī33 pɔ13 tʰæ31-tʰæ13 hu33 ku13 tʰi13 tɕʰi31 ʂu33 la33 tʰæ13 yi33
 person be itchy.INTSF go ABLT so religious items and such make
 人 把 痒 去 会 所以 敬神的 和 那些 做
 (they) can make a person itchy, so (it) isn't okay to make religious items and such (out of them).
 会让人痒痒，所以敬神的时候，

mə33-hī33. tʰi13 ɲa33-tsu33-mi33 ʂe33 mə33-du33
 NEG-okay so vertical-eyed woman look for NEG-obtain
 不-行 所以 眼睛竖的女人 找 不-得
 So, (he) didn't find a vertical-eyed woman; (instead)
 不可以用它。 所以，找不到竖眼睛的姑娘，
 Tsodeluyizo.281

ɲa33-tæ33-mi33 ʂe33 du33. tʰi13 tɕi33-di33 kwɔ33 tʰi13
 horizontal-eyed woman look for obtain so world LOC so
 眼睛横的女人 找 得 所以 人间地 里 所以
 (he) found a horizontal-eyed woman. So, in the earthly world,
 只找到横眼睛的姑娘。 所以，在人间里的人，心
 Tsodeluyizo.282

tʰa13 nu31 hu31 ɲa31 dzi33 ya31. ɲa33 nu33 tʰu33-ɲi33
 1SG.PRO AGTV today
 我 今天
 (I) think, "Won't (I) improve (my) business
 每天都想我自己的
 Tsodeluyizo.283

wu33 la13 du33-hu33 dzɤ13 hu33 bi33 mə33-ni33 nɔ33 bu33 du33 qʰwɤ33
 business a little be good go FUT.IMM NEG-COP 2SG.PRO POSS one CLS
 生意 一点 好 去 不是 你 的 一 碗
 a bit today, (even if) (I) will take away from you (lit., "eat a bowl of yours")
 生意好一点，不然就是

dzi33 bi33 ʂu33 du33 nɔ33 ɲa33 bu33 du33 qʰwɤ33 dzi33 bi33 nɔ33.
 eat FUT.IMM think 2SG.PRO 1SG.PRO POSS one CLS eat FUT.IMM or
 吃 想 你 我 的 一 碗 吃 或者
 or you will take away from me (lit., "eat a bowl of mine").
 去吃掉你的一块儿东西。

tɕi33-di33 kwɔ33 tʰi13 du33 hu33 tʰu33 mə33-yĩ33 dʒɔ33
 world LOC so one little this NEG-make TOP
 人间地 里 所以 一 点 这 不-做

So in the earthly world, there is a little evil,
 在人间里有一点点不好,
 Tsodeluyizo.284

tʰi33-ni13 ku13 ni33.
 this way become CERT.STR
 这样 变成
 (it) came to be in this way.
 是这样变成的。

ɲa33-tsu33-mi33 ʂɛ33 du33 pi33 ɲa3-lɿ33 ɲa33-tsi31 tʰu33-ni13
 vertical-eyed woman look for obtain COND.HYP eye eyebrow this way
 眼睛竖的女人 找 得 眼睛 眉毛 这样

If (one) finds a vertical-eyed woman, finds (a woman) (with) eyes (and) eyebrows like this,
 如果找到竖眼睛的女人的话, 就是眼睛和眉毛这样的,
 Tsodeluyizo.285

ʂɛ33 du33 a33 pɔ31 pɔ31. nɔ33 la33 ɲa33 pi33 mə33-dʒɔ33
 look for obtain INTERJ 2SG.PRO and 1SG.PRO say NEG-EXIST
 找 得 语气词 你 和 我 说 没有

excellent! (If one finds a vertical-eyed woman, she) doesn't distinguish
 找到的话, 不得了! (如果找到竖眼睛的姑娘), 不分别你和我,
 Tsodeluyizo.286

ɲa33 bu33 la33 nɔ33 bu33 pi33 mə33-dʒɔ33 zɥæ13 tɕi33-di33
 1SG.PRO POSS and 2SG.PRO POSS say NEG-EXIST be very good world
 我 的 和 你 的 说 没有 特别好 人间地

between you and me, between mine and yours, (and) the world would
 你的和我的, 在人间里

kwɔ33 tʰu33-ni13 ku13 hɔ33 ni33 mə33.
 LOC this way become FUT.DES CERT.STR CERT.M
 里 这样 变成 会 语气词

become very good.
 会变得特别好。

NARRATIVE 6 – FANGZI

Narrative and Chinese translation by Geze Dorje

在纳的家庭里比全部最重要的是这个祖屋（zu33-mi33）。修这个祖屋的时候，一个家庭分家的时候，既是什么都没有得到；祖屋这个必须首先修建的。所以建这个祖屋了，建这个祖屋的时候，祖屋的地基和这些修好了的时候，首先在地基里边挖一个石头出来拿去给达巴或者喇嘛面前去算卦。所以能修或者不能修，这个地基里能住或者不能住，这些必须算卦好（让人没有任何别的说的）。所以，（达巴或者喇嘛）说好了以后才能在这个地基里修这个祖屋。一般修这个祖屋的时候，祖屋的木头圈，老百姓是十九圈，国王和贵族是二十一圈；祖屋里边的柱头是树木一棵拿回来的，把它分成两段做两个木柱的。做两个木柱，木柱一个是男的，一个是女人的木柱。（用）一棵树做成两个木柱，这是必须的规矩；只有用一棵树的规矩，家庭里的男人和女人才能一条心因为这一对木柱是一棵树的，树的心是一个的。所以家庭里的儿子和女儿全部象木柱一样做成一条心。所以这木柱装好了以后，木柱的顶上，两个木柱的顶上，要装进去白银和黄金。所以白银和黄金没有的话，一些钱和那些可以装进去。所以祖屋门的上面放金和银，如果没有金和银就放一点钱。家的火塘和神台里边都要放金和银。所以火塘旁边会做一张奶奶的床，装上一张奶奶的床。所以房子的中间祖屋修好以后把西边（do31 p^hæ33）的房子装好，以后把南边（zu33-γæ33）的房子装好，北边（zu33-t^hæ33）的灶那些装好，把东边（tsi31 quɿ13）的房子装好，全部都安装好。所以南边的房子如果不放东西的话，做舅舅的卧室。北边的房子要修一个给动物煮饭的灶，安装一个火塘。祖屋后面的房子，有一间西边的房子叫do31 p^hæ33放肉和那些；放肉安装一个。[this meat storeroom is called 'gi33']。孩子们出生的时候是在这里出生。老人们不在的时候，加工完成以后把尸体放在do31 p^hæ33里边。前面的房子是大女儿的卧室，让大女儿去那里睡觉。所以在神台上面修一个dza31 ba33 la31安装上。所以在神台的前面是安装上一个 chudu 的一个地方。一天三顿饭都要给祖先和神灵作 chudu, 你吃什么家里吃任何东西都首先要向祖先和神灵做 chudu, 首先要安装一个 chudu 的地

方。所以房子修好了以后，房子修好了以后，就要点火了。哪一天，哪一个时辰会是最好的，要去和喇嘛或者达巴那里去算卦，算卦好了以后点火。点火的时候，点火的那一天早晨的时候，要去全部最老的老家的火塘里拿火，拿一些炭（和灰）。去老家）挖一点炭和灰拿回来。所以点火的这一早晨，所以这个早晨是一个儿子拿了火，把从老家拿来的炭和灰那些，全部拿来点火。让一个女人挖一瓢水来。所以这个儿子在火塘里把火点上。所以这个女人把这瓢水煮上。这个时候，在火塘上面煮一锅水。所以火点好的时候，这堆火是在祖屋里白天和晚上都不能灭掉的。一天都要让这堆火燃着的。灭掉的话家庭里会有很多不好的。是这样的。所以是应该经常点上的，应该是点上的。所以火点好以后请来一个达巴或者喇嘛。在这里念经。给这个祖屋念经和家庭和全部好好的把经念好。所以他这样念经是，念经是，所以以前修房子的时候祖屋的全部地方，木柱的上面，火塘的上面，祖屋门的上面都放上金和银。所以金和银和这些放进去是祖屋的肚子里和内脏和心脏那些放进去的意思。所以或者是给祖屋放进去灵魂的。所以这个是菩萨和喇嘛还有达巴那些没有念过的祖屋会是在睡觉的。所以这个时候喇嘛和他们念过经以后，所以把这个祖屋的灵魂和那些被叫醒了。所以修建的时候，他是一个睡着了的一个。所以今天会是点上火把它叫醒的。所以把祖屋这个叫醒了，让他重新活回来了。所以全部结束以后把全村的都叫来请客。所以把全村的人叫来请客。把汉族的宴席摆上吃饭。所以让全村的人在这里吃饭。所以晚上的时候跳舞。祖屋里这样的唱歌和跳舞所以这个祖屋里边住的人几千年几代人都会高高兴兴的。这个是希望经常拥有这样的唱歌和跳舞的。所以这些完成的时候在祖屋里qwæ33 k^hwɣ33的上面存放一些菩萨和那些。每一天早上，早晨起床以后要给菩萨敬献干净的水和干净的茶。所以院子里面，院子里面修一个香炉。所以每一天早上很早的时候起床的时候首先在香炉里烧香。所以香炉的是香炉的烟是和天上的云（连接的），烟是飞到天上去的。所以你烧香的时候说你的祈求。所以你祈求什么的时候，你自己说的和自己想的跟着香的后面，跟着烟雾的后面飘到天上去。会给天上的菩萨和那些告诉他们的。所以每一天早上祈求比较好的愿望。所以香炉里和那些这样的烧香。所以每一家每一天

家里的大小的人都保佑好，首先希望全部都舒舒服服平平安安一点的。这样每天要做比较好的祈求。

In Na families, more important than anything is the hearth room. When building the hearth room... that is, when a family is splitting into separate households, even when one doesn't have anything at all yet, the hearth room must be built first. So when building the hearth room, when building the hearth room, when the hearth room's foundation and such is finished, one must dig up a stone from the foundation and bring it to a daba or a lama for divination. Whether it can be built or not, can one live in this foundation or not?, these things must be divined (so that no one can say otherwise). So, after (the daba or lama) has said it's okay, then one can build the hearth room on this foundation.

Usually, when building the hearth room, ordinary peoples' hearth rooms are nineteen logs (in height), while the king and nobles use twenty-one logs; inside the hearth room, a pair of pillars are made from the wood of one tree that has been cut down and taken and divided into two sections, to make a pair of pillars. In making the pair of pillars, one pillar is male and one pillar is female. It is customary to use one tree to make two pillars; just take one tree, this is a rule; only through the rule of using one tree can one assure that the family's men and women will all be of one heart; because this pair of pillars are from one tree and the tree only has one heart. So the family's sons and daughters, like the pillars, all will be of one heart.

So, after these pillars have been set up, on top of pillars, on top of the two pillars, one must place some silver and gold. If one doesn't have silver and gold, one can put in some money and such. So, one puts gold and silver on top of the door to the hearth room; if one doesn't have gold and silver, one can put a bit of money and such. In the home's hearth and altar, one also puts silver and gold.

So next to the hearth, one can put a bed for grandmother, set up a bed for grandmother. So, after one has built the hearth room in the middle of the house, one builds the west room, the south room, the north room, and the east room; and then it is all built. So, if one doesn't store things in the south room, it is made into a bedroom for an uncle. The north room has a kitchen to prepare food for the livestock, a hearth is set up. The room in back of the hearth room, behind the hearth room is the west room for storing meat and such, one sets up a place to store meat. Children are born in this west room. When elders pass away, after the body has been prepared, the corpse is put in the west room. The room on the east side is made into the daughter's room, so that the daughter can sleep there.

So, above the altar a "dzabala" is set up. In front of the altar, a "chudu" place is set up. At each of the three meals each day, one must do a "chudu" blessing for one's ancestors; whatever you eat, whenever anything is eaten at home, first one must do a "chudu" blessing for one's ancestors, so first one must set up a place for the "chudu" blessing.

After one finishes building the house, finishes building the house, then one lights the fire. Which time, which day is good, one must go to visit a lama or a daba to have this divined, and when these have been properly divined, the fire is lit. When lighting the fire, the morning that the fire will be lit, one must go to one's ancestral home and take

fire from the hearth, from the hearth of this home. (Go to the ancestral home) and dig up a bit of coals and ashes and bring them back. The morning of the lighting of the fire, that morning, a son takes the fire from the ancestral home, takes back coals and ashes and such from the ancestral home brings it back and lights the fire. A girl is made to go scoop a ladle of water. So, the son lights the fire in the hearth. Then, the woman boils this ladle of water. At this time, a kettle of water is boiled on the hearth. After the fire has been lit, this fire, this fire in the hearth room night and day cannot be extinguished. It must burn all of the time. If the fire ever extinguishes, it is very bad for the family. It's like this. It should be always lit, it should be lit.

After lighting the fire, a daba or a lama is invited. He will chant scriptures here. He will chant scriptures for the hearth room and the family and everything, chant the scriptures for the sake of everything going well here. He chants the scriptures in this way, chanting scriptures is... well, before building the room, all around the hearth room, on top of the pillars, on top of the hearth, on top of the doorway to the hearth room, in all of these places one must put some silver and gold and such. Placing gold and silver and such, these are the hearth room's stomach, innards and such, it's like putting in the heart and such. Or it's like putting in the hearth room's soul. When the abbot, lama, or daba has not yet chanted the scriptures, it's like the hearth room is sleeping. At this time, after the lama and them have chanted the scriptures, it's like the soul of the hearth room and such are awakened. So, during building, it's like someone sleeping. So today, lighting the fire is calling it to awaken. Having called it, the hearth room returns to life.

After this is finished, the entire village is invited over. Everyone in the village is invited over. A Han-style banquet is held. Everyone in the whole village will eat here. In the evening, there is a dance. Singing songs in the hearth room in this way and dancing is so that the people who live in this hearth room afterwards will be happy through the generations. This is to express the wish that everyone will often dance and sing in this way.

So when this is completed, in the hearth room one places images of the gods and such on a “qwæ13 k^huɣ31” worship platform. Every morning when one gets up, one consecrates clean water and clean tea to the gods. In the courtyard, one builds a chorten. Very early every morning when one gets up, one first burns incense in the chorten. The chorten’s smoke joins the clouds in the sky and sails up to the heavens. So, you say a prayer while you burn the incense. So whatever prayer you say, your own words and thoughts follow the incense, follow the smoke of the incense up to the heavens. It’s like going to talk to the gods and such in the heavens. Every morning one prays for good. In this way, one burns incense in the chorten. Every day in every family, every person, both big and small, is blessed; foremost is the wish that everyone is comfortable and safe. This is the way to say a good prayer.

na13 bu33... na13 bu33 zu33-tu33 kwɔ33 du31-ta33 tɔ31 tsa33 = a33 dʒɔ33
 Na POSS Na POSS family LOC all COMP be important = CMKN
 Na 的 Na 的 家庭 理 都 比较 重要, 忙

In Na families, more important than anything, as everyone knows,

在纳的家庭里比全部最重要的

Fangzi.1

zu33-mi33 tʰu33 lu33 ni33. zu33-mi33 tʰu33 lu33 ku13 tɔ31...
 hearth room this CLS COP hearth room this CLS build when
 祖屋 这 个 是 祖屋 这 个 修 时候

is the hearth room.

When building the hearth room...

是这个祖屋。

修这个祖屋的时候,

Fangzi.2

zu33-tu33 du33 lu33 (a33-pʰɔ13) a33-pʰɔ13-dzu31 ha31 zu33-tu33
 family one CLS outside split houses INTERJ family
 家庭 一 个 分家 语气词 家庭

(when) a family is splitting into separate households, (even) (when) the family

一个家庭分家的时候,

a33-tɔ33 mɔ33-du33 pɛ31 zu33-mi33 tʰu33 lu33 su31 wɔ33 ta33
 whatever NEG-obtain then hearth room this CLS still before
 什么 没-得到 就 祖屋 这 个 还 首先

doesn't have anything at all, the hearth room

既是什么都没有得到; 祖屋这个是

tsʰu13 zɔ33-hɔ33 ni33. tʰi13 zu33-mi33 tʰu33 lu33 tsʰu13 zɔ33
 build should CERT.STR so hearth room this CLS build CRS
 修建 应该 所以 祖屋 这 个 建

should still be built first.

So building the hearth room,

必须首先修建的。

所以建这个祖屋了, 建这个祖屋的时候, 祖屋的地基

Fangzi.3

zu33-mi33 tʰu33 lu33 tsʰu13 tɔ31 zu33-mi33 bu33 tsu33 tæ33
 hearth room this CLS build when hearth room POSS foundation
 祖屋 这 个 建 时候 祖屋 的 地基

when building the hearth room, (when) the hearth room's foundation

建这个祖屋的时候, 祖屋的地基

la33 tʰu33 la33-ku33 ku33 la33-tsʰ33 sɛ31 = a31 dʒɔ33
 and this ACCOMP-make ACCOMP-complete CMPL = CMKN
 和 这

and such is finished,

和这些修好了的时候,

tsu33 tæ33 kwə33 lu33-mi33 du33 lu33 qwæ13 a33-pʰɔ13 bi33 zə33
 foundation LOC stone one CLS dig up outside go OBL
 地基 里 石头 一 个 挖 外面 去
 (one) must go outside (in order to) dig up a stone from the foundation
 首先在地基里边挖一个石头出来

da31 pɣ33 la33 = a31 dzə33 la33 mɣ33 ki33 su31 wə33 ta33 lə33-tɕɣ33 tɕɣ33
 daba or = CMKN lama give first in front of ACCOMP-divine
 达巴 或者 喇嘛 给 面前 算卦
 (and) give (it) to a daba, as everyone knows, or a lama (so that he can) first do a divination
 拿去给达巴或者喇嘛面前

lə33-tɕɣ33 tɕɣ33. tʰi13 tsʰɣ13 hī33 nɔ33 mə33-hī33
 ACCOMP-divine so build be okay or NEG-be okay
 算卦 所以 建 行 或者 不-行
 in front. So, is it okay to build or not?
 去算卦。 所以能修或者不能修，
 Fangzi.4

tʰu33 tsu33 tæ33 kwə33 dzu31 hī33 hɔ33 nɔ33 mə33-hɔ33
 this foundation LOC live be okay FUT.DES or NEG-FUT.DES
 这 地基 里 住 行 会 或者 不-会
 will it be okay to live in this foundation or not?
 这个地基里能住或者不能住，

tʰæ13 lə33-tɕɣ33 tɕɣ33 pi33 zə33 mə33-dzə33 ku13.
 such ACCOMP-divine say ADVB NEG-EXIST FUT.ABL
 这些 算卦 说 的 没-有
 such (things) must be divined (so) there will not be talk.
 这些必须算卦好（让人没有任何别的说的）。

tʰi13 tɕɣ33 pi33 nu31 su33, tʰu33 nu31 su33 tʰu33 tsu33 tæ33 kwə33
 so be right say after this after this foundation LOC
 所以 好 说 以后 这 以后 这 地基 里
 So, after (the daba or lama) says (it's) okay, after this (one) builds
 所以，（达巴或者喇嘛）说好了以后才能在这个地基里
 Fangzi.5

zu33-mi33 tʰu33 lu33 tsʰu13. yiban (loan) ɣɣ55 zu33-mi33 tʰu33 lu33
 hearth room this CLS build usually this hearth room this CLS
 祖屋 这 个 修 一般 这 祖屋 这 个
 the hearth room on this foundation. Usually, (when) (one) builds the hearth room, as everyone
 修这个祖屋。 一般修这个祖屋的时候，
 Fangzi.6

ts^hu31 = a31 dzɔ33 (du33 kwɿ33) zu33-mi33 bu33 su33 kwɿ33 *baixing* (loan)
 build = CMKN one CLS hearth room ASSOC wood CLS the people
 修 一 圈 祖屋 的 木头 圈 老百姓
 knows, (as for) the hearth room's logs, ordinary people (have) nineteen logs (in height),
 祖屋的木头圈,

ts^he55 gy31 kwɿ33 su33 p^hi33 = æ31 ni33 ts^he55 du33 kwɿ33 kwɔ33-lɔ33
 ten nine CLS king = PL two ten one CLS INESS
 十 九 圈 国王 = 们 二 十 一 圈 里边
 (while) the king (and nobles) (have) twenty-one logs; inside (the hearth room),
 老百姓是十九圈, 国王和贵族是二十一圈; 祖屋里边的

tɔ31 mi13 du33 dzu33 (tɔ31 mi13 t^hu33 dzu33) dzɔ33
 pillar one CLS pillar this CLS TOP
 柱头 一 对 柱头 这 棵
 as for a pair of pillars,
 柱头是

su33-dzu33 du33 dzu33 da31 lə33-pɔ31-yɔ33 ni33 tæ13
 tree one CLS cut down ACCOMP-bring two section
 树 一 棵 拿来 两 段
 a tree is cut down, brought back,
 树木一棵拿回来的,

lə33-pu33 pu33 tɔ31 mi13 du33 dzu33 yī33.
 ACCOMP-divide pillar one CLS make
 分成 柱头 一 对 做
 (and) divided into two sections to make a pair of pillars.
 把它分成两段做两个木柱的。

tɔ31 mi13 du33 dzu33 yī33 tɔ31 mi13 du33 lu33 zɔ33 tɔ31 mi13 du33 lu33
 pillar one CLS make pillar one CLS men's pillar one CLS
 柱头 一 对 做 柱头 一 个 男的 柱头 一 个
 To make a pair of pillars, one pillar (is) the men ('s) (and) one pillar (is)
 做两个木柱, 木柱一个是男的, 一个是
 Fangzi.7

mu13 bu33 tɔ31 mi13. t^hu33 su33-dzu33 tɔ31 mi13 ni33 lu33
 daughter POSS pillar this tree pillar two CLS
 女的 的 柱头 这 树 柱头 两 个
 the women's pillar. The tree (into) two pillars,
 女人的木柱。 (用) 一棵树做成两个
 Fangzi.8

su33-dzu33 t^hæ33 du33 dzu33 pɔ13 zɔ33 su33-dzu33 du33 dzu33 pɔ13 zɔ33
 tree often one CLS use CRS tree one CLS use CRS
 树 一 棵 用 树 一 棵 用
 it is customary to use one tree, use one tree,
 木柱，

ta31 = a31 dzɔ33 a33-wɔ33 zu33-tu33 kwɔ33 p^hæ31-tɕi33 = æ31 hɔ31
 rule = CMKN home family LOC man = PL such
 规矩 家 家庭 里 男人 = 们
 (this is) a rule, as everyone knows; the men (and) the women in the family all (will be) of one heart,
 这是必须的规矩；只有用一棵树的规矩，家庭里的男人

mi31 zu13 hɔ31 du33-ta13 nu31 mi13 du33 lu33 tɔ31 mi13 t^hu33 du33
 women such all heart one CLS pillar this one
 女人 都 心 一 个 柱头 这 一
 (because) this pair of pillars
 和女人才能一条心因为这一对木柱

dzu33 dzɔ33 su33-dzu33 du33 dzu33 ni33 su33-nu31 mi13 du33 lu33 tsɿ33.
 pair TOP tree one CLS COP heartwood one CLS form
 对 树 一 棵 是 心材 一 个 形成
 are (from) one tree (and) (the tree) (only) has one heart.
 是一棵树的，树的心是一个的。

t^hi13 a33-wɔ33 zu33-tu33 kwɔ33 zɔ33 la33 mu13 la33 du33-ta13
 so home family LOC sons and daughters and all
 所以 家 家庭 里 儿子 和 女儿 和 都
 So, in the home, the sons and daughters,
 所以家庭里的儿子和女儿全部
 Fangzi.9

tɔ31 mi13 nu31 mi13 nu31 mi13 du33 lu33 nu31 mi13 du33 lu33 yī33.
 pillar heart heart one CLS heart one CLS make
 柱头 心 心 一 个 心 一 个 做
 (like) the pillars' heart, one heart, all will be (of) one heart.
 象木柱一样做成一条心。

t^hi13 t^hu33 tɔ31 mi13 (t^hu33 tɔ31 mi13) t^hu33-tɕæ13 se31 = a31 dzɔ31
 so this pillar this pillar DUR-set up CMPL = CMKN
 所以 这 柱头 这 柱头 装上
 So, (when) the pillars have been set up, as everyone knows,
 所以这木柱装好了以后，
 Fangzi.10

tɔ31 mi13 bu33 wɔ33 tsʰe33 tɔ31 mi13 wɔ33 tsʰe33 tɔ31 mi13 ni33 lu33
 pillar POSS on top pillar on top pillar two CLS
 柱头 的 柱头 柱头 两 个
 on top of the pillars, on top of the pillars, the two pillars,
 木柱的顶上, 两个木柱的顶上,

tɔ31 mi13 bu33 wɔ33 tsʰe33 ŋy33 la33 hæ33 ŋy33 la33 hæ33 tʰu33-kʰu13.
 pillar POSS on top silver and gold silver and gold DUR-put
 柱头 的 白银 和 黄金 白银 和 黄金 放
 on top of the pillars, (one) puts silver and gold, silver and gold.
 要装进去白银和黄金。

tʰi13 ŋy33 la33 hæ33 mɔ33-dzɔ33 pi33 zɔ31 dzɔ33 dze33 la33 tʰæ13 du33-pi13
 so silver and gold NEG-EXIST COND.CTRF money and such some
 所以 白银 和 黄金 没有 的话 钱 和 那些 一些
 So, if (one) didn't have silver and gold, (one) puts in some money
 所以白银和黄金没有的话, 一些钱和那些可以
 Fangzi.11

tʰu33-kʰu13. tʰi13 (kʰi33) zu33-mi33 bu33 kʰi33 tɔ31 ŋy33 la33 hæ33
 DUR-put so door hearthroom POSS door ADESS silver and gold
 放 所以 门 祖屋 的 门 上面 白银 和 黄金
 and such. So, (one) puts gold and silver on top of the door to the hearth room;
 装进去。 所以祖屋门的上面
 Fangzi.12

tʰu33-kʰu13 ŋy33 la33 hæ33 mɔ33-dzɔ33 pi33 zɔ31 dzɔ33 dze33 la33 tʰæ13
 DUR-put silver and gold NEG-EXIST COND.CTRF money and such
 放 白银 和 黄金 没有 的话 钱 和 那些
 if (one) didn't have gold and silver, (one) puts money
 放金和银, 如果没有金和银就放

tʰu31-kʰu13. a33-wɔ33 tsɔ33-kwɿ33 gy31-kwɿ33 kwɔ33-lɔ33
 DUR-put home hearth altar INESS
 放 家 火塘 神台 里边
 and such. In the home's hearth (and) altar,
 一点钱。 家的火塘和神台里边
 Fangzi.13

(kwɿ33 kwɔ33-lɔ33 kwɿ33 kwɔ33-lɔ33) ŋy33 la33 hæ33 tʰu33-kʰu13.
 inside the altar, inside the altar silver and gold DUR-put
 白银 和 黄金 放
 (one) (also) puts silver and gold.
 都要放金和银。

t ^h i13	kwɿ33	k ^h u33	a33-zu33	bu33	gwæ33	du33	na33	yī33	ku13
so	hearth	CIS	grandmother	POSS	bed	one	CLS	make	ABLT
所以	火塘	旁边	奶奶	的	床	一	量词	做	会

So next to the hearth, one can make a bed for grandmother,
所以火塘旁边会做一张奶奶的床,

Fangzi.14

a33-zu33	gwæ33	du33	na33	t ^h u33-tʂa13.
grandmother	bed	one	CLS	DUR-set up
奶奶	床	一	张	装上

set up a bed for grandmother.
装上一张奶奶的床。

t ^h i13	zɔ33 k ^h wɿ33	(zɔ33 k ^h wɿ33)	dʒɔ33	(zu33-mi33	fi31 ku33)
so	house	house	TOP	hearthroom	in the middle of
所以	房子	房子		祖屋	中间

So, the house, (when) (one) has finished the hearth room
所以房子的中间祖屋

Fangzi.15

zɔ33 k ^h wɿ33	fi31 ku33	zu33-mi33	lɔ33-t ^h u33	sɛ31 = a31 dʒɔ33
house	in the middle of	hearthroom	ACCOMP-achieve	CMPL = CMKN
房子	中间	祖屋		

in the middle of the house,
修好以后

dɔ31 p ^h æ33	t ^h u33-tʂa13	zu33-ɣæ33	t ^h u33-tʂa13	zu33-t ^h æ33	t ^h u33-tʂa13
west room	DUR-set up	south room	DUR-set up	north room	DUR-set up
西房	装上	南房	装上	北房	装上

(one) builds the west room, builds the south room, builds the north room,
把西边的房子装好, 以后把南边的房子装好, 北边的灶那些装好,

tsɿ31 qwɿ13	t ^h u33-tʂæ13	du33-ta13	kwɔ33	t ^h u33-tʂæ13.	t ^h i13	zu33-ɣæ33
east room	DUR-set up	all	LOC	DUR-set up	so	south room
东房	装上	都	里	装上	所以	南房

builds the east room; (then) (it) is all built.
把东边的房子装好, 全部都安装好。

So,
所以南边的
Fangzi.16

33	33	33	33 33	33	13	33	33 33	33 31 33
tsɔ33	kwɔ33	dʒɔ33	tsɔ33 tsɔ33	la33	t ^h æ13	tɕi33	mæ33-ni33	pi33 zə31 dʒɔ33
room	LOC	TOP	things	and	such	put	unless	COND.CTRF
房子	里		东西	和	那些	放		的话

unless (one) stored things in the south room,
房子如果不放东西的话,

t ^h i13	hī33-mə31 = æ31	mə33-	= a31 dzo33	(a31 dzo33)	t ^h i13	lə33-ku31 ku13
so	elders = PL	NEG-	= CMKN		so	ACCOMP-make
所以	老人 = 们	不			所以	做

So (when) elders pass away, then (after) (the body) has been prepared, 老人们不在的时候,

Fangzi.20

se31 = a31 dzo33	hī33-mə31	(hī33-mə31)	lə31-zu13	zo33	də31 p ^h æ33	tɕi33.
CMPL = CMKN	elders	elders	ACCOMP-take	PERF	west room	put
	老人	老人	拿		西房	放

as everyone knows, the elder is taken (and) put (in) the west room.

加工完成以后把尸体放在də31 p^hæ33里边。

wə33 ta33	tsɿ33 gi33	dzo33	tst31 qwɿ13	dzo33	mu33	du55	bu33	tsə31
before	side	TOP	east room	TOP	daughter	big	POSS	room
前面	边		东房		女儿	大	的	房子

The facing side, the east room, (one) makes into the eldest daughter's

前面的房子是大女儿的

Fangzi.21

du33	tsə31	ku31	mu33	du55	bu33	t ^h u33-zu31	hu33.	t ^h i13	gɿ31-gwɿ33
one	CLS	make	daughter	big	POSS	DUR-sleep	go	so	altar
一	间	做	女儿	大	的	睡觉	去	所以	神台

room, (so that) (she) goes (and) sleeps (in) the eldest daughter's (room).

卧室, 让大女儿去那里睡觉。

So, above the altar,

所以在神台上面

Fangzi.22

kwə33	wə33 qwɿ33	dzo33	dza31 ba33 la31 (Tibetan)	du33	lu33	t ^h u33-tɕæ13.
LOC	on top	TOP		one	CLS	DUR-set up
里	上面			一	个	装上

a dza31 ba33 la31 is set up.

修一个dza31 ba33 la31安装上。

t ^h i13	t ^h u33	gɿ31-gwɿ33	wə33 ta33 = a31 dzo33	tɕ ^h u33 də31-di33	du33	k ^h wɿ33
so	this	altar	before = CMKN	“chudu”-NOM _{Loc}	one	CLS
所以	这	神台	前面	“chudu”-地	一	量词

So, in front of the altar, as everyone knows, a “chudu” place

所以在神台的前面是安装上一个chudu

Fangzi.23

t^hu33-tʂa13. du33 ɲi33 sɔ31 tʂ^hɔ33 dzɔ33 a33-p^hy33-ə33-su33 = æ31 ki33
 DUR-set up one day three meal TOP ancestors = PL BEN
 装上 一天三顿饭 祖先 = 们
 is set up. At each of the three meals each day, (one) (must)
 的一个地方。 一天三顿饭都要
 Fangzi.24

tʂ^hu33 du31 nɔ33 a33-tso33 dzi33 dzɔ33 a33-wɔ33 a33-tso33 du33 k^hwɔ33
 “chudu” 2SG.PRO whatever eat TOP home whatever one CLS
 “chudu” 你 吃 家 一 量词
 do a “chudu” blessing for (one’s) ancestors; whatever you eat, whatever (you) eat at home,
 给祖先和神灵作chudu, 你吃什么家里吃任何东西

dzi33 dzɔ33 a33-p^hy33-ə33-su33 ki33 su31 wɔ33 ta33 tʂ^hu33 dɔ31 tʂ^hu33 dɔ31-di33
 eat TOP ancestors BEN first before “chudu” “chudu”-NOM_{Loc}
 吃 祖先 首先 before “chudu” “chudu”-地
 first (you) do a “chudu” blessing for (your) ancestors, (so)
 都首先要向祖先和神灵做chudu,

su31 du33 k^hwɔ33 t^hu33-tʂa13. t^hi13 zɔ33 q^hwɔ33 lə33-ku31
 first one CLS DUR-set up so house ACCOMP-make
 首先 一 量词 装上 所以 房子 做
 first (you) set up a place for the “chudu” blessing. So (when) (one) finishes
 首先要安装一个chudu 的地方。 所以房子
 Fangzi.25

lə33-t^hu33-sɛ31=a31 dzɔ33 (zɔ33) zɔ33 q^hwɔ33 lə33-ku31
 ACCOMP-achieve-CMPL = CMKN house ACCOMP-make
 房子 做
 building the house,
 修好了以后,

lə33-t^hu33-sɛ31=a31 dzɔ33 t^hi13 dzɔ33 mu33 k^hu13.
 ACCOMP-achieve-CMPL = CMKN so then fire light
 所以就火点
 finishes building the house, then (one) lights the fire.
 就要点火了。

gɔ55 t^hu33 (zu31) zu31-ku33 zu31-ɲi33 dzɔ13 hɔ33 lə33-tʂɔ33 tʂɔ31
 this this whatever-time whatever-day be good FUT.DES ACCOMP-divine
 这 哪一个时辰 哪一天 好 算卦
 About this, which time, which day will be good,
 哪一天, 哪一个时辰会是最好的,
 Fangzi.26

=a31 zɔ33 da31 pɣ33 ki33 mɔ33 ni33 da31 pɣ33 ki33 bi33 zɔ33
 lama ALL or daba ALL go OBL
 喇嘛 或者 达巴 去

(one) must go to a lama or a daba to have (this) divined,
 要去和喇嘛或者达巴那里去算卦，

lɔ33-tɕɣ33 tɕɣ31 zɔ33 mu33 kʰu13. mu33 kʰu31 = a31 dʒɔ33
 ACCOMP-divine PERF fire light fire light = CMKN
 算卦 火 点 火 点
 (when) (this) has been properly divined, (one) lights the fire. To light the fire, as everyone knows,
 算卦好了以后点火。 点火的时候，
 Fangzi.27

mu33 kʰu13 tʰu33 sɔ31 = a31 dʒɔ33 (a33 wɔ33) a33 wɔ33 du33-ta13 bu33
 fire light this morning = CMKN home home all POSS
 火 点 这 早晨 家 家 部 的
 the morning the fire (will be) lit, as everyone knows, (one) (goes) to one's ancestral home (and)
 点火的那一天早晨的时候，要去全部最老

a33-wɔ33 tʰu33 zɹu33 ki33 mu33 zɹu13 a33 wɔ33 tʰu33 zɹu33 bu33
 home this CLS ALL fire take home this CLS POSS
 家 这 家 火 拿 家 这 家 的
 takes (a bit of) fire (that) is in the home's
 的老家的火塘里拿火，

kwɣ33 kwɔ33 dʒɔ33. ɕi31 dʒi13 la33 lɔ13 la33 du33-pi13 qwæ31 qwæ13
 hearth LOC EXIST coals and ash etc. a little dig up
 火塘 里 炭 和 灰 等等 一点 挖
 hearth. [Go to the ancestral home] (and) dig up a bit of coals and ashes (and)
 拿一些炭（和灰）。 （去老家）挖一点炭和灰
 Fangzi.28

pɔ31-yɔ33. tʰi13 mu33 kʰu13 tʰu33 sɔ31 dʒɔ33 tʰi13 tʰu33 sɔ31
 bring back so fire light this morning TOP so this morning
 拿来 所以 火 点 这 早晨 所以 这 早晨
 bring (them) back. So, the morning of the lighting of the fire, this morning,
 拿回来。 所以点火的这一早晨，所以这个早晨是
 Fangzi.29

= a31 dʒɔ33 zɔ33 du33 (zɔ33 du33) wu33 mu33 (mu33) lɔ33-pɔ13 ɕi31 dʒi13
 = CMKN son one son one CLS fire fire ACCOMP-take coals
 儿子 一 儿子 量词 火 火 拿 炭
 as everyone knows, a son takes fire, coals,
 一个儿子拿了火，

(lə33-) a33-wə33 tʰu33 kʰwɿ33 kwə33 ɕi31 dʒi13 la33 lə13 la33 tʰæ13
 ACCOMP- home this CLS LOC coals and ash and such
 家 这 量词 里 炭 和 灰 和 那些
 from the home, takes coals and ashes and such
 把从老家拿来的炭和灰那些,

a33-wə33 zu33-tə33 kwə33 a33-wə33 lə33-zu13 pə31-tsʰu33 tʰu33
 home family LOC home ACCOMP-take bring this
 家 家庭 里 家 拿 拿来 这
 from the ancestral home, takes (them) (and) brings (them) home, takes (these) (and)
 全部拿来

lə33-zu13 pə31-yə33 mu33 tsʰu31. mu31-zə13 du33 lu33 pə13 zə33
 ACCOMP-take bring fire light girl one CLS OBL
 拿 拿来 火 点 女人 一 个
 brings (them) back to light the fire.
 点火。
 (One) must have a girl
 让一个女人
 Fangzi.30

dʒi33 du33 tɕʰə13 qwæ13 hu33. tʰi13 zə33 tʰu33 wu33 dzə33 kwɿ31 kwə33
 water one CLS scoop go so son this CLS TOP hearth LOC
 水 一 瓢 挖 去 所以 儿子 这 量词 火塘 里
 go scoop a ladle of water.
 挖一瓢水来。
 So, the son
 所以这个儿子在火塘里
 Fangzi.31

mu33 tʰu33-kʰu13. tʰi13 mu31-zə13 tʰu33 lu33 nu33 dzə33
 fire DUR-light so woman this CLS AGTV TOP
 火 点 所以 女人 这 个
 lights a fire in the hearth.
 把火点上。
 Then, the woman
 所以这个女人
 Fangzi.32

dʒi33 tʰu33 tɕʰə13 tʰu33-tsu31. tʰu33 kʰwɿ33 kwə33 tsə33-kwɿ33 tə31 dʒi33
 water this CLS DUR-boil this CLS LOC hearth ADESS water
 水 这 瓢 煮 这 量词 里 火塘 上面 水
 boils the ladle of water.
 把这瓢水煮上。
 At this time, on the hearth, a kettle of water
 这个时候, 在火塘上面煮一锅水。
 Fangzi.33

du33 wu33 tʰu33-tsi31. tʰi13 mu33 tʰu33-kʰu13 se31=a31 dzə33 mu33 tʰu33 wə33
 one CLS DUR-boil so fire DUR-light CMPL=CMKN fire this CLS
 一 量词 煮 所以 火 点 火 这 堆
 is boiled.
 So, (after) the fire has been lit, this fire,
 所以火点好的时候,
 Fangzi.34

=a31 dzɔ33 zu33-mi33 kwɔ33 mu33 tʰu33 wæ33=a31 dzɔ33 ni33 hwɔ33
 =CMKN hearth room LOC fire this CLS = CMKN day night
 祖屋 里 火 这 堆 白天 晚上

as everyone knows, the fire in the hearth room, as everyone knows, night (and) day
 这堆火是在祖屋里白天和晚上都

(mə33-) dzɔ33 (dzɔ33) gɣ13 mə33-tɔ33. du33 ni33 tʰu33-tʂu33 kʰu13
 NEG- TOP extinguish NEG-can one day DUR-burn CAUS
 灭掉 不- 一 天 燃

cannot be extinguished.
 不能灭掉的。

It ought to be made to burn all of
 一天都要让这堆

Fangzi.35

zɔ31 ku13. lə33-gɣ13 pi33 zɔ31=a31 dzɔ33 zu33-tu33 kwɔ33 gɣ31 dzæ13
 ought ACCOMP-extinguish COND.CTRF = CMKN family LOC on lots
 灭掉 的话 家庭 里 很多

the time. As everyone knows, if the fire ever went out, it is very bad for the family.
 火燃着的。灭掉的话家庭里会有很多不好的。

Fangzi.36

mə33-dzɔ13. tʰu33-ni13. tʰi13 tʰæ33 tʰu33-kʰu13 zɔ33-hɔ33 ni33 tʰu33-kʰu13
 NEG-be good this way so often DUR-light should CERT.STR DUR-light
 不好 这样 所以 经常 点 应该 点

It's like this. It should be always lit,
 是这样的。所以是应该经常点上的，

Fangzi.37 Fangzi.38

zɔ33-hɔ33 ni33. tʰi13 mu33 tʰu33-tʂi13 se31=a31 dzɔ33 tʰi13 da33 pɣ33 la33
 should CERT.STR so fire DUR-light CMPL = CMKN then daba and
 应该 所以 火 点 所以 达巴 和

it should be lit. So, (after) the fire has been lit, then a daba,
 应该是点上的。所以火点好以后请来一个达巴

Fangzi.39

=a31 dzɔ33 mə33 ni33 la33 mɣ33 la33 du33 wu33 lə33-ɣa33 se13.
 =CMKN or lama etc. one CLS ACCOMP-invite
 或者 喇嘛 等等 一 量词 请

as everyone knows, or a lama is invited.
 或者喇嘛。

tʰu33 kʰwɔ33 kwɔ33 lə33-tʂʰu31 tʂʰu13 hu33.
 this CLS LOC ACCOMP-chant scriptures FUT.REM
 这 量词 里 念经

(He) will chant scriptures in here.

在这里念经。

Fangzi.40

zu33-mi33 t^hu33 lu33 bu33 lə31-tɕ^hu31 tɕ^hu13 hu33 zu33-tu33 la33
 hearth room this CLS POSS ACCOMP-chant scriptures FUT.REM family and
 祖屋 这 个 的 念经 家庭 等等
 (He) will chant scriptures for the hearth room's, the family and
 给这个祖屋念经和家庭和
 Fangzi.41

du33-ta13 bu33 t^hu33 k^hwɿ33 kwɔ33 dzɿ31-pɿ13 lə33-tɕ^hu31 tɕ^hu13 hu33.
 all POSS this CLS LOC good ACCOMP-chant scriptures FUT.REM
 部 的 这 量词 里 好好的 念经
 everything's, in here, (he) will thoroughly chant the scriptures.
 全部好好的把经念好。

t^hi13 t^hu33 t^hu33-ni13 tɕ^hu31 tɕ^hu13 dzɔ33 tɕ^hu31 tɕ^hu13 dzɔ33
 so 3SG.PRO this way chant scriptures TOP chant scriptures TOP
 所以 他 这样 念经 念经
 So, he chants the scriptures in this way, chanting scriptures is...
 所以他这样念经是, 念经是,
 Fangzi.42

t^hi13 wɔ33 ta33 zɔ33-k^hwɿ33 t^hu13 dzɔ33 zu33-mi33 bu33 du33-ta13 kwɔ33
 so before room build TOP hearth room NRA all LOC
 所以 以前 房子 建 祖屋 的 都 里
 so, before, (when) building a room, in all of the hearth room,
 所以以前修房子的时候祖屋的全部地方,

tɔ31 mi13 bi33 la33 kwɿ33 bi33 la33 zu33-mi33 k^hi33-mi33 wɔ33-q^hwɿ31
 pillar on top hearth on top hearth room door on top
 柱头 上面 火塘 上面 祖屋 门 上面
 on top of the pillars, on top of the hearth, on top of the doorway to the hearth room,
 木柱的上面, 火塘的上面, 祖屋门的上面

la33 du33-ta13 ŋɿ33 hæ31 la33 t^hæ13 t^hu33-k^hu13.
 and all silver gold and such DUR-put
 和 都 白银 黄金 和 那些 放
 all (of these places), (one) puts silver, gold, and such.
 都放上金和银。

t^hi13 ŋɿ33 hæ31 la33 t^hu33 t^hu33-k^hu13 t^hu33 dzɔ33 zu33-mi33 bu33
 so silver gold and this DUR-put this TOP hearth room POSS
 所以 白银 黄金 和 这 放 这 祖屋 的
 So, placing silver, gold, and such, this is like putting (in) the hearth room's
 所以金和银和这些放进去是祖屋
 Fangzi.43

bi33 mi33 kwə33-lə31 pu33 hə13 la33 tʰæ13 tʰu33-kʰu13 ni31 ku31 ni33
 stomach INESS inner organs and such DUR-put be like CERT.STR
 肚子 里面 内脏 和 那些 放
 guts, inner organs and such,
 的肚子里和内脏和

nu31 mi13 la33 tʰæ13 tʰu33-kʰu13 ni31 ku31 ni33. tʰi13 mə33 ni33 zə33 dʒə33
 heart and such DUR-put be like CERT.STR so or CRS TOP
 心 和 那些 放
 (it's) like putting (in) the heart and such.
 心脏那些放进去的意思。
 所以 或者
 Or it's like
 所以或者是
 Fangzi.44

zʉ33-mi33 bu33 ʂi1 fi33 tʰu33-kʰu13 ni31 ku31 ni33. tʰi13 tʰu33 dʒə33 lə33
 hearth room POSS soul DUR-put be like CERT.STR so this TOP
 祖屋 的 灵魂 放
 putting in the hearth room's soul.
 给祖屋放进去灵魂的。
 所以 这
 So, this
 所以这个是
 Fangzi.45

ga33 ʎa33 da33 pɣ33 la33 tʰi33-tɕʰi31 da33 pɣ33 mə33-tɕʰə31 tɕʰə13 su31 dʒə31
 abbot lama and 3PL.PRO daba NEG-chant scriptures yet then
 菩萨 喇嘛 和 他们 达巴 没-念经 首先 就
 abbot, lama, or daba has not yet chanted the scriptures, then
 菩萨和喇嘛还有达巴那些没有念过的

tʰu33 zʉ33-mi33 tʰu33 lu33 tʰu33-zʉ31 ŋu33 dʒə33 ni31 ku31 ni33.
 this hearth room this CLS DUR-sleep PROG be like CERT.STR
 这 祖屋 这 个 睡觉
 it's like the hearth room is sleeping.
 祖屋会是在睡觉的。

tʰi13 tʰu33 nu33 su31 tʰi33-ni13 da33 pɣ33 la33 tʰu33-tɕʰi31 lə33-tɕʰə31 tɕʰə13
 so this time this way lama and 3PL.PRO ACCOMP-chant scriptures
 所以 这 时候 这样 喇嘛 和 他们 念过
 Then, this time, (when) the lama and those guys have chanted the scriptures in this way,
 所以这个时候喇嘛和他们念过经以后,
 Fangzi.46

=a31 dʒə33 tʰi13 zʉ33-mi33 tʰu33 lə33-pə13 zə33 ʂi1 fi33 la33 tʰi33-tɕʰi31
 =CMKN then hearth room this ACCOMP-take PERF soul and 3PL.PRO
 所以 祖屋 这 把 灵魂 和 他们
 as everyone knows, then the hearth room, (its) soul and such,
 所以把这个祖屋的灵魂和那些

po33 bu33 lə33-wæ13 zɔ33 lə33-wɔ13 gu31-tɕʰwæ33 hu33 ni13 ku31 ni33.
 take ACCOMP-call PERF ACCOMP-return wake up go be like CERT.STR
 把 叫 回 醒过来 去
 it's like (they) are called (and) awakened.
 被叫醒了。

tʰi13 tsʰu13 tɔ31 dzo33 lə33-zu31 ŋu33 ni33 du33 wu33 ni33.
 so build when TOP ACCOMP-sleep COP one CLS COP
 所以 建 的时候 睡着 是 一 量词 是
 So, during building, (it) is (like) someone asleep.
 所以修建的时候，他是一个睡着了的一个。
 Fangzi.47

tʰi13 tsʰu33-ŋi33 dzo33 mu33 tʰu33-kʰu13 (la33) dzo33 tʰu33 kwɔ33 dzo33
 so today TOP fire DUR-light TOP this LOC TOP
 所以 今天 火 点 这 里
 So today, lighting the fire, this,
 所以今天会是点上火把它
 Fangzi.48

lə33-wæ13 zɔ33 gu31-tɕʰwæ33 hu33. tʰi13 lə33-wæ13 zɔ33
 ACCOMP-call PERF wake up FUT.REM so ACCOMP-call CSM
 叫 起床 所以 叫
 has called (it) (and) (it) will awaken.
 叫醒的。
 So, having called (it),
 所以把祖屋这个叫醒了，
 Fangzi.49

tʰu33 zu33-mi33 tʰu33 lu33 lə33-wɔ13 lə33-si31 lə33-yɔ33 hu33.
 this hearth room this CLS ACCOMP-return ACCOMP-live ACCOMP-come FUT.REM
 这 祖屋 这 个 回 活 来
 the hearth room will come return to life.
 让他重新活回来了。

tʰi13 tʰu33 gi13 sɛ31 = a31 dzo33 wɔ33 kwɔ33 du33 wu33
 so this following finish = CMKN village LOC one CLS
 所以 这 后面 村 里 一 量词
 After this is finished, each person in the village
 所以全部结束以后把全村的都
 Fangzi.50

lə33-wæ13-pə31-yə33. du33 wɿ33 kwə33 du33 wu33 lə33-wæ13-pə31-yə33 zə33.
 ACCOMP-invite one CLS LOC one CLS ACCOMP-invite PERF
 请客 一 村 里 一 量词 请客
 is invited over. Each person in a village is invited over.
 叫来请客。 所以把全村的人叫来请客。
 Fangzi.51

hə33-dzi33 hæ33 ʃu31 tʰu33-bæ31. tʰi13 du33 wɿ33 du33 wɿ33 tʰu33 kwə33
 eat food Han feast DUR-put on so one village one village this LOC
 吃饭 汉 酒席 摆上 所以 一 村 一 村 这 里
 A Han-style banquet is held. The whole village
 把汉族的宴席摆上吃饭。 所以让全村的人
 Fangzi.52 Fangzi.53

hə33-dzi33 hu33. tʰi13 hæ31 kʰwɿ33 dʒə33 dʒɿ13 tsʰə55.
 eat food FUT.REM so evening TOP good dance
 吃饭 所以 晚上 好 跳舞
 will eat here. Then, in the evening, (one) has a nice dance.
 在这里吃饭。 所以晚上的时候跳舞。
 Fangzi.54

zɯ33-mi33 kwə33 lə33-gwɿ33 gwɿ31 hu33 ni33 zə33
 hearth room LOC ACCOMP-sing songs go CERT.STR PERF
 祖屋 里 唱歌 去
 (One) goes to sing songs in the hearth room,
 祖屋里这样的唱歌
 Fangzi.55

tʰu33-ni13 dʒɿ13 tsʰə55 la33 tʰu33-ni13 gwɿ33 gwɿ31=a31 dʒə33
 this way good dance and this way sing songs = CMKN
 这样 好 跳舞 和 这样 唱歌
 dancing and singing songs like this, as everyone knows,
 和跳舞

tʰi13 tʰu33 zɯ33-mi33 tʰu33 lu33 tʰu33 kwə33 dzu31 hī33 tʰi13 sə33 hwɿ31
 so this hearth room this CLS this LOC live people so afterwards
 所以 这 祖屋 这 个 这 里 住 人 所以 后来
 (is) so the people (who) live in this hearth room afterwards
 所以这个祖屋里边住的人

gu31 qʰa33 tu33 qʰa33 tʃʰæ33 pɛ33 pɛ31 tʰæ33 fu33-fu33-sa31-sa31.
 several thousand several generations go through often happy.INTSF
 几 千 几 代 过 经常 高高兴兴
 (will) always be very happy through the generations.
 几千年几代人都高高兴兴的。

tʰæ13 tʰu33-ni13 gwɿ33-di33 la33 tʰu33-ni13 dzɿ13 tsʰo55-di33 la33 tʰu33-ni13
 often this way sing-NOM and this way good dance-NOM and this way
 经常 这样 唱歌-的 和 这样 跳舞 跳舞-的 和 这样

To express (that) there will often be singing like this and dancing like this

这个是希望经常拥有这样的唱歌和

Fangzi.56

du33 dzo33 hu33 pi33 ni33 tʰu33-ni13 tʰu33-ni13 mɿ33 yɿ33 ni33.
 gather EXIST FUT.REM say CERT.STR this way this way wish CERT.STR
 拥 说 这样 这样 希望

and (everyone will) gather like this, (one) wishes (this) in this way.

跳舞的。

tʰi13 tʰu33 khwɿ33 kwɔ33 se31 = a31 dzo33 zu33-mi33 kwɔ33 dzo33
 so this CLS LOC finish = CMKN hearth room LOC TOP
 所以 这 量词 里 完成 祖屋 里

So at the time (this) is completed, in the hearth room,

所以这些完成的时候在祖屋里

Fangzi.57

tʰi13 zu33-mi33 qwæ33-kʰwɿ33 du33 qwæ33 wɔ33 dzo33 tʰi13 ga33 ʎa33 la33
 so hearth room one CLS on TOP so gods and
 所以 祖屋 祖屋 量词 上面 所以 菩萨 和

on the hearth room's "qwæ13 kʰwɿ31" [worship platform], one places (images) (of) the gods and such.

qwæ33 kʰwu33的上面存放一些菩萨和

tʰæ13 tʰi33-tɕʰi13. tʂʰɿ33 su33 ɲa13 mu31-su33-ɲa13 gɿ31-te33 = a31 dzo33
 such DUR-place everyday morning morning get up = CMKN
 那些 放 每一天 早上 早晨 起床

Every morning, (one) gets up (and)

那些。 每一天早上，早晨起床以后

Fangzi.58

tʰi13 ga33 ʎa33 ki33 dzi33 ʂwɔ33 qæ33 li13 ʂwɔ33 qæ33.
 then gods BEN water clean consecrate tea clean consecrate
 所以 菩萨 水 干净 敬献 茶 干净 敬献

then (one) consecrates clean water (and) clean tea to the gods.

要给菩萨敬献干净的水和干净的茶。

tʰi13 hæ33 tɔ33 kwɔ33 dzo33 hæ33 tɔ33 kwɔ33 dzo33 so33 tʰa33 du33 lu33 ku31.
 then courtyard LOC TOP courtyard LOC TOP chorten one CLS make
 所以 院子 里 院子 里 香炉 一 个 做

Then, in the courtyard, in the courtyard, (one) builds a chorten.

所以院子里，院子里面修一个香炉。

Fangzi.59

t^hi13 tɛ^hɣ33 sɔ33 ɲa13 ɲa13 æ13 la33 gu31 gɣ31-te33=a31 dzɔ33 sɔ33 qæ13
 so every morning very early get up = CMKN incense burn
 所以 每一天早上 很早 起床 香 烧

So, very early every morning, (one) gets up (and) burns incense
 所以每一天早上很早的时候起床的时候首先

Fangzi.60

sɔ33 t^ha33 kwɔ33 sɔ33 t^ha33 kwɔ33 sɔ33 su31 lə33-qæ13.
 chorten LOC chorten LOC incense first ACCOMP-burn
 香炉 里 香炉 里 香 首先 烧

in the chorten, first (one) burns incense in the chorten.
 在香炉里烧香。

t^hi13 sɔ33 t^ha33 t^hu33 lu33 bu33 dzɔ33 sɔ33 t^ha33 bu33 mu33-k^hu33 t^hu33 dzɔ33
 so chorten this CLS POSS TOP chorten POSS smoke this TOP
 所以 香炉 这 个 的 香炉 的 烟 这

The chorten's smoke, the chorten's smoke
 所以香炉的是香炉的烟

Fangzi.61

dze33 hu33 zɔ33 mɣ33-wɔ33 (mɣ33-wɔ33) lə33-hu33 ni33.
 fly go PERF heavens heavens ACCOMP-go CERT.STR
 烟 去 天上 天上 去

goes sailing (up), goes up to the heavens.
 烟是飞到天上去的。

t^hi13 dzɔ33 nɔ33 sɔ33 qæ13 dzɔ33 mi33 lɔ33 lə33-la13.
 so TOP 2SG.PRO incense burn PROG prayer ACCOMP-say a prayer
 所以 你 香 烧 祈求 说祈求

So, you say a prayer (while) burning incense.
 所以你烧香的时候说你的祈求。

Fangzi.62

t^hi13 nɔ33 a33-tɔ33 mi33 lɔ33 la13 dzɔ33 t^hi13 nɔ33 nɔ31-bu33
 so 2SG.PRO whatever prayer say a prayer TOP then 2SG.PRO REFL.POSS
 所以 你 什么 祈求 说祈求 所以 你 自己的

So whatever you pray, then your own
 所以你祈求什么的时候，你自己

Fangzi.63

lə33-zwɣ33-hī33 t^hi13 nɔ33 lə33-ʂu33 du13-hī33 du33-ta13=a31 dzɔ33
 ACCOMP-say-NOM then 2SG.PRO ACCOMP-think-NOM all = CMKN
 说-的 所以 你 想-的 都

words (and) your thoughts,
 说的和自己

sɔ33 gi13 tɕʰɔ33 zɔ33 sɔ33 (sɔ33) (sɔ33) mu33-kʰu33 gi13
 incense behind follow PERF incense incense incense smoke behind
 香 后面 跟着 香 香 香 烟雾 后面
 all follow the incense, follow the incense's smoke,
 想的跟着香的后面,

tɕʰɔ33 zɔ33 gi13 tɕʰɔ33 hu33 mɿ33-wɔ33 lə33-hu33.
 follow PERF behind follow go heavens ACCOMP-go
 跟着 后面 跟着 去 天上 去
 go following behind (and) go up to the heavens.
 跟着烟雾的后面飘到天上去了。

mɿ33-wɔ33 (tʰi13) ɣa33 ʔa33 tʰæ13 ki33 tʰu33-zwɿ33 hu33 ni31 ku31 ni33.
 heavens so gods and such DAT DUR-say go be like CERT.STR
 天上 所以 菩萨 那些 说 去
 It's like going to talk to the gods and such (in) the heavens.
 会给天上的菩萨和那些告诉他们的。

Fangzi.64

tʰi13 tɕʰɿ33 sɔ33 ɲa31 = a31 dzɔ33 mi33 lɔ33 dzɿ13 lə33-la13.
 so every morning = CMKN prayer good ACCOMP-say a prayer
 所以 每一天早上 祈求 好 说祈求
 So, every morning, as everyone knows, (one) prays for good.
 所以每一天早上祈求比较好的愿望。

Fangzi.65

tʰi13 sɔ33 tʰæ33 ɣɿ33 tʰæ13 tʰu33-ni13 sɔ33 lə33-qæ13.
 so chorten and such this way incense ACCOMP-burn
 所以 香炉 那些 这样 香 烧
 So, (one) burns incense (in) the chorten in this way.
 所以香炉里和那些这样的烧香。

Fangzi.66

tʰi13 du33 zu33 du33 ɲi33 dzɔ33 a33-wɔ33 ɣɿ33 du55-du55-tɕi31-tɕi31
 so one family one day TOP home this big-small
 所以 一 家 一 天 家 大大-小小
 So, every day in every family, the family's (people) big and small,
 所以每一家每一天家里的大小的人

Fangzi.67

du33 zu33-tu33 du33-ta13 du33-wɔ33 zu31 su31 du33-ta13 = a31 dzɔ33
 one family all bless.DEL first all = CMKN
 一 家庭 都 一保佑 首先 都
 the whole family is blessed; foremost (one) wishes (that) everyone is
 都保佑好, 首先希望全部都

hwæ33-hwæ33-ta31-ta31	du33-huu33	pi33	zɔ33.
very comfortable-very safe	a bit	say	PERF
舒舒服服-平平安安	一点		
very comfortable (and) safe.			
舒舒服服平平安安一点的。			

t ^h uu33-ni13	mi33 lɔ33	dʒɤ13	la13	zɔ33	ni33.
this way	prayer	good	say a prayer	PERF	CERT.STR
这样	祈求	好	说祈求		
This is the way to say a good prayer.					
这样每天要做比较好的祈求。					
Fangzi.68					

NARRATIVE 7 – SAOZI

Q.: So, I've heard that in Na women's headdresses, there is some of one's mother's, maternal grandmother's, and other female ancestors' hair. Could you please explain a little about this? For example, approximately how many generations of ancestors' hair does one have in one's headdress? How does one prepare a headdress?

A: 这个，所以很久以前人的老人那些的头发剪下来，一点一点的积累起来保存好，好好的梳好。一个一个梳好，这里这样的放进去。现在只是简单的做的。老人这些的头发不可以洗，不可以重新修整。因为这样，所以我们在里边放了毛线。外面是把人的头发放进去，是这样做的。

Well, long, long ago, elders' and such peoples' hair, as they cut it, they little by little accumulated and saved the hair, combing it well. Each person's (hair) was combed well, and here in this way put in. Now, it's only done very simply. Elders, their hair (i.e., the hair cut and saved from the elders) can't be washed again, can't be re-done. Because of this, we put wool yarn on the inside. On the outside, we put the human hair, it's done like this.

t ^h u33	t ^h i13	a31 yi33	ʂe33	bu33	hī33,	hī33-mo33	t ^h æ13	bu33	wə33-hə33
this	so	long, long ago	POSS	people	elders	such	POSS	hair	
这	所以	很久以前	的	人	老人	那些	的	头发	

Well, ancestors, elders (and) such's hair,
 这个，所以很久以前人的老人那些的头发
 saozi.1

lə33-tʂ ^h u13	wə33-hə33	lə33-tʂ ^h u13	du33-hu33	du33-hu33	lə33-ku31 tɑ31
ACCOMP-cut	hair	ACCOMP-cut	a little	a little	ACCOMP-accumulate
剪下	头发	剪下	一点	一点	积累起来

(as) they cut (it), cut (their) hair, (they) little by little accumulated
 剪下来，一点一点的积累起来

t^hu33-tɕ^hi33 t^hi13 dzɤ31-pɤ33 lə33-ts^hɤ13. du33 wu33 du33 wu33 bu33
 DUR-save then very good ACCOMP-comb one CLS one CLS POSS
 保存 所以 好好的 梳 一 量词 一 量词
 (and) saved (the hair), then combed (it) well. Each person's (hair)
 保存好，好好的梳好。 一个一个
 saozì.2

lə33-ts^hɤ13 t^hu33 kwə33 t^hu33-ni13 t^hu33-k^hu13. ə31-ni33-ts^hu33-ni33 dzə33
 ACCOMP-comb this LOC this way DUR-place now TOP
 梳 这 里 这样 放 现在
 was combed, (and) placed here like this. Now, (it's) only
 梳好，这里这样的放进去。 现在只是
 saozì.3

t^hi13 *jiandan* (loan) tɔ31 yī33 ni33 zɛ33. hī33-mə33 t^hu33-tɕ^hi31 wə33-hə33
 so simple only do CERT.STR PERF elder 3PL.PRO hair
 所以 简单 才 做 了 老人 她们 头发
 done simply. Elders, their hair [the hair cut and saved
 简单的做的。 老人这些的头发
 saozì.4

lə33-wə13 tɕ^hə33 mə33-hī33 lə33-ku31 ku31 mə33-hī33.
 ACCOMP-return wash NEG-may ACCOMP-do NEG-may
 回 洗 不-可以 做 不-可以
 from the elders] (one) can't wash (it) (and) return (it) [to the headdress], (it) can't be re-done.
 不可以洗，不可以重新修整。

t^hu33-ni13 kwɤ31 dzə33 ɲə33-sɤ33 ku31 dzə33 kwə33-lə33 *maoxian* (loan) t^hu33-k^hu13.
 this way INTERJ TOP 1EXC.PRO TOP INESS wool yarn DUR-place
 这样 语气词 我们 里面 毛线 放
 (Because) (it's) like this, we put wool yarn inside [the headdress].
 因为这样，所以我们在里边放了毛线。
 saozì.5

ə33-p^hə13 dzə33 hī33 bu33 wə33-hə33 t^hu33-k^hu13 t^hu33-ni13 lə33-ku31 ni33.
 outside TOP people POSS hair DUR-place this way ACCOMP-do CERT.STR
 外面 人 的 头发 放 这样 做
 (On the) outside, (we) put the human hair, (it's) done like this.
 外面是把人的头发放进去，是这样做的。
 saozì.6

Q.: What do you think this tradition represents? This tradition of putting one's mother's hair in one's headdress, what does it represent?

A: 听说放一点老人的（头发在里边，这些老人会让你长寿和平安的。

It is said that putting a bit of elders' (hair inside one's headdress) is good, these elders can help you live long and peacefully.

hĩ33-mo33	bu33	t ^h u33-k ^h u13	dzo33	du33-pi13	dʒɿ13	ku13	pi33	ni33
elders	POSS	DUR-place	TOP	a little	be good	FUT.ABL	QUOT	CERT.STR
老人	的	放		一点	好		会	

(They) say putting a bit of elders' [hair inside one's headdress] will be good;
 听说放一点老人的（头发在里边），
 saozi.7

pa13	dʒɿ13	k ^h u13	so33	hwɿ31	gɿ33	hĩ33-mo33	t ^h u33-ni13	dzo33
maybe	good	CAUS	after		these	elders	this way	TOP
可能	好		以后			老人	这样	

maybe (this) brings good, it is said that afterwards, these elders in this way will
 这些老人会让你

zu33	ʂæ33	ha31	yɿ33	hu33	ku13	ni33	tsi13.
have long life	peace	go	FUT.ABL	CERT.STR	REP		
长寿	平安	去	会			听说	

(help) (you) live long (and) peacefully.
 长寿和平安的。

Q.: So, in the village of Luoshui, one can see many cooperative efforts: for instance, the boat rides—every family sends people to row the boats. Also, each family must send people to perform at the bonfire dance each night, etc. That kind of cooperation is a bit difficult to arrange, isn't it? There's several hundred people in the village, each family has its own matters to attend to, its own perspective, so it's a bit difficult. Why do you think it's so important to have cooperative efforts?

A: 这个合作的事情说困难还是不怎么困难的，选一个组长在那里。一个星期划船，划了一个星期没有特别困难的，只是一样的。

This cooperative effort, (you) say it's difficult, but it really isn't difficult, (we) choose a group leader here. Rowing a boat once a week, rowing a boat once a week isn't especially difficult, it's all the same.

t ^h u33	ga31-ga13	bu33	shiqing (loan)	t ^h u33	dʒo33...	danshi (loan)	lo33 ha33
this	help, cooperation	POSS	matter	this	TOP	but	be difficult
这	帮忙, 合作	的	事情	这		但是	困难

This cooperative effort, this... but (you) say (it's) difficult, 这个合作的事情说困难
saozi.8

pi33	haishi (loan)	mə33-lo33 ha33	zuchang (loan)	du33	wu33	xuan (loan)
say	yet	NEG-be difficult	group leader	one	CLS	choose
说	还是	不-困难	组长	一	量词	选

yet (it) isn't difficult, (we) choose a group leader
还是不怎么困难的，选一个组长

t ^h u33	k ^h u33	dʒo33.	yi (loan)	ge (loan)	xingqi (loan)	hi33	bæ13	yi (loan)	ge (loan)
this	CLS	TOP	one	CLS	week	people	row	one	CLS
这	量词		一	个	星期	人	划船	一	个

here. People row (for) one week, 在那里。一个星期划船，划了
saozi.9

xingqi (loan)	lə33-bæ13	haishi (loan)	dʒæ13	lo33 ha33-di33	mə33-dʒo33
week	ACCOMP-row	still	particularly	be difficult-NOM _{Loc}	NEG-EXIST
星期	划船	还是	特别	困难-地	没有

rowing (for) one week, there aren't (any) particular difficulties, 一个星期没有特别困难的，

du33-bæ33 ta31 ni33.
 the same only COP
 一样 只 是
 it's all the same.
 只是一样的。

Q.: Division of labor.

A: 这个，所以家里是女人是自己工作是自己做掉的，男人是自己工作自己做掉的，被一个人安排，这是没有的。男人们多半还是做的少，女人做的事情还是多一点，自己做的这点事情自己还是要早一点起床。需要做什么事情要自己把它做完成了。所以休息一下都会很放心的。男人们是自己需要做的事情还是应该要做的。工作没有的时候，还是自己去玩儿的。

Well, at home, women do their own work, men do their own work, it isn't arranged by one person. Men for the most part still do less, while women do a little more, one needs to get out of bed a bit earlier to do one's work. Whatever you need to do, you will do it yourself. So that when (you) rest (you) can have peace of mind. The things men need to do still should be done. When there isn't any work to be done, one can go have fun.

t ^h u33	t ^h i13	a33-wə33	kwə33	dʒə33	mi31 zu13	ni33	pɛ31	ʂ31-bu33	lɔ33	dʒə33
this	so	home	LOC	TOP	women	COP		REFL.POSS	work	TOP
这	所以	家	里		女人	是		自己	工作	

Well, at home, women do their own work

这个，所以家里是女人是

saozi.10

ʂ31-bu33	lə33-yī33,	p ^h æ31-tɕi33	ni33	pɛ31	ʂ31-bu33	lɔ33	ʂ13	lə33-yī33,
REFL.POSS	ACCOMP-do	man	COP		REFL.POSS	work	REFL	ACCOMP-do
自己	做	男人	是		自己	工作	自己	做

themselves; men do their own work themselves,

自己工作是自己做掉的，男人是自己工作自己做掉的，

du33	wu33	nu33	<i>anpai</i> (loan)	t ^h u33-ni13	mə33-dzə33	ni33.
one	CLS	CONTR	arrange	this way	NEG-EXIST	CERT.STR
一	量词		安排	这样	没-有	

(it) isn't arranged (by) one person.

被一个人安排，这是没有的。

p ^h ɑ31-tɕ ^h i33 = ə31	<i>duoban</i> (loan)	<i>haishi</i> (loan)	yī33	<i>di33</i> (loan)	nu33,	mi31 zu13
man = PL	mostly	still	do	ADVB	less	woman
男人 = 们	多半	还是	做	的	少	女人

Men for the most part still do less, women

男人们多半还是做的少，女人

saozi.11

yī33	du33-hu33	tɕu13,	ʂ31-bu33	yī33	zə33	t ^h u33	k ^h wɿ33	dzə33
do	a little	more	REFL.POSS	do	OBL	this	CLS	TOP
做	一点	多	自己	做		这	量词	

do a little more; as for one's own things (one) needs to do,

做的事情还是多一点，自己做的这点事情自己

ʂ31-bu33	ɲɑ13	ʂɛ33-ʂɛ33	gɿ31-tɿɿ33.	ɑ33-tso33	yi33	zə33	ni33	ʂ31-bu33
REFL.POSS	early	a little	get up	whatever	do	OBL	CERT.STR	REFL.POSS
自己	早	一点	起床	什么	做			自己

one gets out of bed a bit earlier.

还是要早一点起床。

Whatever (you) need to do, (you) will

需要做什么事情要自己

saozi.12

lə31-yī33	lə33-ɬɛ13	hu33	dzə33.	t ^h i13	du33 tsɿ31	pɛ31
ACCOMP-do	ACCOMP-finish	FUT.REM	TOP	so	rest	then
做	完成			所以	休息	就

do (it) to completion yourself.

把它做完成了。

So (when) (you) rest,

所以休息一下

saozi.13

nu33 tɕwə33	hə33	ni33.	p ^h ə31-tɕi33 = ə31	ni33	pɛ31	ʂ31 tɔ33	yī33	zə33
trust	FUT.DES	CERT.STR	man = PL	COP		REFL	do	OBL
放心	会		男人 = 们	是		自己	做	

(you) will have peace of mind.

都会很放心的。

As for men, the things they need to do,

男人们是自己需要做的事情

saozi.14

t^hu33 k^hwɿ33 dzɔ33 yī33 zɔ33-hɔ33 ni33. lɔ33 mə33-dzɔ33 la33
 this CLS TOP do should CERT.STR work NEG-EXIST etc.
 这 量词 做 应该 工作 没-有 等等
 (they) should do (them). (When) there isn't (any) work,
 还是应该要做的。 工作没有的时候，
 saozī.15

haishi (loan) (ɔ31 bu33) dzɿ31 bu33 hu33 ni33.
 still REFL play go CERT.STR
 还是 自己 玩儿 去
 (one) goes to have fun.
 还是自己去玩儿的。

Q.: Mourning rites for mothers.

t^hu33 dzɔ33... a31 yi33 ʂɛ33 dzɔ33 t^hu33-ni13 ni33, a33-mi33 lə33-ʂu33
 this TOP long, long ago TOP this way COP mother ACCOMP-pass away
 这 很久以前 这样 是 妈妈 去世
 This... long, long ago, it was like this, (they) say (that) (when) (one's) mother passed away,
 这个是，以前是这样的，说是妈妈去世
 saozī.16

dzɔ33 t^hi13 bandeng (loan) tɔ31 dzu33 mə33-tu33, dza33-k^hwɿ13 ki13
 TOP so wooden stool ADESS sit NEG-can shoes wear
 所以 板凳 上面 坐 不-可以 鞋子 穿
 (one) couldn't sit on a wooden stool, couldn't wear
 以后板凳上面不可以坐，鞋子

mə33-tu33 pi33. ɬi33-mu33-ɬi33, ɬi33-mɿ33-lu31 t^hu33 ha31 ta31 dzɔ33
 NEG-can QUOT entire month a full month this INTERJ only TOP
 不-可以 整个月 一个月满 这 语气词 才
 shoes. For an entire month, a full month, (one) only
 不可以穿的。 整个月，一个月满了为止
 saozī.17

t^hu33-ni13 yī33 ku13. a31-pi33-ts^hu33-pi33 dzɔ33 t^hu33-ni13 yī33 dzɔ33
 this way do FUT.ABL now TOP this way do TOP
 这样 做 会 现在 这样 做
 would do like this. Now, there aren't many (who)
 会这样做的。 现在是这样
 saozī.18

haishi (loan) dzæ13 mǝ33-dzǝ33 zε33. α31 yi33 ʂε33 ni33 mǝ33-ku31.
 many NEG-EXIST PERF long, long ago COP NEG-be like
 多 没-有 了 很久以前 是 不-象

do (it) this way. It's not like long, long ago.
 做的人不是很多了。 是不象以前了。
 saozi.19

α31 yi33 ʂε33 dzǝ33 nǝ33 wɣ13 hī33 pi33 gɣ31 hī33 tǝ31
 long, long ago TOP 2SG.PRO again people say these people see
 很久以前 你 再 人 说 人 看见

Long ago, (they) said (that) when you saw someone again,
 以前说是看见人
 saozi.20

hī33 duu55 tʰæ13 tʰu33-tǝ31 dzǝ33 tǝ31 pu33 ti31 zǝ33 ku13.
 people big and such DUR-see TOP kowtow ought
 人 大 那些 看见 磕头

saw adults and such, (you) ought to kowtow.
 看见大人的时候都是要磕头的。

α31-yi33-tʰu33-yi33 dzǝ33 *xingshi* (loan) gi31 tɕʰɔ31 zǝ33 dzæ13 tʰu33-ni13 yī33
 now TOP situation after follow PERF many this way do
 现在 形势 后面 跟着 多 这样 做

Now (it) goes according to the situation, there aren't many who do it like this,
 现在是跟着了形势，没有多少人会这样做了，
 saozi.21

mǝ33-dzǝ33 zε33 tʰu33-ni13 yī33 nu33 zɥwæ13 zε33. wǝ33 ta33 dzǝ33
 NEG-EXIST PERF this way do be few INTS PERF before TOP
 没-有 了 这样 做 少 很 了 以前

very few do it like this. Before,
 这样做的人很少了。 以前的
 saozi.22

α33-mi33 tʰu33-tɕi33 dzǝ33 zu33 tsʰe31 gy33 ha31 mǝ33-lu13 tʰu33 ha31
 mother 3PL.PRO TOP four ten nine night NEG-enough
 母亲 她们 四 十 九 晚上 不够

(for) (one's) mother and such, (if) forty-nine nights had not passed,
 母亲那些，如果不满四十九天的话，

hæ33 pɿ33 lɑ33 tʰæ13 tɕʰæ33 mə33-ku13. tɕʰæ33 mə33-ku13
 hair and such wash NEG-ABLT wash NEG-ABLT
 头发 和 那些 洗 不-会 洗 不-会
 (one) couldn't wash (one's) hair and such. (One) couldn't wash (one's hair),
 头发那些是不会去洗的。 不会去洗,
 saozi.23

tɕʰɿ13 mə33-ku13. tʰu33-ni13 zɔ33 tʰi13 lə33-ɕɔ33 tɕi31 hɔ33 dʒɿ13
 comb NEG-ABLT this way PERF so ACCOMP-abstain from clothes good
 梳 不-会 这样 了 所以 忌讳 衣服 好
 (one) couldn't comb (it). It was like this, (one) abstained, (one) couldn't wear
 也不会去梳头的。 这样了, 所以必须忌讳衣服那些好的
 saozi.24

mu33 mə33-ku13. dza33 ta31 mu33 ku13 ɕi33 bu33 du33 kʰwɿ33
 wear NEG-ABLT poor only wear ABLT worn one CLS
 穿 不-会 差 才 穿 会 破烂 一 量词
 good clothes. (One) could only wear poor (clothes), (one) could only wear
 不可以去穿它。 差的才会穿破烂一点的
 saozi.25

ta31 mu33 ku13. tsa33-qʰwɿ13 ki13 mə33-ku13. tʰu33-ni13 ɬi33 lə33-lu31
 only wear ABLT shoes wear NEG-ABLT this way month ACCOMP-be full
 才 穿 会 鞋子 穿 不-会 这样 月 足够
 worn ones. (One) couldn't wear shoes. Like this a full month passes,
 才会穿它。 不会穿鞋子。 这样满了月足够了
 saozi.26

zu33 tsʰe31 gy33 ha31 lə33-lu31 ni31 su31 ki13 ku13.
 four ten nine nights ACCOMP-be full after wear ABLT
 四 十 九 晚上 足够 穿 会
 forty-nine nights pass, after (that) (one) could wear (shoes).
 四十九天, 以后才会穿的。

ɑ31 yi33 ʂε33 dʒɔ33 *guizhu* (loan) dʒɔ33. *haishi* (loan) tʰu33 bu33 hɔ31 tu13 pʰu33
 long, long ago TOP rule EXIST still 3SG.PRO POSS favor repay
 很久以前 规矩 还是 她 的 恩情 报答
 Long ago this was the rule. (It) still is considered (a way) to repay
 以前的规矩是这样的。 还是算是报答她的
 saozi.28

tʂʌ31 ni33 pa13. hɔ31 tu13 pʰu33 tʂʌ31 ni33 a31-yi33-tsʰu33-yi33 dʒɔ33
 consider CERT.STR maybe favor repay consider COP now TOP
 算 可能 恩情 报答 算 是 现在
 her favor, maybe.
 恩情的吧。
 To consider (it) (a way) to repay (her) favor, now,
 算是报答恩情的现在是
 saozhi.30

tʰu33-ni13 yĩ33 dzæ13 mə33-dʒɔ33 zɛ33. a31-yi33-tsʰu33-yi33 dʒɔ33 haishi (loan)
 this way do many NEG-EXIST PERF now TOP still
 这样 做 多 没有 了 现在 还是
 there aren't many (who) do (it) this way.
 这样做的人不算是很多了。
 Now, it's still
 现在是还是
 saozhi.31

xingshi (loan) gi31 tɕʰɔ31 ɕɔ33 zɔ33 kwɔ33 haishi (loan) ɕɔ33 ni33
 situation after follow abstain from should LOC still abstain from
 形势 后面 跟着 忌讳 应该 里 还是 忌讳
 according to the situation, with respect to (the things) (one) should abstain from, (one) still abstains from
 跟着形势的后面应该忌讳的还是要忌讳的

hæ33 pɤ33 lɔ33 tʰæ13 haishi (loan) mə33-tʂʰæ33 ɕɔ33 ni33.
 hair and such still NEG-wash abstain from CERT.STR
 头发 和 那些 还是 不-洗 忌讳
 (washing) (one's) hair and such, (one) still doesn't wash (it) (and) abstains.
 头发和那些还是要不洗来忌讳的。

a33-mi33 bu33 hɔ31 tu13 pʰu33 ni33 pi33 ku13. haishi (loan) yĩ33 su31
 mother POSS favor repay COP say ABLT still do still
 母亲 的 恩情 报答 是 说 会 还是 做 还是
 (One) can say (it) repays (one's) mother's favor.
 说是报答母亲的恩情的。
 (We) still do (it), still
 做还是
 saozhi.32 saozhi.33

tʰu33 yĩ33 dʒɔ33 ni33 a31 yi33 ʂɛ33 ni33 mə33-yanzhong (loan) zɛ33, ə31-ki13?
 this do TOP COP long, long ago seem NEG-strict PERF QM
 这 做 是 很久以前 象 没-严重 了 吗
 do this, (it's) not as strict as before, right?
 在做的, 只是没有象以前那样重视了, 是吗?

NARRATIVE 8 – YONG ZHUTSER DABA

(3:56)

这是，我们这块地方的山水很偏僻，因为是习惯比较严格，所以经常是你来传给我，我来传给你。我们没有跟随汉人的习惯，也没有跟随普米人的习惯，我们是一个比较纯粹的 Na 村庄，所以我们能够把这个文化一代一代的学习下来了。永宁和那些地方是和汉族混合了。因为人太多，所以从下面学习了很多汉人的东西。所以把Na 的传统都破坏掉了。

About this, our place, this section of mountain and rivers, is remote, and we are accustomed to being strict; you pass on tradition to me and I pass on tradition to you. (We) don't follow the Han, (we) don't follow the Pumi; we are a pure Na village, tradition is handed down from one's ancestors in this way, can be done this way—not following, but transmitting from one generation to the next. Yongning and such places are mixed with the Han. There are too many people, so they adopt a lot of things from the Han. This way, Na traditions are destroyed.

t ^h u33	dzɔ33	ɲa33-sɤ33	ku31	ki33	dzɔ33	sɤ33 tɕ ^h ɤ31	t ^h u33	k ^h wɤ33	la31 gɤ33
this	TOP	1EXC.PRO		ALL	TOP	landscape	this	CLS	remote
这		我们				山水	这	量词	偏僻

(About) this, our place, this section of mountain and rivers, is remote,
这是，我们这块地方的山水很偏僻，
Yzt.1

<i>xiguan</i> (loan)	t ^h u33	<i>yan yan</i> (loan)	zɔ33	dzɔ33	nɔ33	nu33	ɲa33	ki33
be accustomed	this	strict	ADVB	TOP	2SG.PRO	AGTV	1SG.PRO	DAT
习惯	这	严格			你		我	

(we) are accustomed to (being) so strict; you pass on (tradition) to me [and I pass on tradition
因为是习惯比较严格，所以经常是你来传给我，我来

<i>chuan.</i> (loan)	ha33	gi31	mə33-tɕ ^h ɔ31	bɤ33	gi31	mə33-tɕ ^h ɔ31	zɔ33
pass on	Han	behind	NEG-follow	Pumi	behind	NEG-follow	PERF
传	汉	后面	没-跟随	普米	后面	没-跟随	了

to you]. (We) don't follow the Han, (we) don't follow the Pumi;
传给你。我们没有跟随汉人的习惯，也没有跟随普米人的习惯，
Yzt.2

ɲa33-sɤ33 ku31 *chunci* (loan) zɔ33 na13 wɤ33 du33 wɤ33 ta31 ts^hɤ33 zɔ33
 1EXC.PRO pure ADVB Na village one CLS only form PERF
 我们 纯粹 的 Na 村庄 一 村 才 形成 了
 we are a pure Na village,
 我们是一个比较纯粹的Na村庄,

t^hu33-ni13 *zuchuan* (loan) zɔ33 t^hu33-ni13 t^hu33-mæ33 mæ31 zɔ33
 this way hand down from one's ancestors PERF this way DUR-can PERF
 这样 祖传 这样 能够
 (tradition) is handed down from one's ancestors in this way, can be done this way—
 所以我们能够把这个文化

du33 *dai* (loan) du33 *dai* (loan) mæ33-tɕ^hɔ31 sɔ31 lə33-pɔ31-ts^hu33.
 one generation one generation NEG-follow study ACCOMP-bring
 一 代 一 代 没-跟随 学习 拿来
 not following, (but) transmitting (from) one generation (to) the next generation.
 一代一代的学习下来了。

li33-di33 la33 t^hæ13 dzɔ33 hæ33 t^hu33-ts^hu33.
 Yongning and such TOP Han DUR-mix
 永宁 和 那些 汉 混合
 Yongning and such (places) are mixed (with) the Han.
 永宁和那些地方是和汉族混合了。
 Yzt.3

t^hi13 hi33 t^hu33 tɕu13 lə33-zwæ13 zɔ33 mɤ33-dzɤ33 gɤ31 hæ33 sɔ31
 so people this many ACCOMP-very PERF below these Han study
 所以 人 这 多 很 了 下边 汉 学习
 So, there are (too) many people, (they) have adopted (a lot of things) (from)
 因为人太多, 所以从下面学习了很多汉人
 Yzt.4

lə33-pɔ31-ts^hu33 zɔ33. t^hu33-ni13 na13 bu33 q^hwæ33 dzɔ33 t^hu33-zwæ31 ni33.
 ACCOMP-bring PERF this way Na POSS tradition TOP DUR-destroy CERT.STR
 拿来 了 这样 Na 的 传统 破坏
 the Han. This way, Na traditions are destroyed.
 的东西。 所以把 Na 的传统都破坏掉了。
 Yzt.5

(10:37)

达巴的思想是人病了治好人，把人治好，(上面的天空病了)，把天治好，(外面土地病了)，把土地治好，达巴的经文里说土地也会病的。土地病了，说是把土地治好。人病了，说是把人治好。牲畜和那些病了，说是把牲畜治好。这些是这样的。

Daba thought is that if a person is ill, do a cure for the person, (if the sky above is ill), do a cure for the sky, (if the land is ill), do a cure for the land, in the daba scriptures it is said that the land, the world can also become ill. When the land is ill, do a cure for the land, it says to cure it. When a person is ill, do a cure for the person, it says to to cure the person. When the livestock is ill, it says to cure the livestock. This is the way these things are.

da33	pɿ33	bu33	sixiang (loan)	dʒɔ33	hĩ33	gɔ33	dʒɔ33	hĩ33	ɕi31	yĩ33
daba		POSS	thought	TOP	people	ill	TOP	people	cure	CAUS
达巴		的	思想		人	病		人	治好	

Daba thought (is that) (if) a person is ill, cure the person,
达巴的思想是人病了

Yzt.6

hĩ33	lɔ33-kʰwɿ33	hu33	gɿ13	my33	ɕi33	yĩ33	di33	ku33-di33
people	ACCOMP-cure	go	above	sky	cure	CAUS	land-NOM _{Loc}	
人	治好		上面	天空	治好		土地	

go cure the person, (if the sky above is ill), cure the sky above, (if the land is ill), cure
治好人，把人治好，(上面的天空病了)，把天治好，(外面土地病了)，把土地

ɕi33	yĩ33	da33 pɿ33	qʰwæ33	kwɔ33	dʒɔ33	my33-di33	diqu (loan)	gɔ33	ku13
cure	CAUS	daba	scriptures	LOC	TOP	land	world	ill	ABLT
治好		达巴	经文	里		土地	地球	病	会

the land; in the daba scriptures, it is said (is) says (that) the land, the world, can
治好，达巴的经文里说土地也

pi33	ni33	tsi13.	di33	gɔ33	di33	ɕi13	yi33	di33	pɔ13	lɔ33-qʰwɿ33
QUOT	CERT.STR	REP	land	ill	land	cure	CAUS	land	take	ACCOMP-cure
说	是		土地	病	土地	治好	做	土地	把	治好

become ill.
会病的。

(If / when) the land is ill, (it) says to cure the land,
土地病了，说是把土地治好。

Yzt.7

hu33 pi33 ni33. hi33 go33 dzɔ33 hi33 ɕi13 yi33 hi33 pɔ13
 go QUOT CERT.STR people ill TOP people cure CAUS people take
 去 说 是 人 病 人 治好 做 人 把
 go cure the land. (If / when) a person is ill, (it) says to cure the person,
 人病了, 说是把人
 Yzt.8

lə33-q^hwɤ33 hu33 pi33. t^hi13 go31 pɔ33 ɔ31 pɔ31 shengxu (loan) la33 t^hæ13
 ACCOMP-cure go QUOT so livestock livestock and such
 治好 去 说 所以 牲畜 牲畜 和 那些
 go cure the person. So (if / when) livestock, livestock (loan) and such
 治好。 牲畜和那些
 Yzt.9

go33 lə33-q^hwɤ33 hu33 pi33. t^hæ13 = ɔ31 dzɔ33 t^hu33-ni13 ni33.
 ill ACCOMP-cure go QUOT such = CMKN this way COP
 病 治好 说 那些 这样 是
 are ill, (it) says to go cure (the livestock). This is the way such these things are, as everyone knows.
 病了, 说是把牲畜治好。 这些是这样的。
 Yzt.10

(35:30)

这里的这些神不是的, 我们平常不顺利的时候会沾了一些拿去山神去烧香的时候拿去的那个才是的。骑牦牛的人, 骑老虎的人, 骑马的人, 还有一种是骑这样的人, 你们那里会不会做这样的? 哦, 这种才是的, 这个算是山神的。这个样式是会这样的。这个不是佛教的神, 这个只是我们的山神。水井的是有的是雕刻了有的。

These things don't denote gods, when we've been unsuccessful, we will take them, and going to the mountain god to burn incense, we will take them and moisten them, that's what these are. The yak rider, the tiger rider, the horse rider, and a type of person who rides coming off this way, do you people from over there do it like this? Oh, it's this type, this is reckoned to be the mountain god. This style can go like this. This isn't a Buddhist god, this is our mountain god. The spring (goddess)'s is carved.

tʰæ13 kwɔ33 tɕi31 tʰu33 ɠa33 ʃa33 *biaoshi* (loan) mə33-ni33 ʃ31-sɿ33 ku31
 such LOC place this gods express NEG-COP 1INC.PRO
 那些 里 放 这 神 表示 不是 我们

These things placed here don't denote gods; (when) we've

这里的这些神不是的, 我们

Yzt.11

lɔ33 ta33 zɔ33 nu33 lə33-pɔ13 zɔ33 zɯ31 tse13 wɔ33 sɔ33 qæ31
 be unsuccessful PERF CONTR ACCOMP-take PERF mountain god on incense burn
 不顺 了 拿 了 山神 上 香 烧

been unsuccessful, (we) take (them) (in order to) burn incense on the mountain god,
 平常不顺利的时候

ɲa31 lə33-pɔ13 zɔ33 lə33-ɲɿ13 ku13 mæ33 tʰu33 dzɔ33 ni33.
 ACCOMP-take PERF ACCOMP-moisten FUT.ABL CERT.M this TOP COP
 的时候 拿 了 沾 会 这 是

(we) take (them) (and) (we) will moisten (them), this is (what) (they) are.

会沾了一些拿去山神去烧香的时候拿去的那个才是的。

bu33-dzæ33-hi33, la33-dzæ33-hi33, zɯæ33-dzæ33-hi33, tʰu33-ni13 du33-wɔ33 dzæ33-hi33
 yak-ride-NOM_{Agt} tiger-ride-NOM_{Agt} horse-ride-NOM_{Agt} this way a type ride-NOM_{Agt}
 牦牛-骑-者 老虎-骑-者 马-骑-者 这样 一种 骑-者

The yak rider, the tiger rider, the horse rider, (and) one (who) can ride coming off this way,
 骑牦牛的人, 骑老虎的人, 骑马的人, 还有一种是骑这样的人,

Yzt.12

tʰu33-ta33 la33 ku13 nɔ33-sɿ33 ku31 tʰu33-ni13 yɿ33 a31 ku13?
 DUR-coming off ABLT 2PL.PRO this way do QM ABLT
 掉起来 会 你们 这样 做 吗 会

can you do it like this?

你们那里会不会做这样的?

ɔ13 tʰu33 bæ33 dzɔ33 ni33 tʰu33 dzɔ33 zɯ31 tse13 bu33
 INTERJ this type TOP COP this TOP mountain god POSS
 哦 这 种 是 这 山神 的

Oh, it's this type, this is reckoned to be

哦, 这种才是的, 这个算是

Yzt.13

tɕɿ33 ni33.
 consider to be CERT.STR
 算

the mountain god's.

山神的。

t^hu33 yangshi (loan) dzɔ33 t^hu33-ni13 ku31 ku13 ni33.
 this style TOP this way do ABLT CERT.STR
 这 样式 这样 会

This style can go like this.

这个样式是会这样的。

Yzt.14

t^hu33 dzɔ33 ɣa33 ɬa33 = ə33 mə33-ni33, ʂ31-sɻ33 ku31 bu33 shanshen (loan) ni33.
 this TOP Buddhist god = PL NEG-COP 1INC.PRO POSS mountain god COP
 这 佛教的神 不是 我们 的 山神 是

This isn't (one of the) Buddhist gods; (rather) (this) is our mountain god.

这个不是佛教的神，这个只是我们的山神。

Yzt.15

dzi33-q^hy33 bu33 dzɔ33 lə33-qwə13 dzɔ33 ni33.
 (water) spring POSS TOP ACCOMP-carve EXIST COP
 水井 的 雕刻 有 是

The spring (goddess)'s has carved (features).

水井的是有的是雕刻了有的。

Yzt.16

(41:21)

Apato 是我们人类不会穿衣服，不懂劳动，不知道建立家庭的时候是 Apato 教的。他教人劳动，穿衣服，晚上睡觉，早上的时候起床。他教人养牲畜，教人应该会怎么样的吃饭喝水的方式。衣服会怎么样穿，家庭会怎么样建立，说是他教的全部是他教的。

Apato is... when we humans didn't wear clothes, didn't know how to work, didn't know how to set up a family, it was Apato who taught us. He taught us to work, to wear clothes, to go to sleep at night, to get up in the morning. He taught us how we ought to raise livestock, eat food, and drink water. How one ought to wear clothes, how one ought to set up a family, it is said that all of these things were taught by him.

a33 pa33 tɔ31 dʒɔ33 ʃ31-sɻ33 ku31 hī33 pi33 st33 zɔ33 hī33 tɕi31 hɔ33
 Apato TOP 1INC.PRO people humankind people clothes
 Apato 我们 人 人类 人 衣服
 Apato ... (when) we people, humankind,
 Apato 是我们人类不会穿衣服,
 Yzt.17

mə33-mu33 lɔ31-yī33 mə33-si33, zɯ33-tu33 yī33 mə33-si33
 NEG-wear labor NEG-understand family make NEG-understand
 不-穿 劳动 不-懂 家庭 做 不-懂
 didn't wear clothes, didn't know to work, didn't know to set up a family,
 不懂劳动, 不知道建立家庭的时候

tʰi13 a33 pa33 tɔ31 nu33 lə33-sɔ13. lɔ31 yī33 sɔ31 tɕi31 hɔ33 mu33 sɔ31
 so Apato AGTV ACCOMP-teach work teach clothes wear teach
 所以 Apato 教 劳动 教 衣服 穿 教
 Apato taught us. (He) taught (us) to work, to wear clothes,
 是 Apato 教的。 他教人劳动,
 Yzt.18

hæ31 qʰy33 lə33-zɯ13 hu33 ɲa13 ɲɻ33 gɻ31-tvi33 hu33.
 night ACCOMP-sleep go morning when get up go
 晚上 睡觉 去 早上 的时候 起床 去
 to go to sleep at night, to get up in the morning.
 穿衣服, 晚上睡觉, 早上的时候起床。

kɔ31 pɔ33 zɯ33 sɔ31 ha33-dzi33 dʒi33-tʰu33 lɔ33 qʰa33-ni13 zɔ33 ku33.
 livestock raise teach eat food drink water style how ought
 牲畜 养 教 吃饭 喝水 方式 怎么样
 (He) taught (us) to raise livestock, how (we) ought to eat (and) drink.
 他教人养牲畜, 教人应该会怎么样的吃饭喝水的方式。
 Yzt.19

tɕi31 hɔ33 mu33 lɔ31 zɯ33-tu33 qʰa33-ni13 yī33 zɔ33 ku33 sɔ31 ni33 tsi13
 clothes wear style family how make ought teach CERT.STR REP
 衣服 穿 方式 家庭 怎么样 做 教
 It is said (he) taught (us) the way to wear clothes, how (we) ought to set up a family,
 衣服会怎么样穿, 家庭会怎么样建立,
 Yzt.20

du33-ta13 tʰu33 sɔ13 ni33 tsi13.
 all 3SG.PRO teach CERT.STR REP
 全部 他 教
 it is said that all (of these things) he taught.
 说是他教的全部是他教的。

NARRATIVE 9 – TIPI DABA

(38:34)

这个是，她会有几种的。太阳出的时候，水井神,她是白色的。中午的时候，她是黄色的。太阳落山的时候，她是黑色的。晚上的时候，她是绿色的。跟草的颜色一样的。所以在叫 yɿ31 dʒi33 di33 的这个地方，是黄色的。因为这样，所以我们土地上的人会这样说。听说经常是一个时辰变化一种颜色。

She has several forms. When the sun rises, she is white. At noon, she will be yellow. When the sun sets, she will be black. At night, she will be green. Green like the grass. When she is at a place called yɿ31 dʒi33 di33, she will be yellow. Oh, it's like this, the people in our land say it's like this. It is said that for each period of time she will change color once.

tʰu33	dʒo33	no33	qʰa33-bæ33	dʒo33	ku13	ni33.	ni33-mi33	tʰu33,
this	TOP		several types	EXIST	ABLT	CERT.STR	sun	come out
这			几种	有	会		太阳	出

(She) can take several forms. (When) the sun rises,
 这个是，她会有几种的。 太阳出的时候，
 Tipidaba.1 Tipidaba.2

ʒu31	mu33	ku33	tʰu33	pʰu13.	ni33-ʒu31	mi31	tʰu33	ʒu31	gwæ13	ku13	ni33.
Zhimuku			3SG.PRO	white	noon		3SG.PRO	yellow		FUT.ABL	CERT.STR
Zhimuku		她		白色	中午		她	黄色		会	

Zhimuku, she is white. At noon, she will be yellow.
 水井神,她是白色的。 中午的时候，她是黄色的。
 Tipidaba.3

ni33-mi33	ku31	tʰu33	na31	qʰæ33	tʂʰe13	ku13.	hʂ33	ku33	lɔ31	tʰu33
sun	set	3SG.PRO	black			FUT.ABL	night			3SG.PRO
太阳	落山	她	黑色			会	晚上			她

(When) the sun sets, she will be black. At night, she
 太阳落山的时候，她是黑色的。 晚上的时候，她
 Tipidaba.4 Tipidaba.5

h531 zæ33	ku13	ni33.	zi33	h531	ni31 ku31.	tʰi13	yu31 dʒi33 di33	pi33
green	FUT.ABL	CERT.STR	grass	green	be like	then	(place name)	be called
绿色	会		草	绿色	象	所以	(地方的名字)	叫
will be green.			Green like the grass.			Then, (a place) called		
是绿色的。			跟草的颜色一样的。			所以在叫	yu31 dʒi33 di33	
			Tipidaba.6			Tipidaba.7		

tʰu33	kʰwɿ33	kwɔ33	dʒɔ33	ʃu31 gwæ33	ku13	ni33.	ɔ13	tʰu33-ni13
this	CLS	LOC	TOP	yellow	FUT.ABL	CERT.STR	INTERJ	this way
这	量词	里		黄色	会			这样
yu31 dʒi33 di33, in this place, (she) will be yellow.								Oh, (it's) like this,
的这个地方, 是黄色的。								因为这样,
								Tipidaba.8

ɔ31-sɿ33 ku31	tst1 tu33	tʰu33-ni13	zɿwɿ33	ku13.	tu31 tsʰt33	du33	lu33	
INC.PRO	land	this way	say	FUT.ABL	time	one	CLS	
我们	土地	这样	说	会	时辰	一	个	
(the people in) our land will say (it's) like this.								
所以我们土地上的人会这样说。								
								Often, (for) each period of time,
								听说经常是一个时辰
								Tipidaba.9

tʰæ33	du33	ʃu33	tɕi31 qæ33	ku13	tsi13.
often	one	CLS	exchange	FUT.ABL	REP
经常	一	次	交换	会	
(she) will change (color) once, it is said.					
变化一种颜色。					

t ^h u33	dzɔ33	a33 pa33 tɔ31	ni33	mæ33	tɕɔ31-du33	t ^h u33	wu33
this	TOP	Apato	COP	INTERJ	biggest	this	CLS
这		Apato	是		最大	这	量词

Well, Apato is, ah!, (he) is this largest one,

Tipidaba.10

sɔŋ33	dzi33	ti33	bɣ33	pi33	ku13.
(name of Apato's equivalent in Buddhism)			be called	ABLT	
			叫	会	

(he) can (also) be called sɔŋ33 dzi33 ti33 bɣ33.

一个是 tan33 tu33, 一个是 ka33 =ɤ31 mi31 dzi31 tɕi31 ka33 =ɤ31 mi31, 最边上的叫 tin33 ti31 ʂa13, 拿了一个铃铛, 他就是最早, 最早的时候来传授达巴教的人从天上下来的还有是这五个都是洪水超tian 以来从天上下来的, 管理人间的一起的。a33 pa33 tɔ33 就是Shijiamoni。他们也是佛教最大的神。

One is Tantih (tan33 tu33), one is Ka'ermidzhitci Ka'ermi (ka33 =ɤ31 mi31 dzi31 tɕi31 ka33 =ɤ31 mi31), the one on the outmost edge, holding a small bell, is called Tintisha (tin33 ti31 ʂa13). In the most ancient times, it was he who came down from the heavens to teach Dabaism to people. Also, these five all came down from the heavens after the great flood to oversee humankind. Apato is Shakyamuni. They are also the most important gods of Tibetan Buddhism.

NARRATIVE 10 – MUPHA DABA

(10:07)

这样了以后，说是一个叫 Tshihxondzhidzhimi 的人，有天有地以后他传授了宗教和念经。一个叫 Sondzhitsontiti 和一个达巴他们两个是给地球上的人传授劳动，放牧，吃饭，做宗教的活动，念经和那些的。Sondzhitsontiti，他很聪明了，他的文化特别好了。所以，这个达巴是正直过分了一点。所以文字是在一片皮上，一片猪皮上写的。所以 Tshutiti 和两个经常在一起闲逛。他们在全部地球里到处去走。Sondzhitsontiti 这个是有碗筷那些和法器那些都有了。他自己的法器是做舀水的和搅拌粑粑的。达巴是有一个铜碗的用它做了烧粑粑的。所以 Sondzhitsontiti 想让自己兴旺起来，那个达巴，他是不想要的。所以刚刚到了一个地方的时候，很困难，饭和那些吃的一样都没有。所以 Sondzhitsontiti 说，我的只是纸做的，吃了的话，一样好处都没有。所以说，你的书是猪皮做的，我们两个要不要把它吃掉了？所以说是可以，他们两个把它在铜碗里煮了，吃掉了。因为吃掉书以后，所以 Sondzhitsontiti 他脖子疼了，这个地方流脓了。所以对这个达巴说，我这样病了，请你帮我做一点法事。哇！达巴说，我的书全部吃掉了，我应该怎么样去做呢？所以他们两个这样的坐着，这个达巴没有办法了。所以一个地方里，有一只狗在 531 513 的叫着。在叫着的时候，达巴是说了一声“æ13”。所以，开始说经文的时候，是应该首先叫一声“æ31 yi13”。所以叫了这一句以后，以前的写在皮子上的经文全部回到心里面来了。所以用面做一些形状对他简单的做了一些法事。Sondzhitsontiti 这个他的脓爆了，他的病好了。所以 Sondzhitsontiti 叹息了，一下说，即使他不能够兴旺也不可以去迫害他了。也不可以去迫害他了。要记在心里面一代一代的去念吧。所以达巴是没有书的，是不是？，以前是有书的。所以一代一代的你教我，我教你，全部记在心里边除了个别一个一个以外学好的很少。即使昨天晚上才教的今天都不会，很少的人才能学好。

After this, they say a person called Tshihxondzhidzhimi, after heaven and earth were completed, he taught religion and how to chant the scriptures. A person named Sondzhitsontiti and a daba, the two of them taught those living in the world how to labor and herd animals, to eat food, and to do religious work, to chant scriptures and such. Sondzhitsontiti was very smart, he was extremely cultured. And the daba was upright to the point that it was a bit extreme. The book (of daba scriptures) was written on a skin, on a pig skin.

Tshutiti and the two often strolled together. They walked all over the world. Sondzhitsontiti had a bowl and chopsticks and such, as well as implements. His own implements were for ladling water and mixing bread. The daba had a copper bowl which he used to roast bread. Sondzhitsontiti wanted (his religion) to thrive, he didn't want this daba around. So, when they had just arrived at a place, it was extremely difficult, they didn't have food or anything else to eat. So Sondzhitsontiti said, mine is only written on paper, if we ate it, it would be completely useless. So he said, your book is made from pig skin, why don't we eat it up? So he said it was okay, and the two cooked (the daba scriptures) in the copper bowl and ate it.

So, Sondzhitsontiti's neck hurt, having eaten the book, and his neck festered with pus. He said to the daba, I am so sick, please help me by doing a few rites for me. Wa! The daba said, my books have all been eaten, what should I do? So the two of them sat like this, and the daba was helpless. In one place, there was a dog barking, ʃ31 ʃ13. As the dog was barking, the daba said “æ13”. At the start of the daba scriptures, one should call out “æ31 yi13”. So, after calling this out, the scripture written on the skin before, all were (again) in his his heart. So, (using flour) he made a few idols as he pleased for him. Sondzhitsontiti's festering sore erupted, and he became better.

Sondzhitsontiti sighed and said, “He can’t thrive, but he also can’t be harmed.” Sondzhitsontiti said, “I have a book, but you have (your scriptures) memorized by heart, and from generation to generation will chant them. The daba didn’t have a book, right?—before, he had a book. So, from generation to generation, you teach me, I teach you, it is all in our hearts, except for the very extraordinary person, very few learn it well. Even that which was taught last night is forgotten by today, only the exceptional person can learn it well.

t^hu33-ni13 ku13 se31 dzɔ33 ts^hɿ31 hɔ̃33 dzi33 dzi33 mi33 ni33 pi33,
 this way ABLT CMPL then Tshihxondzhidzhimi COP QUOT
 这样 会 完成 就 Tshihxondzhidzhimi 是
 (It) was finished like this, then they say Tshihxondzhidzhimi,
 这样了以后, 说是一个叫 Tshihxondzhidzhimi 的人,
 Muphadaba.1

mɿ33 t^hi33-di31 di33 t^hu33-di31 se31 dzɔ33 tʂ^hu33 lə33-sɔ31
 sky DUR-EXIST.P earth DUR-EXIST.P CMPL TOP religion ACCOMP-teach
 天 有 地 有 完成 宗教 教
 (after) heaven (and) earth came into existence, (he) taught religion (and) taught (how)
 有天有地以后他传授了宗教

ma31 nɔ33 la31 lə33-sɔ31. sɔ̃33 dzi33 tsɔ̃33 ti31 ti31 du33 wu33 da33 pɿ33
 chant scriptures ACCOMP-teach Sondzhitsontiti one CLS daba
 念经 教 Sondzhitsontiti 一 量词 达巴
 to chant the scriptures. A person (named) Sondzhitsontiti (and) a daba,
 和念经。 一个叫Sondzhitsontiti和一个达巴
 Muphadaba.2

du33 wu33 t^hu33 zɿ31 dzɔ33 dzi33 ti33 kwɔ33 lɔ̃31-yĩ33-zu31-yĩ33
 one CLS 3SG.PRO two TOP world LOC labor and herd animals
 一 量词 他 两 地球 里 劳动
 the two of them taught (those living) in the world to labor and herd animals,
 他们两个是给地球上的人传授劳动, 放牧,

ha33-dzi33 tʂ^hu33-yĩ33 ma31 nɔ33 la31 t^hæ13 sɔ31 (dzɔ31).
 eat food do religious work chant scriptures such teach
 吃饭 做宗教的 念经 那些 教
 to eat, to do religious work, to chant scriptures (and) such.
 吃饭, 做宗教的活动, 念经和那些的。

sɔ̃33 dzi33 tsɔ̃33 ti31 ti31 t^hu33 congming (loan) zɿwæ13 zɛ33 wenhua (loan)
 Sondzhitsontiti 3SG.PRO be smart INTS PERF culture
 Sondzhitsontiti 他 聪明 很 了 文化
 Sondzhitsontiti was very smart (and)
 Sondzhitsontiti, 他很聪明了,
 Muphadaba.3

t^hu33 dzɿ13 zɛ33. t^hi13 da33 pɿ33 t^hu33 wu33 dzɔ33 hĩ33 du33-pi13
 3SG.PRO be good PERF so daba this CLS TOP person a little
 他 好 了 所以 达巴 这 量词 人 一点
 he was extremely cultured. So, the daba, (this) person was a bit upright,
 他的文化特别好了。 所以, 这个达巴是正直
 Muphadaba.4

tu13 lə33-zwæ13 kwɔ31 dzɔ31. tʰi13 tʰæ33 = ə31 dzɔ33 yu33-pʰæ13
 upright ACCOMP-INTS drop so book TOP skin
 正直 丢 所以 书 皮
 to the point that it was a bit extreme. The book (of daba scriptures) was written on a skin,
 过分了一点。 所以文字是在一片皮上，
 Muphadaba.5

bɔ31-yu33-pʰæ13 bi33 tɕʰi31. tʰi13 tɕʰu ti ti la33 ni33 ku33 tʰæ33
 pig skin on write so Tshutiti and two CLS often
 猪皮 上面 写 所以 Tshutiti 和 两 量词 经常
 on pig skin. So, Tshutiti and the two often
 一片猪皮上写的。 所以 Tshutiti 和两个经常在一起
 Muphadaba.6

tʰu33-kwɔ31 kwɔ31-tʰu33-kwɔ31 kwɔ31 dzɔ31. zɔ31 pu33 lɔ31 du33-ta13 kwɔ33
 DUR-stroll.BACK AND FORTH world all LOC
 闲逛 地球 全部 里
 strolled together. (They) walked all over
 闲逛。 他们在全部地球里到处
 Muphadaba.7

lə33-sɛ33-lə33-sɛ33.
 ACCOMP-walk.BACK AND FORTH
 走路
 the world.
 去走。

sɔ33 dʒi33 tsɔ33 ti31 ti31 tʰu33 wu33 dzɔ33 qʰwɔ31-lɔ33 dzɔ33 ni33 zɛ33
 Sondzhitsontiti this CLS TOP bowl and chopsticks EXIST CERT.STR PERF
 Sondzhitsontiti 这 量词 碗筷 有 了
 Sondzhitsontiti had a bowl and chopsticks,
 Sondzhitsontiti 这个是有碗筷那些和
 Muphadaba.8

du31 pu33 ɔ33 tʰæ13 dzɔ33 ni33 zɛ33.
 religious implements INTERJ such EXIST CERT.STR PERF
 法器 那些 有 了
 (he) had religious implements (and) such.
 法器那些都有了。

nɔ31-bu33	du31 pu33	t ^h u33	lu33	dʒɔ33	dzi33-qwæ13-di33	la33
REFL.POSS	religious implements	this	CLS	TOP	water-ladling-NOM _{PURP}	and
自己的	法器	这	量词		水-舀-的	和

His religious implements, (he) used for ladling water

他自己的法器是做舀水的

Muphadaba.9

pɣ31 yɣ13-tsa31 tsa13-di33	yī33.	da33 pɣ33	dʒɔ33	æ̃33	q ^h wɣ31	t ^h u33-ni13
bread-mix-NOM _{PURP}	make	daba	TOP	copper	bowl	this way
粑粑-搅拌-的	做	达巴		铜	碗	这样

and mixing bread.

和搅拌粑粑的。

The daba had a copper bowl like this,

达巴是有一个铜碗的用它

Muphadaba.10

du33	lu33	dʒɔ33	ni33	dʒɔ33	pɣ31 yɣ13-qæ33 qæ31-di33	yī33.
one	CLS	EXIST	CERT.STR	TOP	bread-roast-NOM _{PURP}	make
一	个	有	是		粑粑-烧-的	做

(he) used (it) for roasting bread.

做了烧粑粑的。

t ^h i13	sɔ̃33	dzi33 tsɔ̃33	ti31 ti31	dʒɔ33	nɔ13	du33-t ^h u33	hu33	bi33
so	Sondzhitsontiti			TOP	REFL	thrive.DEL	go	FUT.IMM
所以	Sondzhitsontiti				自己	一兴旺	去	

So, Sondzhitsontiti wanted (his religion) to thrive,

所以 Sondzhitsontiti 想让自己兴旺起来,

Muphadaba.11

da33 pɣ33	t ^h u33	wu33	dʒɔ33	ni33	mə33-hɔ33.	t ^h i13	du33	di33	kwɔ33	t ^h u33
daba	this	CLS	TOP	want	NEG-DES	so	one	place	LOC	arrive
达巴	这	量词		要	不-要	所以	一	地	里	到达

(he) didn't want the daba (around).

那个达巴，他是不想要的。

So, (when) (they) arrived

所以刚刚到了一个地方

Muphadaba.12

pɔ31 mə33	dʒɔ31	dʒɔ33	hen (loan)	kunnan (loan)	ha33	la33	du33-sɔ33	dzi33-di33
	TOP		very	be difficult	food	etc.	at all	eat-NOM _{PURP}
			很	困难	饭	等等	一样	吃-的

at a place, it was extremely difficult, (they) didn't have any food or things

的时候，很困难，饭和那些吃的一样

mə33-dzə33. tʰi13 s̄33 d̄zi33 ts̄33 ti31 ti31 pi33 ɲa33 bu33 dzə33 ʂu33 ʂu13
 NEG-EXIST so Sondzhitsontiti say 1SG.PRO POSS TOP paper
 没-有 所以 Sondzhitsontiti 说 我 的 纸
 to eat. So Sondzhitsontiti said, “Mine is only (written) on paper,
 都没有。 所以Sondzhitsontiti 说, 我的只是
 Muphadaba.13

ta31 ni33 lə33-dzi33 pe31 du33-sə33 pʰi33 tʰə33 mə33-dzə33.
 only COP ACCOMP-eat then at all good part NEG-EXIST
 才 是 吃 一样 好处 没-有
 (if) (we) ate (it), there wouldn't be any benefit at all.”
 纸做的, 吃了的话, 一样好处都没有。

tʰi13 nə33 bu33 tʰa33 = ə31 dzə33 bə31-ɣu33 pə13 lə33-ku31 ni33
 so 2SG.PRO POSS book TOP pig skin INSTR ACCOMP-make COP
 所以 你 的 书 猪皮 做 是
 So (he) said, “Your book is made from pig skin,
 所以说, 你的书是猪皮做的,
 Muphadaba.14

ʂ13 zu31 lə33-dzi33 a31-bi33 pi33. tʰi13 ku33 yi33 pi33 ni33 ku13
 REFL both ACCOMP-eat QM-go QUOT so okay say two CLS
 两 吃 吗-去 所以 可以 说 两 量词
 (why) don't we eat (it) up?” So (he) said (it) was okay, (and) the two
 我们两个要不要把它吃掉了? 所以说是可以, 他们两个
 Muphadaba.15

æ33 qʰwɿ31 tʰu33 lu33 kwə33 lə33-tɕɿ13 lə33-dzi33 tɕi31.
 copper bowl this CLS LOC ACCOMP-cook ACCOMP-eat EXPER
 铜 碗 这 个 里 煮 吃 过
 cooked (the daba scriptures) in the copper bowl (and) (they) had eaten (it).
 把它在铜碗里煮了, 吃掉了。

tʰi13 tʰu33 kʰwɿ33 kwə33 dzə33 s̄33 d̄zi33 ts̄33 ti31 ti31 tʰu33 wu33 dzə33
 so this CLS LOC TOP Sondzhitsontiti this CLS TOP
 所以 这 量词 里 Sondzhitsontiti 这 个
 So, at this time, Sondzhitsontiti's
 因为吃掉书以后, 所以Sondzhitsontiti
 Muphadaba.16

yæ33 lu31 go31 zo33 tʰa33 = ə31 lə33-dzi33 tɕi31 dzo33 lə33-bæ33
 neck hurt PERF book ACCOMP-eat EXPER TOP ACCOMP-be filled with pus
 脖子疼了书吃过脓
 neck hurt; having eaten the book, this [his neck] festered
 他脖子疼了，这个地方

tʰu33 khwɤ33. ɿ13 tʰu33 kwɔ33 dzo33 da33 pɤ33 tʰu33 wu33 ki33 ja33
 this CLS INTERJ this LOC TOP daba this CLS DAT 1SG.PRO
 这量词 这 里 达巴 这 量词 我
 with pus. Oh, then (he) said to the daba, "I've become sick,
 流脓了。 所以对这个达巴说，“我
 Muphadaba.17

tʰu33-ni13 lə33-go31 zɛ33 kɔ33 = ə33 du33-pi13 yĩ33 ga13 pi33.
 this way ACCOMP-sick PERF rite a little do help QUOT
 这样 病 了 法事 一点 做 帮忙
 (please) help (me) (by) doing a few rites (for me)."
 这样病了，请你帮我做一点法事。”

wa! ja33 bu33 tʰa33 = ə31 du33-ta13 lə33-dzi33 lə33-sɛ31
 INTERJ 1SG.PRO POSS book all ACCOMP-eat ACCOMP-complete
 哇 我 的 书 全部 吃 完
 (The daba said), "Wa! My books have all been eaten,
 哇！达巴说，我的书全部吃掉了，
 Muphadaba.18

(dzo31) ja33 qʰa33-ni13 yĩ33 zo33 ni33 pi33. tʰi13 dzo31 ni33 ku13
 1SG.PRO how do should CERT.STR QUOT so then two CLS
 我 怎么样 做 应该 所以 就 两 量词
 what should I do?" So then the two of them
 我应该怎么样去做呢？ 所以他们两个
 Muphadaba.19

tʰu33-ni13 tʰu33-tst33 tst31 da33 pɤ33 tʰu33 wu33 yĩ33-bi33-di33-mə33-di31.
 this way DUR-sit daba this CLS helpless
 这样 坐 达巴 这 量词 没有办法了
 sat like this, (and) the daba was helpless.
 这样的坐着，这个达巴没有办法了。

t^hi13 duu33 di33 kwɔ33 dzɔ33 k^hu33 t^hu33 duu33 p^hɔ13 dzɔ33 (dzɔ31)
 so one place LOC TOP dog this one CLS EXIST
 所以 一 地 里 狗 这 一 只 有

In one place, there was a dog barking,

所以一个地方里，有一只狗在

Muphadaba.20

ʂ31 ʂ13 pi33 t^hu33-lu31 dzɔ33. t^hu33-lu31 dzɔ33 tsi13
 (sound) say DUR-bark PROG DUR-bark PROG REP
 叫 叫

ʂ31 ʂ13.

ʂ31 ʂ13 的叫着。

It is said that (the dog) was barking,

在叫着的时候，

Muphadaba.21

t^hi13 da33 pɣ33 dzɔ33 “æ13” pi33.

so daba TOP (sound) say

所以 达巴

so the daba said “æ13”.

达巴是说了一声“æ13”。

t^hu33 mu33 pi33 la33 ʂ31 yi13 pi33 duu33 k^hwɣ33 wæ33 zɔ33 ni33.
 start say then (sound) QUOT one CLS call should CERT.STR
 开始 说 就 一 量词 叫 应该

(When) (one) says the start (of the daba scriptures), then (one) should call out “ʂ31 yi13”.

所以，开始说经文的时候，是应该首先叫一声“ʂ31 yi13”。

Muphadaba.22

t^hi13 t^hu33 k^hwɣ33 wæ33 kwɣ31 la31 wɔ33 ta33 bu33 yu13 bi33 di33
 so this CLS call complete then before NRA skin on NRA
 所以 这 量词 叫 完 就 以前 的 皮子 上 的

So, (he) finished calling out this phrase, (and) then the scriptures (written) on the skin from before,

所以叫了这一句以后，以前的写在皮子上的

Muphadaba.23

t^ha33 = ʂ31 t^hu33 nu31 mi13 kwɔ33 t^hu33-zu33 ni33 ze33.

book this heart LOC DUR-EXIST.C CERT.STR CSM

书 这 心 里 有 了

these (all) were (again) in (his) heart.

经文全部回到心里面来了。

t^hi13 t^hu33 ki33 yæ33 mɿ33 zu33 jɿ33 mu33 la33 du33-pi13 tɕ^hi13.
 so 3SG.PRO BEN as one pleases shape and a little put
 所以 他 随便 形状 和 一点

So, [using flour] he made a few idols as he pleased for him.

所以用面做一些形状对他简单的做了一些法事。

Muphadaba.24

sɔ̃33 dʒi33 tsɔ̃33 ti31 ti31 t^hu33 wu33 bæ13 lə33-bu31 kwɿ31 zɔ33
 Sondzhitsontiti this CLS pus ACCOMP-erupt fall PERF
 Sondzhitsontiti 这 量词 脓 爆发 丢 了

Sondzhitsontiti's festering sore erupted,

Sondzhitsontiti 这个他的脓爆了，

Muphadaba.25

lə33-q^hwɿ33 tɕi31 zɔ33.

ACCOMP-cure EXPER PERF

治好 过 了

(he) was cured.

他的病好了。

t^hi13 sɔ̃33 dʒi33 tsɔ̃33 ti31 ti31 t^hu33 wu33 nu33 ai31 t^hi13 t^hu33 tʂu33
 so Sondzhitsontiti this CLS AGTV INTERJ so 3SG.PRO thrive
 所以 Sondzhitsontiti 这 量词 所以 他 兴旺

So Sondzhitsontiti sighed, "Ai!" (and) said, "(Even though) he won't come to thrive,

所以 Sondzhitsontiti 叹息了，一下说，即使他不能够兴旺

Muphadaba.26

mə33-t^hu33 pɛ31 t^hu33 q^hwɿ31-yī13 hī33 mə33-hɔ33 zɛ33 æ31 pi33.
 NEG-arrive then 3SG.PRO harm be okay NEG-FUT.DES PERF INTERJ QUOT
 不-到 就 他 迫害 可以 不-会 了

he (also) will not be able to be harmed."

也不可以去迫害他了。

ɲa33 dʒɔ33 t^hæ33 = ɤ31 dʒɔ33 zɛ33 nɔ33 dʒɔ33 nu31 mi13 kwɔ33 k^hu13
 1SG.PRO TOP book EXIST 2SG.PRO TOP heart LOC place
 我 书 有 了 你 心 里 放

(Sondzhitsontiti) said, "I have a book, (but) you have (your scriptures) memorized by heart,

所以这个 Sondzhitsontiti 说，“我是有书了，你呢要记在心里面

Muphadaba.27

du33 dai (loan) du33 dai (loan) lə33-tʂʰɔ33 h533 pi33. tʰi13 da33 pɤ33 tʰu33
 one generation one generation ACCOMP-chant go QUOT so daba this
 一代一代念去所以达巴这
 from generation to generation, go chant them.”
 一代一代的去念吧。”
 The daba
 所以达巴
 Muphadaba.28

dʒɔ33 tʰa33=ɤ31 mə33-dʒɔ33 a33-ki31 wɔ33 ta33 dʒɔ33 tʰa33=ɤ31 dʒɔ33 ni33.
 TOP book NEG-EXIST right? before TOP book EXIST CERT.STR
 书 没有 以前 书 有
 didn't have a book, right? -- before, (he) had a book.
 是没有书的，是不是？，以前是有书的。

tʰi13 du33 tʂʰæ13 gi31 du33 tʂʰæ13 nɔ33 ɲa33 ki33
 so one generation following one generation 2SG.PRO 1SG.PRO DAT
 所以一代后面一代你
 So, from generation to generation, you teach me, (I teach you), (we) think
 所以一代一代的你教我，我教你，
 Muphadaba.29

lə33-sɔ31 nu31 mi13 kwɔ33 ʂu33 du33 dʒɔ31 yiban (loan) du33 wu33 du33 wu33
 ACCOMP-teach heart LOC think but usually one CLS one CLS
 教 心 里 想 但是 一般 一 量词 一 量词
 (it) is in our hearts, however, unless the person is very extraordinary,
 全部记在心里边除了个别一个一个以外

mə33-ni33 dʒɤ13 mə33-wɔ33. a33 hwa33 sɔ31 pɛ31 mə33-ku13
 unless be good NEG-ABLT last night teach then NEG-ABLT
 好 不-能够 昨天晚上 教 就 不-会
 (one) can't (learn) (it) well. (Even) (what) (one) teaches last night, (today) (one) can't
 学好的很少。 即使昨天晚上才教的今天都不会，
 Muphadaba.30

du33 wu33 du33 wu33 mə33-ni33 dʒɤ13 mə33-wɔ33.
 one CLS one CLS unless be good NEG-ABLT
 一 量词 一 量词 好 不-能够
 (recite); unless one is extraordinary, (one) can't (learn) (it) well.
 很少的人才能学好。

Mupha Daba
(53:49)

这个是在他出生的时候把他的生辰和那些算卦好。他应该叫什么名字要把这个名字给他。如果名字不给他的话，水井神和山神和那些会迫害他。所以在这里念经和烧一堆香然后点一盏酥油灯然后给他们干净的酒和干净的茶，然后给他他的名字，然后对祖先和死去的祖先们说，我们家出生了一个人。给死去的祖先们敬献干净的肉和干净的饭，对他们说，我们家里出生了一个人，希望你们能保佑他不会得到病痛和那些。说请你好好的保佑一下病痛和那些不要让他得到。所以名字这个是把出生的时辰和那些非常仔细的算卦以后给他一个漂亮的名字。

When one is born, one's date of birth and such are used for divination. Whatever name one ought to be called, then, this name should be given. If the correct name is not given, the spring goddess and the mountain god and such will destroy the child. So, in this place, scriptures are chanted, a stick of incense is burned, yak butter lamps are lit, clean wine and tea are offered to the ancestors, and then the child is given this name; the ancestors and such are told that a new family member has been born, the ancestors who have already died. To the dead ancestors, clean meat, clean food, and such are consecrated, in order to announce that a new member has been born to our family, bless the child so that illness and such won't come. To ask that you will carefully protect the child so that illness and such won't come. So, the name is divined very carefully from the time of birth and such, and the child is given a pretty name.

t^hu33 dzɔ33 t^hu33 lə33-mæ33 wɔ33 ta33 t^hu33 lə33-tʂɻ33 tʂɻ31
 this TOP 3SG.PRO ACCOMP-be born before this ACCOMP-divine
 这 他 出生 以前 这 算卦

(About) this, before one is born, this is divined, (using) the date of birth
 这个是在他出生的时候把他的生辰

Muphadaba.31

k^hu31 lu33 la33 t^hæ13 lə33-tʂɻ33 tʂɻ31. a33-tso33 my33-dzæ33 zo33 ni33
 date of birth and such ACCOMP-divine what be named should CERT.STR
 生辰 和 那些 算卦 什么 叫 应该
 and such, (this) is divined. Whatever (the child) should be named,
 和那些算卦好。 他应该叫什么名字

Muphadaba.32

t^hi13 my33 t^hu33 k^hwɻ33 t^hu33 ki33 pi33 zo33 ni33.
 then name this CLS 3SG.PRO give be called should CERT.STR
 所以 名字 这 量词 他 给 叫 应该
 then, (one) should give him/her this name.
 要把这个名字给他。

my33 t^hu33 k^hwɻ33 t^hu33 mə33-ki33 pi33 dzi33-q^hv33 la33
 name this CLS 3SG.PRO NEG-give COND.HYP spring goddess and
 名字 这 他 不-给 水井 和

If (one) doesn't give the (correct) name (to) him/her, the spring goddess and
 如果名字不给他的话，水井神和

Muphadaba.33

zu31 tse13 la33 t^hæ13 q^hwɻ31-yī13 ku13.
 mountain god and such destroy FUT.ABL
 山神 和 那些 迫害 会

the mountain god and such will destroy (the child).
 山神和那些会迫害他。

t^hi13 t^hu33 kwɔ33 lə33-tʂ^hɔ33 so33 du33 wæ33 t^hu33-qæ13
 so this LOC ACCOMP-chant scriptures incense one CLS DUR-burn
 所以 这 里 念经 香 一 堆 烧

So, in this place, scriptures are chanted, a pile of incense is burned,
 所以在这里念经和烧一堆香

Muphadaba.34

ma31-mu13 t^hu33-tʂu31 zu33 ʂo31 li33 ʂo31 t^hu33 ki33
 yak butter lamp DUR-burn liquor clean tea clean 3SG.PRO give
 酥油灯 点 酒 干净 茶 干净 他 给
 yak butter lamps are lit, clean liquor (and) tea are offered to (the ancestors),
 然后点一盏酥油灯然后给他们干净的酒和干净的茶,

t^hi13 t^hu33 bu33 my33 t^hu33 k^hwɿ33 t^hu33 ki33 t^hi13 a33-p^hy33-a33-su33
 then 3SG.PRO POSS name this CLS 3SG.PRO give so ancestors
 所以 他 的 名字 这 量词 他 给 所以 祖先
 then s/he is given his/her name; thus, (we) say to the ancestors
 然后给他他的名字, 然后对祖先

la33 t^hæ13 ki33 ʂ31 = ə31 hī33 du33 wu33 ɣɿ31-tɿi33 zɛ33 pi33 wɔ33 ta33
 and such DAT REFL = home people one CLS be born CSM say before
 和 那些 我家 人 一 量词 出生 了 说 以前
 and such that our family has birthed a (new) member, to ancestors of the past, those
 和死去的祖先们说, 我们家出生了一个人。

bu33 a33-p^hu33-ə33-su33 la33-ʂu33 t^hu33-tɕi33 ki33.
 NRA ancestors ACCOMP-die 3PL.PRO DAT
 的 祖先 死 他们
 (who) have (already) died.

a33-p^hy33-a33-su33 la33-ʂu33 t^hæ13 ki33 ʂɛ33 ʂo33 ha33 ʂo33
 ancestors ACCOMP-die such BEN meat clean food clean
 祖先 死 那些 肉 干净 饭 干净
 For the dead ancestors, clean meat, clean food,
 给死去的祖先们敬献干净的肉和干净的饭,
 Muphadaba.35

la33 t^hæ13 t^hu33-qæ33 t^hi13 ʂ13 zu31 ʂ31 = ə31 a33-wɔ33 hī33
 and such DUR-consecrate so REFL both my home home people
 和 那些 敬献 所以 两 我家 家 人
 and such are consecrated, in order to announce, "Our family has birthed
 对他们说, 我们家里出生了

du33 wu33 gɤ31-tʰɤi33 ze33 du33-wɔ33 zu31 Ga13 gɔ33-tsʰu33 la33 tʰæ13
 one CLS be born CSM bless.DEL help illness and such
 一 量词 出生 了 一保佑 帮忙 病痛 和 那些
 a (new) member, help bless (him/her) (so that) illness and such
 一个人, 希望你们能保佑他不会得到

du33 tʰa33 hu33 pi33. tʰi13 nɔ33 nu33 dzɤ13 du33-wɔ33 zu31
 arrive PROH FUT.REM QUOT so 2SG.PRO AGTV good bless.DEL
 得到 别 会 所以 你 好 一保佑
 won't come.” To say, “(Please) carefully bless (him/her)
 病痛和那些。 说请你好好的保佑一下
 Muphadaba.36

gɔ33-tsʰu33 la33 tʰæ13 du33 tʰa33 hu33 pi33.
 illness and such arrive PROH FUT.REM QUOT
 病痛 和 那些 得到 别 会
 (so that) illness and such won't come.”
 病痛和那些不要让他得到。

tʰi13 my33 tʰu33 kʰwɤ33 (ɔ31-zu31) ti33 du33 tʰu33 kʰwɤ33
 so name this CLS (REFL-both) time of birth this CLS
 所以 名字 这 量词 (我两) 出生时辰 这
 So, the name is divined (using) the time of birth
 所以名字这个是把出生的时辰
 Muphadaba.37

la33 tʰæ13 lɔ33-tɕɤ33 lɔ33-tɕɤ33 (lɔ33-tɕɤ33) zɔ33
 and such ACCOMP-divine ACCOMP-divine ACCOMP-divine PERF
 和 那些 算卦 算卦 算卦 了
 and such,
 和那些非常仔细的算卦

a33 wu33 du33 kʰwɤ33 tʰu33 ki33.
 pretty one CLS 3SG.PRO give
 漂亮 一 量词 他 给
 (and) s/he is given a pretty name.
 以后给他一个漂亮的名字。

α31 dzo33 [= α31 dzo33] *pcl.* CMKN.

α31 ts^hε33 [ʔæ31 ts^hε33] *int. pro.* how, 怎么. Ex.: çinami 35.

α31- [ʔα31-] *pf.* appears in question words. Ex.: Tso 144.

α31 p^hu13 [ʔα31 p^hu13] *v.i.* hiccup, 打呃.

α31 su33 yu33 t^hæ33 [ʔα31 si33 yi33 t^hæ33] *expr.* wait, 等一下. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 133.

α31 wə33 [ʔα31 wə33] *n.* home, 家. Ex.: Gemu 27, 31.

α31 wu33 [ʔα31 wu33] *sv.* be good-looking, 好看. Ex.: Gemu 2, Gemu 19.

α31-mə13 [ʔα31-mə13] *n.* grandmother, 老大妈. ETY.: α33- kinship prefix + mə33 ‘elder.’ Ex.: çinami 50.

α31-mu33 [ʔα31-mu33] *n.* older brother or older sister, 姐姐, 哥哥. Ex.: Intro 6.

α31-mu33-ku33 mi33 [ʔα31-mu33-ku33 mi33] *n.* sibling, 姐妹兄弟. Ex.: Intro 6.

α31-ni33 [ʔæ31-ni33] *adv.* yesterday, 昨天. ETY.: α31 ‘last’ + ni33 ‘day.’

α31-pə31 [ʔα31-pə31] *n.* uncle: father’s elder/yngr. brother, 叔叔. Also used to refer to 干爸 (godfather selected on the basis of an auspicious horoscope).

α31-yi33 [ʔæ31-yi33] *adv.* 1. perhaps, maybe, 可能, 也许. 2. is it possible?, 可能吗? ETY.: α31- QW + yi33 ‘can.’ Ex.: çinami 9.

α31-yi33 [ʔæ31-yi33] *adv.* last year, 去年 ETY.: α31 ‘last’ + yi33 ‘year.’

α33 [ʔα33] *prefix.* used with kinship terms for elders, has a denotation of respect. PTB *ʔa.

α33 pa33 tə31 [ʔα33 pa33 tə31] *n.* Apato, supreme god in the Daba pantheon, equivalent to Buddha. Ex.: Tso 47.

α33 pə31 pə31 [ʔα33 pə31 pə31] *interj.* expresses surprise, 语气词 (吃惊). Ex.: Tso 285.

α33 p^hə33 [ʔα33 p^hə33] *adv.* outside, 外面. Ex.: Gemu 31.

α33 tso31 ma33 ni31 [ʔα33 tso31 ma33 ni31] *int. pro.* whatever (emphatic reading), 什么. Ex.: Gemu 2.

α33 tso33 [ʔα33 tso33] *int. pro.* what, 什么. Ex.: Gemu 2, 4, 8, 9.

ɑ33 tse33 zo31 [ʔæ33 tse33 zo31] *int.*
pro. why, 为什么.

ɑ33-ɕʌ33 [ʔə33-ɕə33] *n.* girlfriend, 女朋友. This term is impolite and only used among young men in guy talk. ETY.: ɑ33- kinship prefix + ɕə13 ‘to try, to sample.’

ɑ33-da33 [ʔɑ33-da33] *n.* father, 父亲.
ETY.: ɑ33- kinship prefix + da33.

ɑ33-dʏ33 [ʔə33-dʏ33] *n.* friend (generic term), 朋友.

ɑ33-ki31 [ʔɛ33-ki31] isn’t that right?, 是不是? ETY.: ɑ31 QM + ki31. Note: this is a tag question; the speaker is not eliciting a response with this expression. Ex.: Tso 238.

ɑ33-la31 [ʔɑ33-la31] *n.* great great grandparents, 曾祖母, 曾祖爷爷. ETY.: ɑ33- kinship prefix + la31.

ɑ33-ma33 [ʔɑ33-ma33] *n.* mother, aunt (elder/yngr. sister of mother or father). 妈妈, 姑妈, 姨妈, 阿姨. Variants: æ33-mi33, ɛ33-mi33 (showing vowel harmony). PTB *ma.

ɑ33-mi33 [ʔæ33-mi33] *n.* mother (also elder/yngr. sister of mother or father), 母亲 (也妈妈, 姑妈, 姨妈, 阿姨) Variant: ɑ33-ma33. Ex.: Gemu 25.

ɑ33-mi33-du13 [ʔɑ33-mi33-dʒi13] *n.* mother’s older sister, 大妈妈, 妈妈/爸爸的大姐. ETY.: ɑ33-mi33 ‘mother’ + dʒi55 ‘big.’

ɑ33-mi33-tɕi31 [ʔɑ33-mi33-tɕi31] *n.* mother’s younger sister, 小妈妈, 妈妈或爸爸最小的妹妹, 爸爸或妈妈没有结婚的女的朋友. ETY.: ɑ33-mi33 ‘mother’ + tɕi13 ‘small.’ Variant: ɛ33-tɕi31 (simplified form showing vowel harmony).

ɑ33-mu31 [ʔæ33-ɱu31] *n.* elder brother / sister or older cousin (male/female), 姐姐, 哥哥, 表姐, 表哥. ETY.: kinship prefix ɑ33- + mu31.

ɑ33-pʰɥ33 [ʔɑ33-pʰɥ33] *n.* grandfather (father of mother or father), 爷爷. ETY.: kinship prefix ɑ33- + pʰɥ33. Ex.: ɕinami 61.

ɑ33-pʰɥ33-ɑ33-zu33
[ʔɑ33-pʰɥ33-ʔə33-zu33] *n.* ancestors, 祖先. ETY.: Elaborate expression: ɑ33-pʰɥ33 ‘grandfather’ + ɑ33-zu33 ‘grandmother.’ Ex.: ɕinami 61.

ɑ33-su33 [ʔə33-si33] *n.* great grandmother / great grandfather, 祖母, 祖爷.

ɑ33-tɕi31 [ʔɛ33-tɕi31] *n.* aunt, father or mother’s younger sister 小妈妈, 阿姨

ETY.: a33- kinship prefix + tɕi31 ‘small.’ This is a simplified form of a33-mi33-tɕi31 and shows vowel harmony.

a33-wu33 [ʔə33-ɣ33] *n.* uncle, elder/yngr. brother of mother or father, 舅舅. ETY.: a33- kinship prefix + wu33. PTB *wa ‘man, husband.’

a33-yi55-ɕe31 [ʔa33-yi55-ɕe31] *adv.* long, long ago, 很久以前. ETY.: a31 ‘last’ + yi33 ‘year’ + ɕe33. Ex.: Gemu 1.

a33-zu33 [ʔə33-zɿ33] *n.* grandmother, 奶奶, 外婆. ETY.: a33- kinship prefix + zu33 ‘grandmother,’ shows vowel harmony.

a33-zu33-mə31 [ʔə33-zɿ33-mə31] *n.* elder (female), 老奶奶. ETY.: a33- kinship prefix + zu33 ‘grandmother’ + mə31 ‘elder.’

æ13 [ʔæ13] *n.* chicken, fowl (general term), 鸡. Ex.: Gemu 36. PTB *k-rak / PLB *k-rakH.

æ31 [ʔæ31] *n.* *suffix.* indicates plural (used with people only), 们. Ex.: Gemu 10.

æ̃31 [ʔæ̃31] *sv.* be stuck, 卡住. Ex.: ɕinami 24.

æ̃31 ɣwə13 [ʔæ̃31 ɣwə13] *n.* (chicken) egg, 鸡蛋. ETY.: æ̃13 ‘chicken’ + ɣwə13 ‘egg.’ PTB *ʔu / PLB *ʔu3.

æ̃31 kʰu33 tsʰi31 [ʔæ̃31 kʰi33 tsʰɿ31] *n.* pinky finger, 小指.

æ31 ɰi33 [ʔæ31 ɰi33] *adv.* a little while, 一会儿. Ex.: ɕinami 51.

æ31 mi33 [ʔæ31 mi33] *interj.* expresses a sudden realization, 语气词. Ex.: Tso 30.

æ31 ɕæ33 [ʔæ31 ɕæ33] ancient, 古代的.

æ̃31 ɕwæ33 [ʔæ̃31 ɕwæ33] *n.* capon, rooster, 公鸡 (阉割的).

æ̃31 ɕwæ33 tʰɿ33 tə33 [ʔæ̃31 ɕwæ33 tʰɿ33 tə33] *n.* comb (of rooster), 鸡冠. ETY.: æ̃31 ɕwæ33 ‘rooster’ + tʰɿ33 tə33.

æ̃31 tsʰe33 tʰa33 [ʔæ̃31 tsʰe33 tʰa33] *n.* rooster (male fowl), 公鸡.

æ̃31-ɣwə13-ɣwə33 [ʔæ̃31-ɣwə13-ɣwə33] *v.* to lay an egg, 下蛋. ETY.: æ̃31-ɣwə13 ‘chicken egg’ + ɣwə33 ‘lay.’

æ̃31-ɣwə13 mə33-ɣwə33 [ʔæ̃31-ɣwə13 mə33-ɣwə33] *v.* hasn’t laid an egg, 没下蛋.

ǎ31-ɣwɔ13-pu33 [ʔǎ31-ɣwɔ13-pu33] *v.* to sit on an egg, 孵小鸡.

ǎ31-ɣwɔ13-wu55 **ku31**
[ʔǎ31-ɣwɔ13-wu55 ku31] *n.* eggshell, 蛋壳. ETY.: ǎ31-ɣwɔ13 ‘chicken egg’ + wu31 ku13 ‘skin.’

ǎ31-mi33 [ʔǎ31-mi33] *n.* hen, 母鸡. ETY.: ǎ13 ‘chicken’ + -mi33 female suffix.

ǎ31-phæ31 [ʔǎ31-phæ31] *n.* cliff; hill, 悬崖. ETY.: N-CLS compound of ǎ13 ‘cliff’ + phæ13 CLS. Ex.: Gemu 47.

ǎ31-qʰɣ33 [ʔǎ31-qʰɣ33] *n.* cave, hole (in rock), 山洞 (石头). Ex.: çinami 21. PTB *guy > < PTB *kuŋ / PLB *guy2 > < PLB *kuŋ2.

ǎ31-ʂe31 [ʔǎ31-ʂe31] *n.* chicken meat, 鸡肉. ETY.: ǎ13 ‘chicken’ + ʂe33 ‘meat.’

ǎ31-tçi13 [ʔǎ31-tçi13] *n.* chick, 小鸡. ETY.: ǎ13 ‘chicken’ + tçi13 ‘small.’ Ex.: Tso 248.

ǎ31-tsu33-zɔ31 [ʔǎ31-tsi33-zɔ31] *n.* very young baby chick, 很小的鸡. ETY.: ǎ13 ‘chicken’ + tsi33 + -zɔ33 -DIM.

ǎ31-ty33 [ʔǎ31-ty33] *n.* the stone tip of a mountain, 石头山. ETY.: ǎ13 ‘cliff’ + ty33 CLS.

ǎ31-twɣ33 [ʔǎ31-twɣ33] rooster’s crow, 鸡叫. ETY.: ǎ13 ‘chicken’ + twɣ33 ‘call.’ Ex.: Tso 151.

ǎ31-wɔ33 [ʔǎ31-wɔ33] *n.* cliff, 悬崖. ETY.: ǎ13 ‘cliff’ + wɔ33 ‘above.’ Ex.: Tso 70.

ǎ33 [ʔǎ33] *n.* 1. copper; 2. brass; 铜, 黄铜. The same term is used for both metals.

ǎ33 qæ31 [ʔǎ33 qæ31] *n.* lorikeet, parakeet, mynah, 青绿色小鹦鹉, 长尾小鹦鹉, 八哥.

æ33 wɔ31 [ʔæ33 wɔ31] *n.* testicle, 睾丸.

ǎ33-ʂæ31 [ʔǎ33-ʂæ31] *n.* stone mountain, 石头山. ETY.: ǎ13 ‘cliff’ + ʂæ33 ‘mountain.’ Ex.: Tso 69.

ba33 [ba33] *v.t.* to open (s.t.), 扒开. Ex.: Tso 50. PTB *pwan / PLB *pwan3.

bæ13 [bæ13] *v.i.* to run, 跑. Ex.: çinami 40.

bæ13 [bæ13] *s.v.* to be filled with pus, 脓. PTB *blen / PLB *m-blen1.

bæ13 bæ33 [bæ13 bæ33] *s.v.* to itch / be itchy, 发痒 / 发痒的.

bæ13-p^hɔ13 [bæ13-p^hɔ13] *v.t.* to plant (s.t.), 播种. ETY.: bæ13 ‘crops’ + p^hɔ13 ‘to plant.’ Ex.: Tso 178.

bæ31 bæ13 [bæ31 bæ13] *v.i.* runs (refers to water), 奔跑.

bæ31 bæ13 [bæ31 bæ13] *n.* flower, 花. Ex.: Gemu 7, 9. PTB *ba:r.

bæ31 bæ13-dza33 pɣ33 [bæ31 bæ13-dza33 pə33] *n.* pollen, 花粉. ETY.: bæ31 bæ13 ‘flower’ + dza33 pɣ33.

bæ31 bæ13-ts^hu33 ts^hu31 [bæ31 bæ13-ts^hi33 ts^hi31] *n.* petal, 花瓣. ETY.: bæ31 bæ13 ‘flower’ + ts^hu31 ts^hu13 ‘leaf.’

bæ31 bæ13-wɔ33 lɣ31 [bæ31 bæ13-wɔ33 lɣ31] *n.* bud of a flower, 蓓蕾. ETY.: bæ31 bæ13 ‘flower’ + wɔ33 lɣ31 ‘head.’

bæ31 bæ31-bæ55 [bæ31 bæ31-bæ55] *v.* to be in flower, flowering, 开花的. ETY.: bæ31 bæ13 ‘flower’ + bæ55.

bæ31 bæ33 [bæ31 bæ33] *n.* abscess / ulcer / open wound, 脓肿 / 溃疡 / 伤口.

bæ31 bu55 [bæ31 bu55] *n.* baby pig, 小猪.

bæ31 bu55-zɔ31 [bæ31 bu55-zɔ31] *n.* very young baby pig, 很小猪. ETY.: bæ31 bu55 ‘baby pig’ + -zɔ33 -DIM.

bæ31 mi33 [bæ31 mi33] *n.* duck, 鸭子. Ex.: Tso 220.

bæ33 [bæ33] *n.* rope, 绳子. Ex.: Tso 29.

bæ33 hõ31 mi31 [bæ33 hõ31 mi31] *n.* wild goose, 野性的鹅.

bæ33 mi33-ʂe33 [bæ33 mi33-ʂe33] *n.* duck meat, 鸭肉. ETY.: bæ33 mi33 ‘duck’ + ʂe33 ‘meat.’

bæ33 na31 zɔ31 [bæ33 na31 zɔ31] *n.* duck, 鸭子. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 219.

bæ33 [bæ33] *conj.* but; then, 但是; 就. Ex.: Tso 39; Tso 192; Change 14.

bi31 [bi31] *postp.* side; on; 面, 上. Ex.: Gemu 8.

bi31 tɕ^hɔ13 [bi31 tɕ^hɔ13] *n.* facial hair, 罗腮胡.

bi33 [bi33] *s.v.* be shallow; be light, not dark (of a color), 浅.

bi33 mi33 [bi33 mi33] *n.* stomach, 肚子.
Ex.: Change 2.

bi33 mi33-dzi33-ha33 [bi33 mi33-dzɿ33-ha33] *n.* things to eat, 吃的.
ETY.: bi33 mi33 ‘stomach’ + dzi33 ‘eat’ + ha33 ‘rice, food.’ Ex.: Change 2.

bi33 tɕɿ31 [bi33 tɕə31] *n.* navel, 肚脐.
ETY.: bi33 ‘stomach’ (shortened form) + tɕɿ31.

bi33 [bi33] *v.i., p.c.l.* AND (go); future (immediate), 去. Ex.: Gemu 28, 50; çinami 43. PTB *byon.

bi33-gi33 [bi33-gi33] *v.* snowing, ‘snow is falling,’ 下雪. ETY.: bi33 ‘snow’ + gi33 ‘to fall.’

bi33-ni33-ku31 [bi33-ni33-ku31] *v.t.* to want (s.t.), 要.

bi33-wæ33 [bi33-wæ33] *v.* to swell / be swollen, 膨胀. ETY.: bi33 ‘stomach’ + wæ33 ‘swell.’

bi33-zi33 [bi33-zɿ33] *n.* belly / abdomen (external bulge), 腹部. ETY.: bi33 ‘stomach’ + zi33.

bɔ13 [bɔ13] *v.t.* to kiss (s.o.), 吻.

bɔ13 [bɔ13] *n.* pig (generic), 猪. Ex.: çinami 11. PTB *pwak / PLB *wakL.

bɔ31 [bɔ31] *n.* hillside, 山坡. Ex.: Tso 31.

bɔ31 dzu13 [bɔ31 dzu13] *n.* very small *liguo*.

bɔ31 qʰɿ13 [bɔ31 qʰɿ13] *n.* *luosi* (*xiaohailuo*).

bɔ31 si33 pu31 [bɔ31 sz33 ɸi31] *n.* urinary bladder, 膀胱.

bɔ31-dza33 la31 [bɔ31-dza33 la31] *n.* castrated pig, 阉割的猪. ETY.: bɔ13 ‘pig’ + dza33 la31 ‘castrated.’

bɔ31-ɣu33 [bɔ31-ɣi33] *n.* pigskin, 猪皮. ETY.: bɔ13 ‘pig’ + ɣi13 ‘skin.’

bɔ31-gu13 [bɔ31-gu13] *n.* pig trough, 猪槽. ETY.: bɔ13 ‘pig’ + gu33 ‘trough.’ Ex.: çinami 52.

bɔ31-læ33 [bɔ31-læ33] *n.* male pig, 公猪. ETY.: bɔ13 ‘pig’ + læ33.

bɔ31-lu13-hi33 [bɔ31-lu13-hi33] *n.* one who raises pigs. ETY.: bɔ13 ‘pig’ + lu13 ‘feed’ + -hi33 -NOM_{AGT}.

bɔ31-mi33 [bɔ31-mi33] *n.* sow, 母猪. ETY.: bɔ13 ‘pig’ + -mi33 feminine suffix.

bɔ31-p^hu13 [bɔ31-p^hu13] *n.* pig (male), 公猪. ETY.: bɔ13 ‘pig’ + p^hu33 male animal suffix.

bɔ31-ʂɛ33 [bɔ31-ʂɛ33] *n.* pork, 猪肉. ETY.: bɔ13 ‘pig’ + ʂɛ33 ‘meat.’

bɔ31-tʂ^hæ33 [bɔ31-tʂ^hæ33] *n.* Na preserved pork, 猪膘. ETY.: bɔ13 ‘pig’ + tʂ^hæ33.

bɔ31-tu33 [bɔ31-tu33] *n.* wild pig, 猪 (野性的). ETY.: bɔ13 ‘pig’ + tu33 ‘alone.’

bɔ31-zɿ55 [bɔ31-zɿ55] *n.* a very fat pig, ready to be slaughtered, 很胖的猪, 可以杀. ETY.: bɔ13 ‘pig’ + zɿ55.

bɔ33 [bɔ33] *n.* mane (of a horse, lion), 鬃.

bɔ33 k^hu33 [bɔ33 k^hu33] *n.* shell, 贝壳.

bɔ33 t^hɔ33 [bɔ33 t^hɔ33] *n.* clod, 土块.

bɔ33-p^hu31 [bɔ33-p^hu31] *n.* hillside, 山坡. Shamanic. ETY.: bɔ33 ‘mountain face’ + p^hu13 ‘small hillside.’ Ex.: Tso 29.

bu13 [bu13] *v.t.* to roast (s.t.), 烧. Ex.: çinami 27.

bu13 [bu13] *v.i.* to burst out, 爆发. Ex.: çinami 47.

bu33 [bu33] *pcl.* POSS; ASSOC; NRA; 的. Ex.: Gemu 5.

bu31 ʂ33 [bu31 ʂ33] *n.* fly (type of insect), 苍蝇. PTB *bəw / PLB *bəw2.

bu31 lu13 [bu31 lu13] *n.* kidney, 肾.

bu33 [bu33] *s.v.* to be wide, 粗. Ex.: Tso 28.

bu33 nu33 [bu33 nu33] *v.* to smell / to sniff; to be fragrant; to be stinky; 闻, 嗅; 香; 臭. PTB *m/s-nam / PLB *nam1/2/3.

bu33 u13 [bu33 u13] *v.* to steam, 蒸. Ex.: Tso 268.

bu33 u31 [bu33 u31] *n.* steam, 蒸.

bu33 u31-zu13 [bu33 u31-zu13] *n.* liquor (*baijiu*), 白酒. ETY.: bu33 u31 ‘steam’ + zu33 ‘liquor.’

bu33 zu33 q^ha33 na33 [bu33 zu33 q^ha33 na33] *v.* very chaotic, 特别乱.

bu31 [bi31] *v.t.* to sprinkle (s.t.), 撒. Ex.: Tso 172.

bu33 [bi33] *n.* intestines / bowels, 肠.

bɯ33 ts^hu31 (hĩ33) [Bi33 ts^hu31 (hĩ33)]
n. small intestine, 小肠. ETY.: bu33
'intestine' + ts^hu31 'thin' + (-hĩ33)
NOM.

bɯ33-dɯ33-hĩ31 [Bi33-dĩ33-hĩ31] *n.*
large intestine, 大肠. ETY.: bu33
'intestine' + 'di55' 'big' + -hĩ33 NOM.

bɣ33 [bə33] *n.* Prinmi (Pumi), 普米.

ɕi31 [ɕi31] *n.* lake; ocean; 湖, 海. Ex.:
Gemu 45.

ɕi31 [ɕi31] *n.* tree; shrub; 树; 灌木. Ex.:
Tso 178.

ɕi31 dzi13 [ɕi31 dzi13] *n.* fireplace, 火
炭.

ɕi31 mi13 [ɕi31 mi13] *n.* tongue, 舌头.

ɕi31 t^hæ13-zwɣ33 [ɕi31 t^hæ13-zwə33] *v.*
to stutter / stammer, 结结巴巴地说.
ETY.: ɕi31 t^hæ13 + zwɣ33 'speak.'

ɕi31-k^hi13 [ɕi31-k^hi13] lake side, 湖边.
ETY.: ɕi13 'lake' + k^hi33 CIS. Ex.:
ɕinami 56.

ɕi31-tɕi13 [ɕi31-tɕi13] *n.* bran, 糠. ETY.:
tɕi13 'paddy' + tɕi13.

ɕi33 [ɕi33] *v.t.* to look for, 找. Variant
of ɕɛ33.

ɕi33 [ɕi33] *quant.* hundred, 百. Ex.: Tso
186. PTB *b-r-gya.

ɕi33 [ɕi33] *n.* paddy, 水稻. Ex.: Tso 252.

ɕi33 [ɕi33] *n.* rainwater.

ɕi33 ɕi31 [ɕi33 ɕi31] *n.* urine
(childspeak), 尿.

ɕi33 ɕi31-hæ31 [ɕi33 ɕi31-hæ31] *v.* to
urinate (childspeak), 排尿. ETY.: ɕi33
ɕi33 'urine (childspeak)' + hæ13 'to
send out.'

ɕi33 k^hu33 [ɕi33 k^hi33] *n.* gums, 牙床.
ETY.: ɕi33 'tooth' + k^hu33 'root.'

ɕi33 p^hu31 [ɕi33 p^hu31] *v.* to overturn
wasteland, 翻荒地. Ex.: Tso 200.

ɕi33 ɕu31 [ɕi33 ɕi31] *v.i.* to smile, 微笑.
ETY.: ɕi33 'tooth' + ɕu31.

ɕi33-gi13 [ɕi33-gi13] *v.* to rain, 下雨.
ETY.: ɕi33 'rain' + gi13 'fall.'

ɕi33-lu31 [ɕi33-lu31] *n.* wasteland, 荒地.
ETY.: ɕi33 'weed' + lu33 'land.' Ex.:
Tso 29.

ɕi33-lu31 [ɕi33-lu31] *n.* paddy, 水稻.
ETY.: ɕi33 'paddy' + lu33 + 'land.' Ex.:
Tso 255.

ɕi33-na31-mi55 [ɕi33-na31-mi55] *n.* lake; ocean; 湖; 海. ETY.: ɕi13 ‘lake’ + na33 ‘black’ + -mi33 -AUG. Ex.: ɕinami 1.

ɕi33-q^ha13 [ɕi33-q^ha13] *n.* storm, 暴雨. ETY.: ɕi33 ‘rain’ + q^ha33 ‘angry.’

ɕi33-q^ha13-gi33 [ɕi33-q^ha13-gi33] *v.* to be raining very hard, 下暴雨. ETY.: ɕi33 ‘rain’ + q^ha33 ‘angry’ + gi13 ‘fall.’

ɕi33-ɕy13 [ɕi33-ɕy13] *n.* nit, 虱子的幼虫. ETY.: ɕi33 + ɕy13 ‘full.’

ɕi33-t^hɔ33 [ɕi33-t^hɔ33] *n.* tooth, 牙齿. ETY.: ɕi33 ‘tooth’ + t^hɔ33.

ɕi33-t^hɔ33-mə33-zɛ33-hĩ33
[ɕi33-t^hɔ33-mə33-zɛ33-hĩ33] *n.* baby tooth, 乳齿. ETY.: ‘ɕi33-t^hɔ33’ ‘tooth’ + mə33- NEG + zɛ33 ‘exchange’ + -hĩ33 NOM.

ɕi33-t^hɔ33-wu33 wu33 [ɕi33-t^hɔ33-y33 y33] *n.* molar, 磨牙. ETY.: ɕi33-t^hɔ33 ‘tooth’ + wu33 wu33 ‘chew.’

ɕi33-t^hɔ31 t^hɔ13 [ɕi33-t^hɔ31 t^hɔ13] *v.* to rain a few raindrops, 雨滴. Used to refer to rain which is just starting, a drop at a time.

ɕi33-wɔ33 wɔ31 [ɕi33-wə33 wə31] *n.* island, 海上的小岛. Literally, ‘a

mountaintop in the sea. ETY.: ɕi13 ‘lake; sea’ + wɔ33 wɔ31 ‘mountaintop.’

ɕi55 [ɕi55] *n.* wasteland, 荒地. Ex.: Tso 200.

ɕi55 [ɕi55] *cls.* used with nouns that appear in strips or chunks; 量词 (片, 块). Ex.: Tso 198.

ɕi55 mi33 [ɕi55 mi33] *n.* louse; very small; 虱子; 小小的. PTB *s(y)ar / PLB *san1/2.

ɕɔ13 [ɕə13] *v.t.* to try; to taste; 试一下; 品尝. Tso 144.

ɕɔ31 ɕɔ13 [ɕə31 ɕə13] *v.t.* to bully (s.o.), 欺负.

da13 [da13] *v.t.* to cut down, 砍. Variant [dæ13] appears through vowel harmony. Ex.: Tso 137.

da13 [da31] *v.* to sew, weave, 织. Ex.: Tso 237. PTB *(r)ak / PLB *rakL.

da31 [da31] *adv.* only, 只. Ex.: ɕinami 58. PTB *dan > < PTB *day.

da31 tɔ33 [da31 tɔ33] *conj.* but, 但是. Ex.: Gemu 13.

da33 pɔ33 [da33 pə33] *n.* Daba shaman, 达巴.

da33 yi31 [da33 yi31] *n.* mule, 骡子.

dæ31 [dæ31] *postp.* through, 过. Ex.: Gemu 18.

dæ31 p^hu33 [dæ31 p^hu33] *n.* dust, powder, 灰尘. ETY.: dæ13 ‘trash’ + p^hu33.

dæ33 [dæ33] *v.* short, 短的.

di31 [di31] *v.* to follow; drive; 赶. Ex.: Gemu 37; Tso 141.

di33 [di33] *v.* EXIST.P, 有. used with things that are perpendicular to the ground, particularly things that grow or hang (trees, villages, acne, things that stand). Ex.: çinami 3, 31, 34.

-di33 -di33 *n.* *suffix* -NOM_{LOC}; -NOM_{PURP} ETY.: Not a loan from Chinese – the Na initial is voiced while the Chinese initial is voiceless even though it is transcribed in *pinyin* with as a ‘d.’ Ex.: Gemu 5.

di31-k^hu33 [di31-k^hu33] *n.* hunting dog, 打猎用的狗. ETY.: di13 (unknown, but prob. ‘follow’) + k^hu33 ‘dog.’

di33 [di33] *n.* place, 地方.

di33 mæ31 su33 [di33 mæ31 si33] *n.* everywhere, 所有的地. Ex.: Tso 46.

di33-kwə33 [di33-kwə33] *n.* mortal (as opposed to ‘of the heavens’); ETY.: di33 ‘land’ + kwə33 LOC. Ex.: Gemu 26.

di33-mi33 [di33-mi33] *n.* lowlands, the plains, flat area, 低地, 平原. ETY.: di33 ‘land’ + -mi33 -AUG.

dɔ31 [dɔ31] *v.* should; can; 应该; 可以. Ex.: Tso 37.

dɔ31 dʒi33 [dɔ31 dʒi33] *n.* Dorje (personal name), 人的名字.

dɔ31 mɔ33 [dɔ31 mɔ33] *n.* big stump, 树桩 (大的).

dɔ33 bæ33 [dɔ33 bæ33] *n.* lap, 大腿肚.

dɔ33 pæ33 [dɔ33 pæ33] *n.* calf (body part), 腓.

du33 qæ33 [du33 qæ33] *n.* wing (of bird), 翼 (鸟的). PTB *duŋ / PLB duŋ1.

du55 ɕi33 [du55 ɕi33] *n.* porcupine, 豪猪.

du31 [dɕi31] *dem. pro.* there, 那边. Ex.: Tso 238.

du31 bi33 [dɕi31 bi33] that side, 那边. Used when there is a dividing line, such as a river, separating the two sides.

du31 ɕi33 [dʑi31 ɕi33] *quant.* one hundred, 一百.

du31 du31 tɛ33 [dʑi31 dʑi31 tɛ33] *quant.* a hand span, 一巴掌. ETY.: du33 ‘one’ + du33 ‘one’ + tɛ33.

du31 ʔɜ33 mi33 [dʑi31 ʔɜ33 mi33] *n.* wild person of legends, a bit like a Yeti, but not linked to snow, 野人.

du31 so33-mə33-dzɔ33 [dʑi31 so33-mə33-dzɔ33] *n.* didn’t have any, 一样都没有. ETY.: du33 so33 ‘at all’ + mə33- NEG + dzɔ33 EXIST. Ex.: Gemu 36.

du33 [dʑi33] *v.* obtain, 得. Ex.: Tso 101.

du33 [dʑi33] *quant.* one, 一. Ex.: Gemu 1. PTB *dik / PLB *ʔ-dikL.

du33 bæ33 [dʑi33 bæ33] the same, 一样. Ex.: Change 1.

du33 dzu31 kʰɤ31 [dʑi33 dzi31 kʰə31] *adv.* a while, 一会儿. Ex.: Gemu 6.

du33 hu33 [dʑi33 hə33] *quant.* a little, 一点. Ex.: Tso 191.

du33 ku33 la31 lu33 [dʑi33 ku33 la31 [u33] *v.* only seems. Ex.: Tso 58.

du33 ɦi31 [dʑi33 ɦi31] *quant.* a cord / fathom (outstretched arms), 臂长. PTB *s-lam / PLB *s-lam1/2.

du33 lu31 tʰu13 [dʑi33 [u31 tʰi13] *quant.* a cubit (elbow to fingers), 腕尺. ETY.: ‘du33’ ‘one’ + lu31 tʰu13 ‘forearm length.’

du33 mə31 [dʑi33 mə31] *quant.* ten thousand, 一万.

du33 pi31 [dʑi33 pi31] *quant.* some, 一些. Ex.: Tso 13.

du33 so33 [dʑi33 so33] *adv.* at all, 一样. Ex.: Change 2.

du33 ta13; du33 ta31 [dʑi33 ta13]; [dʑi33 ta31] *quant.* all, 全部. Ex.: Gemu 10, 11; ɕinami 2.

du33 tu33 [dʑi33 tu33] *quant.* one thousand, 一千. PTB *s-tonj.

du33 wɔ31 [dʑi33 wɔ31] a type, 一种. Ex.: Tso 29.

du33-hu31-du33 [dʑi33-hə31-dʑi33] *v.* to become bigger and bigger, 越来越大. ETY.: du55 ‘big’ + hu33 ‘go’ + du55 ‘big.’ Ex.: ɕinami 51.

du33-tɕɔ31 [dʑi33-tɕɔ31] *adv.* that side, 那边. ETY.: du31 ‘that’ + tɕɔ33 ‘side.’

duw55 [d̥i55] *s.v.* to be big, 大. Ex.: Tso 123.

dwæ13 [d̥wæ13] *v.* to fear, 怕. Ex.: Change 11.

dwæ33 mi33 [d̥wæ33 mi33] *n.* small reservoir, 小水库.

dwɤ33 mi33 [d̥wə33 mi33] *n.* fox, 狐狸.

dza31 dza13 [d̥za31 d̥za13] *s.v.* to tremble / shiver / shudder, 发抖 / 哆嗦.

dza33 [d̥za33] *v.* to be base, low quality, bad, 差. Ex.: çinami 8.

dza33-hæ31-t^hu33 [d̥za33-hæ31-t^hu33] morning wind found on a lake, indicates that weather is changing, 早晨的风, 在湖里. ETY.: dza33 ‘bad’ + hæ33 ‘wind’ + t^hu33 ‘to blow.’

dze13 [d̥ze13] *n.* black pepper, 花椒.

dze31-mi33 [d̥ze31-mi33] *n.* bee, 蜜蜂. ETY.: dze33 ‘flying’ + -mi33 -AUG.

dze31-mi33-dze33 [d̥ze31-mi33-dze33] *n.* honey, 蜂蜜. ETY.: dze33-mi33 ‘bee’ + dze33 ‘sugar.’

dze31-mi33-k^hu33 [d̥ze31-mi33-k^hu33] *n.* beehive, 蜂房. ETY.: dze33-mi33 ‘bee’ + k^hu55 ‘nest.’

dze31-mi33-q^hæ33 [d̥ze31-mi33-q^hæ33] *n.* beeswax, 蜂蜡. ETY.: dze33-mi33 ‘bee’ + q^hæ33 ‘excrement.’

dze33 [d̥ze33] *n.* sugar, 糖.

dze33 pɤ31 [d̥ze33 pə31] *n.* swallow (type of bird), 燕子.

dze55 [d̥ze55] *v.* to fly, 飞. Ex.: Tso 13. PTB *byam / PLB *byam1.

dzi33 [d̥zɿ33] *v.* to eat, 吃. Ex.: Tso 221. PTB *dzya / PLB *dža2.

dzi33-di33 [d̥zɿ33-di33] *n.* things to eat, 吃的. ETY.: dzi33 ‘to eat’ + -di33 NOM_{PURP}. Ex.: çinami 17.

dzɯ31 [d̥zi31] *v.* sit; live, 坐; 住. Ex.: çinami 3; Tso 76. PTB *m-d/tu:ŋ/k.

dzɯ33 [d̥zi33] *cls.* CLS.pair, 量词 (一对). PTB *dzum > < PTB *tsum / PLB *dzum3.

dzɯ33 [d̥zi33] *cls.* CLS.tree, 量词 (棵). Ex.: Tso 179.

dzɤ13 [d̥zə13] *adv.* side, 边, 面.

dzã13 [d̥zã13] *n.* ginger, 姜 ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

dzæ13 [dzæ13] *adv.* often, 经常. Ex.: Tso 117.

dzæ13 [dzæ13] *quant.* lots, 很多. ETY.: abbreviated form of dzæ33 pi13 Ex.: Tso 58.

dzæ31-q^hæ33 [dzæ31-q^hæ33] *n.* clay, 粘土. ETY.: dzæ31 + q^hæ33 ‘excrement.’

dzi13 [dzi13] *quant.* many, 许多的.

dzi31 [dzi31] *n.* circle, 圆周. Ex.: Gemu 14.

dzi31-ki33 [dzi31-ki33] *n.* belt, 腰带. ETY.: dzi31 ‘circle’ + ki33 ‘to wear.’ Ex.: Gemu 14.

dzi31 ku33 [dzi31 ku33] *n.* hunchback, 驼背.

dzi31-p^hæ13 [dzi31-p^hæ13] *n.* ice, 冰, 冰水. ETY.: N + CLS compound: dzi33 ‘water’ + p^hæ13 CLS.

dzi31 su33-mu33 k^hu33 [dzi31 si33-mu33 k^hu33] *n.* fog, 雾. ETY.: dzi33 su33 ‘fog’ + mu33 k^hu33 ‘smoke.’

dzi31 su33-p^hu33 [dzi31 si33-p^hu33] *n.* fog, 雾. ETY.: dzi31 su33 ‘fog’ + p^hu33 ‘white.’

dzi31-wə13 [dzi31-wə13] *n.* forest; in the mountains 森林; 山上. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + wə33 ‘above.’

dzi33 [dzi33] *n.* water, 水. Ex.: cinami 53.

dzi33 [dzi33] *n.* urine, 尿. PTB *ts(y)i > < PTB *zəy / PLB *m-(d)zyəy2.

dzi33-bæ13 [dzi33-bæ13] *v.* to flow, 流动. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + bæ13 ‘run.’

dzi33 bæ33 q^hɣ33 [dzi33 bæ33 q^hɣ33] *n.* tiny puddle, 特别小的水坑. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + bæ33 q^hɣ33 ‘puddle.’

dzi33-du33 [dzi33-du33] *n.* small amount of floodwater, 水灾. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + du33.

dzi33-du33-bu31 [dzi33-du33-bu31] *v.* to flood, 洪水爆发. ETY.: dzi33-du33 ‘floodwater’ + bu31 ‘to erupt.’

dzi33-hæ31 [dzi33-hæ31] *v.* to urinate, 排尿. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + hæ31 ‘to send out.’

dzi33-kwə33-yi33 [dzi33-kwə33-yi33] *n.* mythical type of cow which lives in the water and has scales like a fish. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + kwə33 LOC + yi33 ‘cow.’

dzi33-k^hwɿ13-du33-kɿ13

[dzi33-k^hwə13-dʒi33-kə13] *n.* icicle, 冰柱. ETY.: dzi33-k^hwɿ13 ‘ice’ + du33 ‘one’ + kɿ13 CLS.

dzi33-lə33-næ13 [dzi33-lə33-ŋæ13] *v.* to be flooded, 淹水. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + lə33- ACCOMP + næ13 ‘submerge.’

dzi33 ly33 [dzi33 [y33] *n.* sorghum, 高粱.

dzi33 ʎu33 [dzi33 ʎu33] *n.* warm water, 暖和水.

dzi33-mi33 [dzi33-mi33] *n.* large river, 江. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + -mi33 -AUG.

dzi33 mi33 [dzi33 mi33] *n.* water buffalo, 水牛.

dzi33-mi33-t^hu33-tsu33

[dzi33-mi33-t^hi33-tsu33] *n.* rapids. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + -mi33 -AUG + t^hu33 DUR- + tsu33 ‘to be vertical.’

dzi33-na31-hwə33 ʒ33

[dzi33-na31-hwə33 ʒ33] *n.* whirlpool, 漩涡. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + na33 ‘black’ + hwə33 ʒ33 ‘whirlpool.’

dzi33-pu31 [dzi33-ɸu31] *n.* water barrel, 水桶. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + pu13 ‘barrel.’ Ex.: Tso 112.

dzi33-pɿ33 lə33 [dzi33-pə33 lə33] *n.* small puddle, 小水坑. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + pɿ33 lə33 ‘puddle.’

dzi33-q^hæ13 [dzi33-q^hæ13] *n.* cold water, 冷水. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + q^hæ33 ‘cold.’

dzi33-q^hɿ13 [dzi33-q^hɿ13] *n.* ice, 冰. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + q^hɿ13.

dzi33-q^hɿ13-du33-k^hu31-du33-k^hu31
[dzi33-q^hɿ13-dʒi33-k^hi31-di33-k^hi31] *n.* icicles (many), 垂冰 (很多). ETY.: dzi33-q^hɿ13 ‘ice’ + du33 ‘one’ + k^hu31 CLS + du33 ‘one’ + k^hu31 CLS.

dzi33-q^hɿ13-twæ33 [dzi33-q^hɿ13-[wæ33] *v.* to freeze, 结冰. ETY.: dzi33-q^hɿ13 ‘ice’ + twæ13 ‘become.’

dzi33-q^hɿ33 [dzi33-q^hɿ33] *n.* a well, a spring of water; 井, 泉水洞. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + q^hɿ33 ‘hole.’ Note: springs are sacred so one must kowtow to them. Ex.: Tso 108.

dzi33-sə31-p^hu33 [dzi33-sə31-ɸ^hi33] *n.* waterfall, 瀑布. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + sə31 + p^hu33.

dzi33-ʂwæ13 [dzi33-ʂwæ13] *n.* dew, 露. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + ʂwæ13. PTB *dzi / PLB *ʔ-dzi2.

dzi33-tɔ31 [dzi33-tɔ31] *n.* floodwater, 洪水. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + tɔ33 CLS. Ex.: çinami 47.

dzi33-tu33 [dzi33-tu33] *n.* earthworm, 蚯蚓. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + tu33.

dzi33-twæ33 [dzi33-twæ33] *n.* puddle, 水坑. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + twæ33 ‘puddle.’

dzi33-ts^hi13 [dzi33-ts^hi13] *n.* boiled water, hot water; 开水; 热水. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + ts^hi13 ‘hot.’

dzi33 wɔ13 yi33 [dzi33 wɔ13 yi33] *n.* wild cattle, 野性的牛.

dzi33-wɔ31 [dzi33-wɔ31] *n.* peach, 桃子. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + wɔ31.

dzi33-wɔ13 [dzi33-wɔ13] *n.* forest, in the mountains, 树林里, 山上里. ETY.: dzi33 ‘water’ + wɔ33 ‘mountain.’ Ex.: Tso 12.

dzi33 yɔ33 [dzi33 yɔ33] *quant.* many, 很多. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 140.

dzo31 [dzo31] *conj.* ADVERS (but; then), 但是; 就. Ex.: çinami 11, 46; Gemu 26.

dzo33 [dzo33] *v., pcl.* EXIST; PROG; TOP; 有; 正在. Ex.: Gemu 1, 3, 4, 17, 18. PTB *m-dzyaŋ ‘be there.’

dzy31 [dzə31] *v.t.* to overturn, 倒. Ex.: Tso 128.

dzy31 [dzə31] *s.v.* to be good, 好. Ex.: Gemu 11, 16.

dzy31-huu33-dzy55 [dzə31-hə33-dzə55] *v.* to become better and better, 越来越好. ETY.: dzy13 ‘good’ + huu33 ‘go’ + dzy13 ‘good.’ Ex.: çinami 34.

dzy31 kə33 [dzə31 kə33] *n.* Indonesia.

dzy31-k^hwɔ33 [dzə31-k^hwə33] very long; very much; 好长; 很多. ETY.: dzy13 ‘good’ + k^hwɔ33 CLS.strip, chunk (一片, 一块儿).

dzy31 pu33 [dzə31 pu33] *n.* a game, 玩耍.

dzy31-zwæ13 [dzə31-zwæ13] *s.v.* to be the best, 最好的. ETY.: dzy13 ‘good’ + zwæ13 INTS.

dzy33 [dzə33] *n.* staircase, 楼梯.

dzy33 k^hwɔ33 [dzə33 k^hwə33] *n.* a cold, 感冒.

dzy33-pr33 [dzə33-pə33] *adv.* very good, 特别好. ETY.: dzy13 ‘good’ + pr33. Ex.: Change 7.

dzæ31 pi13 [dzæ31 pi13] *quant.* lots, 很多. Ex.: çinami 3, 6.

dzæ33 [dzæ33] *v.* to ride, 起. Ex.: Gemu 35. PTB *dzyi > < PTB *gyi.

dzæ33 [dzæ33] *cls.* used with periods of time; 量词: 段 (时间). Ex.: çinami 49.

dzɛ33 [dzɛ33] *n.* money, 钱. Ex.: çinami 6, 7.

dzɛ33-wɿ33 [dzɛ33-wɿ33] *n.* wealth, 财富. ETY.: dzɛ33 ‘money’ + wɿ33 CLS.stack (一堆). Ex.: çinami 42.

dzɯ33 [dzɯ33] *n.* close friend, 好的朋友.

dzɯ33 [dzɯ33] *v.t.* to burn, 燃. Ex.: Tso 194.

dzɿ33 [dzɿ33] *v.* horrible, hated, 讨厌, 可恶, 厌恶. Note: sometimes used jokingly; can be used if a dog, cat, cow, or horse is being very disobedient.

dzɿ31 [dzɿ31] *v.* to lose, 亏, 损失. Note: Reduplicated, this form means ‘to tremble’;

dzɿ31 dzɿ13 [dzɿ31 dzɿ13] *v.i.* to tremble, 震动. Ex.: Tso 174.

dzɿ33 [dzɿ33] *v.t.* grab, 抓. Ex.: çinami 54.

dzɿwæ31 [dzɿwæ31] *v.i.* to return, 回. Note: differs from t^hu33 in that it indicates returning surprisingly quickly.

dzɿwæ33 [dzɿwæ33] *n.* hoe, 锄头. Ex.: Tso 201.

dzɿwæ33 mi33 [dzɿwæ33 mi33] *n.* sparrow, 麻雀. PTB *m-tsa / PLB *m-dzya1.

ɶ33 zɯ31 [ʔɶ33 zɯ31] *s.v.* to be old (used with things), 旧的.

ɶ31 [ʔɶ31] *n.* family, 家. Ex.: Gemu 25.

ɶ33 [ʔɶ33] *v.* to wash (of a person), 洗澡.

ɶ33-q^hɿ33 [ʔɶ33-q^hɿ33] *n.* hot springs, 温泉. ETY.: ɶ33 + q^hɿ33 ‘hole.’

ɛ33 k^hu31 [ʔɛ33 k^hi31] *n.* turnip, 圆根. Ex.: Tso 257.

ɛ33-t^hi31-la31 [ʔɛ33-t^hi31-la31] *v.* to sneeze, 打喷嚏. ETY.: ɛ33 + t^hi31 + la13 ‘hit (light verb).’

fa33 tɕ^hɛ31 [fa33 tɕ^hɛ31] *n.* tomato, 番茄. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

fu13 [fu13] *v.* to fan out, 扇出.

fu33 fu31 [fu33 fu31] *v.* to court; 恋爱.
Ex.: Gemu 51.

fu33 fu31-sæ31 sæ31 [fu33 fu31-sæ31 sæ31] *s.v.* to be very happy, 很开心的.
ETY.: fu33 fu31 ‘to be happy’ + sæ31 sæ31 ‘to be happy.’

fu55 / 33 [fu55 / 33] *v.* to like; to be happy; 喜欢, 快乐的, 开心的. Ex.: Gemu 10, 13, 21.

gi31 zi33 [gi31 zɹ33] *n.* younger brother or younger male cousin, 弟弟, 表弟.

gi33 [gi33] *v.i.* to fall, 下. Ex.: Tso 168.

gi33 [gi33] *n.* bear, 熊. Note: Abbreviated form of gi33-na33-mi33.

gi33 [gi33] *postp.* after, 后来. Ex.: Gemu 20.

gi33-na55-mi33 [gi33-na55-mi33] *n.* black bear, 黑熊. ETY.: gi33 bear + na33 black + -mi33 -AUG. Ex.: Tso 73.

gɔ33 [gɔ33] *v.i.* to hurt, 痛. Ex.: Gemu 42.

gu13 [gu13] *n.* trough; (weaving) shuttle, 槽. Ex.: çinami 51; Tso 238.

gu31 [gu31] *v.t.* to fix (s.t.), 修. Ex.: Change 7.

gu33 [gu33] *v.* good (used to refer to people).

gu33 du33 [gu33 dɹ33] *n.* back (body part), 背.

gu33 mi33 [gu33 mi33] *n.* younger sister or younger female cousin, 妹妹, 表妹.

gu33-p^hæ13 [gu33-p^hæ13] *n.* wooden tile, 木头的瓦片. ETY.: N-CLS compound of gu33 + p^hæ13 CLS.

gy31-zu31 [gy31-zu31] nine directions, 九方向. ETY.: gy33 ‘nine’ + zu33 ‘direction.’ Ex.: Tso 195.

gy33 [gy33] *quant.* nine, 九. Ex.: Tso 50. PTB *gəw / PLB *gəw2.

gu13 [gi13] *v.* to be true, real, 真的.

gu13 [gi13] *v.* to carry on one’s shoulder, 扛. Ex.: Tso 203.

gu13 [gi13] *v.* to test; to coerce; 考验; 逼迫. Ex.: Tso 156; Tso 145.

gu31 [gi31] up, above, 上面的. Ex.: çinami 58.

gu31-bi33 [gi31-bi33] upper side, 上边.
ETY.: gu31 ‘up, above’ + bi33 ‘side.’

gu31-ku33 [gi31-ku33] *v.* to rise up, to flourish; 兴旺. ETY.: gu31 ‘up, above’ + ku33 ‘good.’

gu31-lɔ13 [gi31-lɔ13] *n.* branch, bough; twig; 枝; 小枝. ETY.: gu33 CLS.row + ɔ13.

gu31-phɪ13 [gi31-phɪ13] *v.* to vomit, 呕吐. ETY.: gu31 ‘up, above’ + phɪ13 ‘to vomit.’

gu31-tɿ33 [gi31-tɿ33] *v.i.* to stand up; to wake up; 起来; 起床. ETY.: gu31 ‘up, above’ + tɿ33 ‘to get up.’ Ex.: Gemu 36.

gu31-tse13 [gi31-tse13] *v.i.* to float up, 漂起来. ETY.: gu31 ‘up, above’ + tse13 ‘to float.’ Ex.: Tso 35.

gu31-tɕɔ33 [gi31-tɕɔ33] *adv.* uphill, upwards, 上面, 上边. ETY.: gu31 ‘up, above’ + tɕɔ33 ‘side.’ Ex.: Gemu 35.

gu31-yi13 [gi31-yi13] *adv.* really, possibly, 真的, 可能的. ETY.: gu33 ‘real’ + yi13 ‘can.’

gu33 dzɿ13 [gi33 dzɿ13] *n.* family name, 姓名 (上边). ETY.: gu31 ‘up, above’ + dzɿ13 ‘side’ -- refers to the

position of the family’s home in the village. Ex.: Intro 1.

gu55 [gə55] side, 边, 面. Ex.: Tso 9.

gwɿ13 [gwə13] *v.i.* to sing songs, 唱歌. Ex.: Gemu 23, 33. PTB *s-ga.

gwɿ31 gwɿ13 [gwə31 gwə13] *v.* to roam, 闲逛.

ga13 [Ga13] *v.* to help, 帮忙. Ex.: çinami 10. PTB *ga / PLB *m-ga3.

ga31 [Ga31] cover, 盖. Ex.: Tso 123.

ga31 ga13 [Ga31 Ga13] *v.* to give help, 给帮忙. Ex.: çinami 10.

ga33 [Ga33] *postp.* COM (with), 跟. Ex.: Gemu 26.

ga33 [Ga33] *n.* crotch / fork of legs, 跨.

ga33 ɬa33 [Ga33 ɬa33] *n.* god; Buddha; 神; 佛. Ex.: Gemu 18. PTB *m-hla’god, beautiful’ / PLB *hla3.

gwɿ31 / 33 [Gwə31 / 33] *v.* to grow, 长. Ex.: çinami 29, 39.

ya31 mi33 [ka31 mi33] *v.* to thank, 谢谢. Ex.: Tso 22.

ɣa33 [kɑ33] *v.* to be good, 好. Ex.: Tso 248.

ɣa33 ʒ33 [kɑ33 ʔʒ33] *v.* to be embarrassed, 不好意思. Ex.: Tso 191.

ɣa33-lu31 [kɑ33-lu31] *n.* neck, 脖子. ETY.: ɣa33 ‘neck’ + lu31. Variant: ɣæ33. Ex.: Gemu 43.

ɣa33 pu33 [kɑ33 ɸu33] *n.* front of the body, chest (body part), 胸.

ɣa33 pu33-h533 [kɑ33 ɸu33-h533] *n.* chest hair, 胸毛. ETY.: ɣa33 pu33 ‘chest’ + h533 ‘fur.’

ɣa33 pu33-kwɔ33 lɔ31 [kɑ33 ɸu33-kwɔ33 lɔ31] *n.* chest (body part), 胸腔. ETY.: ɣa33 pu33 ‘chest’ + kwɔ33 lɔ31 INESS.

ɣæ13 [kæ13] *n.* flatland, 平地. Ex.: Tso 254.

ɣæ13 [kæ13] *n.* seed, stone, pit, 种子. Ex.: Tso 213. Perhaps from PTB *rak.

ɣæ31-mi33 [kæ31-mi33] *n.* very long knife, 长刀. ETY.: ɣæ31 + -mi33 -AUG.

ɣæ31-zi13 [kæ31-zi13] *v.* to sprout, 萌芽. ETY.: ɣæ13 ‘seed, stone, pit’ + zi13 ‘to grow.’

ɣæ33 [kæ33] *s.v.* to be wealthy, 富裕. Ex.: ɕinami 5.

ɣæ33 bu33-533 [kæ33 bu33-533] *n.* breastbone / sternum, 胸骨. ETY.: ɣæ33 pu33 ‘chest’ + 533 ‘bone.’

ɣæ33 pi13 [kæ33 pi13] *n.* scrotum, 阴囊.

ɣæ33 ta31 [kæ33 ta31] *n.* adam’s apple / larynx, 喉结 / 喉.

ɣæ33 tɥ33 [kæ33 tɥ33] *n.* nape of neck, 项.

ɣɥ33-gu33 [ɣɥ33-gu33] *n.* shuttle for weaving hemp cloth, 麻布槽. ETY.: ɣɥ33 ‘hemp cloth’ + gu33 ‘shuttle.’ Ex.: Tso 240.

ɣwi13 [ɣi13] *n.* hide / leather (dried animal skin), 皮革. Ex.: Tso 170. PTB *rəy / PLB *m-k-rəy1.

ha31 [ha31] *v.* to live / to inhabit, 住. Ex.: Tso 219.

ha31 tʂ^hu33 pɤ33 [ha31 tʂ^hu33 pə33] *n.* husband, 丈夫. PTB *pwa.

ha33 [ha33] *adv.* night, 夜. Ex.: Tso 168. PTB *s-r(y)ak.

ha33 [ha33] *n.* rice (cooked), food, 饭.
Ex.: çinami 16. PTB *haŋ / PLB *haŋ2.

ha33 ha33 k^hu31 [ha33 ha33 k^hi31] *v.*
to yawn, 打哈欠. ETY.: k^hi31 (light verb)
+ ha33 ha33 (sound symbolic).

ha33-ɬu31 [ha33-ɬu31] *n.* ball of food,
饭团. ETY.: ha33 ‘rice, food’ + ɬu31
CLS.ball. Ex.: Tso 114.

ha33-tɕɣ33-k^hu31 [ha33-tɕə33-k^hu31] *n.*
cockroach, 蟑螂. ETY.: ha33-tɕɣ33
‘uncooked rice’ + k^hu31 ‘to steal.’

ha33-tɕ^hi33 [ha33-tɕ^hi33] *n.* cereal,
grain, 粮食. ETY.: ha33 ‘rice’ + tɕ^hi33.

ha33-zwɣ31-hĩ31 [ha33-zwə31-hĩ31] *v.*
hungry, 饥饿的. ETY.: ha33 ‘rice, food’
+ zwɣ33 ‘hungry’ + -hĩ33 NOM.

hæ13 [hæ13] *n.* quicklime, 石灰.

hæ31 [hæ31] *interj.* 语气词. Ex.: Tso 21,
Tso 120.

hæ31 q^hɣ33 [hæ31 q^hɣ33] *adv.* evening,
晚上. Ex.: Tso 4.

hæ33 [hæ33] *n.* Han, 汉族.

hæ33 [hæ33] *v.* to be tall, 高. ETY.:
Shamanic. Ex. Tso 195.

hæ33-di31 [hæ33-di31] *n.* China, 中国.
ETY.: hæ33 ‘Han’ + -di33 -NOM_{LOC}.

hæ33-kɔ33 [hæ33-kɔ33] *n.* sexually
transmitted disease. ETY.: hæ33 ‘Han’ +
kɔ33 ‘illness.’

hæ33 pi33 [hæ33 pi33] *v.t.* to look down
on, 轻视. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 134.

hæ33 pɣ33 [hæ33 pə33] *n.* hair, 头发.
Ex.: Tso 252.

hæ33 se13 [hæ33 se13] *n.* pied magpie,
喜鹊.

hæ33 su31 tɕi31 [hæ33 si31 tɕi31] *n.*
home grown type of bright red plum, 李子.
ETY.: hæ33 ‘Han’ + su31 tɕi13.

hæ33 tɔ33 [hæ33 tɔ33] *n.* courtyard, 院子.

hæ33-t^hu33 [hæ33-t^hu33] *v.* to be windy,
blow wind, 吹风. ETY.: hæ33 ‘wind’ +
t^hu33 ‘to blow.’

hæ̃33 [hæ̃33] *n.* (yellow) gold, 黄金. Ex.:
Tso 133.

hæ̃33 [hæ̃33] *n.* wind, 风. Ex.: Tso 21.
PTB *g-ləy.

hæ̃33 / 31 [hæ̃33 / 31] *v.t.* to cut (s.t.), 割.
Ex.: çinami 26, 37.

hĩ31 [hĩ31] *v.i.* to stand, 站. Ex.: Tso 196. PTB *(r)yap / PLB *ʔ-rapL.

hĩ33 [hĩ33] *n.* person, 人. Ex.: Gemu 12, 17.

hĩ33 [hĩ33] *v.i.* to be okay, 行. Ex.: Tso 17.

hĩ33-bæ55 [hĩ33-bæ55] *n.* guest, 客人. ETY.: hĩ33 ‘person’ + bæ55. Ex.: Change 7.

hĩ33-ya33 [hĩ33-ɤa33] *n.* hired labor, 雇工. ETY.: hĩ33 ‘person’ + ya33. Ex.: Change 10.

hĩ33-mə33 [hĩ33-mə33] *n.* elder, 老人. ETY.: hĩ33 ‘person’ + mə33 ‘elder.’

hi33-mə33-sɿ13 [hi33-mə33-sə13] *n.* age spot / liver spot, 老人斑. ETY.: hi33 ‘person’ + mə33 ‘elder’ + sɿ13 ‘mole.’

hĩ33 q^hɔ31 [hĩ33 q^hɔ31] *v.* to invite guests, 请客. ETY.: hĩ33 ‘person’ + q^hɔ33 ‘invite.’ Ex.: Tso 116.

hĩ33-tɕ^hi33-hĩ33-tɕɿ33 [hĩ33-tɕ^hi33-hĩ33-tɕə33] *expr.* any trace of people, 人的味道和人的种子. ETY.: elaborate expression: hĩ33 ‘person’ + tɕ^hi33 ‘scent’ + hĩ33 ‘person’ + tɕɿ33 ‘seed (origin).’ Ex.: Tso 46.

hĩ33-wɿ33 [hĩ33-wə33] *n.* village, 村镇. ETY.: hĩ33 ‘person’ + wɿ33 ‘village.’ Ex.: ɕinami 4.

hĩ55 mə31 [hĩ55 mə31] *n.* woman, 女人. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 91.

hɔ13 [hɔ13] *s.v.* to be correct, 正确的.

hɔ13 [hɔ13] *quant.* eight, 八.

hɔ13 [hɔ13] *v.i.* to suck (s.t.), 吮.

hɔ31 [hɔ31] *v., pcl.* 1. DES (want); 2. FUT (predictive desire), 会; 要. Ex.: Tso 148.

hɔ33 [hɔ33] *v.* wait, 等. Ex.: Tso 55.

hɔ33 [hɔ33] *v.* to be appropriate, 合适. Ex.: Tso 5.

hɔ33 [hɔ33] *n.* pheasant, 雉, 野鸡. PTB *s-ryak > < PTB *s-rik (PLB variant PTB *rwakL).

hɔ̃31 [hɔ̃31] *interj.* Signals speaker has thought something over. 语气词. Ex.: Tso 137.

hɔ̃31 zæ33 [hɔ̃31 zæ33] *s.v.* to be green, 绿色的.

hɔ̃33 [hɔ̃33] *v.* go.IMP, 去! . Ex.: Tso 50.

hõ33 [hõ33] *n.* hair (general); fur, 毛.
Ex.: Tso 38. PTB *s-mul / PLB *ʔ-məw1.

hõ33 [hõ33] *v.* to withstand, 受得了.
ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 140.

hõ33 ku33 lə31 [hõ33 ku33 lə31] *adv.*
south, 南. ETY.: Shamanic.

hu31-mi33 [hu31-mi33] *n.* stomach, 胃.
ETY.: hu31 + -mi33 -AUG.

hũ31 [hũ31] *s.v.* red, 红. PTB *ni / PLB *ʔ-ni1.

hũ33 [hũ33] *v.* low, short 底, 矮.

hu33 [hi33] *s.v.* to be strong, 厉害. Ex.:
Gemu 2.

hu33 [hi33] *v., pcl.* 1. go; 2. FUT
(remote), 去. Ex.: çinami 40, Gemu 5,
12, 18.

hu33-li31 [hə33-li31] *adv.* quickly, 赶
快. ETY.: hu33 ‘go’ + li31. Ex.: çinami
40.

hwa ɕ^həŋ [hwa ɕ^həŋ] *n.* peanuts, 花生.
ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

hwa31 li33 [hwa31 li33] *n.* cat, 猫. Ex.:
Tso 264.

hwa31 li33-ɣu13 [hwa31 li33-ɣi13] *n.*
cat skin, 猫皮. ETY.: hwa31 li33 ‘cat’ +
ɣi13 ‘skin.’

hwa31 li33-mu31 ts^hi33 [hwa31
li33-mu31 ts^hi33] *n.* whiskers (of
animal), 须. ETY.: hwa31 li33 ‘cat’ +
mu31 ts^hi33 ‘whiskers.’

hwa31 li33-ɕe33 [hwa31 li33-ɕe33] *n.*
cat meat, 猫肉. ETY.: hwa31 li33 ‘cat’
+ ɕe33 ‘meat.’ Ex.: Tso 266.

hwa31 tɕa33 [hwa31 tɕa33] *n.* squirrel,
松鼠.

hwæ31 [hwæ31] *v.t.* to buy, 买. Ex.: Tso
188.

hwæ31 tsi33 [hwæ31 tsi33] *n.* mouse,
老鼠, 耗子. Note: The same word is
used for the three types of mouse found
in Na areas: mountain, water, and house
mice.

hwə31 dʒi33 [hwə31 dʒi33] *n.* rust (used
to refer to non-iron metals), 生锈.

hwə31 ti33 [hwə31 ti33] *n.* rust, 铁锈.

hwə33 [hwə33] *s.v.* be slow, 慢的.

kə33 qa31 [kə33 qa31] *n.* ‘wide
goose,’ 大雁. ETY.: sound symbolic.

ki33 [ki33] *v., pcl.* 1. give; 2. DAT / ALL / BEN; 给. Ex.: Gemu 12.

ki33 [ki33] *v.t.* to wear (s.t.), 穿. Ex.: Gemu 14.

ki33 dɔ31 [ki33 dɔ31] *n.* wooden wall, 木头的墙壁.

kɔ31 [kɔ31] *v.i.* to retreat (as of floodwaters), 退. Ex.: Tso 44.

kɔ31 li33 [kɔ31 li33] *n.* floor (wooden), 地板(木制的).

kɔ31 pɔ33 [kɔ31 pɔ33] *n.* livestock, 牲畜. Ex.: Tso 264.

kɔ31 zɿ13 [kɔ31 zɿ13] *quant.* the length from nose to fingertip.

kɔ33-la33 la33 [kɔ33-la33 la33] *v.* to be empty. ETY.: Loan from Yunnanese: kɔ ‘empty’ + la la INTERJ. Ex.: Tso 57.

kɔ33 sɔ31-mi31 [kɔ33 sɔ31-mi31] *n.* peacock, 孔雀. ETY.: kɔ33 sɔ31 + -mi33 -AUG.

kɔ33-ty31 [kɔ33-ty31] *n.* hillside, 山坡. ETY.: kɔ33 ‘mountain’ + ty31 CLS (团) Ex.: Tso 196.

kɔ33 zɔ31 [kɔ33 zɔ31] *n.* work, 工作. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

kɔ33-zɿ33-hĩ33 [kɔ33-zɿ33-hĩ33] *n.* sick / ill / injured person, 有病的. ETY.: kɔ33 ‘illness / injury’ + zɿ33 EXIST.C + -hĩ33 -NOM_{AGT}.

ku13 [ku13] *v., pcl.* ABLT (can); FUT (predictive ability), 会. Ex.: Tso 13; Tso 29; Tso 286.

ku31, 13 [ku31, 13] *cls.* CLS.more than one person, 量词(几个人). Ex.: Gemu 22, 29.

ku31 ɕi33 [ku31 ɕi33] *n.* flea, 跳蚤.

ku31 tɕɿ33 [ku31 tɕɿ33] *n.* silk, 丝绸.

ku31 tɕɿ33 ku31 na33 ti31 ti13 ti31 di13 [ku31 tɕɿ33 ku31 na33 ti31 ti13 ti31 di13] Lit. ‘layer after layer of silk,’ used to describe someone very wealthy.

ku33 [ku33] *v.* EXIST.T (existential verb used with time), 有 / 过(时间). Ex.: Gemu 30.

ku33 [ku33] *n.* garlic, 大蒜.

ku33 [ku33] *v.t.* to make; to fix; 做; 修; 作成. Ex.: Tso 37.

ku33 [ku33] *n.* landscape, 山水. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 140.

ku33 dzi13 [ku33 dzi13] *v.* angry, 生气的.

ku33 lu33 [ku33 [u33] *n.* forest, 树林.
ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 184.

ku33 mi33 [ku33 mi33] *n.* body (general), 身体.

ku33-mi33 [ku33-mi33] *n.* younger sister, 妹妹. ETY.: ku33 + -mi33 feminine suffix. Ex.: Intro 6.

ku33 tu33 [ku33 [u33] *n.* back, 背.

ku33 tɕu13 [ku33 tɕu13] *n.* fingernail, 指甲.

ku33 tɕʰwɔ33 [ku33 tɕʰwɔ33] *n.* forest, 树林. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 184.

ky33-tɕæ13 [ky33-tɕæ13] *n.* neck / throat, 咽喉. ETY.: ky33 + tɕæ13 ‘joint.’

ku13 [kə13] *c/s.* CLS.round stick (used with cigarettes, pencils), 量词.

ku31 [ki31] *v.* to hide, 藏. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 168.

ku31-mu33 [ki31-mu33] *n.* Gemu, the mountain goddess of Yongning, 格姆. ETY.: ku31 name of an ancient Na king + mu33 ‘girl.’ Ex.: Gemu 1, 20.

ku33 [ki33] *n.* star, 星星. Note: Also, my33-wɔ33-ku33 (my33-wɔ33 ‘sky’ + ku33 ‘star’).

ku33 [ki33] *c/s.* CLS.strip of land, 量词 (一块土地). Ex.: Tso 207.

ku33 [ki33] *n.* gall bladder, 胆囊.

ku33-dzi33 [ki33-dzi33] *n.* bile, 胆汁. ETY.: ku33 ‘gall bladder’ + dzi33 ‘water.’ PTB *krəy / PLB *ʔ-grəy1.

ku33 ɕ31 [ki33 ʔɕ31] *n.* Ge’er (the name of hometown of the protagonist Tsodeluyizo of legend). Ex.: Tso 134.

ku33-qʰæ33 ɕwæ31 [ki33-qʰæ33 ɕwæ31] *n.* shooting star, 流星. ETY.: ku33 ‘star’ + qʰæ33 ɕwæ31 ‘diarrhea.’ **ku33 tɕu31** [ki33 tɕu31] moral speech, lecture, 教训.

ku33-tʰɔ31 tʰɔ13 [ki33-tʰɔ31 tʰɔ13] *n.* shooting star, 流星. ETY.: ku33 ‘star’ + tʰɔ31 tʰɔ13 ‘fall.’

ku33-tsʰu33 [ki33-tsʰu33] *n.* starlight, 星光. ETY.: ku33 ‘star’ + tsʰu33. PTB *gra:y / PLB *ʔ-grəy1.

kwæ33 tsi31 [kwæ33 tsi31] *n.* melon, squash, 瓜子. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

kwɔ33 [kwɔ33] *postp.* 1. LOC 里; 2. ABL 从. Ex.: Gemu 1, 4, 10; ɕinami 1.

kwɔ33-lɔ31 [kwɔ33-lɔ31] *postp.* INESS, 里边. ETY.: kwɔ33 LOC + lɔ33 ‘side.’ Ex.: Tso 28.

kwɔ33 pu33 [kwɔ33 p̥i33] *s.v.* to be thirsty, 渴的.

kwɔ31 [kwɔ31] *v.* to fall, to drop, 丢. Ex.: Tso 187; Tso 124.

kwɔ31 [kwɔ31] *interj.* used for emphasis and/or enlivening the sentence, 语气词. Ex. Tso 213.

kwɔ31 tɔ33 [kwɔ31 tɔ33] *n.* jaw (general), 颌.

kwɔ33 [kwɔ33] *cls.* CLS.strand, 量词 (串). Ex.: Gemu 43.

kʰi33 [kʰi33] *n.* door, 门.

kʰi33-mi33 [kʰi33-mi33] *n.* main entrance, 大门. ETY.: kʰi33 ‘door’ + -mi33 -AUG.

kʰɔ31 [kʰɔ31] *v.t.* to kill, 杀. Ex.: Tso 28.

kʰɔ31 [kʰɔ31] *v.* peck, 啄. Ex.: Tso 271.

kʰɔ33 pʰɤ33 [kʰɔ33 pʰɤ33] *n.* grassland, 草坪, 荒地. Ex.: çinami 2.

kʰu31 [kʰu31] *adv.* year, 年. Ex.: Tso 50. PTB *kuk ‘return’ / PLB *C-kukL.

kʰu31 [kʰu31] *v.t.* to bury (s.t.), 埋. Ex.: Tso 65.

kʰu31-mi13 [kʰu31-mi13] *n.* 1. dog (female), 母狗 in Luoshui; 2. dog (generic), 狗 in Yongning and Wenchuan. ETY.: kʰu33 ‘dog’ + -mi33 feminine or -AUG suffix. Ex.: Tso 83.

kʰu31-ni31-zɔ33 [kʰu31-ni31-zɔ33] *n.* very young puppy, 很小的小狗. ETY.: kʰu33 ‘dog’ + ni13 + -zɔ33 -DIM.

kʰu31 zu33 [kʰu31 zu33] *n.* skill, technique, 技术. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 37.

kʰu33 [kʰu33] *v.* steal, 偷. Ex.: Tso 258. PTB *kəw / PLB *kəw2.

kʰu33 [kʰu33] *adv.* morning, 早上. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 150.

kʰu33-bu33 [kʰu33-bu33] *n.* male dog, 公狗. ETY.: kʰu33 ‘dog’ + bu33.

kʰu33-ni13 [kʰu33-ni13] *n.* puppy, 小狗. ETY.: kʰu33 ‘dog’ + ni13.

kʰu33 pʰæ33 [kʰu33 pʰæ33] age, 年级.

k^hu33 p^hæ33-tɕi31 [k^hu33 p^hæ33-tɕi31] *n.* young people, 年轻人. ETY.: k^hu33 p^hæ33 ‘age’ + tɕi13 ‘small.’ Ex.: Gemu 51.

k^hu33-ɕɛ33 [k^hu33-ɕɛ33] *n.* dog meat, 狗肉. Note: Na do not have the custom of eating dog meat. ETY.: k^hu33 ‘dog’ + ɕɛ33 ‘meat.’

k^hu33 tu31 [k^hu33 tu31] *n.* (type of plant). ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 212.

k^hu55 [k^hu55] *n.* dog (generic), 狗. PTB *kwəy / PLB *kwəy2.

k^hu55 [k^hu55] *n.* nest, 巢, 窝. PTB *kwəy / PLB *kwəy1.

k^hɣ33 [k^hɣ33] *n.* horn (of animal), 角. PTB *krəw / PLB *krəw1.

k^hu31 [k^hi31] *pcl.* CIS (side), 边. Also appears as the variant k^hi33 through vowel harmony. Ex.: ɕinami 56, Gemu 1.

k^hu31 [k^hi31] *v.t., pcl.* 1. to put; 2. CAUS; 放; 吹. Ex.: Tso 252; Tso 195.

k^hu31 [k^hi31] *cls.* CLS.long, thin objects (i.e., rivers), 量词.

k^hu31 [k^hi31] *v.t.* to throw (s.t.), 扔. Ex.: Gemu 44.

k^hu31-tu33-hĩ33 [k^hi31-tu33-hĩ33] *n.* crippled / lame person, 跛的. ETY.: k^hu31 ‘foot’ + ‘tu33’ + ‘-hĩ33’ -NOM_{AGT}.

k^hu31-tu33-sɛ31 [k^hi31-tu33-sɛ31] *v.* to limp, 跛行. ETY.: k^hu31 ‘foot’ + tu33 + sɛ33 ‘walk.’

k^hu31 ts^hu13 [k^hi31 ts^hi13] *n.* 1. foot, 足; 2. claw (of animal), 爪; 3. talon (of bird), 爪 (鸟的); 4. paw (of animal), 爪子 (动物的). PTB *krəy > k^hu31 ts^hu13 ‘foot’ and PTB *n-(t)syen.

k^hu31 ts^hu13-ku31 tu13 [k^hi31 ts^hi13-ku31 tu13] *n.* instep, 脚背. ETY.: k^hu31 ts^hu13 ‘foot’ + ku33 tu33 ‘back of.’

k^hu31 ts^hu13-ku33 tɕu13 [k^hi31 ts^hi13-ku33 tɕu13] *n.* toenail, 趾甲. ETY.: k^hu31 ts^hu13 ‘foot’ + ku33 tɕu13 ‘(finger)nail.’

k^hu31 ts^hu13-lɔ31-ni33 [k^hi31 ts^hi13-lɔ31-ni33] *n.* toe, 脚趾. ETY.: k^hu31 ts^hu13 ‘foot’ + lɔ31-ni33 ‘digit.’

k^hu31 ts^hu13-lɔ31-ni31-ɑ33-mi33 [k^hi31 ts^hi13-lɔ31-ni31-æ33-mi33] *n.* big toe, 拇指 (足的). ETY.: k^hu31 ts^hu13 ‘foot’ + lɔ31-ni33 ‘digit’ + ɑ33-mi33 ‘mother.’

k^hu31 ts^hu13-lɔ55-k^hwɔ33 [k^hi31 ts^hi13-lɔ55-k^hwə33] *n.* limbs / arms and legs, 肢体. ETY.: k^hu31 ts^hu13 ‘foot’ + lɔ55-k^hwə33 ‘hand.’

k^hu31 ts^hu13-my33 t^hu33 [k^hi31 ts^hi13-mjɔ33 t^hi33] *n.* heel, 脚后跟. ETY.: k^hu31 ts^hu13 ‘foot’ + my33 t^hu33 ‘heel.’

k^hu31 ts^hu13-tɕæ13 [k^hi31 ts^hi13-tɕæ13] *n.* ankle, 踝. ETY.: k^hu31 ts^hu13 ‘foot’ + tɕæ13 ‘joint.’

k^hu31 ts^hu13-tɕu33 tsu33 [k^hi31 ts^hi13-tɕu33 tsɪ33] *n.* hamstring, 腿筋. ETY.: k^hu31 ts^hu13 ‘foot’ + tɕu33 tsu33 ‘tendon.’

k^hu31-zu33 [k^hi31-zɿ33] *n.* liquor (*sulimaju*), 酒. ETY.: k^hu13 ‘put (inside)’ + zu33 ‘liquor.’

k^hu33 [k^hi33] *v.* to send, 派. Ex.: Tso 178.

k^hu33 [k^hi33] *n.* thread, 线. Ex.: Tso 28. PTB *kriŋ / PLB *kriŋ1.

k^hu33-na33/31 [k^hi33-na33/31] *n.* Yi, 彝族. ETY.: k^hu31 ‘foot’ + na33 ‘black.’

k^hu33-tu13 [k^hi33-tu13] *n.* root, also used metaphorically, 根源. ETY.: k^hu33 ‘root’ + tu13 CLS.

k^hwæ33 [k^hwæ33] *n.* enclosing fence; small garden, 把土地围起来的木头; 小院子. PTB *kram / PLB *kram1.

k^hwæ33 ɔ33 [k^hwæ33 ʔə33] *n.* any type of cloth floor covering.

k^hwɔ33 [k^hwə33] *n.* footprint, 脚印.

k^hwɔ33 [k^hwə33] *cls.* CLS.piece, strip, section, 量词 (块, 片, 段, 点). Ex.: çinami 9.

k^hwɔ33-bi13 [k^hwə33-bi13] *n.* hoof (of animal), 蹄. ETY.: k^hwɔ33 ‘footprint’ + bi13. PTB *kwa.

k^hwɔ33 ts^hu31 [k^hwə33 ts^hi31] *n.* shoulder, 肩膀.

k^hwɔ33 ts^hu31-ku31 tu31 [k^hwə33 ts^hi31-ku31 tu31] *n.* upper back, 上背. ETY.: k^hwɔ33 ts^hu31 ‘shoulder’ + ku33 tu33 ‘back of.’

k^hwɔ33 ts^hu31-ɕ33 [k^hwə33 ts^hi31-ʔɕ33] *n.* shoulder blade / scapula, 肩胛骨. ETY.: k^hwɔ33 ts^hu31 ‘shoulder’ + ɕ33 ‘bone.’

la13 [la13] *v.* 1. to hit, strike, 打; 2. light verb. Ex.: Gemu 48.

la31 [la31] *adv.* just, then, 才. Ex.: Gemu 11, çinami 32.

la31 pu13 [la31 pu13] *n.* gizzard / crop of bird, (鸟的) 沙囊.

la31 tɕi13 [la31 tɕi13] *n.* type of hawk that eats chickens, 吃鸡的一个种类的鹰.

la33 [la33] *conj.* 1. and, 和; 2. etc., 等等. Ex.: Gemu 2, 5, 7.

la33 [la33] *n.* tiger, 老虎. Ex.: Tso 161. PTB *k-la / PLB *k-la2.

la33-ɣu31 [la33-ɣi31] *n.* tiger skin, 老虎皮. ETY.: la33 ‘tiger’ + ɣi13 ‘skin.’ Ex.: Tso 179.

la33 la33 [la33 la33] *v.* to rock back and forth, 摇来摇去. Ex.: çinami 56.

la33-ɲo31 [la33-ɲo31] *n.* tiger milk, 老虎奶. ETY.: la33 ‘tiger’ + ɲo13 ‘milk.’ Ex.: Tso 172.

la33 p^ha13 [la33 p^ha13] *n.* large leaf, 大的叶子.

la33-q^hɣ31 [la33-q^hɣ31] *n.* tiger den, 老虎洞. ETY.: la33 ‘tiger’ + q^hɣ33 ‘hole.’ Ex.: Tso 168.

la33 tsi33 [la33 tsz33] *n.* hot peppers, 辣椒. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

la33-zo31 [la33-zo31] *n.* baby tiger, 小老虎. ETY.: la33 ‘tiger’ + -zo33 -DIM. Ex.: Tso 169.

læ31 ɣæ13 [læ31 ɣæ13] *n.* crow, 乌鸦. Ex.: Tso 12.

lə31-ɣɣ33 [læ31-ɣɣ33] *v.* to swallow down, 吞下. ETY.: lə33- ACCOMP- + ɣɣ33 ‘to swallow.’

lə31-q^hɣ13 [læ31-q^hɣ13] *n.* bay, gulf, 海湾. ETY.: lə33- ACCOMP- + q^hɣ13 ‘turn around.’

lə33- [lə33-] *v. prefix* ACCOMP- Undergoes vowel harmony with verb root to appear as lə33 and læ33. Ex.: Gemu 4.

lə33-dzæ31 [lə33-dzæ31] *v.* to be melted, 融化. ETY.: lə33- ACCOMP- + dzæ31 ‘melt.’ PTB *s/m-grəy.

lə33-hwə31 [lə33-hwə31] *v.* slow, late, 慢的; 晚了. ETY.: lə33- ACCOMP- + hwə31 ‘slow.’

lɔ33-my33 [lɛ33-my33] *v.* to hear, 听见.
ETY.: lɔ33- ACCOMP + my33 ‘listen.’
PTB *na / PLB *na1.

lɔ33-mu31 [lɔ33-mjɪ31] *v.* to have ripened, 成熟. ETY.: lɔ33- ACCOMP- + mu13 ‘ripe.’

lɔ33-ɲi33-ze31 [lɛ33-ɲi33-ze31] *v.* to have become full / be satiated, 吃饱了.
ETY.: lɔ33- ACCOMP- + ɲi33 ‘be full’ + ze33 CSM.

lɔ33-ʂu33 [lɛ33-ʂɻ33] *v.* to have died, 死亡. ETY.: lɔ33- ACCOMP + ʂu33 ‘die.’

lɔ33-wɔ33-tʰu33-ɦi33
[lɔ33-wɔ33-tʰi33-ɦi33] *adv.* next month, 下个月. ETY.: lɔ33- ACCOMP + wɔ13 ‘return’ + tʰu33 ‘this’ + ɦi33 ‘month.’

li13 [li13] *n.* tea, 茶. PTB *lap ‘leaf.’

li31 ɕi13 [li31 ɕi13] *n.* net (i.e., for fishing), 网 (鱼网).

li31 tʰu31 kʰwɔ33 [li31 tʰi31 kʰwɔ33] *n.* tiny teacup; bowl for drinking tea, 很小的茶杯, 也茶碗. ETY.: li13 ‘tea’ + tʰu33 ‘drink’ + kʰwɔ33 ‘bowl.’

li33 [li33] *v.* to see / look, 看, 看见. Ex.: Gemu 20.

lɔ31 [lɔ31] side, 边. Ex.: ɕinami 23.

lɔ31 bæ33 [lɔ31 bæ33] *n.* rope, 绳子.
ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 232.

lɔ31-bu33 [lɔ31-bu33] *n.* forearm, 前臂.
ETY.: lɔ31 ‘hand’ + bu33.

lɔ31-bɤ13 [lɔ31-bɔ13] *n.* palm (of the hand), 手心. ETY.: lɔ31 ‘hand’ + bɤ13 ‘flat.’

lɔ31-hæ33 [lɔ31-hæ33] *n.* high valley, 山沟的高的地方. Shamanic. ETY.: lɔ33 ‘valley’ + hæ33 ‘tall.’ Ex.: Tso 195.
PTB *laŋ / PLB *laŋ1.

lɔ31-kʰwɔ31-pɤ33 [lɔ31-kʰwɔ31-pə33] *n.* fingerprint, 手印. ETY.: lɔ31-kʰwɔ33 ‘hand’ + pɤ33 ‘print.’

lɔ31-kʰwɔ33 [lɔ31-kʰwɔ33] *n.* 1. hand, 手; 2. also ‘skill, technique’ by semantic extension, 技术. ETY.: lɔ31 ‘hand’ + kʰwɔ33. Ex.: Tso 39. (PTB *g-lak) PTB *lak.

lɔ31-mi33 [lɔ31-mi33] *n.* thumb, 大拇指.
ETY.: lɔ31 ‘hand’ + -mi33 -AUG.

lɔ31-my33 [lɔ31-my33] *n.* technique, 技术. ETY.: lɔ31 ‘hand’ + my33 ‘technique.’ Ex.: Tso 39.

lɔ31-ni33 [lɔ31-ni33] *n.* digit, finger(s), 手指. ETY.: lɔ31 ‘hand’ + ni33 ‘digit.’

lɔ31-ni33-tɕæ13 [lɔ31-ni33-tɕæ13] *n.* knuckle (joint of digit), 指节. ETY.: lɔ31 ‘hand’ + ni33 ‘digit’ + tɕæ13 ‘joint.’

lɔ31-pi13 [lɔ31-pi13] *n.* back of the hand, 手背. ETY.: lɔ31 ‘hand’ + pi13 ‘back of.’

lɔ31-pɤ13-ku31 tu13 [lɔ31-pə13-ku31 tu13] *n.* back of the hand, 手背. ETY.: lɔ31 pɤ13 ‘palm’ + ku31 tu13 ‘back of.’

lɔ31-tʰi13 [lɔ31-tʰi13] *n.* right hand, 右手. ETY.: lɔ31 ‘hand’ + tʰi13.

lɔ31-tʰu13 [lɔ31-tʰu13] *n.* elbow, 肘. ETY.: lɔ31 ‘hand’ + tʰu13.

lɔ31-tʰu13-ɣæ33 [lɔ31-tʰu13-ɣæ33] *n.* arm, 臂. ETY.: lɔ31-tʰu13 ‘elbow’ + ɣæ33 ‘upper.’

lɔ31-tʰu13-mæ33 [lɔ31-tʰu13-mæ33] *n.* forearm / lower arm, 前臂. ETY.: lɔ31-tʰu13 ‘elbow’ + mæ33 ‘underneath.’

lɔ31-tʰu13-ʂ33 [lɔ31-tʰu13-ʂ33] *n.* elbow bone, 肘关节骨. ETY.: lɔ31-tʰu13 ‘elbow’ + ʂ33 ‘bone.’

lɔ31-tʰu13-qa33 [lɔ31-tʰu13-qa33] *n.* underarm / armpit, 腋窝. ETY.: lɔ31-tʰu13 ‘elbow’ + qa33 ‘crotch.’

lɔ31-tɕæ13 [lɔ31-tɕæ13] *n.* wrist, 腕. ETY.: lɔ31 ‘hand’ + tɕæ13 ‘joint.’

lɔ31-tɕæ13 [lɔ31-tɕæ13] *n.* phalanx (knuckle length), 指骨的长度. ETY.: lɔ31 ‘hand’ + tɕæ13 ‘joint.’

lɔ31-tɕʰɣ13 [lɔ31-tɕʰɣ13] *n.* fist, 拳. ETY.: lɔ31 ‘hand’ + tɕʰɣ13.

lɔ31-wæ13 [lɔ31-wæ13] *n.* left hand, 左手. ETY.: lɔ31 ‘hand’ + wæ13 ‘left.’

lɔ31-zu33 [lɔ31-zu33] *n.* finger, 指头. Shamanic; ETY.: lɔ31 ‘hand’ + zu33 ‘finger.’ Ex.: Tso 258.

lɔ33 [lɔ33] *n.* valley, 山沟, 山谷. Ex.: Tso 140, ɕinami 1. PTB *lan / PLB *lan1.

lɔ33-dzo33 [lɔ33-dzo33] *n.* type of bracelet, 手镯的种类. ETY.: lɔ31 ‘hand’ + dzo33.

lɔ33-qʰɣ13 [lɔ33-qʰɣ13] *n.* mountain ravine, 山沟. ETY.: lɔ33 ‘valley’ + qʰɣ13 ‘circled around.’

lɔ̃31-yi31 [lɔ̃31-yi31] *v.* to labor, 劳动. ETY.: lɔ̃33 ‘matter’ + yi33 ‘do.’ Ex.: Change 9.

lɔŋ33 bu33 tɕʰu31 [lɔŋ33 bu33 tɕʰu31] *n.* elephant, 大象. ETY.: Loan, donor language unknown.

lu13 [lu13] *v.* feed, 牧. Ex.: ɕinami 11. PTB *m/s-lyak.

lu31 [lu31] *v.* to be enough, 够. Ex.: Tso 245. PTB *luk.

lu31 [lu31] *v.* to till, 耕. Ex.: Tso 17.

lu31 lu13 [lu31 lu13] *v.* to move, 动. Ex.: Tso 172.

lu31 su33 [lu31 su33] *n.* Lisu ethnicity, 傈僳族.

lu33 [lu33] *n.* land used for planting, 庄稼地.

lu33 [lu33] *v.* to shape, 形状. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 71.

lu33-mi33 [lu33-mi33] *n.* stone, 石头. ETY.: lu33 ‘rock’ + -mi33 -AUG.

lu33-pɣ33-mi33 [lu33-pɣ33-mi33] *n.* boulder, 大石头. ETY.: lu33 ‘rock’ + pɣ33 ‘big’ + -mi33 -AUG.

lu33-ɕu31 [lu33-ɕu31] *n.* Lugu (Luoshui), 泸沽; 落水. ETY.: lu33 ‘valley’ and ɕu31 ‘start.’ Ex.: ɕinami 1.

lu33-yi33 [lu33-yi33] *n.* ploughing oxen, 耕牛. ETY.: lu33 ‘plough’ + yi33 ‘cow.’ Ex.: Tso 21.

ly33 [ly33] *cls.* CLS.kernel, 量词(一颗). Ex.: Tso 271.

lu31 [li31] *n.* feathers, 羽毛. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 37.

lu33 [lɔ33] *cls.* generic CLS, 量词(个). Ex.: Gemu 1.

lwɔ33 qʰwɣ13 [lwɔ33 qʰwɣ13] *n.* gorge (between mountains), 峡谷.

lwɣ13 [lwɣ13] *n.* ash, 灰.

lwɣ13-ni33 ku31 [lwɣ13-ni33 ku31] *s.v.* to be ash-colored, 灰色的. ETY.: lwɣ13 ‘ash’ + ni33 ku33 ‘seem.’

ɬa31-pɣ31 [ɬa31-pɣ31] excess, a little more, 超过. ETY.: ɬa13 ‘excess’ + pɣ31. Ex.: ɕinami 9.

ɬa55 [ɬa55] *v.* to exceed, 超过. Ex.: ɕinami 9.

ɬa55 sa33 [ɬa55 sa33] *n.* Tibet, 西藏.

ɬi33 [ɬi33] *v.* to rest, 休息. Ex.: Gemu 1.

ɬi33 [ɬi33] *n.* musk deer, 麝香鹿. PTB *gla.

ɬi33 [ɬi33] *n.* moon, month, 月. PTB *s/g-la / PLB *s/?-la3.

ɬi33 [ɬi33] *cls.* CLS (measures of cloth) 量词 (丈). Ex.: Gemu 3.

ɬi33 bi31 [ɬi33 bi31] *n.* radish, 萝卜. Loan from Chinese, lɔ31 pu13, is also used.

ɬi33 bi31-hũ31 [ɬi33 bi31-hũ31] *n.* carrot, 红萝卜. ETY.: ɬi33 bi31 ‘radish’ + hũ13 ‘red.’

ɬi33 bu33 [ɬi33 bu33] *n.* Bai (ethnicity), 白族.

ɬi33-di31 [ɬi33-di31] *n.* Yongning, 永宁. ETY.: ɬi33 ‘rest’ + -di33 -NOM_{LOC}. Ex.: Gemu 1.

ɬi33-ki33 [ɬi33-ki33] *n.* pants-wearing coming-of-age ceremony, 穿裤子的仪式. ETY.: ɬi ‘pants’ + ki13 ‘wear.’ Ex.: Tso 116.

ɬi33 k^hwɿ31 [ɬi33 k^hwə31] *n.* pants, 裤子. PTB *la / PLB *?-la2.

ɬi33-mi33 [ɬi33-mi33] *n.* moonlight, 月亮. ETY.: ɬi33 ‘moon’ + -mi33 -AUG.

ɬi33 mi33 ts^hu33 zɿwæ13 [ɬi33 mi33 ts^hi33 zɿwæ13] *n.* very bright moonlight, 特别亮的月亮.

ɬi33-pæ33 [ɬi33-pæ33] *n.* 1. earlobe, 耳垂; 2. earring, 耳饰. ETY.: ɬi33 ‘ear’ + pæ33.

ɬi33-pi31 [ɬi33-pi31] *n.* ear, 耳朵. ETY.: ɬi33 ‘ear’ + pi31.

ɬi33-q^hæ33 [ɬi33-q^hæ33] *n.* earwax, 耳垢. ETY.: ɬi33 ‘ear’ + q^hæ33 ‘excrement.’

ɬi33-q^hɿ33 [ɬi33-q^hɿ33] *n.* ear canal, 耳洞. ETY.: ɬi33 ‘ear’ + q^hɿ33 ‘hole.’

ɬi33 zu33 [ɬi33 zi33] *n.* temple (body part), 太阳穴.

ɬi33-zu33 [ɬi33-zi33] *n.* inner ear, 耳心. ETY.: ‘ɬi33’ ‘ear’ + zu33.

ɬɔ13 [ɬɔ13] *v.* to be dark, deep, 深. PTB *s-nak / PLB *?-nakL.

ɬu13 [ɬu13] *cls.* CLS used with clothes, pants, blankets, 量词.

ɬu13 [ɬu13] *n.* brain, 脑.

ɬu13 [ɬu13] *v.* to join, attach, 附. Ex.:
Gemu 47.

ɬu31 [ɬu31] *cls.* CLS.ball, round, 量词
(团). Ex.: Tso 114.

ɬu31 [ɬu31] warmth, 暖和.

ɬu33 kɣ13 [ɬu33 kə13] *n.* rib, 肋骨.

ma33 mu13-dzu33-k^hwɣ31 [ma33
mɯ13-dzu33-k^hwə31] *n.* yak butter lamp,
酥油灯. ETY.: ma33 mu13 ‘lamp used in
religious rites’ + dzu33 ‘burn’ +
k^hwɣ13 ‘bowl.’

ma31-na33 [ma31-na33] *adv.* very
many, 很多. ETY.: ma31 + na33
‘strong’ Ex.: Intro 7.

ma31 na33 ba13 [ma31 na33 ba13] *expr.*
nevermind, it doesn’t matter, 没关系.

ma31 tsa33 [ma31 tsa33] *n.* genitalia /
pudenda (general), 生殖器 / 外阴部.

ma31 tsa33-wə33 lɣ31 [ma31 tsa33
wə33 [ɣ31] *n.* glans / head of penis, 阴
茎头. ETY.: ma31 tsa33 ‘genitalia’ +
wə33 lu31 ‘head.’

ma31 tsa33-wu31 ku13 [ma31
tsa33-ɣ31 ku13] *n.* foreskin, (阴茎)包皮.
ETY.: ma31 tsa33 ‘genitalia’ + wu31
ku13 ‘skin.’

mæ ʂũ [mæ ʂũ] *adv.* immediately, 马上.
ETY.: Loan from Chinese. Ex.: Tso 31.

mæ31 [mæ31] *pcl.* CERT.M, 语气词 (肯
定). Ex.: Tso 35.

mæ31 [mæ31] *v.* to aim at, 瞄准. Ex.:
Tso 235.

mæ31 [mæ31] *v.t.* to gather, 捡到. Ex.:
Tso 152.

mæ33 [mæ33] *v.* to have time, 空闲. Ex.:
Tso 55.

mæ33 [mæ33] *v.* to catch up, 追. Ex.:
Tso 141.

mæ33-gɣ31 [mæ33-gɣ31] *n.* tail (of
animal), 尾巴. ETY.: mæ33 ‘tail’ +
gɣ31.

mə31-hə33 hə33 [mə31-hə33 hə33] *v.* to
be incompatible, 不合气. ETY.: mə33-
NEG + hə33 hə33 ‘appropriate.’

mə31-mɣ33-hĩ33 [mə31-mɣ33-hĩ33] *n.*
deaf person, 聋的. ETY.: mə33- NEG +
mɣ33 ‘hear’ + -hĩ33 -NOM_{AGT}.

mə33- [mə33-] *v. prefix* NEG, 不; 没.
Variants ma33, mɔ33, mæ33 through
vowel harmony. Ex.: Gemu 2, 26, 28, 29.
PTB *ma / PLB *ma2.

mə33-fu33 [mə33-fu33] *v.* not happy, 不高兴的. ETY.: mə33- NEG + fu33 ‘happy.’

mə33-gu33 zɛ33 [mə33-gu33 ze33] *v.* sorry, 对不起.

mə33-hɔ31 [mə33-hɔ31] *v.* to be incorrect, 不对. ETY.: mə33- NEG + hɔ31 ‘correct.’

mə33-hwæ33 [mə33-hwæ33] *v.* to be uncomfortable, 不舒服的. ETY.: mə33- NEG + hwæ33 ‘comfortable.’ Variant mə33-qæ31 used in Yongning.

mə33-ku13 [mə33-ku13] *v.* impossible, 不会. ETY.: mə33- NEG + ku13 ABLT.

mə33-mu31 [mə33-ɱi31] *v.* unripe, 还没成熟的. ETY.: mə33- NEG + mi13 ‘ripe.’

mə33-tɔ31-hĩ31 [mə33-tɔ31-hĩ31] *n.* blind person, 盲的. ETY.: mə33- NEG + tɔ33 ‘see’ + -hĩ33 NOM_{AGT}.

mə33-tʰa13 [mə33-tʰa13] *v.* can’t endure, 受不了. ETY.: mə33- NEG - + tʰa13 ‘withstand.’ Ex.: Tso 202.

mə33-zɿ31 [mə33-zɿ31] *s.v.* to be dirty, 脏的.

mi ɕɛ [mi ɕɛ] *n.* rice noodles, 米线. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

mi13 [mi13] *v.* ripen, 成熟. PTB *s-min / PLB *s/?-min1.

-mi13/55 [-mi13/55] *n. suffix* 1. female animal, 女性的动物; 2. -AUG, 大的. PTB *mi / PLB *mi2/3.

mi31 [mi31] *cls.* CLS, 量词. Ex.: ɕinami 37.

mi31 li13 [mi31 li13] *n.* bamboo, 竹子.

mi31 zi33 [mi31 zɿ33] *n.* woman, 女人. Ex.: Tso 111.

mi33-kʰwɿ33; mi33 [mi33-kʰwɿ33]; [mi33] *n.* scar, 伤疤. ETY.: mi33 ‘scar’ + kʰwɿ33 CLS.

mi33 lɔ33 [mi33 lɔ33] *n.* prayer, 祈求. Ex.: Gemu 48.

mi33 lɔ33 la31 [mi33 lɔ33 la31] *v.* to say a prayer, 祈求. ETY.: mi33 lɔ33 ‘pray’ + la31 light verb. Ex.: Gemu 48.

mɔ13 [mɔ13] *n.* mushroom, 蘑菇. PTB *g/s-məw / PLB *ʔ-məw1.

mɔ31 [mɔ31] *v.* old, 老的. PTB *maŋ ‘big, older.’

mə31-hõ13 [mə31-hõ13] *n.* male pubic hair, 阴毛的毛发, 男的. ETY.: mə31 + hõ33 ‘fur.’

mə31 mə33 [mə31 mə33] *n.* *mantou* (round steamed bread), 馒头; *baozi* (round steamed bread with filling), 包子. ETY.: Loan from Tibetan.

mə31-tə13 [mə31-tə13] *v.* to ask, 问. ETY.: mə13 ‘hear’ + tə33 ‘see.’ Ex.: çinami 38.

mə31 yo33 [mə31 yo33] *n.* ube, 魔芋. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

mə33 [mə33] *n.* corpse / dead body, 尸体. PTB *s maŋ.

mə33 [mə33] *n.* appearance, 模样. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 61.

mə33 su33 [mə33 si33] *n.* (type of tree) (树的一个种类). ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 61.

mə33 yə31 mi31 [mə33 yə31 mi31] *n.* owl, 猫头鹰.

hə33 hə33 ‘appropriate.’ Ex.: Tso 5.

mu31 lu33 [mu31 li33] *n.* appearance, 样子. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 58.

mu31 pɣ13 [mu31 pə13] *n.* arch, 足弓.

mu31 tɕu33 [mu31 tɕu33] *n.* wrinkle, 皱纹.

mu33 [mu33] *n.* fire, 火. PTB *mey / PLB *s/?-mey2.

mu33 [mu33] *postp.* to, 到. Ex.: Tso 174.

mu33 bɣ13 [mu33 bə13] *n.* sole of foot, 脚底.

mu33-çi31 [mu33-çi31] *n.* flame, 火焰. ETY.: mu33 ‘fire’ + çi31 ‘tongue.’

mu33-dzu33 [mu33-dzu33] *v.* to burn a fire, 燃火. ETY.: mu33 ‘fire’ + dzu33 ‘burn.’

mu33 k^hu33 [mu33 k^hu33] *n.* smoke, 烟雾. PTB *kəw / PLB *kəw2.

mu33-kwə33 [mu33-kwə33] *v.* to sit next to the fire, 烤火. ETY.: mu33 ‘fire’ + kwə33 LOC.

mu33-k^hu31 [mu33-k^hi31] *v.* to kindle, 烧火. ETY.: mu33 ‘fire’ + k^hi31 CAUS.

mu33-k^hɣ31 [mu33-k^hə31] *v.* to extinguish a fire, 灭火. ETY.: mu33 ‘fire’ + k^hə13 ‘extinguish.’

mu33 gu33-gu33 [mu33 gu33-gu33] *v.* thundering, 打雷. ETY.: mu33 gu33 ‘thunder’ + gu33 ‘strike.’

mu33 lə33-qæ13 [mju33 lə33-qæ13] *v.* be burnt, 被火烧的. ETY.: mu33 ‘fire’ + lə33- ACCOMP- + qæ13 ‘burn.’

mu33-pə33 [mju33-pə33] *v.* to blaze, 火光. ETY.: mu33 ‘fire’ + pə33 ‘be bright.’

mu33-qæ33 lu31 [mju33-qæ33 lɿ31] fire (the accident), 火灾. ETY.: mu33 ‘fire’ + qæ33 lu31 ‘accident.’

mu33 tsi33 [mju33 tsz33] *n.* moustache; beard 胡子; 胡须.

mu33 tɕʰɿ31 [mju33 tɕʰə31] *n.* chin, 颏. PTB *m-ka / PTB *m-ka-y.

mu33 tɕʰɿ31 mu33 tsi33 [mju33 tɕʰə31 mju33 tsz33] *n.* goatee, 山羊胡子. ETY.: mu33 tɕʰə31 ‘chin’ + mu33 tsi33 ‘beard.’

mu33-zæ13 [mju33-zæ13] *n.* spark, 火花. ETY.: mu33 ‘fire’ + zæ13.

mu33-zæ31-bæ13 [mju33-zæ31-bæ13] *v.* to sparkle, 溅火花. ETY.: mu33 ‘fire’ + zæ13 + bæ13.

mɿ13 [mɿ13] *v.* to blow (mouth), 吹. PTB *mut / PLB *s-mutH.

mɿ31 [mɿ31] *v.* to wear, 穿. Ex.: Change 3.

mɿ31 [mɿ31] *v.* to listen, 听. Ex.: çinami 38.

mɿ31 [mɿ31] *n.* daughter, female child, girl, 女儿, 女孩子, 姑娘. Ex.: Gemu 1, 19, 26.

mɿ31 su33 [mɿ31 si33] *adv.* tomorrow, 明天. Ex.: çinami 45.

mɿ31 su33 ɲa13 [mɿ31 si33 ɲa13] *adv.* morning, 早晨. ETY.: mɿ33 ‘sky’ + si33 ɲa13 ‘daybreak.’ Ex.: Tso 149.

mɿ31-tɕə33 [mɿ31-tɕə33] *adv.* below, downwards, 下边. ETY.: mɿ31 ‘down’ + tɕə33 ‘side.’ Ex.: Gemu 28.

mɿ31 zi13 [mɿ31 zɿ13] *n.* oats, 燕麦. Ex.: Tso 279.

mɿ31-zə13 [mɿ31-zə13] *n.* girl, woman, 姑娘, 女. ETY.: mɿ31 ‘girl’ + -zə13 -DIM. Ex.: Change 9.

mɿ31 zə13 bu33 [mɿ31 zə13 bu33] women’s, 女的.

mɿ33 [mɿ33] *n.* 1. heavens, sky, 天上; 2. weather, 天气. Ex.: Gemu 5. PTB *məw / PLB *məw2.

mɿ33 [mɿ33] *n.* name, 名字. Ex.: Gemu 15. PTB *miŋ / PLB *ʔ-miŋ1/3.

mɿ33-di33 [mɿ33-di33] *n.* land, 土地.
ETY.: mɿ33 ‘sky’ + di33 ‘earth; land,
place.’ Ex.: Tso 16.

mɿ33-di33 [mɿ33-di33] *n.* things to
wear, 穿的. ETY.: mɿ33 ‘wear’ + -di33
NOM_{PURP} Ex.: Change 12.

mɿ33-dza33 [mɿ33-dza33] *v.* to be
completely overcast, to be cloudy, 天阴.
ETY.: mɿ33 ‘sky’ + dza33 ‘bad.’

mɿ33 k^hu13 [mɿ33 k^hu13] *adv.* dusk, 黄
昏. ETY.: mɿ33 ‘sky’ + k^hu13. Ex.:
ɕinami 45.

mɿ33 gu33 [mɿ33 gu33] *n.* thunder, 雷.

mɿ33 pu33 zu33 [mɿ33 ɸu33 zu33] *n.*
dragon, 龙.

mɿ33-pu31 [mɿ33-ɸi31] drought, 干旱.
ETY.: mɿ33 ‘sky’ + pu33 ‘dry.’

mɿ33-ɕwæ31 [mɿ33-ɕwæ31] at the end
of the earth, 天边. ETY.: mɿ33 ‘sky’ +
ɕwæ31 ‘side.’ Ex.: Tso 134.

mɿ33-t^hæ33 [mɿ33-t^hæ33] *adv.* below,
下边. ETY.: mɿ33 ‘down’ + t^hæ33
‘underneath.’

mɿ33-tɕæ31 [mɿ33-tɕæ31] *v.* be named,
名叫. ETY.: mɿ33 ‘name’ + tɕæ33
‘call.’ Ex.: Gemu 1.

mɿ33-wɔ33 [mɔ33-wɔ33] *n.* sky, 天空;
heavens, 天上. ETY.: mɿ33 ‘sky,
heavens’ + wɔ33 ‘above’; undergoes
vowel harmony. Ex.: Gemu 5, 18. PTB
*məw / PLB *məw2.

mɿ33-wɔ33-ni33 ku31 [mɔ33-wɔ33-ni33
ku31] *v.* blue, 蓝色. ETY.: mɿ33 wɔ33
‘heavens’ + ni33 ku33 ‘be like, seem.’

mɿ33-zɛ33 [mɿ33-zɛ33] *adv.* rainy
season, 雨季. ETY.: mɿ33 ‘sky’ + zɛ33
‘rainy season.’

mɿ31 qæ33 [mɿ31 qæ33] *v.* to castrate,
阉割. PTB *mwan > < PTB *mwat.

mɿ31-li13 [mɔ31-li13] *n.* yak butter tea,
酥油茶. ETY.: mɿ33 ‘oil, fat’ + li13
‘tea.’

mɿ31 ts^ho13 [mɔ31 ts^ho13] *n.* pine resin,
松明. Ex.: Tso 194.

mɿ33 [mɔ33] *n.* vegetable oil, fat for
cooking, 油. Ex.: ɕinami 33.

na13 [na13] *n.* Na ethnicity, 摩梭. Ex.:
Gemu 1, 10, 15.

na31 [na31] *v.* black, 黑的. PTB *s-nak
/ PLB *ʔ-nakL.

na31-di33 [na31-di33] *n.* Na areas, 摩梭地区. ETY.: na13 ‘Na’ + -di33 -NOM_{LOC}. Ex.: Gemu 10.

na31-hĩ13 [na31-hĩ13] *n.* Naxi ethnicity, 纳西. ETY.: na33 ‘black’ + hĩ33 ‘person.’

na31-ku33 ku31 [na31-ki33 ki31] *v.* very black, 特别黑的. ETY.: na33 ‘black’ + ku33 ku33.

na31-k^hɔ33 lu13 [na31-k^hɔ33 [u]13] *v.* very black, 黑黑的. ETY.: na33 ‘black’ + k^hɔ33 + lu13.

na31-q^hæ33 tɕ^hi13 [næ31-q^hæ33 tɕ^hi13] a bit black, 一点黑的. ETY.: na33 ‘black’ + q^hæ33 + tɕ^hi13.

na31-zwɤ33 [na31-zwɤ33] *n.* the Na language, 摩梭语. ETY.: na13 ‘Na’ + zwɤ33 ‘speak.’ Ex.: Tso 90. PTB *rey.

na33 [na33] *cls.* CLS used with knives, axes, scissors, doors, 量词. Ex.: Tso 185.

na33 na33 [na33 na33] *adv.* stealthily, 悄悄的. Ex.: Gemu 35; çinami 36.

na33 zu31 [na33 zi31] *n.* private parts, 下身. Ex.: Tso 280.

næ13 [næ13] *v.* submerge, 淹. Ex.: çinami 48.

næ33 [næ33] *v.* to hide, 藏. Ex.: Tso 108.

næ33 [næ33] *n.* milk, 奶. PTB *nəw.

næ33-tɕi33 [næ33-tɕi33] *n.* yogurt, 酸奶. ETY.: næ33 ‘milk’ + tɕi33 ‘sour.’

ni13 [ni13] *v.* near, 近. PTB *s-ney / PTB *s-na:y.

ni13 [ni13] *int. pro* who, 谁.

ni33 [ni33] *quant.* two, 二. Ex.: Gemu 22. PTB *g-nis / PLB *?-nit / ni2.

ni33 [ni33] *v., pcl.* COP; CERT.STR, 是肯; 定的. Ex.: Gemu 2, 3, 19.

ni33 ku33 [ni33 ku33] *v.* to seem 象. Ex.: Tso 52.

ni33-q^hɣ33 [ni33-q^hɣ33] *n.* cave (in mountain), 山洞. ETY.: ni33 + q^hɣ33 ‘hole.’

ni33-q^hɣ33 [ni33-q^hɣ33] *n.* fish hole, place where fish live, 鱼洞. ETY.: ni33 ‘fish’ + q^hɣ33 ‘hole.’ Ex.: Tso 153.

ni33 tɔ31 [ni33 tɔ31] *n.* mouth, 嘴巴, 口. Ex.: çinami 33.

ni33-tu31 [ni33-tu31] *n.* fish nest, 鱼窝.
ETY.: ni33 ‘fish’ + tu31. Ex.: Tso 152.

ni33-tʂ^hwæ33 [ni33-tʂ^hwæ33] *n.* roe, fish
eggs, 鱼子. ETY.: ni33 ‘fish’ + tʂ^hwæ33
‘son.’

ni33-zo33 [ni33-zo33] *n.* fish, 鱼. ETY.:
ni33 ‘fish’ + -zo33 -DIM. Ex.: çinami
22. PTB *ŋya / PLB *ŋa2.

ni33-zo33-ʂe33 [ni33-zo33-ʂe33] *n.* fish
meat, 鱼肉. ETY.: ni33-zo33 ‘fish’ +
ʂe33 ‘meat.’ Ex.: çinami 26.

ni33-zo33-wu33 ku31 [ni33-zo33-ɣ33
ku31] *n.* scales (of fish), 鱼鳞. ETY.:
ni33-zo33 ‘fish’ + wu31 ku13 ‘skin.’

no13 [no13] *pro.* REFL, 自己. Ex.: Gemu
26, 27, 43.

no31 [no31] *adv.* just, then, 才, 刚刚.
Ex.: çinami 29; Tso 48.

no31 [no31] *conj., pcl.* 1. DISJ (or), 或者;
2. QM, 吗. Ex.: Tso 283.

no33 [no33] *conj.* ADVERS (but), 但是.
Ex.: Tso 248.

no33 [no33] *pro.* 2SG.PRO, 你. Ex.: Tso
25. PTB *naŋ / PLB *naŋ1.

no33 bu33 [no33 bu33] *pro.* 2SG.POSS,
你的. ETY.: no33 2SG.PRO + bu33 POSS.

no33-sɿ31 ku31 [no33-sə31 ku31] *pro.*
2PL.PRO, 你们. ETY.: no33 2SG.PRO +
-sə33 ku31 -PL.

no33-sɿ31 ku31 bu31 [no33-sə31 ku31
bu31] *pro.* 2PL.POSS, 你们的. ETY.:
no33-sə33 ku31 2PL.PRO + bu33 POSS.

nu31 mi13 [nu31 mi13] *n.* heart, 心.
PTB *s-ni.

nu31 mi13 [nu31 mi13] *n.* girl, 姑娘.
ETY.: Shamanic. Literally means ‘niece’,
but used in this text to mean ‘girl.’ Ex.:
Tso 97.

nu31 mi13-fu33 [nu31 mi13-fu33] *v.* to
be happy, 快乐的, 开心的. ETY.: nu31
mi13 ‘heart’ + fu33 ‘happy.’

nu31 mi13-kwə33-hu33 [nu31
mi13-kwə33-hə33] *v.* to be pleased, 满
意的. ETY.: nu31 mi13 ‘heart’ + kwə33
LOC + hə33 ‘go.’

nu31 mi13-ts^hə55-ts^hə55 [nu31
mi13-ts^hə55-ts^hə55] heartbeat, 心跳.
ETY.: nu31 mi13 ‘heart’ + ts^hə55-ts^hə55
‘leap.’

nu33 [nu33] *s.v.* to be few, 少的. Ex.:
Saozi 21.

nu33-gɔ33 [ɲu33-gɔ33] *v.* to be pitiable, 可怜. ETY.: nu33 ‘heart’ + gɔ33 ‘hurt.’
Ex.: Gemu 42.

nu55 ɕi31 [ɲu55 ɕi31] *s.v.* to be beautiful, 漂亮. Ex.: Gemu 19.

ny33 [ɲy33] *v.* to know, find out, 知道.
Ex.: Gemu 25.

nu33 [ɲi33] *postp., pcl.* ABL; AGTV; EMPH, 从. Ex.: Tso 147.

ny31-dzi33 [ɲə31-dzi33] *n.* tofu, 豆腐.
ETY.: ɲə31 ‘soybean’ + dzi33 ‘water.’

ny31-hwɔ13 [ɲə31-hwɔ13] *n.* *douhua* (type of tofu made from the non-congealed remnants of the tofu-making process), 豆花. ETY.: ny31 ‘soybean’ + hwɔ13 (probably a borrowing of Chinese *hua* in *douhua*).

ny31-ly33 [ɲə31-ly33] *n.* soybean, 黄豆.
ETY.: ny31 ‘soybean’ + CLS.kernel.

ny33 mɔ31 [ɲə33 mɔ31] *v.* purple.

ny33 pɔ31 [ɲə33 pɔ31] *n.* horsebean, 蚕豆.

na13 [na13] *adv.* early, 早. Ex.: ɕinami 45.

na31-bi33-li31 [na31-bi33-li31] *n.* eyelid, 眼睑. ETY.: na13 ‘eye’ + bi33 + li31.

na31-ly33 [na31-ly33] *n.* eye, 眼睛.
ETY.: na13 ‘eye’ + ly33 CLS. Ex.: Tso 285. PLB *s-myakH.

na31-ly33 **mæ33** **mæ31**
[na31-ly33-mæ33 mæ31] *v.* to blink one’s eyes, 眨眼睛. ETY.: na13 ‘eye’ + ly33 CLS + mæ31 mæ13 ‘blink.’ PTB *s-mi:t / PLB mi:tL.

na31-na33 [na31-na33] *n.* pupil of the eye, 瞳孔. ETY.: na13 ‘eye’ + na33 ‘black.’

na31-p^hu33 [na31-p^hi33] *n.* white of the eye, 白眼球. ETY.: na13 ‘eye’ + p^hu33 ‘white.’

na31-p^hu33-na31-na33-di31-di13
[na31-p^hi33-na31-na33-di31-di13] *v.* to move one’s eyes wildly, as just before fainting. ETY.: na13 ‘eye’ + p^hu33 ‘white’ + na13 ‘eye’ + na33 ‘black’ + di31-di13.

na31-q^hæ13 [næ31-q^hæ13] *n.* eye sand, 眼屎. ETY.: na13 ‘eye’ + qæ33 ‘excrement.’

ɲa31-tɔ33 [ɲa31-tɔ33] *adv.* daylight, 日光, 白天. ETY.: ɲa13 ‘eye’ + tɔ33 ‘see.’ Ex.: Gemu 34.

ɲa31-tsi33 [ɲa31-tsz33] *n.* eyebrow, 眉毛. ETY.: ɲa13 ‘eye’ + tsi33. Ex.: Tso 285.

ɲa33 [ɲa33] *pro.* 1SG.PRO, 我. Ex.: Intro 1. PTB *ɲa / PLB *ɲa1.

ɲa33 [ɲa33] *n.* eye, 眼睛. Ex.: Tso 39.

ɲa33-bæ33 [ɲæ33-bæ33] *n.* tears, 眼泪. ETY.: ɲa13 ‘eye’ + bæ33. Ex.: Gemu 40.

ɲa33 bu33 [ɲa33 bu33] *pro.* 1SG.POSS, 我的. ETY.: ɲa33 1SG.PRO + bu33 POSS.

ɲa33-dzi33-di31 [ɲa33-dzi33-di31] *v.* have artistic vision, artistic ability, 艺术性的眼光. ETY.: ɲa13 ‘eye’ + dzi33 ‘level, ability’ + di31 EXIST.P. Ex.: Tso 39.

ɲa33-sɿ31 ku31 [ɲæ33-sə31 ku31] *pro.* 1EXC.PRO, 我们. ETY.: ɲa33 1SG.PRO + -sə31 ku31 -PL. Ex.: Tso 134, Intro 7.

ɲa33-sɿ31 ku31 bu31 [ɲæ33-sə31 ku31 bu31] *pro.* 1EXC.POSS, 我们的. ETY.: ɲa33 1SG.PRO + -sə31 ku31 -PL + bu33 POSS.

ɲa33-tæ33-mi33 [ɲæ33-tæ33-mi33] *n.* horizontal-eyed woman, 眼睛横的女人. ETY.: ɲa13 ‘eye’ + tæ33 ‘horizontal’ + -mi33 female suffix. Ex.: Tso 97.

ɲa33-tsi31 [ɲa33-tsz31] *n.* 1. eyes and eyebrows, 眼睛和眉毛; 2. eyelashes. ETY.: ɲa13 ‘eye’ + tsi31 ‘eyebrows.’ Ex.: Tso 102.

ɲa33-tsu31-mi31 [ɲæ33-tsu31-mi31] *n.* vertical-eyed woman, 眼睛竖的女人. ETY.: ɲa13 ‘eye’ + tsu31 ‘vertical’ + -mi33 female suffix. Ex.: Tso 98.

ɲæ33 zɿ31 [ɲæ33 zə31] *n.* Hui (Han Muslims), 回族.

ɲi13-gɿ33 [ɲi13-gə33] *n.* mucus (liquid or solid), 黏液 (水性的, 固体的). ETY.: ɲi33 ‘nose’ + gɿ33.

ɲi31 [ɲi31] *v.* hear, 听.

ɲi31 tɔ33 [ɲi31 tɔ33] *n.* lips, 嘴唇.

ɲi33 [ɲi33] *v.* to be full, 饱.

ɲi33 [ɲi33] *v.* to want, 要.

ɲi33 / 55 [ɲi33 / 55] *adv.* day, 天. Ex.: Gemu 3, 18.

ɲi33-ɣɿ33-tɕʰu13 [ɲi33-ɣə33-tɕʰu13] *v.*
to blow one's nose, 醒鼻涕. ETY.: ɲi33
ɣɿ33 'mucus' + tɕʰu13 'wipe.'

ɲi33-ɦi31 ku33 [ɲi33-ɦi31 ku33] *adv.*
daytime, 白天. ETY.: ɲi33 'sun' + ɦi31
ku33 'middle.' Ex.: Tso 4.

ɲi33 mi33 [ɲi33 mi33] *n.* sun, sunlight,
太阳; 太阳光. PTB *nəy.

ɲi33 mi33-da31 zɿ33 [ɲi33 mi33-da31
zə33] *n.* solar eclipse, 日食. ETY.: ɲi33
mi33 'sun' + da31 zɿ33.

ɲi33 mi33-ku31-tɿ31 [ɲi33
mi33-ku31-tə31] *adv.* west, 西. ETY.:
ɲi33 mi33 'sun' + ku31 'set' + tɿ31
'side.'

ɲi33 mi33 ku31 pɿ33 [ɲi33 mi33 ki31
pə33] *n.* sunrise, dawn, 日出. ETY.: ɲi33
mi33 'sun' + ku31 pɿ33.

ɲi33 mi33-kʰu33 ʂɿ33 [ɲi33 mi33-kʰi33
ʂə33] *n.* ray of sunlight, 太阳光. ETY.:
ɲi33 mi33 'sun' + kʰu33 ʂɿ33.

ɲi33 mi33-pɿ31 [ɲi33 mi33-pə31] *n.*
sunrise, 日出. ETY.: ɲi33 mi33 'sun' +
pɿ31 'come out.'

ɲi33 mi33-tʰu33-tɿ31 [ɲi33
mi33-tʰu33-tə31] *adv.* east, 东. ETY.:

ɲi33 mi33 'sun' + tʰu33 'emerge' +
tɿ31 'side.'

ɲi33 mi55-ku31 [ɲi33 mi55-ku31] *n.*
sunset, 日落. ETY.: ɲi33 mi33 'sun' +
ku31 'set.'

ɲi33 na31 [ɲi33 na31] *n.* grape, 葡萄.

ɲi33 ni33 [ɲi33 ni33] *v.* to stain, 沾. Ex.:
çinami 33.

ɲi33-qʰɿ33 [ɲi33-qʰɿ33] *n.* nose, 鼻子.
ETY.: ɲi33 'nose' + qʰɿ33 'hole.' PTB
*s-na / PLB *ʔ-na2.

ɲi33-qʰɿ33-hɔ̃33 [ɲi33-qʰɿ33-hɔ̃33] *n.*
nose hair, 鼻毛. ETY.: ɲi33-qʰɿ33
'nostril' + hɔ̃33 'fur.'

ɲi33-qʰɿ33-kwə33-lə31
[ɲi33-qʰɿ33-kwə33-lə31] *n.* nostril, 鼻
孔. ETY.: ɲi33-qʰɿ33 'nostril' +
kwə33-lə31 INESS.

ɲi33-tɕʰwə33 [ɲi33-tɕʰwə33] *n.* nose
bridge, 鼻梁. ETY.: ɲi33 'nose' +
tɕʰwə33.

ɲi55-pʰu31 [ɲi55-pʰi31] *n.* frost, 霜.
ETY.: ɲi55 + pʰu33 'white.'

ɲə13 [ɲə13] *n.* milk, 奶. Ex.: Tso 161.
PTB *nəw.

ɲɔ31-bi33 [ɲɔ31-bi33] *n.* 1. nipple, 奶头; 2. bosom, 胸. ETY.: ɲɔ13 ‘milk’ + bi33.

ɲɔ31 bi33 li31 [ɲɔ31 bi33 li31] *n.* lip, 嘴唇.

ɲɔ31 bi33 li31-ɣæ33 [ɲɔ31 bi33 li31-ɣæ33] *n.* upper lip, 上唇. ETY.: ɲɔ31 bi33 li31 ‘lip’ + ɣæ33.

ɲɔ31 bi33 li31-tʰæ33 [ɲɔ31 bi33 li31-tʰæ33] *n.* lower lip, 下唇. ETY.: ɲɔ31 bi33 li31 ‘lip’ + tʰæ33 ‘underneath.’

ɲɔ31-kɛ33 [ɲɔ31-kɛ33] *v.* to wean, 断奶. ETY.: ɲɔ13 ‘milk’ + kɛ33.

ɲɔ31-ɲɔ31-lu33 [ɲɔ31-ɲɔ31-lu33] *n.* breast, 乳房. ETY.: ɲɔ13 ‘milk’ + ɲɔ31 + lu33.

ɲu33 [ɲu33] *v.i.* to cry / weep, 哭. PTB *ɲəw / PLB *ɲəw1.

ɲu33 ɲu31 [ɲu33 ɲu31] *v.i.* to cry / weep. Ex.: Gemu 33. PTB *ɲəw / PLB *ɲəw1.

ɲɣ33 [ɲɣ33] *n.* silver 银. Ex.: Tso 133. PTB *d-ɲul.

ɲɣ33-lɔ31-tɕɔ33 [ɲɣ33-lɔ31-tɕɔ33] *n.* silver bracelet, 银手镯. ETY.: ɲɣ33 ‘silver’ + lɔ31 ‘hand’ + tɕɔ33 ‘encircle.’

ɲɔ31 kɔ33 [ɲə31 kɔ33] *n.* knee, 膝盖.

ɲɔ31 kɔ33-ku33 tu33 [ɲə31 kɔ33-ku33 tu33] *n.* knee hollow / popliteal region, 腿弯部. ETY.: ɲɔ31 kɔ33 ‘knee’ + ku33 tu33 ‘back of.’

ɲɔ31 kɔ33-tsʰe31-pʰæ13 [ɲə31 kɔ33-tsʰe31-pʰæ13] *n.* knee cap / patella, 膝盖骨. ETY.: ɲɔ31 kɔ33 ‘knee’ + tsʰe31 + pʰæ13 CLS.

ɲɔ31 wɔ33 [ɲə31 wɔ33] *n.* wasp, hornet, 黄蜂, 大黄蜂.

ɲwɔ33 [ɲwə33] *quant.* five, 五. PTB *ɲa / PLB *ɲa2.

ɲwɔ33-pʰæ13 [ɲwə33-pʰæ13] *n.* roof tile, 瓦片. ETY.: ɲwɔ33 ‘roof’ + pʰæ13 CLS.flat, strip.

ɔ13 [ʔɔ13] *interj.* expresses surprise, 哎呀. Ex.: Tso 67, Tso 154.

ɔ̃13 [ʔɔ̃13] *n.* goose (wild or domestic), 鹅.

ɔ̃31-bu33 [ʔɔ̃31-bu33] *pro.* REFL.POSS, 自己. ETY.: ɔ̃13 REFL + bu33 POSS. Ex.: Change 7.

ɔ̃31 ɦi33 [ʔɔ̃31 ɦi33] *n.* soul, 灵魂. Ex.: Gemu 47.

ʃ31-sɿ31 ku31 [ʔʃ31-sə31 ku31] *pro.*
1INC.PRO, 咱们. ETY.: ʃ13 REFL+ sɿ33
ku31 PL Ex.: Tso 1.

ʃ31-sɿ31 ku31-bu31 [ʔʃ31-sə31
ku31-bu31] *pro.* 1INC.POSS, 咱们的.
ETY.: ʃ31-sɿ31 ku31 1INC.PRO + bu33
POSS.

ʃ31 tu13 [ʔʃ31 tu13] *n.* wolf, 狼.

ʃ31 tu13-k^hu33 [ʔʃ31 tu13-k^hu33] *n.*
wolf dog, 狼犬狗. ETY.: ʃ31 tu13 ‘wolf’
+ k^hu33 ‘dog.’

ʃ31 zi13 [ʔʃ31 zɿ13] *n.* turquoise
(semi-precious stone), 绿松石.

ʃ33 [ʔʃ33] *n.* bone, 骨头. Ex.: Tso 162.

ʃ33 [ʔʃ33] *s.v.* to be tough, bitter; to be
difficult; 困难. Ex.: Tso 141.

ʃ33 [ʔʃ33] *pro.* REFL, 自己. Ex.: ɕinami
43.

ʃ33 ku31 [ʔʃ33 ku31] *n.* shin, 胫.

ʃ33-mæ33 ts^hɛ33 [ʔʃ33-mæ33 ts^hɛ33] *n.*
tailbone, rump, 尾梢. ETY.: ʃ33 ‘bone’
+ mæ33 ts^hɛ33 ‘tail.’

ʃ33-mi33 [ʔʃ33-mi33] *n.* skeleton, 骨骼.
ETY.: ʃ33 ‘bone’ + -mi33 -AUG.

ʃ33-mɿ33 [ʔʃ33-mə33] *n.* marrow, 骨髓.
ETY.: ʃ33 ‘bone’ + mɿ33 ‘oil.’

ʃ33-mɿ33-t^hu33 [ʔʃ33-mə33-t^hu33] *v.*
has no hope; has no strength; 没有信心;
没有力气. ETY.: ʃ33 ‘bone’ + mæ33-
NEG + t^hu33 ‘arrive.’ Ex.: Tso 181.

ʃ33-tɕ^hi33 [ʔʃ33-tɕ^hi33] *v.* has no hope;
has no strength; 没有信心; 没有力气.
ETY.: ʃ33 ‘bone’ + tɕ^hi33. Ex.: Tso 162.

ɕŋ33-tʃwɿ33 [ɕŋ33-tʃwə33] *n.* mosquito,
蚊子. ETY.: ɕŋ33 sound symbolic +
tʃwə33 ‘to catch.’

pa33 ɬa13 [pa33 ɬa13] *n.* clothes, 衣服.

pa33 la33 k^hu33 [pa33 la33 k^hi33] *n.*
web, 蜘蛛网.

pa33 la33-k^hu55 ts^hɿ31 [pa33
la33-k^hi55 ts^hə31] *n.* spider, 蜘蛛. ETY.:
pa33 la33 + k^hu33 ts^hɿ13 ‘leg.’

pi31 [pi31] *postp.* toward, 对着. Ex.:
Gemu 39.

pi31-mi13 [pi31-mi13] *n.* axe, 斧头.
ETY.: pi31 + -mi33 -AUG. Ex.: Tso 179.

pi31-mi31-zo33 [pi31-mi31-zo33] *n.*
small axe, 小斧头. ETY.: pi31-mi13
‘axe’ + -zo33 -DIM. Note: pi31-mi13
‘axe’ has augmentative marking, this

word is then suffixed with diminutive marking in pi31-mi31-zɔ33 ‘small axe.’

pi31 p^hu13 dzi31 [pi31 p^hu13 dzi31] *n.* floodwater, 洪水. Ex.: Tso 27.

pi31-t^ha13 [pi31-t^ha13] *n.* axe, 斧头. Shamanic. ETY.: pi31 + t^ha13 ‘sharp’ Ex.: Tso 185.

pi31 tɕi31 [pi31 tɕi31] *adv.* almost, 将要. Ex.: Gemu 34, 36.

pi33 [pi33] *v., pcl.* to say; QUOT, 说. Ex.: Gemu 26, 29, 29.

pi33 [pi33] *n.* snow, 雪. Ex.: Tso 168.

pi33 li33 pi33 t^hsuw31 zo31 [pi33 li33 pi33 t^hsi31 zo31] *n.* pilipitsizo. This is a term of humility used by the Na to refer to themselves; it also may be used as an insult. Ex.: Tso 7.

pi33-ly33 [pi33-[y33] *n.* (liquor) lees, 酒糟. ETY.: pi13 ‘bran, chaff’ + ly33 CLS.kernel. Ex.: Tso 268.

pi33 pɔ33 [pi33 pɔ33] *n.* (wine) lees, 酒糟. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 268.

pɔ13 [pɔ13] *v., pcl.* to take; to use; instr; marker of disposal construction (aka *ba* construction); 拿; 用; 把. Ex.: çinami 41, Tso. 169.

pɔ31 [pɔ31] *n.* husband, 老公. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 88 PTB *pwa.

pɔ33 [pɔ33] *n.* wasteland, 荒地. Ex.: Tso 21.

pɔ33 [pɔ33] *cls.* CLS used with small upright vegetation: small trees (saplings), most flowers, vegetables, 量词 (小树, 花, 蔬菜).

pɔ33 li33 [pɔ33 li33] *n.* glass, 玻璃. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

pɔ33 pɔ33 ts^hv13 [pɔ33 pɔ33 ts^hə13] *n.* spinach 菠菜. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

pu31 [pɸu31] *v.* to send, 派. Ex.: Tso 147.

pu31 [pɸu31] *n.* barrel, 桶. Ex.: Tso 111.

pu33 zu33 [pɸu33 zu33] *n.* dragon, 龙. Ex.: Tso 76.

puw13 [pɸi13] *v.* to take out, 拔. Ex.: Tso 137.

puw33 [pɸi33] *n.* yak, 牦牛. Ex.: Tso 276.

puw33-lu13-hĩ33 [pɸi33-[lu13-hĩ33] *n.* yak herder, 放牦牛的人. ETY.: pi33 ‘yak’ + lu13 ‘feed’ + -hĩ33 -NOM_{AGT}.

pɯ33-ʂɛ13/33 [pɯ33-ʂɛ13/33] *n.* yak meat, 牦牛肉. ETY.: pɿ33 ‘yak’ + ʂɛ33 ‘meat.’

pɿ31 [pə31] *cls.* CLS used with flat, rectangular objects: tables, books, 量词 (桌子, 书). ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

pɿ31 mi13 [pə31 mi13] *n.* frog, 青蛙, 蟾蜍. Ex.: Tso 76.

pɿ31 tɕi13 wə33 tu33 [pə31 tɕi13 wə33 tu33] *n.* tadpole, 蝌蚪.

pɿ31 yɿ13 [pə31 yə13] *n.* flat bread round, 粑粑.

pɿ33 bə31 [pə33 bə31] *n.* vine, 藤. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 232.

pɿ33-lu31 [pə33-lu31] *v.* to carry on one’s back, 背着. ETY.: pɿ33 ‘carry on ones back’ + lu31. Ex.: Tso 111.

pɿ33 pɿ33 [pə33 pə33] *v.* to carry on one’s back, 背着. Ex.: Tso 135.

pɿ33 tə31 [pə33 tə31] *quant.* all, 都. Ex.: Tso 248.

pʰæ31 [pʰæ31] *cls.* CLS used flat items and strips: tiles, strips of land, strips of fish, cliffs, 量词 (片). Ex.: Gemu 47, çinami 2, 26.

pʰæ31-tʂʰu33-pɿ33 [pʰæ31-tʂʰu33-pə33] *n.* towel; scarf; type of scarf wrapped around head, 毛巾, 围巾. ETY.: pʰæ33 ‘face’ + tʂʰu13 ‘wipe’ + pɿ33 ‘cloth.’

pʰæ31 tɕʰi33 [pʰæ31 tɕʰi33] *n.* man, 男人, 小伙子. Ex.: Gemu 10, 15, 36.

pʰæ33 [pʰæ33] *v.* to fasten, 拴. Ex.: çinami 44.

pʰæ33-di31 [pʰæ33-di31] *v., pcl.* to seem; INFR, 好像. ETY.: pʰæ33 ‘face’ + di33 EXIST.P. Ex.: Tso 117.

pʰæ33-pʰæ33 [pʰæ33-pʰæ33] *v.* to fasten, 拴. Note: the reduplication indicates that the item has been wrapped several times in the process of fastening. Ex.: çinami 44.

pʰæ33-qʰwæ31 [pʰæ33-qʰwæ31] *n.* 1. face, 脸; 2. cheek, 面颊. ETY.: pʰæ33 ‘face’ + qʰwæ33. Ex.: çinami 34.

pʰæ33-qʰwæ31-ʂ31 [pʰæ33-qʰwæ31-ʂ31] *n.* cheekbone / malar bone, 颊骨. ETY.: pʰæ33 ‘face’ + qʰwæ33 + ʂ33 ‘bone.’

pʰæ33-qʰwæ31-yi31 tʰu13 [pʰæ33-qʰwæ31-yi31 tʰu13] *n.* blemish on skin, 粉刺. ETY.: pʰæ33-qwæ33 ‘face’ + yi31 tʰu13 ‘acne.’

pʰi13 [pʰi13] *v.* to spit, 吐.

p^hi31-bu33 [p^hi31-bu33] *n.* vomit, 呕吐物. ETY.: p^hi13 ‘spit’ + bu33. PTB *pat / PLB *C-patL.

p^hi33 [p^hi33] *n.* hemp cloth, 麻布. Ex.: Gemu 4, 8.

p^hi33-da13 [p^hi33-da13] *v.* to weave hemp cloth, 织麻布. ETY.: p^hi33 ‘hemp cloth’ + da13 ‘weave.’

p^hi33 li31 [p^hi33 li31] *n.* butterfly, 蝴蝶. Childspeak: p^hi55 li31 pa31 la31. Ex.: Gemu 7. PTB *pur > < PTB *pwar and PTB *lep.

p^hi33 ŋɔ31 (loan) [p^hi33 ŋɔ31] (loan) *n.* apple, 苹果. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

p^hɔ13 [p^hɔ13] *c/s.* CLS used with oxen, 量词 (公牛). Ex.: Tso 20.

p^hɔ31 [p^hɔ31] *v.* to escape, 逃跑. Ex.: Gemu 31, çinami 54.

p^hɔ33 [p^hɔ33] *v.* be open, 开的 (门). PTB *pwaŋ / PLB *pwaŋ3.

p^hɔ33 [p^hɔ33] *v.t.* to plant, 播种. Ex.: Tso 261.

p^hɔ33-bi31-di33 [p^hɔ33-bi31-di33] *n.* place to which to escape 逃跑的地方. ETY.: p^hɔ33 ‘escape’ + bi33 ‘go’ + -di33 -NOM_{Loc}. Ex.: çinami 54.

p^hu33 [p^hu33] *v.t.* to overturn (soil), 翻. Ex.: Tso 200. PTB *m-pup / PLB *pyapH.

p^hu33 [p^hu33] *n.* cow, 牛. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 140.

p^hu33 [p^hu33] *n.* money, 钱. Ex.: Tso 213.

p^hu33/31 [p^hu33/31] *s.v.* white, 白的. PTB *plu / PLB *plu1.

-p^hu55/33 [-p^hu55/33] *n.* suffix male animal, 男性的动物. PTB *pu, PTB *pwa.

qa31-na31-mi31 [qa31-na31-mi31] *n.* hawk, eagle, 鹰. ETY.: qa33 + na33 ‘black’ + -mi33 -AUG.

qa33 [qa33] *s.v.* to be thin, 瘦的.

qæ13 [qæ13] *v.* to trick, to cheat, 骗. Ex.: Tso 135.

qæ33 [qæ33] *v.* to move something, 搬运东西.

qæ33 [qæ33] *v.* burn; to burn food, 烧; 把饭糊了. Ex.: Tso 188. PTB *kyit.

qæ33 dɔ33 [qæ33 dɔ33] *n.* stick, 棍. PTB *da / PLB *da1.

qwæ31 [qwæ31] *postp.* between, 中间.
Note: a shortened form of qwæ31-gi33.
Ex.: Tso 258.

qwæ31 [qwæ31] *interj.* ‘right?’, 语气词
(啊?) Ex.: Tso 62.

qwæ31-çi33 [qwæ31-çi33] *n.* bedbug, 臭
虫. ETY.: qwæ33 ‘bed’ + çi33 (may be
a shortened form of çi33 mi33 ‘louse’).

qwæ31-gi33 [qwæ31-gi33] *postp.*
between, 中间. ETY.: qwæ31 ‘between’
+ gi33 ‘space.’ Ex.: Change 1.

qwæ33 [qwæ33] *n.* 1. table, 桌子; 2. bed,
床. Takes the CLS na33. Ex.: Tso 124.

qwr33 [qwə33] *n.* hearth, place to cook,
火塘, 灶. Variant: qwr13.

q^ha13 [q^ha13] *v.t.* to strike, 打. Ex.: Tso
236.

q^ha31-du33 [q^ha31-d̥i33] *adv.* very big,
多大. ETY.: q^ha33 ‘however, very’ +
du55 ‘big.’ Ex.: Tso 123.

q^ha31-ni13 [q^ha31-ni13] *int. pro* how;
however, 怎样. ETY.: q^ha33 ‘however,
very’ + ni13 ‘way.’ Ex.: Tso 39.

q^ha31-şæ33 [q^ha31-şæ33] *int. pro* how
long, 多长. ETY.: q^ha33 ‘however, very’
+ şæ33 ‘long.’

q^ha31-yɿ33 [q^ha31-yə33] *quant.* lots;
how many, 很多; 多少. ETY.: q^ha33
‘however, very’ + yɿ13. Ex.: Gemu 12,
çinami 22.

q^ha33 [q^ha33] *int. pro* however, very,
how many; several, 多少; 几. Ex.: Gemu
3; 30.

q^ha33 [q^ha33] *v.* angry, 生气的.

q^ha33-bæ33 [q^ha33-bæ33] lots of ways,
几种. ETY.: q^ha33 ‘however, very’ +
bæ33. Ex.: Gemu 46.

q^ha33 tse33 [q^ha33 tse33] *n.* corn, 玉米.

q^ha33-ts^he33 (ku33) [q^ha33-ts^he33
(ku33)] *int. pro* when, 什么时候. ETY.:
q^ha33 ‘however, very’ + ts^he33 (ku33).

q^ha33-tşwæ31 [q^ha33-tşwæ31] *adv.* a
long time, 很长时间. ETY.: q^ha33
‘however, very’ + tşwæ13. Ex.: Gemu
30.

q^ha33-zwæ13 [q^ha33-zwæ13] *v.* bitter,
overly salty, 苦的, 太咸的. ETY.: q^ha33
‘angry’ + zwæ13 INTS.

q^hæ13 [q^hæ13] *s.v.* to be comfortable, 舒
服的.

q^hæ13 [q^hæ13] *v.* to shoot, 打枪. Ex.:
Tso 233.

q^hæ33 [q^hæ33] *n.* excrement, 粪便. Ex.: Tso 220.

q^hæ33-bu33 nu33 [q^hæ33-bu33 nu33] *n.* smell of excrement, 粪便的味道. ETY.: q^hæ33 ‘excrement’ + bu33 nu33 ‘smell.’

q^hæ33-gu31 [q^hæ33-gi31] *n.* meconium / baby excrement, 拾粪. ETY.: q^hæ33 ‘excrement’ + gu31 ‘carry on shoulder.’

q^hæ33-k^hu31 [q^hæ33-k^hi31] *v.* fart, 放屁. ETY.: q^hæ33 ‘excrement’ + k^hi13 CAUS.

q^hæ33-lɔ33 [q^hæ33-lɔ33] *n.* small river, 河. PTB *laŋ / PLB *laŋ1.

q^hæ33-lɔ33-zɔ33-zɔ31
[q^hæ33-lɔ33-zɔ33-zɔ31] *n.* stream, brook, rivulet, 溪. ETY.: q^hæ33-lɔ33 ‘small river’ + -zɔ33 -DIM + -zɔ33 -DIM. Note: the use of the diminutive twice gives an intensified reading, i.e. *very* small.

q^hæ33-ʂe33 [q^hæ33-ʂe33] *v.* to defecate, 排粪. ETY.: q^hæ33 ‘excrement’ + ʂe33 ‘accept.’

q^hæ33-ʂwæ31 [q^hæ33-ʂwæ31] *v.* to have diarrhea, 拉肚子. ETY.: q^hæ33 ‘excrement’ + ʂwæ31.

q^hæ33-tu33 [q^hæ33-tu33] *n.* anus / rectum, 肛门. ETY.: q^hæ33 ‘excrement’ + tu33.

q^hæ33-zwæ13 [q^hæ33-zwæ13] *v.* light (said of work), leisurely, 悠闲. ETY.: q^hæ33 comfortable + zwæ13 INTS.

q^hɣ13 [q^hɣ13] *quant.* six, 六. PTB *d-kruk.

q^hɣ31 dʒi33 tɕ^hi33 [q^hɣ31 dʒi33 tɕ^hi33] *n.* hole (through something), piercing, 穿孔.

q^hɣ31 tu13 [q^hɣ31 tu13] *n.* small stump, 树桩 (小的).

q^hɣ33 [q^hɣ33] *n.* hole; well, 洞; 井. Ex.: Tso 152; Tso 5. PTB *guŋ > < PTB *kuŋ / PLB *guŋ2 > < PLB *kuŋ2.

q^hwɔ31 [q^hwə31] *n., cls.* bowl, 碗. Ex.: Tso 87.

q^hwɔ33-bi31 [q^hwə33-bi31] *n.* hoofprint, (马的) 脚印. ETY.: q^hwə33 ‘hoofprint’ + bi13. Ex.: Gemu 38.

q^hwɔ55 [q^hwə55] *s.v.* to be smart; obedient, 聪明的; 听话的.

q^hwɔ55 dɿ13 [q^hwə55 dʒi13] *n.* relative, kin, 亲戚.

sa31 [sa31] *n.* hemp, 麻.

sa33 ji31 [sa33 ji31] *v.* to make hemp thread, 做麻线. ETY.: sa33 ‘hemp’ + ji31.

sa33 tɕi33 [sa33 tɕi33] *n.* vagina, 阴道.

sa33 zo31 bu33 [sa33 zo31 bu33] *n.* cosmos, 宇宙. Possible loan.

se31 [se31] *v., pcl.* to finish; CMPL; 完. Ex.: ɕinami 42.

se33 [se33] *v.i.* to go, 走.

se33 se33 [se33 se33] *v.* 1. to court (s.o.), 恋爱; 2. to walk, 行走. Note: Also used to refer to two families that visit each other often. Ex.: Gemu 26; ɕinami 60.

se33 tʰi33 [se33 tʰi33] *v.* 1. to be exhausted (from work, etc.), 惫; 2. to have hardship, 辛苦.

si33 [sz33] *v.* to know (s.t.), 知道, to know (s.o.), 认识; to understand, 懂. Ex.: Gemu 15, 17. PTB *syey-s / PLB *šey2/3.

si33 bu33 si33 la33 [sz33 bu33 sz33 la33] *n.* caterpillar, 毛虫.

si33 bu31 [sz33 bi31] *n.* crab apple, 花红 (水果).

si33 ɕ31 mi33 [sz33 ɕ31 mi33] *n.* 1. spine / backbone, 脊骨; 2. vertebrae (of spine) 脊椎骨. ETY.: si33 + ɕ33 ‘bone’ + -mi33 -AUG.

si33 ɕ33 mi33 mɤ33 [sz33 ɕ33 mi33 mɤ33] *n.* spinal cord, 脊髓. ETY.: si33 + ɕ33 ‘bone’ + -mi33 -AUG + mɤ33 ‘oil.’ Note: also, ɕ33-mɤ33.

si33 tɕʰwa31 [sz33 tɕʰwa31] *n.* Sichuan, 四川. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

so13 [so13] *n.* air, 空气.

so31 [so31] *quant.* three, 三. Ex.: Tso 47. PTB *g-sum.

so31 [so31] *s.v.* to be fragrant, tasty, 香的, 好吃的. PTB *b-saŋ > < PTB *b-suŋ.

so31 [so31] *v.* to teach, 教. Ex.: Tso 182.

so31-kʰu33 [so31-kʰi33] *v.* to breathe, 呼吸. ETY.: so13 ‘air’ + kʰi33 ‘let out.’ PTB *sak / PLB *C-sakL.

so31-ji33 [so31-ji33] *adv.* tomorrow, 明天. ETY.: so31 ‘next’ + ji33 ‘day.’

so31-tsʰu33 [so31-tsʰi33] *v.* 1. to breathe, 呼吸; 2. to pant, 气喘. ETY.: so13 ‘air’ + tsʰi33 (verb).

so31-ye33 [so31-ye33] *adv.* next year, 明年. ETY.: so31 ‘next’ + ye33 ‘year.’

so33-dzi33 [so33-dzi33] *n.* abyss, 无底洞. ETY.: so33 + dzi33 ‘water.’

su13 ljao13 [su13 ljao13] *n.* plastic, 塑料. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

suw13 [si13] *n.* liver, 肝.

suw13 [si13] *n.* lung, 肺. PTB *(t)si-t > < PTB *tsut / PLB *tsøy2.

suw31 [si31] *adv.* still, first, yet, 还, 先. Ex.: Tso 35; Tso 154.

suw31 q^ha13 [si31 q^ha13] *n.* sour plum, 梅子, 酸梅.

suw31 t^hi13 [si31 t^hi13] *n.* knife, 刀子. Ex.: Tso 137, çinami 26.

suw31 t^hi13-zo33 [si31 t^hi13-zo33] *n.* small knife, 小刀子. ETY.: si31 t^hi13 ‘knife’ + -zo33 -DIM.

suw31 tçi13 [si31 tçi13] *n.* plum, 李子.

suw33 [si33] *n.* firewood, 木柴. PTB *siŋ / PLB sikH.

suw33 [si33] *v.t.* to kill, 杀. Ex.: Tso 137.

suw33 [sɿ33] *v.t.* to pass through, 贯串. Ex.: Tso 238.

suw33 [si33] *n.* wood, 木. Ex.: Tso 65.

suw33-çi33 [si33-çi33] *n.* bush, shrub, 矮树丛. ETY.: suw33 ‘wood’ + CLS.

suw33-dzu31 [si33-dzi31] *n.* tree, 树. ETY.: suw33 ‘wood’ + dzu33 CLS.tree. Ex.: Tso 178. PTB *dziŋ.

suw33 dzu31 wu31 ku13 [si33 dzi31 ɿ31 ku13] *n.* bark of tree, 树皮. ETY.: suw33-dzu33 ‘tree’ + wu31 ku13 ‘skin.’

suw33-dzi33-dzi31 [si33-dzi33-dzi31] *n.* sawdust, 锯屑. ETY.: suw33-dzu33 ‘tree’ + dzi31 ‘dust.’

suw33 ø33 [si33 ʔø33] *n.* pearl, 珍珠. Ex.: Gemu 43.

suw33-k^hu33 dɿ13 [si33-k^hu33 dɿ13] *n.* tree root, 树根. ETY.: suw33 ‘wood’ + k^hu33 dɿ13 ‘root.’

suw33-lu33 [si33-lɿ33] *n.* 1. wood, 木头; 2. log, 原木. ETY.: suw33 ‘wood’ + lu33.

suw33 ɿ33 mi33 [si33 ɿ33 mi33] *n.* tree trunk, 树干. ETY.: suw33 ‘wood’ + ɿ33 ‘central’ + -mi33 -AUG.

suw33 so31 [si33 so31] *n.* bow, 弓箭.
ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 230.

suw33-tshɿ13 [si33-tshɿ13] *n.* leaf, 叶子.
ETY.: suw33 ‘wood’ + tshɿ13 ‘leaf.’

suw33-tshɿ13-ni33 **ku31**
[si33-tshɿ13-ni33 ku31] *s.v.* (green) like
tree leaves, 象叶子一样. ETY.:
suw33-tshɿ13 ‘leaf’ + ni33 ku31 ‘be
like.’

suw33 wɔ33 lu33 wɔ33 [si33 wɔ33 [u33
wɔ33]] *n.* 1. fruit, 水果; 2. nuts, 坚果.

suw33-wu33 ku31 [si33-y33 ku31] *n.*
bark (of tree), 树皮. ETY.: suw33 ‘wood’
+ wu31 ku13 ‘skin.’

sun33 gi33 [sin33 gi33] *n.* lion, 狮子.
ETY.: Loan from Tibetan.

sɿ13 [sə13] *n.* mole (on skin), 痣.

sɿ31 sɿ13 [sə31 sə13] *s.v.* 1. to be
happy, 快乐; 2. stylish, 潇洒.

sɿ31 tshɿ31 [sə31 tshɿ31] *n.* landscape,
山水. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 9.

sɿ33 [sə33] *n.* blood, 血. PTB *s-hywəy.

sɿ33-dzi31 [sə33-dzi31] *v.* to bleed, 流
血. ETY.: sɿ33 ‘blood’ + dzi33 ‘leak.’

sɿ33-kʰu31 [sə33-kʰi31] *n.* silk thread,
漂亮的线. ETY.: sɿ33 ‘colorful’ +
kʰu33 ‘line; thread.’

sɿ33-kʰu31 [sə33-kʰi31] *n.* blood vessel
/ vein / artery, 血管 / 静脉 / 动脉. ETY.:
sɿ33 ‘blood’ + kʰu33 ‘line; thread.’
PTB *sa.

sɿ33 lu31 [sə33 [u31]] *n.* pear, 梨子.

sɿ33 lu31-wɔ31 pʰæ13 [sə33 [u31-wɔ31
pʰæ13]] *n.* dried pear, 梨子干. ETY.: sɿ33
lu31 ‘pear’ + wɔ31 pʰæ13 ‘dried radish
(extended to mean dried fruit
generally).’

swe pje [swe pje] *adv.* 1. in a simple
manner, 简单; 2. however you want, 随
便. ETY.: Loan from Yunnanese, tends to
have more of the ‘in a simple manner’
meaning of Yunnanese than the
‘however you want’ meaning of
Mandarin. Ex.: Tso 58.

ʂæ31-ʂ33 [ʂæ31-ʂ33] *n.* bone, 骨头.
ETY.: ʂæ31 + ʂ33 ‘bone.’ Ex.: Tso 124.

ʂæ33 [ʂæ33] *s.v.* 1. be long, 长的; to be
far, 远. Ex.: Tso 135, Tso 140.

ʂæ33 [ʂæ33] *v.* to lead a dog on a leash,
打猎. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 157.

ʂæ33-bæ33 [ʂæ33-bæ33] *n.* arrow, 箭. Shamanic. ETY.: ʂæ33 ‘bow’ + bæ33 ‘rope.’ Ex.: Tso 231.

ʂe31 ʂe13 [ʂe31 ʂe13] *v.* to touch (lightly), 摸.

ʂe33 [ʂe33] *n.* 1. meat, 肉; 2. muscle, 肌肉. Ex.: ɕinami 29. PTB *sya ‘flesh /meat.’

ʂe33 di31-hu31-ʂe33 di31 [ʂe33 di31-hə31-ʂe33 di31] *v.* to become plumper and plumper, 越来越胖. ʂe33 di31 ‘plump’ + hu33 ‘go’ + ʂe33 di31 ‘plump.’ Ex.: ɕinami 34.

ʂe33 mɔ33 [ʂe33 mɔ33] *n.* metal, 铁.

ʂe33 ʂe33 [ʂe33 ʂe33] *adv.* a little bit, 一点点. Ex.: ɕinami 49.

ʂe33 tʂe31 [ʂe33 tʂe31] *n.* rag, 碎布.

ʂe33-bæ33 [ʂe33-bæ33] *n.* metal chain, 铁链. ETY.: ʂe33 ‘metal (shortened form)’ + bæ33 ‘rope.’

ʂe33-di31 [ʂe33-di31] *s.v.* to be plump, 胖的. ETY.: ʂe33 ‘meat’ + di33 EXIST.P. Ex.: ɕinami 34.

ʂe33-mɤ33 [ʂe33-mə33] *n.* fat, 皮下脂肪. ETY.: ʂe33 ‘meat’ + mɤ33 ‘oil.’

ʂo31 ku31 ku33 [ʂo31 ki31 ki33] *s.v.* to be very clean, 干干净净.

ʂo31-qæ33 [ʂo31-qæ33] *v.* rather clean, 比较干净的. ETY.: ʂo31 ‘clean’ + kæ33.

ʂo33 [ʂo33] *s.v.* to be clean, 干净的. Ex.: Tso 279.

ʂo31 ɹu33 [ʂo31 ɹu33] (loan) *n.* income, 收入. ETY.: Loan from Chinese. Ex.: Tso 229.

ʂu13 [ʂu13] *s.v.* to be full, 满. Ex.: Gemu 40.

ʂu31 [ʂu31] start, 开头.

ʂu31 [ʂu31] *v.t.* to carry, 带. Only used to refer to carrying animates. Ex.: Tso 147.

ʂu31 [ʂu31] *n.* 1. paddy, 稻谷; 2. branch, 树枝. Ex.: Tso 188; Tso 188.

ʂu31 du31 [ʂu31 du31] *v.* to think, 想. Ex.: Gemu 19. PTB *daŋ / PLB *m-daŋ1/2.

ʂu33 [ʂu33] *v.* to harvest, 收割. Ex.: Tso 213.

ʂu33 ʂu31 kɤ31 kɤ31 [ʂu33 ʂu31 kə31 kə31] *s.v.* to be extremely clean, 特别干净的.

ʂü33 ʂü33 [ʂü33 ʂü33] *onom.* sound of whistling, 口哨的声音. ETY.: sound symbolic. Ex.: Tso 196.

ʂu33 tʂʰwæ33 [ʂu33 tʂʰwæ33] *n.* rice, 米饭. ETY.: ʂu33 ‘paddy’ + tʂʰwæ33.

ʂy33 [ʂy33] *v.i.* to lighten (of the sky), bright, 亮. Ex.: Tso 150.

ʂy33 ʂy33 [ʂy33 ʂy33] *v.* to be clear, 清楚.

ʂu13 [ʂu13] *s.v.* to be full, 充满的.

ʂu13 [ʂu13] *s.v.* to be new, 新的. PTB *g-sik / PLB *C-šik.

ʂu31 [ʂu31] *v.i.* to die, 死. Ex.: ɕinami 57, Tso 31. PTB *səy / PLB *səy1.

ʂu31 du31 ni33 [ʂu31 dɨ31 ni33] *adv.* day before the day before yesterday, 大前天.

ʂu31 du31 yi33 [ʂu31 dɨ31 yi33] *adv.* year before the year before last year, 大前年.

ʂu31 ɣwæ55 æ31 [ʂu31 ɣwæ55 ʔæ31] *s.v.* yellow, 黄的. PLB *s-rwəy1.

ʂu31 ni33 [ʂu31 ni33] *adv.* day before yesterday, 前天.

ʂu31 yi33 [ʂu31 yi33] *adv.* year before last year, 前年.

ʂu33 [ʂu33] *s.v.* to be fast, 快. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 21.

ʂu33 [ʂu33] *quant.* seven, 七. Ex.: Tso 63. PTB *s-nis / PLB *ʔ-nit > < PLB *ši2.

ʂu33 ʂu31 [ʂu33 ʂu31] *v.* 1. to sprinkle, 撒; 2. to leak, 漏. Ex.: Tso 268.

ʂu31 [ʂu31] *quant.* time (instance), 次. Ex.: Tso 129.

ʂwæ31 [ʂwæ31] side, 边. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 134.

ʂwæ33 [ʂwæ33] *s.v.* to be tall, 高. Ex.: Tso 30.

ʂwæ33 su31 [ʂwæ33 si31] *n.* type of tree, 树的一个种类. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 49.

ʂwæ33-ʂwæ33 [ʂwæ33-ʂwæ33] *s.v.* to be very tall, 很高. Ex.: Tso 30.

ʂwe hu [ʂwe hu] *n.* thermos, 水瓶. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

ta31 [ta31] *adv.* just, 才, 刚刚. Note: Abbreviated form of ta33 ga31. Ex.: Gemu 16, 38, çinami 17.

ta33 [ta33] *v.* to intervene, 阻挡. Ex.: Gemu 52.

ta33 ga31 [ta33 ga31] *adv.* just, 才, 刚刚. Note: Sometimes appears as the abbreviated form ta31. Ex.: Tso 181.

ta33 la33 la33 [ta33 la33 la33] *onom.* sound of fish squirming. ETY.: Sound symbolic. Ex.: Tso 154.

ta33 na31 [ta33 na31] *n.* trigger, 扳机. Ex.: Tso 240.

ta33-ta33 [ta33-ta33] *adv.* just, 刚刚. Note: The reduplication in this form gives a reading of increased intensity, i.e., s.t. *just* happened. Ex.: Gemu 36.

tæ31 [tæ31] *v.* shut, 关. Ex.: Gemu 27.

tæ31-t^hæ33 [tæ31-t^hæ33] *n.* first floor, ground floor. ETY.: tæ13 + t^hæ33 ‘underneath.’

tæ33 bɤ33 [tæ33 bɤ33] *n.* monk, 和尚.

tæ33-tæ33 [tæ33-tæ33] *s.v.* to be horizontal, 横的. Ex.: Tso 239.

taɿ31 [taɿ31] *interj.* denotes pleasure or appreciation, 语气词 (满足). Ex.: Tso 94.

tə31 tə31 tə31 [tə31 tə31 tə31] *interj.* onomatopoeic sound of floodwater. Ex.: Tso 41.

ti13 [ti13] *v.t.* to hit, 打. Ex.: Tso 169. PTB *tip.

ti33-ti33 [ti33-ti33] *v.* to fight, 打架.

tɔ31 [tɔ31] *postp.* 1. ADESS (on), above 上, 上面; 2. at the time, 的时候. Ex.: Gemu 35; Gemu 4, 35; çinami 50. PTB *1-tak / PLB *ʔ-tak ‘ascend, top.’

tɔ31 [tɔ31] *v.* to see, 看见. Ex.: Gemu 18, 33. PTB *ta > < PTB *da.

tɔ31 [tɔ31] *postp.* 1. ALL (toward), 对; 2. COMP, 比. Ex.: Gemu 51; Change 14.

tɔ31 bu33 [tɔ31 bu33] next, 头一个. Ex.: çinami 39.

tɔ31 bu33-t^hu33-ɲi31 [tɔ31 bu33-t^hi33-ɲi31] *adv.* the next day, 头一天. ETY.: tɔ31 bu33 ‘next’ + t^hu33 ‘that’ + ɲi33 ‘day.’ Ex.: çinami 39.

tɔ31 ku33 [tɔ31 ki33] *n.* forehead / brow, 额.

tɔ31-k^hu31-mɔ55 [tɔ31-k^hu31-mɔ55] *n.* Tibetan shepherd dog, 藏狗. ETY.: tɔ33 + k^hu33 ‘dog’ + mɔ31 ‘old; dear.’

tɔ31 pi13 [tɔ31 pi13] *v.* turn over, 翻转. Ex.: Tso 26.

tɔ31 tɔ31 mi33 [tɔ31 tɔ31 mi33] *v.* to intend, 故意. Ex.: Tso 160.

tɔ33 bu33 [tɔ33 bu33] *n.* bottom (body part), 屁股.

tɔ33 pæ33 [tɔ33 pæ33] *n.* leg, 腿.

tɔ33 pæ33-hɔ̃33 [tɔ33 pæ33-hɔ̃33] *n.* leg hair, 腿毛. ETY.: tɔ33 pæ33 ‘leg’ + hɔ̃33 ‘fur.’

tɔ55 pu33 [tɔ55 pu33] *n.* hips, 臀部.

tɔ55 pu33-ɔ̃33 [tɔ55 pu33-ɔ̃33] *n.* hipbone, 髌骨. ETY.: tɔ55 pu33 ‘hip’ + ɔ̃33 ‘bone.’

tu31 tu33 [tu31 tu33] *n.* hat, 帽子.

tu33 [tu33] *v.t.* to plant, 播种. Ex.: Tso 254.

tu33-q^hɣ33 [tu33-q^hɣ33] *n.* hole, 洞. ETY.: tu33 + q^hɣ33 ‘hole.’

tu55 ɕi31 [tu55 ɕi31] *n.* centipede / millipede, 蜈蚣 / 倍足纲节动物.

ty31 [ty31] *cls.* CLS.round (used with mountains), 量词 (团). Ex.: Gemu 23, 33.

ty33 [ty33] *n.* wings, 翅膀. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 12.

tuu33 [tʃi33] *v.t.* to pull, 拉. Ex.: ɕinami 41.

tuu33-tuu31 [tʃi33-tʃi31] *v.* to pull back and forth, 拉来拉去. Ex.: ɕinami 45.

twæ31 pu33 [twæ31 pu33] *s.v.* to be peaceful, 和平. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 100.

twæ33-mi33 [twæ33-mi33] *n.* big puddle, 大水坑. ETY.: twæ33 ‘puddle’ + -mi33 -AUG.

tjæ [tjæ] *n.* electricity, 电. ETY.: Loan from Chinese. Ex.: Change 5.

tjæ ɣu tɕi [tjæ ɣu tɕi] *n.* television, 电视机. ETY.: Loan from Chinese. Ex.: Change 5.

tjo33 ljo31 [tjo33 ljo31] *n.* squirrel, 松鼠. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

t^ha13 [t^ha13] *s.v.* to be sharp, pointy, 锋利. PTB *tak / PLB *takH.

t^ha13 [t^ha13] *v.* to endure, 忍受. Ex. çinami 20.

t^ha13 [t^ha13] *v.* to be possible, 可以. Ex.: Change 8.

t^ha31-ni33-ni31 [t^ha31-ni33-ni31] *adv.* exactly the same, 一某一样. Ex.: Gemu 9.

t^ha31-zwæ33-mi33 [t^ha31-zwæ33-mi33] *n.* donkey, 驴子.

t^ha33 [t^ha33] *procl.* PROH, 别. Ex.: Tso 50. PTB *ta.

t^ha33 nə31 [t^ha33 nə31] *adv.* definitely, 一定.

t^hæ13 [t^hæ13] *v.t.* to bite, to sting, 咬. Ex.: çinami 23, Tso 125.

t^hæ13 [t^hæ13] under, underneath, 下, 下面. Ex.: Tso 122, Gemu 7, çinami 2.

t^hæ31 t^hæ13 [t^hæ31 t^hæ13] *v.* tickle, 搔痒.

t^hæ31-t^hæ13 [t^hæ31-t^hæ13] *v.* to mutually bite, 互相的咬. Ex.: Tso 125.

t^hæ31 t^hæ31 [t^hæ31 t^hæ31] *v.* to be itchy, 痒痒的. Ex.: Tso 280.

t^hæ31 t^hæ31-yi13 [t^hæ31 t^hæ31-yi13] *n.* rash, 疹子. ETY.: t^hæ31 t^hæ31 ‘itchy’ + yi13 ‘pimple.’

t^hæ31-wə55 [t^hæ31-wə55] *n.* second floor, 二楼. ETY.: t^hæ13 + wə33 ‘above.’

t^hæ33 [t^hæ33] such, 这些; 那些. Ex.: Gemu 9, 12.

t^hæ33-ki13 [t^hæ33-ki13] skirt-wearing coming of age ceremony, 穿裙子的仪式. ETY.: t^hæ33 ‘skirt’ + ki13 ‘wear.’ Ex.: Tso 116.

t^hæ33-kwə31 [t^hæ33-kwə31] *postp.* underneath, 下面里. ETY.: t^hæ33 ‘below’ + kwə33 LOC. Ex.: Tso 123.

t^hæ33 k^hwə33 [t^hæ33 k^hwə33] *n.* skirt, 裙子.

t^hæ33 [t^hæ33] *adv.* often, 经常. Ex.: Gemu 24, 28.

t^hi13 [t^hi13] so, then, consequently, 所以. Ex.: Gemu 10.

t^hi13 [t^hi13] *s.v.* to be tired, 累的.

t^hə31-dzu13-zə33 [t^hə31-dzi13-zə33] *n.* pine tree seedling, 松树苗. ETY.: t^hə33 ‘pine’ + dzu33 CLS.tree + -zə33 -DIM.

tʰɔ33 bɔ31 [tʰɔ33 bɔ31] *n.* forest, 树林.
Ex.: Tso 85.

tʰɔ33-ɣæ13 [tʰɔ33-ɣæ13] *n.* sap, 松香.
ETY.: tʰɔ33 ‘pine’ + ɣæ13 ‘oil.’

tʰɔ33 li33 [tʰɔ33 li33] *n.* rabbit, 兔子.

tʰɔ33 li33-ɣe33 [tʰɔ33 li33-ɣe33] *n.*
rabbit meat, 兔肉. ETY.: tʰɔ33 li33
‘rabbit’ + ɣe33 ‘meat.’

tʰɔ33 pɣ33 [tʰɔ33 pɔ33] *n.* fontanel (soft
spots in baby skull), 囟门.

tʰɔ33-ɣu13 [tʰɔ33-ɣu13] *n.* pine needles,
松针. ETY.: tʰɔ33 ‘pine’ + ɣu13 ‘needle,
leaf.’ PTB *taŋ ‘pine.’

tʰu13 [tʰu13] *v.* to unhusk. Ex.: Tso 8.

tʰu13 [tʰu13] *v.t.* to use, 用. ETY.:
Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 21.

tʰu31 [tʰu31] *cls.* 量词. Ex.: Tso 194.

tʰu33 [tʰu33] *v.* 1. until, 到; 2. arrive, 到
了; 3. emerge, 形成; 4. succeed, 成功; 5.
yield, 出产. Ex.: Change 1; Gemu 38;
Tso 134; Tso 144; Tso 58. PTB *s-twak
/ PLB *ʔ-twakH.

tʰu31 [tʰi31] *v.t.* drink, 喝. Ex.: Tso
120.

tʰu31-du55 [tʰi31-dʒi55] *adv.* so, very,
这么. ETY.: tʰu33 ‘this’ + du55 ‘big.’
Ex.: Gemu 19.

tʰu31-dzɣ55 [tʰi31-dzə55] *adv.* here,
this side, this point, 这边. ETY.: tʰu33
‘this’ + dzɣ55 ‘side’ Ex.: Gemu 38.

tʰu31-li55-li31 [tʰi31-li55-li31] *v.* to
protect, watch over, 保护. ETY.: tʰu33-
DUR- + li33 ‘see’ + li33 ‘see.’ Ex.:
Gemu 50.

tʰu33- [tʰi33-] *v. prefix* DUR-. Ex.:
Gemu 4, 29.

tʰu33 [tʰi33] *pro., dem. pro.* 1. 3SG.PRO,
他, 她, 它. 2. this, 这. Ex.: Gemu 2, 3,
4.

tʰu33 bu31 [tʰi33 bu31] *pro.* 3SG.POSS,
她的/他的. ETY.: tʰu33 3SG.PRO + bu33
POSS.

tʰu33 ha31 [tʰi33 ha31] *v.* to gape /
open mouth, 张开.

tʰu33-kwɔ31-ni31 [tʰi33-kwɔ31-ni31]
expr. absolutely, 彻底. ETY.: tʰu33
‘this’ + kwɔ33 LOC + ni33 COP. Ex.:
Tso 5.

tʰu33 la31 [tʰi33 la31] *adv.* this way, 这
样. Ex.: ɕinami 62.

t^hu33 lu31 [t^hi33 lu31] *v.t.* to hold in mouth, 含着.

t^hu33-i33 [t^hi33-i33] *adv.* this month, 这个月. ETY.: t^hu33 ‘this’ + i33 ‘month.’

t^hu33-ni13 [t^hi33-ni13] *adv.* this way, 这样. ETY.: t^hu33 ‘this’ + ni13 ‘way.’
Ex.: çinami 14. PTB *niŋ.

t^hu33-ni13-ni31 [t^hi33-ni13-ni31] *adv.* everyday, 每天. ETY.: t^hu33 ‘this’ + ni33 ‘day’ + ni33 COP. Ex.: Gemu 3.

t^hu33-qæ33 [t^hi33-qæ33] *adv.* now, 现在. ETY.: t^hu33 ‘this’ + qæ33.

t^hu33-su31-hĩ31 [t^hi33-si31-hĩ31] *n.* living (thing), 活的. ETY.: t^hu33- DUR + su31 ‘live’ + -hĩ33 -NOM.

t^hu33-sʌ31 ku31 [t^hi33-sə31 ku31] *pro.* 3PL.PRO, 他们. ETY.: t^hu33 3SG.PRO + -sə31 ku31 -PL.

t^hu33-sʌ31 ku31 bu31 [t^hi33-sə31 ku31 bu31] *pro.* their, 他们的. ETY.: t^hu33-sə31 ku31 3PL.PRO + bu33 POSS.

t^hu33-tɕa [t^hi33-tɕa] *v.* to harness for ploughing, 架. ETY.: t^hu33- DUR + tɕa ‘harness’ (loan from Chinese). Ex.: Tso 20.

t^hɤ13 [t^hə13] *v.* to fall in, 掉在. Ex.: Gemu 44.

tɕa13 [tɕa13] *v.* to kick, 踢. Ex.: Tso 128.

tɕa13 [tɕa13] *v.* to scratch; dig, 刨. Note: usually used in reduplicated form. Ex.: Tso 206.

tɕa33 [tɕa33] *s.v.* to be busy, 忙的.

tɕa33 pɤ33 [tɕa33 pə33] *n.* tsampa, 炒面. ETY.: Loan from Tibetan. Ex.: Tso 279.

tɕe31 [tɕe31] *v.* to go, 赶. Ex.: Gemu 37.

tɕe31/55 [tɕe31/55] *v.i.* to float, 漂. çinami 53.

tɕe31 p^hu13 [tɕe31 p^hu13] *v.t.* to overturn, 翻转. Ex.: Tso 23.

tɕe31 ta13 [tɕe31 ta13] *n.* scissors, 剪刀.

tɕe31 ta13 [tɕe31 ta13] *n.* spleen, 脾.

tɕe33-lɤ33 [tɕe33-lɤ33] *n.* barley, 大麦. ETY.: tɕe33 + lɤ33 CLS.kernel. PTB *zəy / PLB *zəy2.

tɕi13 [tɕi13] *pcl.* REP, 听说. Ex.: çinami 2, 5; 10. PTB *dz(y)ay QUOT / PLB *džay2/1.

tsi33 [tsz33] *v.t.* to squeeze, 挤. Ex.: Tso 162.

tsi33 [tsz33] *v.* to fasten, 拴. Ex.: Tso 29.

tsi33-tsi33 [tsz33-tsz33] *v.* 1. to fasten together, 拴起来; 2. to be crowded, 挤. Ex.: Tso 21.

tsɔ13 [tso13] *n, cls* 1. room, 房间; 2. *cls* for room, 量词 (房间). Note: Used for rooms that are long in shape.

tsɔ33-kwɤ33 [tso33-kwə33] *n.* kitchen, 厨房. ETY.: tsɔ33 + kwə33 ‘kitchen.’

tsɔ33-la13 [tso33-la13] *v.* to hail, 下冰雹. ETY.: tsɔ33 + la13 ‘hit.’

tsɔ33-mi33 [tso33-mi33] *n.* wooden barrel, 木桶. ETY.: tsɔ33 + -mi33 –AUG. Ex.: Tso 122.

tsu31 [tsu31] *v.* to be vertical, 竖的. Ex.: Tso 97.

tsu31 [tsi31] *n.* wife, 老婆. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 88.

tsu31 p^hu13 [tsi31 p^hu13] *n.* place, 地方. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 133.

tsu33 [tsi33] *v.* be hot (spicy), 辣的.

tsu33 gi33 [tsi33 gi33] *n.* crack, fissure (in rock), 缝.

tsu33 zu33 [tsi33 zu33] *v.* to test, 考验. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 245.

tsɤ31 [tsə31] *v.* to seem, 象. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 21.

tsɤ31 mi33 [tsə31 mi33] *n.* flintstone, 燧石.

tsɤ31 pɔ33 ni33 ku31 [tsə31 pɔ33 ni33 ku31] *s.v.* to be like bells on a harness (said of a person who likes to talk), 象铃铛一样. : ETY.: tsɤ31 pɔ33 ‘bells on a harness’ + ni33 ku33 ‘be like.’

tsɤ33 [tsə33] *v.* to succeed, 成功. Ex.: Tso 175.

tsɤ33 [tsə33] *v.* to become, 变成. Ex.: Tso 70.

tsɤ33 / 31 [tsə33 / 31] *v.* to be okay, right, 行, 对的. Ex.: Gemu 26; Gemu 45, çinami 1.

ts^ha33-na33 [ts^ha33-na33] *n.* dark, bitter type of greens, 小苦菜. ETY.: ts^ha33 + na33 ‘black.’

ts^ha33-p^hu33 [ts^ha33-p^hi33] *n.* bokchoy, 白菜. ETY.: ts^ha33 + p^hi33 ‘white.’

ts^hɛ33 [ts^hɛ33] *quant.* ten, 十. Ex.: Gemu 3. PTB *ts(y)i(y) > < PTB *tsyay / PLB *tsay1.

ts^hɛ33 [ts^hɛ33] *n.* salt, 食盐. PTB *tsa / PLB *tsa2.

ts^hɛ33 [ts^hɛ33] *n.* pond; swamp, marsh, wetland, 池塘. Ex.: Tso 76.

ts^hɛ33-dzi33 [ts^hɛ33-dzi33] *n.* salt water, 盐水. ETY.: ts^hɛ33 ‘salt’ + dzi33 ‘water.’

ts^hi13 [ts^hɰ13] *v.t.* to kindle, 点燃. Ex.: Tso 196.

ts^hi13 [ts^hɰ13] *n.* goat, 山羊. Ex.: Tso 140. PTB *tsi:t / PLB *C-tšitL.

ts^hi31-ɣu33 [ts^hɰ31-ɣi33] *n.* sheepskin, goatskin, 羊皮. ETY.: ts^hi13 ‘goat’ + ɣi13 ‘skin.’

ts^hi31-hɔ̃33 [ts^hɰ31-hɔ̃33] *n.* wool, still on the goat, 山羊毛, 还在山羊上. ETY.: ts^hi13 ‘goat’ + hɔ̃33 ‘fur.’

ts^hi31-pɣ33 lɔ33 [ts^hɰ31-pə33 lɔ33] *n.* non-castrated goat, 不阉割的公羊. ETY.: ts^hi13 ‘goat’ + pɣ33 lɔ33 ‘breeding goat.’

ts^hi31-si33 [ts^hɰ31-sɰ33] *n.* mountain goat wool, 山羊的羊毛. ETY.: ts^hi13 ‘goat’ + si33 ‘wool.’

ts^hi31-si33-k^hwæ33
[ts^hɰ31-sɰ33-k^hwæ33] *n.* felt, 羊毛毡. ETY.: ts^hi13 ‘goat’ + si33 ‘wool’ + k^hwæ33.

ts^hi31-si33-tu55 tu31 [ts^hɰ31-sɰ33-tu55 tu31] *n.* felt hat, 羊毛帽子. ETY.: ts^hi13 ‘goat’ + si33 ‘wool’ + tu31 tu33 ‘hat.’

ts^hi31-ʂɛ33 [ts^hɰ31-ʂɛ33] *n.* goat meat, 山羊肉. ETY.: ts^hi13 ‘goat’ + ʂɛ33 ‘meat.’

ts^hi31-ʂwæ33 [ts^hɰ31-ʂwæ33] *n.* castrated goat, 阉割的羊. ETY.: ts^hi13 ‘goat’ + ʂwæ33.

ts^hi31-t^hu13 [ts^hɰ31-t^hu13] *v.* to boil, 煮沸.

ts^hi33 [ts^hɰ33] *s.v.* to be hot (temperature), 热的.

ts^hi33-lu55-hi31 [ts^hɰ33-lu55-hi31] *n.* goatherder, 牧羊人. ETY.: ts^hi13 ‘goat’ + lu13 ‘feed’ + -hi33 -NOM_{AGT}.

ts^hɔ31 duu33 lu33 yi33 zo31 [ts^ho31 dʊ33 lu33 yi33 zo31] *n.* Tsodeluyizo, central character in Na creation narrative. Ex.: Tso 1.

ts^hɔ31-mɔ13 [ts^ho31-mɔ13] *n.* elder (male), 老人 (男). ETY.: ts^hɔ31 + mɔ13 ‘elder; dear.’

ts^hɔ31-wɔ13 [ts^ho31-wɔ13] *n.* high, flat land. ETY.: ts^hɔ31 + wɔ33 ‘above.’

ts^hɔ33 tsu31 [ts^hɔ33 tsz31] *n.* scallions, 葱. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

ts^hɔ55 [ts^ho55] *v.i.* to dance, leap, 跳舞, 跳. Ex.: Gemu 23, 35.

ts^hu31 [ts^hu31] *s.v.* to be thin, 细. Ex.: Tso 28.

ts^hu13 [ts^hi13] *v.t.* cut, 砍. Ex.: Tso 178. PTB *tsyat / PTB *tsywar.

ts^hu31 [ts^hi31] *v.* to build, 建. Ex.: cinami 59.

ts^hu33 [ts^hi33] *n.* forest, 树林. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 73.

ts^hu33 [ts^hi33] *v., pcl.* 1. come, 来; 2. INCH, 起来, 开始. Ex.: Gemu 8, 31, 40.

ts^hu33-ji33 [ts^hi33-ji33] *adv.* today, 今天. ETY.: ts^hu33 ‘this’ + ji33 ‘day.’ Ex.: Tso 102, Tso 118.

ts^hu33-qæ33 [ts^hi33-qæ33] *adv.* now, 现在. ETY.: ts^hu33 ‘this’ + qæ33. Ex.: Tso 89.

ts^hu33 ts^hu13 [ts^hi33 ts^hi13]; *n.* peas, 豌豆.

ts^hu33-yi33 [ts^hi33-yi33] *adv.* this year, 今年. ETY.: ts^hu33 ‘this’ + yi33 ‘year.’

ts^hɣ31 [ts^hə31] *v.* to comb (one’s hair), 梳头. Ex.: Tso 252.

ts^hɣ31 hɔ55 tse33 tse33 mi31 [ts^hə31 hɔ55 tse33 tse33 mi31] *n.* Tsohodzedzemi (name). Ex.: Tso 1.

tɕæ13 [tɕæ13] *n.* joint, 关节. PTB *tsik / PLB *ʔ-dzikL.

tɕæ31-tɕæ13 [tɕæ31-tɕæ13] *v.* to mutually grab, 争抢. Ex.: Tso 127.

tɕo33 [tɕo33] *s.v.* to be cold, 冷. Ex.: Tso 149.

tɕu13 [tɕu13] *n.* sweat / perspiration, 汗.

tɕu33 tsu33 [tɕu33 tsi33] *n.* nerve, 神经.

tɕu33 tɕu31 [tɕu33 tɕu31] *v.* to transmit (i.e., a disease), 传染.

tɕy33 [tɕy33] *v.* to cough, 咳嗽.

tɕu13 [tɕɿ13] *n.* paw (of mammal), 爪子 (哺乳动物的).

tɕɿ33 [tɕə33] *v.* to count as, allot, 算.
Ex.: Tso 14.

tɕwə tsi [tɕwə tsz] *n.* table, 桌子. ETY.:
Loan from Chinese. Ex.: Tso 125.

tɕwɿ31 [tɕwə31] *v.* to be caught on, 抓
住. Ex.: Tso 43.

tɕʰa pu twə [tɕʰa pu twə] *quant.* more or
less, about right, 差不多. ETY.: Loan
from Chinese. Ex.: Tso 45.

tɕʰa33-ha31-ɲa33 [tɕʰa33-ha31-ɲa33]
adv. every night, 每一天晚上. ETY.:
tɕʰa33 ‘every’ + ha33 ‘night’ + ɲa33
‘day.’ Ex.: Gemu 21.

tɕʰæ13 [tɕʰæ13] generation, era, 代. Ex.:
çinami 42, Gemu 49.

tɕʰæ31-kʰɿ33 [tɕʰæ31-kʰɿ33] *n.* deer
antler, 鹿角. ETY.: tɕʰæ31 ‘deer’ +
kʰɿ33 ‘horn.’

tɕʰæ33 tɕʰæ33 [tɕʰæ33 tɕʰæ33] *v.* to
wash (can be said of a person or clothes),
洗 (例如说人或衣服). PTB *tsəy / PLB
*tsəy2.

tɕʰu31 ə33 [tɕʰu31 ʔə33] *n.* ant, 蚂蚁.

tɕʰu33-dzi31 [tɕʰu33-dzi31] *n.* dye, 染色
水. ETY.: tɕʰu33 ‘dye’ + dzi33 ‘water.’

tɕʰu33-mi33 [tɕʰu33-mi33] *n.* wife, 老婆.
ETY.: tɕʰu33 + -mi33 feminine suffix.
Ex.: Tso 89.

tɕʰɿ31 si33 [tɕʰɿ31 sz33] *n.* liver, 肝脏.

tɕʰɿ31 tɕʰɿ13 [tɕʰɿ31 tɕʰɿ13] *n.* ball, 团.
Ex.: Tso 28.

tɕʰɿ31 tɕʰɿ13 [tɕʰə31 tɕʰə13] *v.* to touch,
摸.

tɕʰən33 [tɕʰən33] *n.* city, 城市. ETY.:
Loan from Chinese. Ex.: Change 5.

tɕʰwæ13 [tɕʰwæ13] *v.* to be fast, quick,
快.

tɕʰwæ31 [tɕʰwæ31] *v.* to insert, 插. Ex.:
Tso 143. PTB *tsap / PLB *tsapH.

tɕʰwæ31 [tɕʰwæ31] *v.* to hide, 藏. Ex.:
Tso 279.

tɕʰwæ33 [tɕʰwæ33] *n.* star(s), 星星. Ex.:
Gemu 36.

tɕʰwæ33-bu33 nu33 [tɕʰwæ33-bu33
ɲu33] *n.* rotten smell, 腐烂的味道. ETY.:
tɕʰwæ33 ‘rotten’ + bu33 nu33 ‘smell.’

tɕʰwæ33-tɕʰwæ31 [tɕʰwæ33-tɕʰwæ31] *v.*
to be very fast, 很快. Ex.: Tso 117.

tɕ^hwɿ13 [tɕ^hwə13] *v.* to beat; hit into, 揍; 碰.

tɕ^hwɿ33 [tɕ^hwə33] *n.* dinner, 晚饭.

tɕa33 yo31 [tɕa33 yo31] *n.* soy sauce, 酱油. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

tɕæ31-q^hæ33 [tɕæ31-q^hæ33] *n.* mud, 泥. ETY.: tɕæ31 + q^hæ33 ‘excrement.’

tɕæ31-q^hæ33-zæ33 [tɕæ31-q^hæ33-zæ33] *n.* slush, 烂泥. ETY.: tɕæ31-q^hæ33 ‘excrement’ + zæ13.

tɕæ33 æ31 [tɕæ33 ʔæ31] *n.* pickled vegetables, 酸菜. Ex.: Tso 123.

tɕi13 [tɕi13] *n.* saliva, 口水.

tɕi13 [tɕi13] *n.* 1. phlegm, 痰.

tɕi31 [tɕi31] *pci.* EXPER, 过.

tɕi31 [tɕi31] *v.* small, 小的.

tɕi31 [tɕi31] *cls.* CLS used with whistling and songs, 量词 (口哨, 歌). Ex.: Tso 195.

tɕi31 ɕi33-k^hu31 [tɕi31 ɕi33-k^hi31] *v.* whistle, 吹口哨. ETY.: tɕi31 ɕi33 ‘whistle’ + k^hi31 CAUS. PTB *sit.

tɕi31 ɕi55 [tɕi31 ɕi55] *n.* whistle, 口哨. Ex.: Tso 195. PTB *sit.

tɕi31 hũ33 [tɕi31 hũ33] *n.* clothes, 衣服. Ex.: Change 2.

tɕi31-na31-mi55 [tɕi31-na31-mi55] very dense, 很密. Note: Used to describe forests. ETY.: tɕi33 + na33 ‘black’ + -mi33 -AUG. Ex.: Tso 73.

tɕi31-ɕwæ13 [tɕi31-ɕwæ13] *n.* sand, 沙子. ETY.: tɕi33 ‘dirt, soil’ + ɕwæ13.

tɕi31 ɕwæ31 bu33 [tɕi31 ɕwæ31 bu33] *n.* silt, alluvium.

tɕi33 [tɕi33] *n.* soil, dirt, 泥土. Ex.: Gemu 7.

tɕi33 [tɕi33] *n.* cloud, 云彩. Ex.: Gemu 5.

tɕi33 [tɕi33] *v.t.* to curse, 诅咒. Ex.: Tso 253.

tɕi33 [tɕi33] *s.v.* to be sour, 酸的. PTB *s-kyu:r.

tɕi33 [tɕi33] *v.* to put, 放; CAUS. Ex.: ɕinami 41.

tɕi33-di33 [tɕi33-di33] *n.* mortal world, 人间地. ETY.: tɕi33 ‘mortal’ + -di33 -NOM_{Loc}. Ex.: Tso 282.

tɕi33-ni33 ku31 [tɕi33-ni33 ku31] *v.* mud-colored. ETY.: tɕi33 ‘dirt’ + ni33 ku33 ‘seems like.’

tɕi33 pu33 zɿwæ13 [tɕi33 pu33 zɿwæ13] *s.v.* to be light (of work), 轻闲.

tɕi33-tɔ31 [tɕi33-tɔ31] *n.* sour orange, 橘子. ETY.: tɕi33 ‘sour’ + tɔ31 ‘orange.’

tɕi33-tɔ31-ni31 ku31 [tɕi33-tɔ31-ni31 ku31] *v.* orange-colored, 橘红色的. ETY.: tɕi33-tɔ31 ‘orange’ + ni33 ku33 ‘seems like.’

tɕi33 tɕi33 [tɕi33 tɕi33] *v.* to copulate / have intercourse, 交配.

tɕɔ31 ku33 tu31 [tɕɔ31 ki33 tu31] *quant.* first, 首先. ETY.: tɕɔ31 ‘most’ + ku33 ‘first’ + t^hu31. Ex.: Tso 219.

tɕɔ31-ɦi33 ku33 [tɕɔ31-ɦi33 ku33] *quant.* middle, 最中间的. ETY.: tɕɔ31 ‘most’ + ɦi33 ku33 ‘middle.’ Ex.: Tso 224.

tɕɔ31 mu33 t^hu31 [tɕɔ31 mɿ33 t^hu31] *quant.* last, 最下面的. ETY.: tɕɔ31 ‘most’ + mu33 ‘last’ + t^hu31. Ex.: Tso 224.

tɕɔ33 tɕɿ33 [tɕɔ33 tɕə33] *n.* Zhuang ethnicity, 壮族. ETY.: Loan.

tɕo ɕu [tɕo ɕ.] that is, 就是. ETY.: Loan from Chinese. Ex.: Tso 1, 96.

tɕɿ31 la33 wɔ33 tɔ33 [tɕə31 la33 wɔ33 tɔ33] *n.* dragonfly, 蜻蜓.

tɕ^hi31 [tɕ^hi31] *interj.* Expresses displeasure or impatience, 语气词 (干脆, 快一点!; 不满意). Ex.: Tso 31, 235.

tɕ^hi31 bɔ33 [tɕ^hi31 bɔ33] *n.* shade, cool place without sunlight, 阴凉.

tɕ^hi31 ɕu33 [tɕ^hi31 ɕu33] religious, 敬神的. Ex.: Tso 279.

tɕ^hi31 tsi13 [tɕ^hi31 tɕɿ13] *n.* eggplant, 茄子. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

tɕ^hi33 [tɕ^hi33] *n.* type of deer (see notes for Chinese character).

tɕ^hi33 [tɕ^hi33] *n.* splinter, 刺.

tɕ^hi33 [tɕ^hi33] *v.* enter, 钻. Ex.: Tso 73, ɕinami 21.

tɕ^hi33 [tɕ^hi33] *v.* sell, 卖. Ex.: ɕinami 41.

tɕ^hi33-lɿ33 [tɕ^hi33-lɿ33] *n.* mulberry, 桑. ETY.: tɕ^hi33 + lɿ33 CLS.kernel.

tɕ^hi33-lɿ33-dzu31 [tɕ^hi33-lɿ33-dzi31] *n.* mulberry tree, 桑树. ETY.: tɕ^hi33-lɿ33 ‘mulberry’ + dzu33 CLS.tree.

tɕ^hi33 ɦi13 [tɕ^hi33 ɦi13] *n.* wild animal, 野生动物. Note: Literally, this refers to

a type of deer, but it is used to mean wild animals more generally.

tɕ^hi33-tɕ^hɣ31 [tɕ^hi33-tɕ^hə31] *n.* thorn, 荆棘. ETY.: tɕ^hi33 ‘splinter’ + tɕ^hɣ13 CLS.

tɕ^hi33 wɣ31 [tɕ^hi33 wə31] *v.* to become, 变成. Ex.: Tso 67.

tɕ^hi55 [tɕ^hi55] *v.* be sweet, 甜的. PTB *kyəw / PLB *kyəw1.

tɕ^hɔ13 [tɕ^hɔ13] *n.* ladle, 勺子.

tɕ^hɔ31 [tɕ^hɔ31] *n., cls.* 1. meal, 一餐; 2. CLS.meal, 量词 (一顿饭).

tɕ^hɔ31 [tɕ^hɔ31] *v.* follow, 跟. Ex.: ɕinami 23, 36.

tɕ^hɔ31-mi33 [tɕ^hɔ31-mi33] *n.* large ladle, 勺子 (大的). ETY.: tɕ^hɔ13 ‘ladle’ + -mi33 -AUG.

tɕ^hɔ31-zɔ33 [tɕ^hɔ31-zɔ33] *n.* small ladle, 勺子 (小的). ETY.: tɕ^hɔ13 ‘ladle’ + -zɔ33 -DIM.

ɣ13 [ʔə13] *interj.* 语气词. Quite semantically bleached. Ex.: Tso 46.

wæ13 [wæ13] *v.* call over, invite, 叫, 请客. Ex.: Tso 121.

wæ31 [wæ31] *cls.* CLS used with fire, 量词 (堆).

wæ33 [wæ33] *adv.* left (direction), 左. PTB *b(w)ay.

wæ33-dzɣ33 [wæ33-dzə33] *adv.* left side, 左边. ETY.: wæ33 + ‘left’ + dzɣ33 ‘side.’

wæ31-q^hɔ33 tse33 [wæ31-q^hɔ33 tse33] *n.* heirloom variety of corn, 本地的玉米.

wɔ13 [wɔ13] *n.* needle, 针. Ex.: Tso 28. PTB *k-rap / PLB *rapL >< PTB *k-rapH.

wɔ13 [wɔ13] *v.* to return (to a place), 回去. Ex.: ɕinami 29.

wɔ31 [wɔ31] *cls.* CLS used with teams of oxen, 量词 (一对公牛). Ex.: ɕinami 44.

wɔ31 / 33 [wɔ31 / 33] *v.* ABLT (can), 能. Ex.: Gemu 3, 4, 6.

wɔ31 bɔ33 [wɔ31 bɔ33] *n.* 1. animal, livestock, 动物, 家畜; 2. also used as a derogation.

wɔ31 bɔ33 du33 p^hi31 [wɔ31 bɔ33 dɿ33 p^hi31] *n.* a group of animals, 一群动物.

wə31 bə55-mə31 [wə31 bə55-mə31] *n.* carcass / dead animal, 动物尸体. ETY.: wə31 bə55 ‘animal’ + mə33 ‘corpse.’

wə31 dɯ13 sə33 [wə31 dɯ13 sə33] *adv.* day after the day after tomorrow.

wə31 dɯ31 yi33 [wə31 dɯ31 yi33] *adv.* year after the year after next year.

wə31 lɥ33-ʂ33 [wə31 lɥ33-ʂ33] *n.* skull, 头骨. ETY.: wə33 lɥ31 ‘head’ + ʂ33 ‘bone.’

wə31 wə33 [wə31 wə33] *onom.* sound of wind, 风的声音. Ex.: Tso 197.

wə33 [wə33] *n.* 1. head, 头; 2. above, top, 上面. Ex.: Gemu 5; çinami 53.

wə33 bu31 [wə33 bu31] *v.* to meet, to come upon, 遇见. Ex.: Tso 61.

wə33-dzɯ31 [wə33-dzɯ31] *n.* Tibetans, 藏族. ETY.: wə33 ‘above (i.e., mountain)’ + dzi31 ‘live.’

wə33-dzɯ31-di31 [wə33-dzɯ31-di31] *n.* Tibet, 西藏. ETY.: wə33-dzɯ31 ‘Tibetans’ + -di33 -NOM_{LOC}.

wə33-hə31-p^ha33 ts^ha31
[wə33-hə31-p^ha33 ts^ha31] *n.* cowlick (flexure in hair), 蓬发. ETY.: wə33

‘head’ + hə33 ‘fur’ + p^ha33 ts^ha31 ‘messy.’

wə33-hə33 [wə33-hə33] *n.* hair of head, 头发. ETY.: wə33 ‘head’ + hə33 ‘fur.’

wə33-ku33 [wə33-ku33] *n.* pillow, 枕头. ETY.: wə33 ‘head’ + ku33 ‘pillow.’ PTB *kim > < PTB *kum / PLB *m-kum2.

wə33-kɤ31 [wə33-kə31] *n.* type of cloth wrapped around the head. ETY.: wə33 ‘head’ + kə13 CLS.

wə33-k^hwɤ31 [wə33-k^hwə31] 1. on top, 上面; 2. top of head / crown / pate, 头顶. ETY.: wə33 ‘head, top’ + k^hwə33 CLS.piece, strip. Ex.: çinami 53.

wə33-lɥ31 [wə33-lɥ31] *n.* head, 头. ETY.: wə33 ‘head’ + lɥ33 CLS.kernel. Ex.: Tso 277.

wə33-lɥ31-wu31 ku13 [wə33-lɥ31-ɥ31 ku13] *n.* scalp, 头皮. ETY.: wə33-lɥ31 ‘head’ + wu31 ku13 ‘skin.’

wə33 mæ33 [wə33 mæ33] *v.* 1. to nurse / suckle, 培养; 2. care for, 照管. Ex.: Change 7.

wə33 sə31 [wə33 sə31] *adv.* day after tomorrow.

wɔ33-ta33 [wɔ33-ta33] *postp.* 1. in front of, 面前; 2. before, 以前. Compound : wɔ33 ‘head’ + ta33. Ex.: Change 1; Tso 7; Tso 155.

wɔ33 ta33 tʰu33 ɬi33 [wɔ33 ta33 tʰi33 ɬi33] *adv.* last month, 上个月.

wɔ33 tɔ33 [wɔ33 tɔ33] *n.* walnut, 核桃.

wɔ33 yi33 [wɔ33 yi33] *adv.* year after next year.

wɔ33 yĩ33 [wɔ33 yĩ33] *v.* be hard on (s.o.), 做坚硬. Ex.: çinami 10.

wɔ̃31 pʰæ13 [wɔ̃31 pʰæ13] *n.* dried radish, extended to mean dried fruit more generally.

wu31 [ɥ31] *cls.* CLS.one person, 量词 (一个人) . Ex.: Gemu 13.

wu31-dze13 [ɥ31-dze13] *n.* bird, 鸟. ETY.: wu31 + dze33 ‘fly’ Ex.: Tso 12. PTB *wa.

wu31-dze13-hɔ̃33 [ɥ31-dze13-hɔ̃33] *n.* feather (of a bird), 羽毛. ETY.: wu31-dze13 ‘bird’ + hɔ̃33 ‘fur.’

wu31-dze13-ni33 ku31 [ɥ31-dze13-ni33 ku31] *v.* be like a bird (said of a pretty girl). ETY.: wu31-dze13 ‘bird’ + ni33 ku33 ‘seem like.’

wu31-dze13-ni31 tɔ33 [ɥ31-dze13-ni31 tɔ33] *n.* beak / bill (of a bird), 鸟喙 / 鸟嘴. ETY.: wu31-dze13 ‘bird’ + ni31 tɔ33 ‘mouth.’

wu31-dze13-qʰæ33 [ɥ31-dze13-qʰæ33] *n.* freckle, 雀斑. ETY.: wu31-dze13 ‘bird’ + qæ33 ‘excrement.’

wu31-dzi13 [ɥ31-dzi13] *n.* soup, 汤. ETY.: wu33 ‘pan’ + dzi33 ‘water.’

wu31 ku13 [ɥ31 ku13] *n.* skin, 皮肤.

wu33-la31 [ɥ33-la31] *n.* business, 生意. ETY.: wu33 ‘pot’ + la13 ‘strike.’ Ex.: Tso 102.

wu33-tʰæ33-ni31 ku31 [ɥ33-tʰæ33-ni31 ku31] *s.v.* very black, ebony, 特别黑的. Note: Literally, ‘black like the underside of a pot.’ ETY.: wu33 ‘pot’ + tʰæ33 ‘underneath’ + ni31 ku33 ‘seem like.’

wu31 tsʰɔ̃13 [ɥ31 tsʰɔ̃13] *n.* vegetable, 蔬菜.

wu33 wu33 [ɥ33 ɥ33] *v.* to chew, 嚼. PTB *g-wa.

wɔ̃13 [wə13] *adv.* again, 又. Ex.: Gemu 29.

wɿ33 [wə33] *v., cls.* 1. to stack, 堆; 2. CLS.stack, 量词 (一堆). Ex.: Tso 189, ɕinami 6.

wɿ33 [wə33] *n.* mountain, 山. Ex.: Tso 43.

wɿ33 [wə33] *n.* village, 村镇. Ex.: Gemu 1. PTB *wa.

wɿ33-bi33 mi33-kwə31 [wə33-bi33 mi33-kwə31] *n.* mountainside, slope, 山腹. ETY.: wɿ33 ‘mountain’ + bi33 mi33 ‘stomach’ + kwə33 LOC.

wɿ33-ɕwə33 [wə33-ɕwə33] *n.* high mountain, 高山. ETY.: wɿ33 ‘mountain’ + ɕwə33 ‘tall.’ Ex.: Tso 255.

wɿ33 tə31 [wə33 tə31] *n.* island, 海岛.

wɿ33-tɿ31 [wə33-tɿ31] *n.* hill, 小山. ETY.: wɿ33 ‘mountain’ + CLS.round.

wɿ33-tɿ31-tɿ31 [wə33-tɿ31-tɿ31] *n.* mound, hillock, 小丘. ETY.: wɿ33 ‘mountain’ + CLS.round + CLS.round.

wɿ33-wə13 [wə33-wə13] *n.* in the mountains, 山上. ETY.: wɿ33 ‘mountain’ + wə33 ‘on, above.’ Ex.: Tso 43.

wɿ33-wə13-bu31-hwə31 li33
[wə33-wə13-bu31-hwə31 li33] *n.*

mountain cat, 山猫. ETY.: wɿ33 ‘mountain’ + wə33 ‘on’ + bu33 POSS + hwə31 li33 ‘cat.’

wɿ33-wə33 tsʰe33 [wə33-wə33 tsʰe33] *n.* mountaintop, 山顶. ETY.: wɿ33 ‘mountain’ + wə33 tsʰe33 ‘top.’

wɿ33-wə31-yi33 [wə33-wə31-yi33] *n.* wild cattle, 野牛. ETY.: wɿ33 ‘mountain’ + wə33 ‘on’ + yi33 ‘cow.’

wɿ33-wɿ31 [wə33-wə31] *v.* to stack together, 堆起来. Note: The reduplication gives the reading ‘stack together’ as opposed to just ‘stack.’ Ex.: Tso 189.

ya33 qʰa33 [ya33 qʰa33] *n.* buckwheat, 荞麦. Ex.: Tso 189. PTB *ra / PLB *g-ra2.

yi13 [yi13] *n.* pimple, 丘疹.

yi31 ha13 [yi31 ha13] *quant.* all, 全部. Ex.: Tso 10.

yi31 kʰu55 [yi31 kʰu55] *quant.* some, 一些. Ex.: Tso 69.

yi31-mi13 [yi31-mi13] *n.* cow (female), 母牛. ETY.: yi33 ‘cow’ + -mi33 feminine suffix.

yi31 tɕæ13 [yi31 tɕæ13] *n.* waist, 腰. Ex.: Tso 137.

yi31 tɕæ13-ku33 tu33 [yi31 tɕæ13-ku33 tu33] *n.* small of back, 腰背部. ETY.: yi31 tɕæ13 ‘waist’ + ku33 tu33 ‘back of.’

yi33 [yi33] *n.* place, 地方. Ex.: Tso 268.

yi33 [yi33] *n.* cow (generic), cattle, 牛. Ex.: ɕinami 44.

yi33-bu31 [yi33-bu31] *n.* bull (intact male), 种牛. ETY.: yi33 ‘cow’ + bu31.

yi33-ɣu33 [yi33-ɣi33] *n.* leather, cowhide, 牛皮. ETY.: yi33 ‘cow’ + ɣi33 ‘skin.’

yi33-lu31-hĩ33 [yi33-lu31-hĩ33] *n.* person who raises cows, 放牧牛. ETY.: yi33 ‘cow’ + lu31 ‘feed’ + -hĩ33 -NOM_{AGT}.

yi33-ɕe33 [yi33-ɕe33] *n.* beef, 牛肉. ETY.: yi33 ‘cow’ + ɕe33 ‘meat.’

yi33-zo33 [yi33-zo33] *n.* calf, 小牛. ETY.: yi33 ‘cow’ + -zo33 -DIM.

yi33 [yi33] *v.* 1. can, 会; 2. make, 做; 3. CAUS. Ex.: Gemu 10, 13, 21, 26; ɕinami 60.

yi33-bi33-di33-mə33-di31

[yi33-bi33-di33-mə33-di31] *expr.* no way to do something, 没有办法. ETY.: yi33 ‘make’ + bi33 ‘go’ + di33 ‘place’ + mə33 NEG + di33 EXIST.P. Ex.: Tso 44.

yo31 [yo31] *n.* sheep, 绵羊. Ex.: Tso 141. PTB *yaŋ.

yo31 na33 [yo31 na33] *n.* Yunnan, 云南. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

yo33 [yo33] *v.* 1. to come, 来; 2. come.IMP, 过来! 3. (I’m) coming, (我)来. Ex.: Tso 27.

yo33 [yo33] *n.* jade, 玉.

yo33 [yo33] *adv.* right (direction), 右. PTB *ra > < PTB *ya.

yo33-dzɤ13 [yo33-dzə13] *adv.* right side, 右边. ETY.: yo33 ‘right’ + dzɤ33 ‘side.’

yo33-hɕ33 [yo33-hɕ33] *n.* sheep’s wool, still on the sheep, 绵羊毛, 还在绵羊上. ETY.: yo33 ‘sheep’ + hɕ33 ‘fur.’

yo33-si33 [yo33-sɿ33] *n.* sheep’s wool, 绵羊毛. ETY.: yo33 ‘sheep’ + si33 ‘wool.’

yo33-ɕe33 [yo33-ɕe33] *n.* lamb meat, 绵羊肉. ETY.: yo33 ‘sheep’ + ɕe33 ‘meat.’

yɿ13 [yə13] *cls.* CLS used with dogs, 量词 (狗). Ex.: Tso 126.

yɿ31 yo33 [yə31 yo33] *n.* potato, 马铃薯. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

yɿ31 yo33-bæ33 bæ31 [yə31 yo33-bæ33 bæ31] *n.* potato flowers, 马铃薯的花. ETY.: yɿ31 yo33 ‘potato’ (loan from Chinese) + bæ31 bæ13 ‘flower.’

yɿ31 yɿ13 [yə31 yə13] *v.t.* to lick, 舔.

yɿ33 [yə33] *n.* cigarette, 香烟. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

zɑ31 ɲi33 ʂɿ31 [zɑ31 ɲi33 ʂə31] *n.* hare-lipped bear of legend, 熊的一各种类 (神话的). **zæ13** [zæ13] *n.* leopard, 豹.

zæ33 [zæ33] *v.i.* laugh, 笑. PTB *(y)a > < PTB *(y)ay / PLB *ray1.

zæ33 bæ13 [zæ33 bæ13] *n.* lightning, 闪电.

zɛ31 mi13 [zɛ31 mi13] *n.* niece, 侄女.

zɛ31 wu13 [zɛ31 wɿ13] *n.* nephew, 侄儿.

zɛ55 [zɛ55] *pcl.* CSM/CRS/PERF, 了. Note: Variant zɔ33. Ex.: Gemu 15.

zi31 zi13 [zɿ31 zɿ13] *v.* to be numb / be paralyzed, 麻木的 / 使麻痹的.

zi33 [zɿ33] *n.* grass, 草. Ex.: Tso 30. PTB *yəy / PLB *s-yəy2.

zɔ se [zɔ se] *v.* brown, 棕色的. ETY.: Loan from Chinese.

zɔ31 [zɔ31] *v.* OBL (must), 必须. Ex.: Tso 161. PTB *zum > < PTB *zuŋ / PLB *zum2.

zɔ31 bu33 [zɔ31 bu33] men’s, 男的.

zɔ31 bu33 lu31 [zɔ31 bu33 lɿ31] *n.* world, 世界. Note: Likely a loanword.

zɔ31 hɔ31 [zɔ31 hɔ31] *v.* should, 应该. Ex.: Tso 248.

zɔ31-kwɔ33 [zɔ31-kwɔ33] *int. pro* where, wherever, 哪里. ETY.: zɔ13 QW + kwɔ33 LOC. Ex.: Tso 9.

zɔ31 nɔ33 [zɔ31 nɔ33] *adv.* now, 现在. Ex.: Gemu 45.

zɔ33 [zɔ33] *pcl.* ADVB.

zɔ33 [zɔ33] *pcl.* CSM/CRS/PERF, 了. Note: Variant of zɛ33. Ex.: Gemu 4, 26, 27.

zo33 [zo33] *n.* 1. son, 儿子; 2. boy, 男孩子; 3. -DIM, 小的. Ex.: Gemu 26, 27, 31; 1, 19, 26. PTB *za / PLB *za2.

zo33 [zo33] *v.* to hit, strike, 打中. Ex.: Tso 235.

zo33-h533 [zo33-h533] *n.* little boy, 小男孩. ETY.: zo33 ‘boy’ + h533 ‘fur.’ Ex.: cinami 11; cinami 54.

zo33-mu33 [zo33-mu33] *n.* child, 小孩. ETY.: zo33 ‘son’ + mu33 ‘daughter.’ Ex.: Tso 71.

zo33 pa33 [zo33 pa33] *n.* (weaving) shuttle, 槽. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 238.

zo33 pɔ31 [zo33 pɔ31] *v.* to be pregnant, 怀孕的. ETY.: zo33 ‘boy, child’ + pɔ13.

zo33-q^hæ33-ʂwæ31 [zo33-q^hæ33-ʂwæ31] *n.* sissy, coward, 胆小的男人; 懦弱. ETY.: zo33 ‘boy’ + q^hæ33 ʂwæ31 ‘diarrhea.’

zo33-tɕɔ33 [zo33-tɕɔ33] *v.* to give birth, 分娩. ETY.: zo33 ‘child’ + tɕɔ33 ‘give birth.’

zu31 [zi31] QW, 哪. Ex.: Change 14.

zu31 [zi31] both (used with animates). Ex.: Tso 19.

zu31 [zi31] *v.* to grab, 抓. Ex.: Gemu 27.

zu31-bæ13 [zi31-bæ13] that kind, such, 那种. ETY.: zi31 QW + bæ13 ‘kind.’

zu31 ja33 zu31 [zi31 ja33 zi31] *n.* cicada 蝉. ETY.: Sound symbolic.

zu33 [zi33] *n., c/s.* lifetime, 生, 辈子. Ex.: Gemu 29.

zi13 [zi13] *n.* monkey, 猴子. Ex.: Tso 69.

zi31 [zi31] *v.* to grow, develop, 生长. Ex.: cinami 30.

zi31-h513 [zi31-h513] *n.* body hair, 体毛, 汗毛. ETY.: zi31 + h533 ‘fur.’

zi31-wæ33 [zi31-wæ33] *v.* to snore, 打鼾. ETY.: zi31 ‘sleep’ + wæ33 ‘call.’

zɛ33 [zɛ33] *n.* arrow, 箭. Ex.: Tso 231.

zɔ13 [zɔ13] *n.* lunch, 中午饭. Ex.: cinami 15.

zɔ33-q^hwɔ33 [zɔ33-q^hwɔ33] *n.* house, 房子. ETY.: zɔ33 ‘building’ + q^hwɔ33. Ex.: cinami 59.

zu13 [zu13] *v.* to sew, 缝. Ex.: Tso 28.

zɯ31 [zɯ31] *quant.* four, 四. Ex.: Tso 266. PTB *b-ləy / PLB *b/?-ləy2.

zɯ31 [zɯ31] *n.* side, facet, 面. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 195.

zɯ31 mi31 [zɯ31 mi31] *n.* bow, 弓箭. Ex.: Tso 230.

zɯ31-mi33 [zɯ31-mi33] *n.* female grandchild, 孙女. ETY.: zɯ31 + -mi33 feminine suffix.

zɯ31-wu33 [zɯ31-ɣ33] *n.* male grandchild, 孙子. ETY.: zɯ31 + wu33.

zɯ31 zɔ55 zɯ33 mi55 [zɯ31 zɔ55 zɯ33 mi55] *n.* close friend, 好朋友.

zɯ33 [zɯ33] *v.* to be tasty, 好吃的.

zɯ33 bæ33 [zɯ33 bæ33] *n.* snake, 蛇. ETY.: zɯ33 + bæ33 ‘rope.’ PTB *s-b-ru:l / PLB *m-r-wəy1.

zɯ33-di33 [zɯ33-di33] *n.* warm area, 热的地方. ETY.: zɯ33 ‘warm’ + -di33 -NOM_{Loc}. Ex.: Tso 254.

zɯ33 mi33 [zɯ33 mi33] *n.* wife, 老婆. ETY.: Shamanic. Ex.: Tso 106.

zɯ31 [zɯ31] *v.* be disguised, 隐瞒. Ex.: Tso 36.

zɯ13 [zɯ13] *v.* EXIST.C (existential verb used with things in a container), 有. Ex.: Tso 221.

zɯ13 [zɯ13] *n.* saliva, 口水. PTB *m-tʂril / PLB *rəy1.

zɯ31 [zɯ31] *v.* to take, 拿. Ex.: Gemu 6, 26, 43; Tso 124. PTB *yu / PLB *yu1.

zɯ31 [zɯ31] *n., cls.* family, 家. Ex.: Tso 2.

zɯ31-gu13 [zɯ31-gu13] *n.* boat, 船. ETY.: zɯ31 ‘type of wood’ + gu33 ‘trough.’ Ex.: çinami 60.

zɯ31 mu33 [zɯ31 mɯ33] *v.* to dream, 梦. PTB *r/s-mak.

zɯ31 mu33 ku33 [zɯ31 mɯ33 ku33] *n.* Zhimuku, goddess of springs. ETY.: mu33 ku33 means ‘spring/water well’ (泉水井; 泉水的神). Ex.: Tso 2, Tso 14.

zɯ31 ju33 [zɯ31 ɲu33] *v.* sleep / be asleep, 睡着. Ex.: Gemu 34.

zɯ31-wɔ33 [zɯ31-wɔ33] *n.* bedroom, 卧室. ETY.: zɯ31 ‘sleep’ + wɔ33 ‘place’; takes the classifier tsɔ13.room.

zɯ33 [zɯ33] *n.* liquor, 酒. Ex.: Tso 120. PTB *dzəy / PLB *m-dzəy1.

zɯ33-lu13 [zɯ33-lu13] *n.* earthquake, 地震. ETY.: zɯ33 ‘building’ + lu13 ‘move.’

zɯ33-mæ31 [zɯ33-mæ31] *n.* *sulimajiu* (type of liquor made from grain particular to the Na). ETY.: zɯ33 ‘alcohol’ + mæ31. Ex.: Gemu 5.

zɯ33 mæ31 ts^hu33 [zɯ33 mæ31 ts^hɿ33] *n.* rainbow, 彩虹. Ex.: Gemu 5.

zɯ33-mi33 [zɯ33-mi33] *n.* hearthroom, living room, 火塘屋子, 客厅. ETY.: zɯ33 ‘家’ + -mi33 -AUG. Ex.: Tso 8.

zɯ33 tu33 [zɯ33 tu33] *n.* family, 家庭. Ex.: Tso.

zɯ33-t^hu13 [zɯ33-t^hu13] *v.* to separate households, 分家. ETY.: zɯ33 ‘family’ + t^hu13 ‘unhusk.’ Ex.: Tso 8.

zɿ31-mi33 [zɿ31-mi33] *n.* road, 路. ETY.: zɿ31 ‘path, road’ + -mi33 -AUG. Ex.: Tso 140.

zɿ31 wɔ33 [zɿ31 wɔ33] *n.* ploughing oxen, 耕牛. Ex.: Tso 17.

zɿ33 [zɿ33] *n.* trace, 痕迹. Ex.: çinami 31.

zɿ33 [zɿ33] *v.* to give birth to, 养. Ex.: Tso 115.

zɿ33 wu33 [zɿ33 wɯ33] *n.* castrated male cow, 阉割的公牛.

zɿwæ13 [zɿwæ13] *adv.* 1. very, INTS, 很; 2. strong, 厉害; 3. good, 好. Note: Variant twæ13 used in Yongning and Wenchuan. Ex.: Tso 149; Tso 286, Gemu 2.

zɿwæ31-ky13 [zɿwæ31-ky13] *n.* baby horse, 小马. ETY.: zɿwæ33 ‘horse’ + ky13.

zɿwæ31-ky13-zɔ33 [zɿwæ31-ky13-zɔ33] *n.* very young baby horse, 很小的马. ETY.: zɿwæ33 ‘horse’ + ky13 + -zɔ33 -DIM.

zɿwæ31-mi13 [zɿwæ31-mi13] *n.* horse (mare), 母马. ETY.: zɿwæ33 ‘horse’ + -mi13 feminine suffix.

zɿwæ33 [zɿwæ33] *n.* horse, 马. Ex.: Gemu 35, Tso 277. PTB *mraŋ / PLB *mraŋ2.

zɿwæ33-ɣu31 [zɿwæ33-ɣi31] *n.* horse skin, 马皮. ETY.: zɿwæ33 ‘horse’ + ɣi31 ‘skin.’

zɿwæ33-se31 [zɿwæ33-se31] *n.* breeding horse, 种马; 马 (男性的), 不阉割的马. ETY.: zɿwæ33 ‘horse’ + se31.

zɿwæ33-ʂe33 [zɿwæ33-ʂe33] *n.* horsemeat, 马肉. ETY.: zɿwæ33 ‘horse’ + ʂe33 ‘meat.’

z̥wæ33-wɔ31 [z̥wæ33-wɔ31] *n.* gelding (castrated), 马(阉割的). ETY.: z̥wæ33 ‘horse’ + wɔ31.

z̥wɤ31 [z̥wɤ31] *v.* to be hungry, starve, 饿的. Ex.: ɕinami 33.

z̥wɤ33 [z̥wɤ33] *v.* to speak, say, 说. Ex.: Tso 139, Tso 90.

z̥wɤ33-mə33-hĩ31 [z̥wɤ33-mə33-hĩ31] *n.* mute person, 哑巴. ETY.: z̥wɤ33 ‘speak’ + mə33 NEG + -hĩ33 -NOM_{AGT}.

APPENDIX A

Appendix A is the full Chinese transcript of the interviews from which the narrative texts *Yongzhutser Daba*, *Tipi Daba*, and *Mupha Daba* are excerpted. (The highlighting here indicates the sections of the interview which were transcribed.) As there was not time to transcribe the full interviews and some parts of the interview are in Yunnanese and/or Mandarin, I do not have a full Na transcription of the interviews. However, Geze Dorje and I were able to compile this Chinese version of the interviews. I am including it as an appendix as the material is of value. I apologize that I do not yet have an English translation of this Chinese transcript, but as a good portion of the readers of the grammar will be literate in Chinese, I am including this even though there is not yet an English version.

A.1 Yong Zhutser Daba

(0:30-2:40 in Na: Obtaining consent)

L: 请问一下，你的达巴的老师是谁呢？

GD:

YZT:

GD: ki31 ki33 (means “teacher”) 他的老师去世了，去世十几年。

L: 可是家的名字呢？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 叫 du31 dzu33 tæ31 şu31. 他是ti31 bi33 (means “that side”) 家的人。

L: 所以，老师也是在这边长大的？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 是，是这个村里的，在这个村里长大。

L: 所以，你学了多少年？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 十几年，学了十几年。

L: 好象这个村里有好几个达巴，可能这边。。。好几个村一个达巴都没有啊，他觉得这个是为什么呢？

(3:56)

GD:

YZT:

GD: 他认为在这条村庄，就稍微封闭一点，跟外界的交流会少很多，以后村里的，它的对传统习惯非常严格，老人们传统的习惯特别要求，要求比较严厉。以后象永宁那些，它是学习汉族的东西特别多，而且学习别的民族比较多，所以把自己的达巴就慢慢就抛弃了。在这里呢，他是老人们是特别愿意教年轻人一些传统，教这些，所以一代一代往下传，而且对这些都非常严格的要求他们。所以他跟外界的接触也比较少一点。一方面，他们也不太愿意学习汉族的东西或者学别的，象普米

的啊，别的好多比较先进的民族的东西，都很不愿意去学习它。而且村庄稍微封闭一点，他离其他的村庄有一点点距离，这个在加上有村里的老人对年轻人的这个严格的要求对传统文化的一种那个传递的这种比较严格，所以学的人也多，所以他们就传承的比较好一些。象比其他的村庄好多是学习汉族的方式，其他的民族的生活方式，那学的比较多一点，把自己民族的东西都，可能抛弃的比较多，就基本上没有了传统。

(6:23)

L: 所以，请问一下，对达巴教，到底 (indistinct) 有什么理解，你觉得达巴根本是从哪里来的，是什么时候来这边，为什么选择这边不选择其他地方？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 最早的时候是，Apa (interjection), 他最早的达巴有一个选择，需要在那个地方去继承和传播这个达巴的，所以他很早的时候一开始选择的时候是，他挑选很多富裕地方和有条件的地方，各个地方，去试它。主要是在五个方向，去寻找它。以后找到一个方向是，这块地特别好的，很安静和特别好的一个地方，在这块地方住了三个家：一家汉族，一家藏族，和一家摩梭。以后，最终在这家摩梭当中来传承这个达巴，他们觉得这里是非常安静，是环境特别好的一个地方，来选择这个。

YZT:

(9:45)

GD: 他，就是，他最早的达巴，不是从外地传入，他们认为是从上天。上天有两个人传到人间，就是传给了这个三家人，一家汉族，一家藏族，和一家摩梭。后来，这家摩梭和这几家人，他们会特别能够举行达巴的仪式和达巴的各种道场，他能够举行，所以后来的摩梭所以就去那三家人学习，学习达巴的这个，学习达巴的所有道场和这些。而不是从外地传过来。他本来都选择了这个地方。

(10:37)

L: 所以他觉得达巴教里的最根本的思想或者意思是什么呢？最重要的思想是什么呢？

YZT:

GD: 达巴对整个人类和这个根本的作用，就是它是主要一般所有万物为主。如果是人生病了，就医治人的病痛，如果是土地生病了，就是医治土地的病痛，如果是牲畜和这些动物生病了，就是医治所有的牲畜和动物的病痛，让所有的解除你的病痛，这种病痛在摩梭语里头不一定是疼痛，还有一些不好的或者不舒服的，我都帮你去结束这些。所以你觉得人活在这个世上所有的痛苦，磨难，可能都包括在那里，都要结束他。

YZT:

GD: 他学习达巴的文化和这个，并不是说为了发财，为了赚很多的钱。他一开始学的时候没有这样的目的，他只是说，我学习了这个对大家有好处，对村庄，我可以帮助很多村庄很多的人，以后，而不是说，我要赚很多的钱来学习这个。因为现在很多学习的目的，很多为了赚钱或者什么。但是作为达巴来说，不是为了赚钱，就是要帮助更多的人，帮助村庄，帮助更多的民族的，让他生活各方面会好一些。

YZT:

GD: 如果是有的家庭特别贫穷的, 来请他帮忙, 就是说, 他只可以给你一杯凉水, 或者一杯开水, 只能给你这样的一杯水, 你都义无反顾的去帮助他。因为我并不是为了给你一块儿黄金这类的。你给我一杯开水, 我没有任何犹豫的要去。这是达巴的标准, 就是学习达巴人的一种必须的要求。

(14:24)

L: 那, 达巴教对人类的世界有什么哲学或者看法呢?

GD:

YZT:

GD: 它根本的一条就是说, 人活在这个环境当中, 你要对山神表示敬畏, 尊敬他, 以后, 时时刻刻你要学会跟他道歉, 因为你可能是砍了一棵树什么呢各种问题, 但是我就时时刻刻跟他道歉, 就对不起, 我要有这个。还有给所有的水, 掌管水的, 泉水的, 各种的水神, 要学会跟他道歉, 就是说要时刻跟他敬畏, 就是要对他有那个抱歉, 我可能那里做错, 就是很谦虚的这个生活。以后, 对山水这些方面的你要重视他, 就是对他很尊敬, 你要表示很歉意的, 很道歉的方式来生活在他们的中间。所以, 你的家庭, 你的这个, 才会比较和平一些。家里的牲畜啊, 会比较兴旺一点儿, 而不会有太多的病痛来。所以, 这个家庭, 各方面会美满一点。

YZT:

GD: 如果你一天和这些山神和水神作对, 就是说可能破坏他的生活, 以后就惹他不高了, 很多的自然灾害就会带来, 就是说, 会有冰雹, 砸了把庄稼砸掉, 洪水爆发把全部土地淹没, 各种各样不好的就会发生, 所以你时刻要对他表示一种道歉, 就是说, 要尊敬他, 以后你才会能够在他的环境里头生活舒服一点, 好一点。

(18:00)

L: 请问一下, 他开始学习经文的时候, 经文是怎么样的分析, 有没有一块就是治疗病毒, 一块对环境, 一块对其他的 - 我不知道, 当然。达巴教里, 他们怎么分析经文一些的啊? 有没有一块对这个方面的生活, 一块对那个方面?

GD:

YZT:

GD: 有很多, 有很多种类。有一点儿象一本书一样, 这本书是为家庭, 家里的和平和家里的团结来念, 那一本书是为了给土地啊, 这些, 的和平。还有一些是给山神啊, 各种神啊, 各种各样的书。他包括, 就象记载在脑里的这些所有的事, 它是分各种各样的种类。你在不同的环境里用不同的一部书, 就是差不多, 就是象一本书一样。但是它是全部记在脑子里, 是这一部分, 那一部分。你很清楚每一部分是为了做什么事用的。

(20:00)

L: 所以, 他觉得有那个家里的那块, 对山神的那些, 还有对土地的, 有没有其他的文章?

GD: 很多种, 特别多。

L: 他会记得几个呢?

GD:

YZT:

GD: 他自己记得的, 可能有最少十一个种类。

L: 十一个种类?

GD: 十一个种类。等于是，他能够记得，背诵十一部书的这个，就是它表示十一个方面的这个经文，能够记得和背诵它。还有，可能是可以举行，自己有能力举行十一种仪式的所有的经文。

L: 是什么十一个？不知道他会不会，可是如果会，是什么十一个，有什么题目或种类？

H: 是哪十一部？仪式是什么？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 它那个是，它是种类特别多。以后，光是说，你家里有人病痛，是一种；以后，你没有病痛，也可以，还有诵经的，有一种；就算是病痛的，光是给病痛的就可以念八九种，八九种经文来念这个。一年当中是总的村庄，整个村庄里头，一年要念三种。

H: 它这个，李力，它这个十一部，每一个里又分很多小的。

GD: 小的特别多。

L: 很清楚啊。

GD: 就是说，光是他记得一部，就是治病的，这治病的里头又分八种九种。

L: 很多。

H: 可能说出来十一部是什么？

L: 对对对，是这样的。

H: 一个一个说。

GD:

YZT:

GD: 那个是，家里有病人一种治病的；家里没有病人一种；你举行婚礼的时候，村里结婚的时候一种；

YZT:

GD: 还有是新房子，房子新的，房子刚健的时候有一种；以后一年的总的一年是要给全村念三种，要念三种；以后还有是夏天 的时候要祝福夏天的一种，祝福冬天的一种。几种了？三，四，五，六，七，八，九。。。

H: 七个。

GD: 七个。

H: 那个，他说要一年三种，那三种是一个里头或者分别算？

GD: 分三种。

YZT: 分三种。

H: 分三种，就是一二三四五六七八九。

GD: 是这样：他一年分三个节，分三节来念。

L: 三季：夏天，冬天。。。

H: 不是。

GD: 不是这个夏天，冬天。。。

H: 三节是哪三节？一年那三次是。。。

GD:

YZT:

GD: 端午节一次，杀猪一次，过年一次，这三个节必须念的。

YZT:

GD: 还有八月份的时候，达巴专门有一个八月初一。八月初一的时候，有专门念一种。

H: 是祭祖先的吗？祭祖的吗？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 是，是把祖先找回来，祭祖。

H: 还差一个。

YZT: 还差一个。

H: 还有葬礼上的那个呢？人死的时候呢？

YZT:

GD: 人死的时候，很多种。

H: 生小孩儿的时候呢？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 以前是有的，现在都没有做了，生小孩儿的，那一段。

YZT:

GD: 烧一个香，就是点一个灯，就很少做了，说以前是要详细要做的，很难的一个做法，也是特别困难的一个仪式。现在都把它放弃了。

H: 简单的烧一些香吗？

GD: 烧香，点灯，点酥油灯。

L: 所以，请问一下，有一些人，他们说根本纳西和摩梭是一个民族，好像这边，没有人记载历史，所以没有人知道，可是可能达巴的口传有没有一些关于摩梭的历史呢？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 这个，在经文里头，Na 就是独立的Na, 以后根别的民族没有任何关系。如果是要有什么关系的，什么的，作为他来说，他不懂这个，都不知道了。经文里头只有Na, 而没有叫Naxi 的这种人在经文里头出现过。所以，觉得没有什么，这个。如果是要更多的，他不太明白这个。

L: 没关系。

GD: 到底这些是从哪里来的一些说法。

(28:15)

L: 还有一些人，他们觉得以前可能东把教和达巴教是一个教。他觉得这个。。。他可能不知道。。。因为这里跟丽江很远啊，可能不知道。。。他认识一些东巴？他觉得达巴教和东把教有一些比较同样的或者是没有？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 这个总的最高的佛就象佛教里的(释迦摩尼) Shakyamuni以下分不同的宗教一样，各种各类的佛教一样。可能是最早的这个达巴的传教者可能是一个，但是后来的很多都不一样。做法，各种各类的法事，道场，仪式，全部是不一样的。为什么

会这样，他自己不知道为什么会这样，但是觉得是根本的做法不一样的，可能目的和做法都不一样。

L: 都不一样啊。

(30:08)

L: 那，那些神，有没有一些相同，或者没有啊？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 他没有见过东巴的法事，所以他不知道有没有相似的地方。

YZT:

GD: 他说，听老人说，有一些摩梭语来说，个别的一句一句话说，是可以相同，但是真正怎么样，他不知道。

L: 他不知道。

GD: 不知道，因为从语言，平常说话来说，和纳西有个别的一句一句话说是一样的，他也没听过，自己没听过，只是说听老人说有一些句是一样的，但是具体的，到底是怎么样，他不是很清楚。

L: 他觉得那个达巴教的将来怎么样啊？因为好像越来越多那些村里的人去外地打工，可能在城市里没办法当达巴或者学习那些啊。他觉得。。。昨天看的那位达巴，他特别努力的教一些小孩儿啊。他觉得现在那个汉语，那位达巴，他说也有一些好处，那些小孩儿，他在这边上学的时候，他们特别精神的学那个达巴教，他们背的能力特别好因为他们学习汉语。他觉得有没有根本的矛盾啊，没办法一边学汉语，一边学达巴教，或者他觉得学那两个没问题啊？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 说这一代人是不少，这一代人很多人都在，他这一个时代，很多人在学习达巴或者是努力去传承它，但是到了下一代，会怎么样，他自己不敢去猜测这个。会不会，可能会少一点吗？这个不是很清楚。那，可能因为时代不断的变化，有可能学习达巴的人会少一点，这个不是很清楚。

L: 当然，谁知道将来吗？这就是问一下啊。还有呢，可不可以说一些达巴教里面的神，那个水井神，那个山上的神，有没有其他的？他的样子怎么样？因为这边看起来那个房子里面常常有一些画，不知道他知不知道，神应该有什么样的样子？

(repetition, explaining what I'm trying to ask). 他的样子，有没有他常常在手里拿一个东西？

GD: 就是象佛教的神一样？差不多的手上。

GD:

YZT:

(36:32)

GD: 他这个神的样子是全部有的，象山神。山上的神是骑着，有的是骑着一匹马，有的象一个人骑一匹马一样，有的骑一头牦牛或者骑一个老虎，这类的。类似的神是有的。会挂在山上。山上，就是他山上的样子。所以所有的神都有他的画像，神的画像都有的。这些，平常在家里画的这些都不是。

L: 这个不是，可是。。。

GD: 这个都不属于。

YZT:

GD: 那个灶上面火的那个，火的那个，他不属于火神或者是灶的。他是这个家庭的神，就是整个家庭的神，就是那个火苗，那个里面有海螺，那个。每个家都有，是家庭的神。

YZT:

GD: 他，那，他是一个形状在那里。他这个神是不会住在这里。他是全世界去旅游了，到处去玩儿或者是到处去视察，视察全世界。到春节的时候，家里要邀请他回来，就请他回来。邀请的时候，春节的时候，有专门有一个仪式来请他。以后，他才回到这个家庭里来。平常他是到处走的，到处全世界去走，很少会在一个家庭里居住，没有的。他是不属于居住在一个家庭里。春节的时候，你邀请他，他就回来。就是那个火塘上，那个神。

L: 所以，请问一下，达巴刚才说明了一下那个山上的那个神有什么样的，可不可以说明一下其他的神，他们是谁，他们有什么样子？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 他有各种各样神的名字，但是画像是没有。他真正的样子怎么样是没有的。

L: 不知道？

GD: 就是说，天上有天神，地下有地神。天和地的中间，就是叫，原来我们学过了，叫 Apato 的。他是一个天和地的中间的神。是反正有各种各样的神，名字是有的，但是他的样子和画像是没有。

(40:10)

L: 可不可以说明一下他们的名字和他们的个性一点和他们的特色？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 太多了，这个。所有的神，很多，非常多，所有的神，而且说不完可能太多。

H: 说几个。

L: 只说几个。

GD:

YZT:

GD: 那个天地中间的神叫Apato。

YZT:

GD: 这个叫Apato 的人是，他是在天和地之间。一开始的时候，人是没有衣服穿，都是光着身子的，还有什么都不会做，家庭，牲畜，什么都不会养。他就是教会人你怎么样去穿衣服，怎么样去坐，就是你坐在地下姿势是什么样的，还有怎么样去吃饭，怎么样去喝茶，还有怎么样去驯化，把那些动物驯成这个家里的，还有你如何建立一个家庭，家庭如何建起来，怎么样去种庄稼，就是最简单的生活，你怎么样去做这些事。全部是有这个神来教给你的。

YZT:

GD: 一般就是说，他要教你如何让这匹马驮东西，帮你驮东西去赶马帮，还有这个牛去如何去驯化了，去帮你犁地，不然它不是会让你去犁或者让你驮，这个一开始是不可能的。以后，还有象猪啊，这些，有脚上有蹄的这些动物，你可以把它杀

了，把它喂养了可以，在家里喂养以后杀了吃了。因为这个是没有罪恶的。你因为杀了它，吃掉它的肉是没有罪的，因为这个罪是因为Apatō 他说，他告诉你说，这个，你可以杀了吃，所以我们杀它吃它是没有罪恶的。如果是他没有说过的那些动物，你杀了吃可能是有罪过的。

(44:00)

L: 还想问一下，那Awu Daba 教的那个故事里面有mɔ33 su33和shwæ33 su33, 他知道这些是什么样的su33-dzu33?

GD:

YZT:

GD: 这两种树是现在还有，山上都是有，但是当年，在古代的时候，是不是说的就是这两种树，这个不清楚。但是如果是按名字来说的话，这两种树还是山上都有的，都有这两种树。

L: 有没有汉语的名字呢?

GD:

YZT:

GD: 汉语不懂，不知道汉语应该叫什么。

L: 它们有什么样子啊?

GD:

YZT:

GD: 那种叫shwæ33 su33的，这个是，他看见水边有那种，是不是那种? 以后，每一年开一种白色的花就这几天要开了，那种是叶子小小的，整个开花的时候，整个一棵树是白色的。

YZT:

GD: 但是这两种树是现在也有的，名字一样的，但是到底当年的是不是这两种，这个不可以确定。

YZT:

L: 那，那个mɔ33 su33呢?

YZT:

GD: mɔ33 su33有的。

TD: 他说的是杜鹃 (azalea, rhododendron)。

GD: 杜鹃树，汉语叫杜鹃树。

L: 杜鹃树，哦，杜鹃树。那，那个khitu, 那个植物叫khitu?

GD: khitu.

YZT:

TD:

GD: 那个khitu是一种小小的一种植物，喜欢长在地里头。他结一种果子，那种果子以前没有糖的时候，是用那个果子熬糖。熬糖春节的时候，熬糖来做这种玉米花，熬糖吃。好像我们落水也有的这个。但是不知道是哪一种，就不记得是哪一种。

YZT:

GD: 这个植物是在远古的时候，人开始产生的时候，它是跟着泥土来到地球上。

L: 哦，真的?

GD: 跟着泥土来地球上就自然的在泥里头自己生长的一种，在达巴经文古语里头说，它是自然的跟着泥土一起来到地球上生长的一种植物。

(48:48)

L: 那，可能有一点儿难偶然记得，可是他觉得有没有一些成语或者说法，他觉得在达巴教里比较有意思的？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 他说，有一些是不允许做的，就是说，在山上很高大的一棵树，长的特别直的，你不可以把它砍掉。以后是那些水啊，水源，还有海，大的湖啊，这些，你不可以去破坏它。还有，是对那些有文化的，有知识的人，你不可以去杀掉他。所以这个是达巴经文里说，告诉你，你不可以做的事情。就是，有类似的言语啊，这类的说法。

YZT:

GD: 在森林里头对动物来说，老虎和豹子你不可以杀掉它。还有是，一些马鹿，就是很漂亮的梅花鹿这类的，你不可以杀掉它。还有，很多动物不可以杀的，但是现在，已经没有了。不知道是说哪一种，没见过。

(51:50)

L: 可不可以说那句成语或者说法，然后。。。

GD:

YZT:

dzu31 ts^hu13 mə33 ku13 zə31 (tree-cut-neg-can-asp)

ŋu33 lu33 t^hə33 dʒi33 wə31 (t^hə33 means 'tree', dʒi33 means 'water', means wə33 'on')

t^hə33 wə33 t^hə33 tu31 dzu31 mə31 ts^hu31 (山上的特别好看的树不能砍)

zɯ31 na33 mi31 tu33 tsu31 mə31 ts^hu31 (站的特别直的树不能砍) (ts^hu31 means '砍')

æ33 ʂwæ31 dʒɤ31 bu33 dzu31 mə31 ts^hu31 (特别高的树不能砍)

qæ33 da31 mə31 ku31

hi31 ɕi33 hi31 ts^hu31 wa31 (特别大的海) (hi31 means '海')

hi31 na33 tæ33 mə33 da31 (不能破坏)

ŋi33 lu31 mə55 ku31 zə31

na33 qa31 sə31 wə31 p^hu31

hæ33 p^hu33 ʂi3 mə33 lu31

hɛ33 tɕ^hi33 mə33 ku31 zə31

tɕ^hə33 tɕ^hi33 dzəŋ13 wə31

kə31 pə33 mi31 mə31 tɕ^hi31

k^hu33 p^hæ33 mə33 ku31 zə31

zɯ33 ʂu31 zɯ31 na31

zæ31 tɕi33 zɛ31 na31 (zæ31 means '豹子', one can't kill leopards)

la33 tɕi31 zɛ31 na31 mə33 qæ31 (la33 means 'tiger', one can't kill tigers)

dzi33 yi33 ya31 ts^hɛ31
 na31 tɕi33 na31 yæ33
 pu31 mi33 li31 sɛ31
 zu31 mu33 ku31 ɥ31 (不可以破坏水源)
 da33 pa33 yæ33 da31 (daba-neck-cut; can't kill a daba)
 tɕ^hɔ̃33 ɔ̃33 mi31 sɛ31
 mi31 sɛ31 tɕi31 wɥ31 ni31 qæ31 mæ33 hi31 (mi31 sɛ31 means 'gun', ni31 'this way',
 qæ31 mæ33 hi31 'not allowed to hunt')
 ts^hu31 sɔ31 mæ33 ku31 zɔ31 (mæ33 ku31 means 'neg.' + 'can')
 na33 dzɥ31 wɥ31 ku31 bɔ31
 zɛ33 ɔ̃31 zɔ31, tɕ33 ɔ̃31 zɔ31, p^hæ31 ɔ̃31 zɔ31 mæ33 su31 (names of animals, don't kill
 them)

GD: 说一段经文，就是说不可以做的，不允许你去做。

L: 可不可以说明一些每一句有什么意思差不多？

GD: 就是说，第一句是说你不可以砍掉很高很直的树，以后是还有是，每一句都是说什么动物你不可以杀掉，这类的。

L: 你听的清楚什么动物，这些名词。。。

GD: 很多名词现在没有了。。。

L: 现在没有，所以不知道是什么。。。

GD: 不知道是什么。

L: 可是，有没有一些你自己理解那个摩梭的名字？

GD: 古语，古语的经文就是不明白了。

GD:

YZT:

GD: 还是不明白。

H: 是古语。

GD: 全部是古语。

L: 好，好。全部就是古语，没有一个词现在的。好，好。

H: 达巴经都是古语。

GD:

YZT:

GD: 差不多。这个可以翻译。

L: 好，好，好。

(56:15)

L: 还想问一下，这边，好像有一些家，他们是双教的，有的是佛教和达巴教，那两教，他觉得这个是怎样？可能，不清楚，可是可能生活有一点苦，所以两个教有两个办法或者两个帮忙啊。可是，他觉得怎么样啊，他觉得有没有互相的。。。

GD: 矛盾。

L: 或者是帮忙，或者什么呢，我不知道啊？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 这个，他们两个教派之间是没有矛盾的，而且是有很多的仪式是要互相合作的。如果说今天请喇嘛来家里念一些东西，做一些法事，但是这个法事里头有好多东西需要达巴来帮他的忙，来做一些就是木板或者是驱鬼这类的时候需要达巴来帮喇嘛的忙。而且如果在家里做仪式和者道场的时候，没有任何冲突的因为有自己的时间段。这几天是喇嘛在村里头念经，但是他们念完以后，到下个月，达巴的好多的念的经文就要开始了在村里头。反正是，这个月可能是喇嘛在做各种法事，下个月倒，就达巴来做这个法事，因为倒下个月这个时间段就倒了达巴做的法事的时间段。各有个的时间，而且他们经常合作，互相合作把这个法事做好，所以说，矛盾，冲突，是没有的。大家都在长期，可能千百年形成一个自己的，大家合作的一种方法。

(59:10)

L: 所以，达巴，他们是不是要比较了解一些佛教和那些喇嘛比较需要了解一点达巴教？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 不是，不是特别清楚，但是说到了这个他让你去怎么做帮助他就怎么做。并不是说要特别了解他的宗教或者他特别了解我的宗教，没有，只是说到需要的时候帮忙你可以帮我做这个事。互相特别了解不是很多，很少。

L: 还想问一下，达巴教有没有草药，他们自己的草药的？

GD: 草药？

L: 草药。或者全部就是仪式吗？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 没有草药。

L: 没有草药。

GD: 达巴是没有草药的。

L: 没有草药的。

(60:45)

L: 所以，他刚才说明一些有上面的一个世界，有人类的一个世界，还有下面的一个世界。这三个世界有什么不同的？

GD: 就是说，有天，天上和地下，还有一个中间。

L: 可是，三个地方生活什么不同？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 只是说有这样的说法，到底是怎么样生活的，一方面没有见过，只是说有这样的说法而已。有天上，地下，还有中间，这样的说法是有，具体怎么样的，这个就没有。

(62:08)

L: 还想问一下，普米族有那个哈巴 (haba) 或者韩规 (hangui) 教，他认识一些那些？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 这个不太熟悉，这个普米族的这个，这种叫哈巴，但是他具体怎么做的，这个怎么样去做法事和道场，不熟悉。

L: 好像这个村庄旁边儿没有普米，是不是？

GD: 对。

L: 可能是这样的。请问一下，这个达巴教里面，他们态度对小孩儿，年轻人，中年人，年轻大的，有什么区别？

GD: 态度？

L: 他们看法。好像摩梭的小孩儿特别努力帮助家人做事，还有对年轻大人特别好。

GD: 他们的要求是不是，他们应该做什么事。

L: 对。

GD:

YZT:

GD: 他对各种各样的年龄段有要求。总的来说，就是说，你要想吃肉，那你去养家里羊，猪啊这些，把他们养好，你要想吃饭，那你努力的去劳动。对于这个小孩儿来说，要听家里大人的话，要听他们的。作为老人来说，你要去教育你的小孩儿，但是小孩儿，这些年轻的人提出的意见，老人来说，你必须听他们的意见。但是你同时需要教育他们，还有听他们的意见。以后，一般的小孩儿就是要帮助家里做一些事情。如果你到十八岁到二十几岁的时候，你要走天下，就是你所能到的地方都要去行走，都要去看更多的地方，可能需要到很远的地方去过。以后，你到了三十岁以后，那你就定下心来在家里为建立这个家庭，为整个家庭来着想努力在这个家庭里，不可以到处去走了。你到了六十岁以后，就要多念一些经文，多做一些佛事活动以后来为家庭祈求各种幸福。你到了七十到八十岁的时候，你要多想想你死以后怎么办，你要去世以后的道路应该怎么做，你要多想想自己去世以后的东西。

L: 例如说，你自己的家应该怎样，不只对你自己。。。

GD: 自身的，未来的，未来走向另外一个世界多做一些事情。。。

L: 哦，这些。

GD: 对，上了七十以后。六十岁的时候是为家庭，各种对家庭成员这样去祈求一个幸福，多做一些佛教活动。以后三十岁，到了三十岁以上，就是要努力为这个家庭来做贡献，不可以到处去走动。三十岁以前，十八岁到二十几岁的时候，你要走很多的地方，去很远的地方，到处去走动。以后，更小的时候，要为家里做一些力所能及的贡献，以后多听家里人的话，以后你可以提建议给家里。做一位老人来说，你要虚心谦虚听年轻人的意见，你还要去教育他们，但是还要听一些他们的想法。

L: 好像我的问题差不多啊。就是，还有一个问题，就是好像外地人对摩梭人理解的特别，特别少，或者全部理解错了。所以，他有没有。。。如果想不起来没问题，就是问啊。还有没有他自己觉得应该告诉外地的一些人对达巴教的一些啊？

GD:

YZT:

GD: 他认为外面现在胡说八道的人很多，对摩梭误解的人很多，这个也没有太大的关系，就是说，这个需要一个有文化，真正有文化，有知识的人来，来去做这个正面的就是说比较好的说法，应该摩梭怎么样的，这个真正是怎么样的，需要靠有知识，有文化的人去说。如果是现在外面的世界是有一些人是什么都不懂，是我骗你，你骗我，都是人互相之间骗来骗去的，这也比较多，这个是一个普遍的现相。但是要扭转这些东西的话，就靠的是有知识，有文化的人来去纠正这些。如果说，有什么不懂的，来问，那是所有的人都希望都可以来问。这个是很好的事，但是不来问但是他靠自己的理解去到处去说自己错误的思想，这个主要靠真正有文化的人，有知识的人来去说这个应该怎么样。如果让他个人来告诉他们不懂瞎说的人，就不好说。

L: 那，非常感谢。我的感觉就是，有一点，刚才打开特别特别有意思的一本书。觉得他的采访特别，特别有意思。

GD:

L: 非常感谢啊。

B.2 Tipi Daba

(0-45 seconds: IRB/obtaining consent in Na)

H: Apu 是摩梭的学者，所以可以跟他们有一些交流，好。可以开始。

L: 开始。请问一下，他可不可以说他自己的一点点，例如说，他出生在这边，他长大在这边，他的老师是谁，他学了多长时间啊？

GD:

TP:

GD: Apu 的达巴的最早的根是从永宁土司家出来的，学过来，到Apu 这一代是第八代，以后Apu 的父亲也是达巴，Apu 的父亲也许是家里比较能干一些，但是作为达巴的这种大的道场，是Apu 的舅舅很厉害，所以Apu 是跟舅舅学的，跟舅舅学，可能每一代人都是达巴，可是真正能独立能完成各种道场确实不是很多。到Apu 这一代可能是在达巴中来说家族里可能是最超越了所有的前面几代人，完成可以自己独立的作一些道场这类，都是自己作。

(5:00)

H: 那，Apu 的爸爸也是在这家生活吗？

TP: 对对。

H: Apu 的爸爸，舅舅和爸爸都是在这家？

TP: 不不。

H: 哦，舅舅是gu33 p^ha33家。

TP:

GD: 舅舅是gu33 p^ha33 家的，爸爸是这个家的，妈妈是gu33 p^ha33 家的。

TP:

(8:00)

GD:

那个，达巴以前的，就是作为达巴来说，是完全就是说，自己心里的，能自己记住一点就算一点，你能够记多少，只用这一点来往下传递，然后每一代，每一代人用自己的记忆传递这个文化，所以非常困难的，也是非常艰苦的，所以你要用早晚各种各样的时间来，不停的记忆，不停的记住，自己的本身的能力能记住多少，就是为老百姓做多少事情，这个是很苦的，但是从历史上来说，这是最远古，刚开始时，创造这个达巴教的时候，这是有经文的，而且这些经文是非常繁多，特别多，比现在的喇嘛的经文还要多，以后，他是写在皮上的，而且是用黄金化成水或者银子化成水，

就是金水或者银水来写成的，就是说因为被别人骗了，以后可能是受骗了一点，他人比较老实的，真诚的，被别人骗了，把那个羊皮煮了，吃了，就后来就说没办法，你能记得多少就做多少事情，完全靠能记多少就记得这个来做，所以其实是从历史上来说，吃掉经文以后，仪式的语句比较多，所以一直到现在都是用早晚时间，很小再开始学习，学一辈子才能够做一些法事，这类的，是特别辛苦的。

(9:50)

L: 请问一下，达巴现在有没有学生啊？

GD:

TP: dzɔ33, dzɔ33, dzɔ33.

GD: 现在有, Apu教了四个学生。

TP:

GD: 好多年轻的, 现在去Mupha 达巴和他们两个, 去教他们。

(10:40)

H: 那个, 李力, 问一下, 带几个徒弟, 一共带了多少个徒弟从开始到现在?

GD:

TP: æ33 dæ31, ts^hɔ33 t^hæ33 ts^hɔ33, kwɔ31 la33 tæ31 ʃu31 du31 dzu31, 我家的ti33 pi33 ts^hɔ33, ə31 dzɣ13 a33 wɔ33 da31 pɣ33.

GD: 教了五个。

L: 他们是这个村里的或者从其他的地方来的?

GD: 都是这个村的。

L: 可能从其他的村来有一点不方便。

GD: 太远了不是很好。

TP:

H: 只教本村的。

GD: 因为早晚要去, 所以本村的方便一点。

(12:25)

L: 他知不知道过了几代, 达巴历史里过了几代?

GD: Apu 是第八代。

L: 可是就是他的家, 那全达巴教知道呢?

GD:

TP:

(22:35)

GD: Apu

认为这个, 在达巴的世界里头, 其实人类, 是住在大海洋里生活, 每个人类, 我们住的土地是一条船, 就感觉是你生活在一条船上的, 而且, 全世界的这个人类都生活在一条船上, 四面八方是被水包围, 因为当初这一个, 上一个世界, 这个洪水来了以前的这个世界初, 最早的世界是人口太多, 这个世界上的人口太多就把所有生物全部灭绝了, 以后那些开荒种地把树林全部砍掉了, 什么都不剩了, 就是整个生态, 整个环境破坏完了, 以后就是说, 佛祖就是告诉你们不可以这样的, 不可以把所有生态全部破坏了, 而且没有人听他的话, 以后到最后就是到最终是佛祖生气了, 把这条船让他在水里沉了一下, 就是颠簸了一下这条船, 以后就是这个一点颠簸对人来说是洪水爆发, 而对神来说是他只是这条船, 人坐的这条船, 放在水里沉了一下, 又抬起来。但是这一沉一抬起来把所有的坏人, 所有的自私的, 对环境不保护的, 对这些人全部死掉了。人心怀的, 特别恶毒的, 这些人全部死掉了。只剩下两个人, 两兄妹, 两兄妹, 就是Tsodeluyizo

和他的妹妹, 只有他们两个活着。但是这个人类没法延续因为他的妹妹生了小孩儿, 他妹妹这些小孩儿, 就不能成为人类, 就成为鬼。以后就是他专门给人类作对的, 形成了这样。

TP:

GD:

H: 他们两个生的小孩儿。。。

TP, GD: 不不不。

GD: 他的妹妹生了小孩儿。

TP:

H: 她生的小孩儿不能活，所以变成了鬼，是这么来的。

TP:

GD: 所以，后来就是。。。

TP:

GD: 不是正常的死亡了。

TP:

H: 是怎么死的？

GD: 是乱七八糟死的，就各种各样死的。

TP:

GD: 因为他的生小孩儿的概念和现在不一样，他就象跟牛马和动物生小孩儿一样，她生了不一定我要养他，就是生了就生了，就不负责任的这种生，所以对小孩儿，这些小孩儿没有好好的成长就活不了，乱死掉，成为各种类的鬼，因为你的母亲就象牛，马生那个一样，就变成了鬼。那后来，就是Tsodeluyizo 他从天上迎娶了一个老婆回来了，她是从天上Apato那里，把她娶回来家里。但是他们两个就建立重新在这个地球上，就是人类居住的地方，建立这个家庭，但是家庭是建立起来了，什么都搞起来，但是人的病痛，灾害，还有鬼怪经常来找你，这些东西你没有办法去解决，那没办法天天去天上算命，打卦去，怎么会是我的小孩儿病了或者我身体不舒服，你不知道什么原因，你去天上去算命。但是算命的人骗人的也很多，经常会被骗了，就今天就这个，骗你的东西，骗你的这些银钱，以后没有人真诚给你算命。最后找到Apato, Apato 才告诉他，这些是需要一些宗教，需要一些宗教来，一些佛教和宗教的思想，以后你可以做一些道场把对你不好的这些鬼怪赶走，你的小孩儿可以养大，幸福的过。

H: 所以，有了达巴教。

GD: 以后，就是说，他们自己，因为达巴是学的很专业，有专门的人去做这个。所以，他们自己做不了这个。所以是天上的Apato 就派了几个人，两个人，两个人派下来，就是变成人，变成人的模样来给他们帮忙做这达巴的道场。做的时候，他们就看，学习他们是怎么做的，以后才彻底的一条一条的学会，有专门的人来做这个达巴的到场，这个东西。以后，才产生了达巴教，从这里产生了。达巴教产生的时候，所有佛教和别的所有教一个都没有，这个世界只有达巴教。最原始，可能是比原始社会还早，还要早的远古。

H: 全世界之初。

GD: 全世界之初就是这个，而且这个，就是他们两个最早生了九个儿子，七个女儿，这就是人之初的数字。摩梭来说，原来我跟你说过了，七和九，这个数字，觉得很多地方，而且有的时候是死数。

TP: 对，九个儿子，七个姑娘的时候不能成为人，全部死掉了。

GD: 就是活不了。

TP: 活不了。生了

三个儿子，这三个儿子就是，一个是老大，一个是老二，一个是老三。一个是Na，一个是汉，一个是藏族。

(30:00)

GD: 他最早的九个儿子和七个女儿，都没有养活了，活不了。最后他生了三个儿子，三个儿子才真正养活了，他就成为人。以后，这个老大是藏族，变成臧族，老二是摩梭人，最后的儿子成为汉族。

H: 老二是Na, 老三有名字吗? 老大藏族叫什么名字?

GD:

TP:

GD: p^hu31 lu33 wɔ33 tsu31. p^hu31 lu33 藏族。

H: 那，老二呢?

TP:

GD: na31 zu33 zɔ33 ɦi31 Nazihzohli, 就是‘中间的儿子’。

H: 老三呢?

TP: (indistinct) 哦，县长，座座座。

GD:

TP:

GD: tsu31 lu33 æ33 hæ31。

TP:

GD: 小儿子是最柔的，所以需要特别宠爱他，才他能成大。

H: 你接着刚才说的那个故事，请完了。

TP:

GD: 就是说，人去世时候的九和七，他没有专门学过这个，以前的老人这有什么意思他们没有说过。

H: 但是，所以咱们会很忌讳九和七，男九女七。

GD: 对，对。

TP:

H: 因为他们是很象征死亡的数字。

TP:

GD:

TP: (Na: don't know, don't know). 不懂就不懂。

H: 下一个问题。

(34:25)

L: 请问一下，Apu 可不可以说明一些那个神的名字，他们的样子，他们的性格或者特色? 我想，回国的时候，可能看一下那个东巴教和那些本地的藏族教和看一下有什么方面相同，有什么差别，会找到什么我不知道。。。

GD:

TP:

GD: 达巴的山神是最重要的。

H: 水井神呢? 水井神和山神，那个更大?

GD:

TP:

GD: 山神和水井神比的话, 水井神还要大。水井神是特别有力量, 非常有法力。

TP: Zhimuku (name of the goddess of the spring)...

GD:

TP:

GD: 远古洪荒来的时候, 就是水井神, 就是Zhimuku, 她来爆发的。

H: 对, 所以她是最大的。

TP:

GD: 她会灭人, 她把人类灭掉, 水井神, 洪水。。。

TP:

(37:00)

GD: 就是山神 和水井神。。。

TP:

GD: 这个天和地之间, 这个世界上, 山神和水井神是最大, 也是最聪明, 而且是你不可以去惹的. 如果他们两个想让这个人类生活好一点, 各种好过的话, 全部随他们两个。如果他们两个一生气, 不高兴, 来想让你马上有灾难, 全部由他们两个决定。

TP:

GD: 如果他们两个想做一点坏事, 你们没有办法来去阻挡它, 没有办法去制服它。

H: 所以是他们的性格。

GD: 是他们的故意。比较人性一点。

H: 那么污染呢?

GD:

TP:

GD: 他的门口上, 他一生气了, 他的门口的小石头你都不能挖一个。山上, 就算是一棵很小树苗, 你都不能动一个, 一动他就生气了, 那就要给你麻烦了。他就是来折磨你。(Na)

TP:

GD: 他是颜色特别丰富, 很多种颜色。早晨太阳刚升的时候是白色的, 中午的时候是黄色的, 下午太阳快落上的时候是黑色的, 到了晚上的时候是绿色的。

H: 哦。听说了晚上鬼是绿色的。

(40:00)

GD: 凌晨的时候是又恢复黄色的。太阳一出来又是白色的。可能是差不多他的颜色是差不多七种变换。每一天是好几种颜色来改变, 变化他, 所以他是五六次, 一会儿就变一个颜色, 一个时间和时辰就变一个颜色。

H: 他到底是有形或者无形?

TP:

GD: 无形, 形状就看不到。

TP:

GD: 他就是变化, 以后这个颜色, 就是一个说法, 抓不到他的颜色。

TP:

GD: 他, 这个山神, 他的性格, 他早晨鸡叫开始, 他的性格, 他觉得对人特别好, 特别可怜人活的很艰难, 很可怜人, 所以刚鸡叫的时候对人特别好。到中午的时

候觉得有一点讨厌人，觉得人有一点讨厌，到了晚上太阳落山以后，晚上以后，他就特别恨，恨这个人，觉得很恨，很气愤这个人，以后他会找茬，就是故意来惹你，没有事的时候，故意来招人？

TP:

GD: 他是，所以来我们摩梭来说，有一个规定就是说，天黑以后，天黑了你要把门关好，把门那些关好以后，不要到处去，夜里不要到处去走，因为你会遇到鬼。不是说你真正有鬼在那里行走，只是说他有鬼的形在那里。只是说山神他特别想惹一个人，他那种形在夜里头可能在环绕在夜里头，那种鬼啊这种他的形态在夜里头，而不是说。(Na: doesn't drink yak butter tea.) 以后，他就是那种形，他有这样的形态在里头，所以夜里头不能够到处去瞎逛，在家里门那些关好，在家里头休息。这是山神的性格。

TP:

GD: 就一到晚上，就鬼和那些会起来，所以不安全。

TP:

L: 最重要的一些(indistinct)...

TP:

(45:10)

GD: 对山神这类的，经常去祭祀他，不然的话，因为都住在山区里头，土地以不多，生活就受到很大的打击，无形就是那些自然灾害，那对山神的这种祭祀他，朝拜他就是保护生灵，保护环境，环境这个保护好，水啊这些会一年四季给你流下来。会对土地有这种保护，有吃的，有喝的，应该非常感谢这个山神，因为他护佑你。如果是这样的形式越来越少了，以后不经常去祭拜他或者不重视他，那将来人的自然灾害和饥饿，没有饭吃，各种各类的灾害，会接着来，现在科学没办法去解释更多的。

H: 李力，下一个题目。

GD:

TP:

GD: 这个家里有十二个神。

TP:

GD: 下雨的三个月，春天三个月，下雨三个月。。。

TP:

GD: 十二个，它包括家里的，还有家里的牲畜的，自己的祖先，还有家里的水井的，就是水井有山上的，还有家里的，家里的小型水井的神，都包括是全部有十二个。一年四季有四个神，春天，夏天，秋天，冬天。

TP:

GD: 没有这个样子因为达巴是没有书，没有书所以这些神的样子没有，没有神的样子，都是记忆。记在心里的话，就神是怎么样的，只有书的人可以画下来。达巴没有书，只是在心里头记下来有这样的神，有各种性格，只记着他的性格和脾气，就是没有他的样子，样子因为需要用纸来画。。。大概的性格。。。

H: 那，最大的神是水井神或者山神。那，最大的鬼呢？有没有？

GD:

H: 有没有名字？

TP:

H: 都是大的。不分大鬼和小鬼吗?

TP:

GD: 象汉族人说鬼魅是不是, 魅是很厉害的。

TP:

GD: 就是乱死的人变的, 这个, 是最凶恶和最没有办法的。

TP:

GD: 就是鬼当中最厉害的, 人乱死的变成的, 摩梭语里叫 *tuu33*, 他年轻的时候意外死的, 心里很有怨气。

TP:

(51:50)

H: 这三个叫什么名字? 一个叫Rang 是不是?

TP: 一个是*ku33*, 一个是*za33*, 一个是*t^hu33*, 历史上产生的就这三个。

GD: 他们三个是鬼的头, 鬼的首领, 鬼的总统。

L: 他们是怎么变成的, 是不是以前的 (*indistinct*)...

GD: 人死了以后, 或者是乱死的, 乱七八糟的死的, 就变成鬼。他带领所有的鬼 (*indistinct*)...

TP:

GD: 就是象部队一样, 他们是象人一样排队行走, 追赶人的是最可怕的。

TP:

GD: 人什么时候死, 哪个时间死是需要三个商量决定, 他们决定好了以后, 他们决定, 哦, 你需要死了。他们如果不决定或者不商量的话, 你死不了。所以还是比较民主的。

L: 可不可以问一下, 达巴会不会说一两个成语或者说法对达巴教比较根本的, 以后说每个字是什么意思, 全部的意思是什么意思的?

GD:

TP:

GD: 他那个, 以前最早的人, 修房子是象蚂蚁学的, 劳动也是跟蚂蚁学的。

TP:

GD: 穿衣服和做衣服是跟蝴蝶学的。

TP:

GD: 骂汉族人就是说, 汉族人很无聊, 很没有事做, 在石头上钻一个鼻孔, 是骂汉人的。

TP:

GD:

TP:

GD:

TP: 休息几分钟。

(cont'd on videotape)

(small talk about Tipi Daba's new reading glasses; about Na conceptions that if one is asked questions, one has a responsibility to try to answer as best one can, that it's a good

thing and denotes interest, one should tell the asker what one knows, it is the good and moral thing to do, so if you ask a Na a question, it's a very good thing.)

H: 现在, 现在我们 Apu 达巴带的学生, 哪个做过学成的仪式?

GD:

TP:

GD: 做过, 很多次做过。

H: 还有谁做过?

TP:

GD: 全部做过。他的外侄, 他没有做过这个仪式, 别的都做过了。

TP:

GD: 如果Apu 老了, 走不动了, 以后他 [他的外侄] 才来做这个仪式。因为Apu 现在还可以。

H: 因为去打工?

TP:

H: 他没有回来?

GD: 没有回来。

H: 他现在二十七, 二十八岁?

TP:

GD: 啊, 啊。因为只有他没有做过仪式。Apu 走不动就把位置传给他, 可能要他做这个仪式。因为Apu这一代还在做这个仪式, 所以还没有教给他。

H: 那, Apu 当年是怎么做的仪式?

GD:

TP:

GD: 做过, 也是这样的。

TP:

H: 那个舅舅叫什么名字?

TP:

GD: ku33 zɔ33 ts^hə33。

GD:

TP:

GD: 就是, 他在世的时候, 他的老师在世的时候, 就专门做这个仪式。

H: Apu 达巴跟一个师傅学过? 还是跟别的学过。

GD:

TP:

GD: 这个作为达巴来说不能够老固定一个人去学习, 谁懂就跟谁学习。他是, 他这个和舅舅学的是根本, 以后还有一些零零碎碎地, 他也有不懂的地方, 谁懂就跟谁学。所以可能一辈子要跟多人去学习。

H: Apu 达巴刚刚学达巴的时候, 有村里头有几个达巴?

GD:

TP:

GD: Awo [他的家] 有一个, kwɔ31 la33 家的一个, 父亲一个, 舅舅的哥哥, 有两个。每个人都要去问。

H: 那个时候，那个时候，是不是村里头的达巴最多的时候？最多有几个？

GD:

TP:

GD: 那时候，也不多，最大的有五个。他爷爷那个时代有五个大的达巴。他的哥哥有一个，就是表哥，有一个。sæ33家有一个。就是干爸爸形式的有一个。上一代也有几个。

H: 上一代就是有两个和他年龄差不多的。

GD: 差不多的。别的是大的，最老的可能五个，他父亲他们，以后剩下的比他年龄大一点点有两个。

H: 跟他小的有没有？

GD:

TP:

GD: 只有一个，ə31 tɕw13家。有一个，没有了，去世了。

H: 所以那个时候还是达巴学的很多吗？

GD:

TP:

GD: 三个，一起学的有三个人。1953年，1954年。1951年开始学。

H: Apu 达巴那一年有几岁？1951年？学了多久？

GD:

TP:

GD: 九岁开始学。

H: 学到多少年，那个有命名的仪式？

GD:

TP:

GD: 属牛是不知道是哪一年生。

GD:

TP:

GD: 七年，四零年，四零年加起十二年，一零，四七年。。。三七年。。。差不多。。。九岁的时候开始学。

GD:

TP:

GD: 学的时候时间很短就学的差不多吧。就可以，但是要长年的跟别人去问，边学边做，经常要去问。

GD:

TP:

GD: 1953年，六年差不多。

H: 那么快！

GD: 学了六年就命名了，学了六年。十五岁左右，九岁学到十五岁就命名，但是他说，命令了以后就请客了以后不能够说我学会了什么都不用问，不行，这个要经常的边做边跟老人天天去问，还有继续边学边做，很漫长的一个过程。可能后期边学边做这个做比较漫长。

GD:

TP:

GD: 就是，做道场的时候，那个头饰，最中间那个是最大的叫Apato。
是佛教来说，可能是(释迦摩尼) Shakyamuni，一个是tan33 tu33, 一个叫ka33 ə31 mi31就是门神，那个，tin33 ti31 ʂa13, 有一个拿一个铃铛的叫tin33 ti31 ʂa13, 一个神，他是最早的时候从天上到人间里来传授达巴的人，从天上来到人间里教授达巴的文化的。全部是五个。他，这五个是，不只是达巴最大的神，他也是后来佛教的最大的神，这五个。他们五个就是洪水年代过去以后，整个地球上的人的一切的活动都有他们五个来掌握。以后，你做好事，有好的回报，是他们五个来决定。他们五个就掌管了人类的一起活动。

TP:

GD: 最中间的这个是洪水朝天以前有的。

(DVD 5, clip 8, 5:27)

H: 那，咱们现在看的服冠中间的哪一个，就画上是(释迦摩尼) Shakyamuni, 那，(释迦摩尼) Shakyamuni和Apato 是不是一个人呢？不应该是一个人。

TP:

GD: 应该来说，他是更早。

H: 更早，Apato 应该是更早。

GD: 更早。(释迦摩尼) Shakyamuni是后期的，但是，可能是也是借用了，形象的。

GD:

TP:

GD: 变成了，变成(释迦摩尼) Shakyamuni。

TP:

GD: 他也是现在这种轮回一样的，一代传给一代。

H: 你问Apu 他见没见过那个Apato 的画像？

TP:

GD: 见过但是没有了。

H: 那，那个，我们在Mupha 达巴家的时候见过一个他们小的一个木雕的，那个叫Apato，是不是长得那个样子？

TP:

GD: 他见过的这个不是那个样子的。

TP:

GD: 四个心，四个角，代表一座山，象一座山一样的。

H: 拿他做一个Mupha 达巴是不是一个象征性的一个？

GD: 象征性的一个。

TP:

GD: 地球。

H: 代表地球。

TP:

GD: 他就代表了整个地球。Apato 就是，庞大无边的一个神。做成四方的。他做成的形状是一个四方的一个，以后有四个角，四个牛角一样，四个角，就是代表了四面八方。

TP:

GD: 一起做一个代表而已。

H: 这个画像就Apu 达巴知道，哪里还会有？

TP:

GD: 每个达巴有一个，念经的时候要使用这个，这个画像。

(DVD 5, clip 8, 9:37)

L: 可不可以看一下啊？

TP:

GD: 不是画像，是一个做出来的一个。

TD:

TP:

GD: 木头来做一个。代表。里边放一点金银，这类的。

TP:

GD: 要装一点东西，就装入灵魂，装藏的。代表了整个地球，全部人类住的地方。那个Apato里边装一点金银，一点石头，等等。

L: 经文大概有多少种？

(DVD 5, clip 10, 1:21)

TP: (in Na, translated later by GD) 家里烧香的，神山上烧香的，给病人念的，给水井神念的，还有一种叫ku33 bu33 的，一种叫mæ33 ɤ31 q^hæ31的，有一种叫na31 ts^hɛ33 bu31, 还有tɔ33 na33 bu31, 春节和节日里有一种，还有给Zhimuku 的一种，su31 lɔ31 zi33 bu31, 新屋建成的一种，sɔ33 q^hwɤ33 ʂæ33 的一种，死人有一种，请客喝酒吃饭有一种，还有一种叫hɛ33 q^hwɤ33 ʂæ33, 有一种叫mu33 k^hu31 bu31, 这个特别多，里边分很多种，就是葬礼的时候用的，还有一种是驱鬼用的，很多，一下说不完。

GD: 差不多有十八种左右，就是只能按种类有分，有几部，因为这个不好分，就是种类。按一种一种来分的话，差不多有十七，十八种。一年四季，村庄里头，每年可能是要用的差不多了。大的有十八种，如果更详细可能还有更多。

(DVD 6, clip 12, 0:09)

L: 可不可以说明那个十七个是什么样的？

GD: 说过了。

L: 说过了，好。

GD: 录音了。

L: 可不可以问一下，这些地区，有一些家，他们是双教的，是达巴教还有佛教，这个是怎么做的？那两个宗教在一起，有什么印象？

TP:

GD: 他，这个，因为宗教的这个意思差不多，很多地方是一样的，反正都是对老百姓，对人比较好，比较善心的帮老百姓解除困难。以后就是那个，即使鬼啊，怪啊，这些东西都是要给他一杯酒喝，给他一点饭吃，还给他一件衣服穿，这样的比较善心的去对待他们。所以，达巴也是这样，喇嘛也会同样的方法去对待，所以大家的方法都差不多，差不多一样。虽然达巴产生的历史很长，特别早，比佛教早很多，但是因为很多的方面的相同，所以大家都融合比较好，大家都可以很多时候联合起来可以做很多事，因为大家目的都差不多，做法也差不多。所以，他就，因为

他这个是历史来，佛教到了藏区以后他为了和当地的融合，他接受了本地的苯教，更加融合以后，他联合本地的苯教以后佛教才能自立。所以很多方面是融合的，所以大家都可以相出比较好。吃饭！

B.3 Mupha Daba

GD:

MD:

H: 翻译一下。

GD: 不是hli 和这些的意思, xī, 是人的意思。人的, 所有来往的人, 必经的路, 必须经过这里, 象永宁人, 木里人, 还有左所。。。

H: 那, hī 和 hli?

GD: 以前是xī 的意思, Hliruhdzih 是所有人的必须路过的地区。而且, 他还有是这个这里是边界, 永宁的边界, 永宁和木里的边界。

H: 对。

GD: 所以, 永宁和木里的边界是木里王派来, 这个地方, 来这里住的人是比较恶一点, 是说凶的人, 很凶的人派来这里来守边界, 永宁和木里的边界。他以前说木里王的地方。所以他把木里打战这些士兵最厉害的士兵派到这边来守卫边界。就是说, 最凶的人居住的地方。那后来, 就是说, 这里是所有的永宁, 木里, 还有左所, 前所, 四面八方, 还有藏区和永宁地区, 还有从汉区来的很多人, 必经这路, 就是人, 所有人必须路过的地方。就是, 以前叫xīruhdzih 慢慢变成hliruhdzih。但是古语是人的意思。

H: 那, 咱们现在要是用汉字来把他翻译过来, 象对的语音就。。。

GD: 就亨。。。hengruhdzih, hliruhdzih。

GD:

MD:

(4:50)

GD: 就是, 最早是落水是一家人的名字, 只有一家人, 是一家人的名字, 一家人的姓。以后慢慢演变成了越来越多。

H: 那, 小落水呢?

GD: 小落水是从落水一家人分家出去。

H: 那, 尼塞呢?

GD: 尼塞是。。。

GD:

MD:

GD: 他是一个地名。

H: 尼塞是一个地名?

GD: 一个小的地名, 落水是一个家姓, 就远古时候一个家人的姓。

MD:

GD: 因为我们以前最早的时候 说是gwɿ33, gwɿ33就是一个灶, 就是我们说是du33 gwɿ33 gwɿ33 a33 p^hɔ13 sɛ33 ni33 du33 gwɿ33, 这个du33 gwɿ33可能这个gwɿ33最早的时候是落水, 这一家人叫lushu, 别的村庄叫lushu。我们自己是说我们是一个灶里的, 所以也是一个家里。

GD:

MD:

H: 可以了, 好。李力, 你准备好了吗?

(6:50)

L: 请问一下啊, 听说达巴是很早, 很早以前是从另外一个地方来的, 是什么时候来的, 为什么从那边来这边, 这边比较好或者什么呢? 还有, 知不知道这个是多少年以前?

GD:

MD:

GD: 说是达巴的起源, 是怎么传到了达巴到这里, 还有一个问题。

H: 最好翻译一下。

GD: 他是远古的时候, 刚开始有人的时候, 人和那个动物差不多, 火了什么都没有, 就是人全部居住在山上, 以后慢慢就是因为开始了有了那个火山爆发, 火山爆发以后人在火山爆发里头去得了火, 所以所有达巴的认为是这个石头是火的妈妈。火就是从石头诞生, 因为是火山爆发里头去得了火。以后, 有了火以后, 去山上把动物赶下来。赶下来以后, 把动物在火里烧着吃, 烧着吃以后觉得很好, 就慢慢有吃不完的动物就把它养起来。养起来就教化它, 教化它就开始有一些财产, 以后人有的勤快, 有的很勤快, 有的很懒惰, 有互相偷盗, 互相这样打斗的事情就越来越多, 就人就开始把它这样下去可能是非常不好, 就选择一个首领, 选择一个首领来, 就是说由你来管理这个大家的所有的财产和由你来分排, 而且你要定下规则, 就互相不准吵架, 不准偷盗, 互相不准有对方伤害的事情, 有一个头领来这个, 以后就开始就开始有人开始传教一些宗教和这些东西来教化了人的行为。以后一开始的时候有两个人, 有两个人传教了两种宗教, 一个是达巴, 一个是佛教。这个佛教的这个人特别聪明, 他传教了一些纸, 把它的文字全部写在纸上。那, 达巴的这个人, 他用动物的皮, 把他的达巴的文字全部写在动物的皮, 以后他们会经常去所有人居住的地方去看, 去研究, 可能也是去调查和研究, 经常去。有一次在路途当中很饿, 非常饿的时候说, 哎呀, 把你的这个兽皮吃掉吧, 我的全部是纸, 吃不了, 那, 你的可以吃掉, 那, 我们可以把他吃掉。两个人把那个兽皮吃掉。吃掉了以后, 佛教的那个人的嗓子发炎了, 肿了很大。肿了很大以后不能说话, 所以请达巴, 那个人, 说你可以把我念一下, 就是做一些法事, 把我的病治好一点。他说, 你把我的书全部吃掉了, 我怎么去做这个, 没有办法做这个法事。以后, 因为, 这佛教的这个人建议把他的文字吃掉, 他的意图是把达巴灭掉的意图, 他有灭掉这个宗教的意图。以后, 没有办法, 达巴, 这个人, 人是非常正直和非常老实, 和佛教的这个人狡猾很多。以后, 达巴, 这个人, 他不是很知道他对方可能要想毁掉他的宗教和这种思想。后来, 实在没办法, 他病的很厉害, 实在没办法, 很焦急的时候, 达巴听到一声狗叫, 一声狗叫以后, 他就跟着第一声狗叫的音调。他就突然就按这个这个狗叫的这个音调的音, 叫了一声, 以后他把所有的已经吃掉的经文马上想起来。以后就给这个佛教的人做了第一场法事, 以后他的灌脓的地方爆了, 就脓疮流掉就好掉了。所以佛教的这个人, 他就想, 这种人是管怎么样, 灭不掉他。因为他的所有文化和宗教全部在心里边, 你就是管怎么对他, 灭不掉他。他死了, 他的儿女们会记得所有的宗教。就是用口传是灭不掉他, 我想把他的文字吃掉, 但是他记在他的心里边, 他传给他的儿子, 儿子又传给孙子, 世世代代这样传下去,

这个宗教是没法灭，所以算了，让他自己那么发扬下去。达巴就这样就传教了这样的，就这样诞生和延续下来。

(18:05)

H: 没回答完成了, 李力说, 为什么传到这个地方?

GD:

MD:

(20:00)

GD: Apu 的意思是最早跟着Genghis Khan 的蒙古的军队走到这地方来, 跟他的军队, 因为现在蒙古的军队也是在各个地方的人特别多在藏区, 云南, 昆明附近有一些村庄是蒙古的军队留下来的, 这里比较多, 是跟着蒙古的军队过的这边来的。

MD:

GD: 那个, 做一个摩梭来说, 最重要的一点就是说, 象办事情, 家里一大事情, 普通的事情, Apu 认为整个 Hliruhdzhik 就是永远不可以丢掉的是那个饭团, 渐渐的那个饭团, 和一块猪膘肉。现在很多地方, 象落水, 很多地方就开始汉族的宴席。汉族的宴席 一般有点硬, 年龄大的一般的他可以吃掉的, 可是特别老的人, 他吃不掉这个宴席, 只能简单的吃一点。特别老的老人, 他来不了, 就吃不掉这个。所以这样的习惯是彻底违背了摩梭的一些传统。因为作为一块猪膘肉和一个饭团的话, 这一条村庄是刚才出生到特别老的人, 他都可以享受到这一份。以后, 享受到这一家人的心和爱, 都可以收到。但是, 现在很多地方有汉族的的宴席的话, 很大一部分的人是他享受不到这个, 所以他不能够分享你的快乐和你的忧伤, 都不可以分享。所以, Apu 认为这个传统, 他们Hliruhdzhik 永远不会丢掉, 就是坚持这样的传统, 就是很简单, 一块猪膘肉和一个饭团。所有的大事情和小事情都在这里, 都去解决他, 这是非常好的保持传统的。

H: 我原来听到一个说法, 说咱们利加祖的达巴是从前所或者永宁那边传过来。你有没有这个说法?

GD:

MD:

(24:08)

GD: 是的。都是从永宁这个土司和 wɿ33 zu33的土司, 那两个地方来传到这里来。但是那边已经是消失了这些东西, 因为这块猪膘肉和这个饭团的仪式取消了, 慢慢就取消了以后淡忘了所有的达巴的规则, 而这里一直坚持这个, 所以只有这里还保存这个。所以最开头从两个土司传到这里。

(24:40)

L: 所以, 有一些人, 他们说, 以前有摩梭然后达巴是进入, 现在摩梭人都觉得达巴是全部给你们自己的一个文化, 是不是。所以, 我想问一下, 他想是不是这样的啊? 第二个就是如果他们是, 不知道他们是不是从其他的地方来的, 可是如果是从其他的地方来的, 这边有好多的民族: 有汉族, 藏族, 傈僳族, 等等啊, 为什么比较喜欢摩梭啊? 为什么想跟摩梭同化?

H: 咱们这个村里没有很多民族。

GD: 很少。而且, 在解放以前, 在整个永宁是少量的汉族但是他们都被同化了。汉族是给土司修房子, 打铁, 给马帮打铁, 这样来的一些, 别的民族没有。好多民族是解放以后才来到这里。

H: 在这个村里主要是摩梭。

GD: 这个村是一个外地的可能没有的。

L: 哦，真的吗？

H: 现在有个别的是来走婚的个别的汉族或普米，但是基本上没有融合，形不成他们所谓的一个族群和支系，主要是摩梭。

L: 可是好象其他的摩梭地方，这里只是一个摩梭的村，还有好多其他的摩梭的村，其他的村比较有各种各样的民族。

GD: 可是在以前，是没有。

L: 哦，还是没有？哦。

GD: 落水的普米也是在两百年以前，落水请他们来帮忙，因为彝族是每一年偷落水的钱，落水打不过彝族，人少，所以是请来的。所以，摩梭，他还是比较自己民族自己民族住，不喜欢跟别的民族混合在一起，不太喜欢这样的。

L: 还有呢，好像现在那个达巴越来越少。他觉得达巴给社会最重要的是什么啊？他们最重要的工作是什么呢？好的达巴需要什么能力，最重要应该有什么能力？

GD:

MD:

GD: 就是，Apu 认为，自己的任务就是把摩梭的传统，摩梭的故事和历史，所有的故事，一代一代教给那些年轻的人。但是，他是尽力去教他们年轻的人就是不知道他们愿不愿意学这些事情，而且他是喜欢他们，就是不断的告诉他们，你要不能够放弃这个，你一定把他学会，而且向村庄里头或者任何地方，就是人出生以后人去世以后，有大小事，出任何事情，都要尽力用自己全力帮他们的忙，因为如果把这一个丢掉的话，你还说自己是摩梭？就没有了达巴以后，你就说自己是摩梭可能是不太好了因为你很多规则和很多摩梭的故事和历史你什么都不懂。以后你还说自己是摩梭可能是有点牵强的，这个就有一点困难。Apu，他认为尽自己的全力去教更多年轻人让他们去继承这个，但是不知道他们愿不愿意去学因为现代的社会变化的很快。而且，会不会去努力去保持这个，把这个保存下去，他没有把握。

(30:44)

H: 请问一下，那个达巴前面收了一小徒弟。本来应该去念书的，后来说就家里最后商量不让他们去念书然后跟那个Apu 达巴学达巴。他们现在学的怎么样？

GD:

MD:

GD: 那个学的很好，觉得很好，已经会了好多了。以后，Apu 又收了一个。

H: 一个几岁的？

GD:

MD:

GD: 两个都是属鸡的，十四岁。以后家里的小孩儿，那太小了一点，要晚一点再教他。Apu 想自己活着的时候多教几个，多收几个学生。

L: 太好了。

H: 那个，问问Apu 达巴，他每天教学教怎么样？

GD:

MD:

GD: 是一个晚上，教五到六句。教多了，他们记不住，每天晚上，五六句话，就是，念两个短的经文，五句，六句。多了，怕记不住。每天晚上都这样的。

H: 那个娃子, 就开始收的那个, 他说是学的很好, 是不是因为他有一定的学了汉语的字, 有点关系没有?

GD:

MD:

(32:42)

GD: 这个很好教, 因为他学过一些汉语, 他有学习 的这个经验, 以后他说这个脑筋转的很快。他有一定的技术。

H: 后来说的那个徒弟有没有学过汉语?

GD:

MD:

GD: 没有学过。

H: 一天没有学过。那, 他学习来会不会慢一点?

GD:

MD:

GD: 他, 那个, 如果是不去玩儿, 不去跟伙伴玩儿的话, 是学的很快, 但是经常会跟伙伴去玩儿。玩儿了以后就有的时候来一天晚上, 不来一天晚上, Apu 还要亲自去叫他们来学。以后说, 学了这个, 你这个文化和这个你学到的文化, 你不用给这个文化给他喝茶, 也不用给他吃饭。但是这个留在自己心里头对你的将来很有好处。你学会了以后, 你会有前途, 因为记在心里头不用去给他吃, 给他喝, 这个文化。以后很有前途, 这样去请他们, 他们再来一个晚上学一点。

H: 第二个那个孩子, 他是哪一家的?

GD:

MD:

GD: 沙尔家。

H: 沙尔家。咱们这个, 在过去一直都是家族内传承。现在是不是不是很在意?

GD:

MD:

GD: 以前的老人, 他自私一点。他就想教自己家里的一个就行了, 就不会教外边的, 但是Apu 认为现在他可以教更多的, 更多的, 他已经现在教了十几个, 十几个教给他们。

L: 哇!

GD: 以后, 他们之间将来可以互相问, 你学一部分, 我学一部分, 互相可以去问和互相去交流。而且, 这样的话, 对整个村庄有好处, 而且村里的好多人是, 因为十几个学, 教给他达巴的, 有好多是自己家里的, 就是早晨点香, 早晚念的, 好多咒语都是教给村里所有的, 因为以前这些都是自己家里学的。他说, 考虑了好长时间, 就觉得这样的不是很好, 只是教给自己家里人不是很好, 他现在教全村, 只要愿意学都教给他们。

H: 好, 下面一个问题。你请以下Apu 达巴说一下, 他教过的徒弟的名字都有哪些?

GD:

MD:

H: 叫什么名字?

MD: ki33 zɔ33 sɔ33 na33, z̥wɣ33 dz̥ɣ31 kɣ33 zɔ33, 我家的 sɔ33 na33, kwɔ31 la33 ta33 ʃu33 du31 dz̥u31, z̥wɣ33 dz̥ɣ31 sɔ33 na33, ti31 pi33 tse33 ta31 ...

GD: 外边村庄有两个，别的是这条村的全部是Apu 来教他们，就是有一些在别的人面前学过，但是一旦要做法事的时候，他们不是很把握，很了解，全部来问Apu，以后他详详细细的教给他们，以后现在小孩儿又教了两个，只要有人说要求教一下或者愿意学的来，他说他再收五六个，没有问题。

H: 现在这两个孩子叫什么名字？

GD:

MD:

GD: ki33 zɔ33 兄弟的小孩儿。

H: 李力，你再问一个。

(38:45)

L: 好好。想问一下，那个，达巴觉得对达巴的方面，因为现在的社会改变的特别多，他觉得看道德的时候，什么是最重要的？

GD:

MD:

GD: 那个，达巴，他的一般他的经文里就是教育人民的经文里有一段就是说，象你这样的外面来的人，你不可以去欺负他；你的皇帝，你的王，你不可以去杀掉他；还有是本地的达巴，就是达巴这种，是说这宗教的这种，你不可以去打他或者是欺负他；还有是你有文化，就是你的心里头有特别多自己民族的故事，你懂很多民族的故事和这些，等于是民族当中说你文化或者比较聪明的，你懂的自己民族很多东西的人，这种人，你不可以去打他或者骂他；以后，水沟边，那些很漂亮的树，长在水沟边的很漂亮的树，你不可以去砍他。所以有好多种这样的很多的规则，所以Apu 认为因为有很多的这种道德要限制你，所以你除了对别人去好，用自己尽力去对别人好以外，对别人坏的一点都不要去做他，这是在摩梭来说做人的一个最起码的标准。

H: 还有，要问一个问题，那个，小达巴，教到什么时候他才可以成为一个正式的达巴？是需要举行一个仪式？这个仪式是什么样子的？

(42:54)

GD:

MD:

GD: 他可能是没有一个时间想要学多少年，这个没有，但是你一旦学会了，你要全村请客，杀一只羊，煮一点猪膘，以后给所有每一家人都要送那个来吃顿饭，以后送一点东西，但是全村所有来的人都是来祝福的，说每一家放一点钱给他说是非常感谢了，你今天学成了对我们整个村庄都非常好了因为我们可以每天请你来帮忙做家里的一些什么事都可以做，是表示对这个学成的人表示感谢。我们今天非常感谢你，你终于学成了，就是要这个来赞美他。以后，每一家给一些钱。他家里杀一只羊，杀一点东西，来请大家吃一顿饭。这个是一个正式的，就是从此以后就学成了开始工作的一个仪式。

H: 那，这个仪式，除了杀羊之外，有没有比如说经过一个考核怎么样就能认定他基本的几个重要的法事他都可以做？

GD:

MD:

(46:07)

GD: 他，这个是一个比较漫长的过程，每一样东西他全部记得了，但是不知道哪一样是拿来做什么的，这个他还需要一个不断的询问，不断的问，说是Apu在的时候就经常会来问我，这一段是应该用跟哪一个段子里。这个需要特别漫长的一个过程。所以在经常还有，你就是独立能做了还要经常需要来问，以后问差不多如果是你彻底可以一点都不用问，彻底自己能解决，那需要二十几年到三十年的时间。你可能可以是差不多基本上掌握了。

H: 那，咱们现在村里头能过彻底一个人来做法的，有几个？还有谁？

GD:

MD:

GD: 就是Tipi Apu 和他以外没有一个人可以彻底的完全这个来做。只有他们两个。

MD:

GD: 现在就是人去世以后，不关有任何事都要来他俩来问一下，没有一个人可以单独去做，都需要来问。

H: 那，那个，咱们上次来参加的葬礼，葬礼上他有不同的一个，不同几个阶段的诵经。那么，是不是比如刚学成的小达巴，年轻的达巴，是不是可以分配给他某一个部分，让他这样的逐渐成长，比如这一次他可以做这个，下一次他可以安排他做那个，就是做为Apu 达巴他们是不是有意给他们一些锻炼，有意的锻炼他们，这样的将来能够独立？

GD:

MD:

GD: Apu 每一次都要教给每一个人就是你的任务是这一块你负责，那一块他负责，以后这个应该是大概怎么来做这个整个线大概教给他们。如果不清楚或者错了就赶紧来问Apu, Apu 又知道他们就这样。这样的多锻炼了几次，每一次就是说你负责不同的，将来你会熟悉各个方面。

H: 请问Apu, Apu 是几岁的时候就开始能独立做法？

GD:

MD:

GD: 他，Apu 是差不多三十几岁，四十岁不到是自己独立还是做不了的。Apu 是很小的时候开始学，学了很多，基本上学好了，但是中间有一个长长的文革。

H: 对，对。

GD: 文革阶段把他整个打断。那时候就天天去赶马帮或者挖路，到处去，就丢了很多年。后来，改革开放以后才开始做，把你以前学会的东西全部回忆起来。那时候没办法，只有努力来自己去完成所有的仪式。

(50:32)

L: 他开始学的时候，他有什么样的感觉，他觉得这个是比较难学的，或者觉得每一天去劳动回来，每一天学一点是比较。。。

GD: 高兴。

L: 高兴，因为可以用脑子一点或者他有什么样的感觉？

GD:

MD:

GD: 所以那时候,学的时候,是特别辛苦,特别辛苦就是有的时候学就睡着了,睡觉都不准睡觉,不准,是必须学,晚上学一次,早晨学一次,一天两次。特别严厉。Apu 的爷爷就特别严厉,非要让你学,说是很苦的,是特别高兴的 -- 不一定。是特别艰苦。

H: Apu 有几个师傅?

GD:

MD:

GD: Apu 学的时候,是只学自己家里的爷爷的,别的那些不学,只学自己家的。

H: 爷爷叫什么名字?

GD:

MD:

GD: Apu pu33 tse31。

H: 是多大年纪过世的?

GD:

MD:

GD: 八十不到。

H: Apu 跟他学了几年?

GD:

MD:

GD: 是从八九岁学到十七,十八岁。可能学了七八年。

H: Apu 是家里的第几代的?

GD:

MD:

GD: 第五代, Apu 是第五代。他是家族内部一代一代传的, Apu 所以是第五代。

L: xe zuæ!

L: 请问,那个出生的那个仪式,有对小孩儿,对母亲,什么好处啊?那个仪式怎么做啊?

GD:

MD:

(54:37)

GD: 他是这样:小孩儿出生的时候,如果是不给他一个名字,因为他有点害怕那个水井。水井是一个神,还有那个山神,他们来伤害这个小孩儿,所以小孩儿刚出生要给水井和山神,给他们敬献一些礼物,以后就是求他们不要伤害我们家的小孩儿。以后是还要给家里的所有祖先就告诉他们,要告诉所有的祖先,我们家现在新添了一个小孩儿,以后要给,就是说,希望我们所有的已经去世的所有的祖先,你一定要保护我们家里这个小孩儿健康的成长,要给所有的祖先敬献一些饭菜啊,各种礼物,要敬献给他们,就是护佑他。以后才经过计算,经过小孩儿的要不断的计算特别多,计算他的生辰八字,全部计算好以后给他取一个很好听的名字给他,命名给他一个名字。就主要就是希望小孩儿能够没有任何病痛,灾害,所有的祖先

要保护他，不让他生病，不让他有任何不好的，就让他健康成长，是这么一个仪式。

H: 为什么水井神和山神要伤害小孩儿？

GD:

MD:

GD: 他是，如果他是神，你一天就是去跟小孩儿全村都去祝福小孩儿，以后不去给他一点礼物，什么都不给他，他嫉妒。

H: 哦，他是小孩儿。神是小孩儿。

GD: 他嫉妒了，他就要伤害你。所以就把水井，这些，就要把他看成一个活着的人一样，就是他和人一样的，都要去经常留意，所以你一定要照顾他的情绪，所以这个宗教就把所有的东西都看着都是活的，都是象人一样。

(56:52)

L: 可不可以说明一些，水井的那个神还有山上的神，有没有其他的神？他们两个怎么样？他们性格怎么样？他们有什么特色啊？

GD:

MD:

GD: 他那个水井和这些神是人眼是看不见的，但是他就永远生活在那里。他其实跟人一样，和整个人的性格是一某一样的。如果，就象两个人见面一样。如果我想给你打个招呼或者你不理我，我肯定很不高兴。所以就心理不舒服，他是性格特别坏的，脾气非常不好，而且性格特别坏。所以他就可以让你睡觉的时候不舒服或者是这里疼那里疼，他就是要找一点东西来收拾你一下。所以达巴有一个任务，他还有一个是教育他的任务，就是你不可以，我要把我的所有，因为我这个小孩儿出生我要祝福他，我为什么祝福他？因为这个家庭，这个小孩儿出生全家是很高兴。那，为什么会那么高兴？这个你要理解，你一定要明白这个。以后，我们要祝福他是为什么祝福他，要给他说明清楚，而且要教育你不可以去随便伤害人，伤害动物，伤害所有村庄，你不可以去伤害，达巴他的任务就是教育他要做好事，你别一天想坏的，想去对别人不好，要教育他。

H: 那，那个山神是有点儿害羞的因为他有缺陷，他长像上有点缺陷，他没有嘴，所以他不愿意见面。那么，家里要敬山神的时候，一定要在敬山神提前一个星期，家里就不可以有外人来居住，因为他害羞，只有这家人就知道，象如果我们现在住的这一家，他们家要敬山神，他们就会很客气的让我们去另外一个家居住。

让Apu休息一下。。。

(2nd minidisc)

(Discussion of how the pair of reading glasses that Huaer previously had given Apu were very high quality, but were stolen; thanking Huaer for the new pair of reading glasses so that he can sew again and do wood work; the need to go to visit Meili Xueshan on the anniversary of the horoscope year that one was born in; Apu is 72 years old; discussion of the virtues of swimming for one's health; discussion of Apu's photos from his trip to Meili Xueshan the year before on his horoscope year to bring luck to his family; discussion of a fortune-telling that Apu had done at Meili Xueshan; Huaer thanks Apu for making so many desks and chairs for the new elementary school)

(2nd minidisc, 18:24)

H: 我要问一个比较棘手的问题，不太好问的问题，那个，前年或去年，家里的一个女孩子生小孩儿两次，生了两个或者是三个，都死掉了。那，象这种情况，用咱们达巴来解释，是什么原因？有没有办法，那，Apu 有没有办法能够做法事或者有没有起死回生的这种？

GD:

MD:

GD: 这个是纯属他的命，就是，如果他有他的这种命来活下来，那就可以。没有这个命的话，不管Apu 做任何事情或者是请再厉害的人来做，都是一样的，都不可以阻挡的。

H: 这个，不会是她得罪了水井神啊，山神啊，什么造成？

GD:

MD:

GD: 这个跟那个没有关系。纯粹就是说，出生的人，他有没有这个命？纯粹是他的命造成，跟这些一点关系没有。

H: 那，这个命，在事先能不能Apu 算到了？

GD:

MD:

GD: 就是，知道一点。

H: 知道一点？

GD: 知道一点，所以这，他还在肚子的时候，做了一些法事，但是都阻挡不了。就是专门做了一点法事来阻止这个，但是不行。Apu，他知道一点。

MD:

GD: Apu 知道，但是他绝对不可以跟小孩儿的妈妈说，不能够说。所以Apu也是很痛苦的。

MD:

GD: 如果跟小孩儿的妈妈说了，不用说小孩儿，妈妈都是因为负担太重可能会更加造成她的痛苦。对Apu 来说是非常痛苦只有他自己知道。绝对不可说出去。也是做了好多东西，但是阻挡不了，没有办法。

H: 那，下一个问题，例如说这样的情况，小孩儿生下就死掉，给这个小孩儿，就是按摩梭的习惯，他还没有灵魂没有形成。那，咱们需要做什么样的仪式来安慰他？

GD:

MD:

GD: 那个，是把他要彻底干干净净的洗好，让她穿上漂亮的衣服，经过Apu的彻底计算，计算一个位置，这个位置要对山神啊，那些，不会不满意的一个比较稳当的一个地方，把他好好的掩埋了。但是，他的母亲要经常来带一点饭，饭菜，去那里，去看他，要带一点去。

H: 要多长时间？

GD: 而且，要跟他说这个并不是任何人造成，是你自己没有这个命，这个命来生活，所以这个是没办法的事，要经过Apu 做仪式来安慰他以后算专门的位置。

TD:

MD:

TD:

MD:

GD: 这个并不是说他不高兴，不喜欢这个家庭来没有生活。他自己没有这个命来生活，所以，而且，这个就是这个降生的小孩儿不一定是自己的祖先的灵魂和投生，他是反正这个世界上很多各种各样的东西他都会寻找一个母亲来降生，来投胎，所以他跟这个家庭和这些没有任何关系，是个人的命。

H: 那，小孩儿的妈妈会去到那个地方来给他送饭，这样要去多长时间？

GD:

MD:

GD: 一开始的三个月到四个月，就是可能是经常送，每三四天或者你想起来，三个，四个月。三个月，四个月过后，就不会再去那里送。三个月，四个月过后，就分给山神，送给在山上的仪式里头就集体送，不会单独送给他，集体在敬山神的时候就敬过，敬给所有的。

H: 三个月？

GD: 三个月到四个月。这个阶段你可以经常去，这个以外就不用。

H: 这三四个月当中，Apu 有没有具体的日子 那一天要去？

GD:

MD:

GD: 在一个星期，两个星期，是自己什么时候有空就可以去，但是有一个特殊的：母亲要挤一点奶，放在一个竹子的竹筒里边，放在一竹筒里边，挤一点奶敬在他的面前，就给他喝奶。

H: 给他喝奶。

GD: 这个是没有固定时间，一个星期或者两个星期你有空儿就可以去，你觉得今天有空就去。

H: 那，刚才说的带吃的，就是带这个奶，不是带其他的饭菜？

GD:

MD:

GD: 饼干，糖，什么的，都可以，你有什么的都可以带着，你想给他一点吃的，都可以带去。可是最重要的是带一点奶，放在一个竹子，一个竹筒里头，挤一点放在里头。

H: 然后，这个母亲的小孩儿过世之后，对这个母亲还要做什么样的法事？

GD:

MD:

GD: 这个需要来做好多，好多的一些法事，但是最主要是对她教育。家里的老人要对他教育，就是让她放心，这个不是你的问题，是他本身没有这个命。这个你一定要想开，如果你继续这样伤心和失望的话，那些水井那些，就会来伤害你，而且对你造成很大的伤害，所以这个是需要家里的老人做精神上最大的安慰。很重要就是家里人和村里的老人来为她做思想上的开导，一定要开导开，不然的话，说是水井和那些会来伤害你。

H: 那，做这些法事的时候，除了这个安慰以外，就是Apu 要做一些法事。这些法事是在什么样的地方做的，道场在哪儿？

GD:

MD:

GD: 在家里做。以后，还要教育她，就是说明你不能够太伤心，会成病痛，如果你现在太伤心而且会神经错乱了，会疯掉。这个一定要给她说清楚。这法事在家里做。

H: 在家里？不用去到水井边，水神，山神，不用？

GD: 都在家里做。但是Apu的意思最重要就是对她精神上的安慰。

H: 主要是安慰她。

GD: 开导她，因为这样会疯掉。一定要把后果，严重的后果，告诉她。

MD:

(30:08)

L: 想问一下，有一些人，他们觉得纳西族和摩梭以前是一个民族，还是说，摩梭的达巴和纳西的东巴以前是一个宗教，他觉得东巴和达巴有没有相同的地方，或者不觉得或者不知道？

GD:

MD:

GD: 那个，Apu认为这个，达巴是在人开始有人的时候，最早的时候，人开始建立思想和开始建立一些小的部落的时候就有这个达巴，这是非常早的，人可能是最早阶段的，最早的宗教，这个东巴是在后来。后来人一切都安定了，后来人整个社会形成了以后，比达巴晚好几百年或者象千年以后才产生了这个丽江的东巴。纳西和摩梭的区别是，Apu认为是人种，不是一种，人种就是两种人。纳西是后来才来到这里的。这个摩梭比纳西很早就在这里居住。纳西族是后来的，后来别的一些部落形成，以后后来才来到这里地方。所以说，人种都彻底不一样的民族。

H: 那个，我曾经听到前所达巴说过，他们说，从那个，那个，咱们叫阿朱达巴，他说曾经见过咱们村有达巴和东巴一起念经在葬礼上，有没有这样的说法？

GD:

MD:

GD: 是一起做不了法事。

H: 所以，我想问的问题是达巴和东巴的区别是什么呢？

GD:

MD:

GD: 是，可能是彻底的不同。大家敬奉的最早的神不一样，以后对所有东西的名称的称呼不一样，还有去那个水井，敬水井那个敬神的方式和这些事全部不一样。还有敬献的东西和那些都是不一样。和东巴，他们是没有办法一起去做法事，做一个道场，不可以。

H: 好，下一个。就说咱们村里头有一个支系是东巴的支系。那么，这些，因为他家族里头没有东巴现在，所以过年的时候，做法事只能请咱们的达巴，别的家族的达巴，就为他们做法。为什么呢？因为他们本来是不一样的，为什么可以请了达巴来做？

GD:

MD:

GD: 他说，你既然住在摩梭的村庄，你拜摩梭的神就是要信摩梭的达巴，你只能放弃你的东巴。

H: 那，他们到底是纳西呢或者摩梭呢？因为他们信的是东巴？

GD:

MD:

GD: 他最早的时候是从丽江过来的。

H: 对。有一个支系。

GD: 从丽江过来的，以后他的儿女和那些全部出生在这里的。如果他要继续信东巴，他要去寻找他的根源，他没有能力去寻找他。所以，就只能。。。

TD:

MD:

GD: 他，那个，这里的这一家，信东巴这个是第一个到这里开始就改信了达巴。以后，他现在给他们家敬祖先，就是从你第一个到这里的，这个是最老的祖先了。他的以前的丽江的祖先是不认了，全部不认了。以后，是因为魂归路，东巴和达巴的魂的路线不同，所以就是用摩梭的这个路线来送他，而不是按东巴的路线去送他们。

TD: 只是他的，那个，走的路不同一点。

GD: 东巴的，他还要经过俄亚，俄亚和那一片去，达巴不去那里，就在这儿。

H: 所以，要跟Apu达巴说好，这些传说，这些故事，我会写下来，记录下来，但是也应该请Apu达巴给村里的年轻人多讲，让他们知道，否则再过几年，这些东西就没有了，谁都不知道了。

GD:

H: 很多年轻人都不知道自己的这个历史了。

GD:

MD:

GD: 这里，Hliruhdzih 是三个家族。魂归的路线是三条，以后，还有落水啊，那些的公共路线大致相同。Apu只要知道一个开头，他知道后面的路怎么走。所以他前次去帮忙尼赛村的一个家人去帮忙他，他说了两个开头的地方，从那两个地方开始。后面的路，全部Apu把他理出来。说是那个人吓死了，说是他全都知道，Apu完全知道他们家族的，全部路线Apu都知道。因为别的人，他是只知道自己家族的路线，别人家族他不是很知道。所以Apu就知道一个开头，他把后面应该走的路全部搞出来，把人家都吓死了。说，我一定要跟Apu学一下我的家族的路线。

H: 还有，比如说，我们去过拉伯，前所，左所，这边包括咱们，这个，那个，利加祖，他们的魂归路线大概都是包括拉伯那边，都是到了屋脚这边，几种在这里之后，下面的路线是一样的，基本上是一样的。那么，咱们利加祖，这个名称，是不是刚刚说，咱们说是住人的地方，然后另外一个解释，可不可以，住魂的地方，灵魂聚集的地方。

GD:

MD:

GD: 所以说，那个旁边周边的很多的摩梭的地方的人，把魂归路最后的魂，都是送到hliruhdzih这个前面这个山这个。因为这个山以外的地方，他们都忘记了，或不知道，路线都不记得，所以大部分都会送到这里来，有的会说是这个冰块，冰块

连接的地方，因为冬天有点冷，都会结冰，还是有的会说是一个屁股坐三个木头的地方，都是说这个地方的。还有是什么，劳动的时候可能裙子象沾了好多泥，就是说用泥裙来扫地的地方，都是说这个地方，都有好多这样的说法。

TD:

MD:

H: 研究了几个地方的魂归线。。。

GD: 所以，他也有魂归路线的。

TD:

MD:

GD: 这个魂归路线里头说是这里是野猪居住的，野猪全部在这里的Hliruhdzih，就是很集中的地方。一个地名叫做野猪特别多的魂归路。

TD: 不是，Apu的意思就是Hliruhdzih，hli是灵魂的意思，xin就是人的意思。Apu说达巴经文里说是hinruhdzih，所以是把那个灵魂居住的地方就。。。

GD: 人的灵魂全部居住在这里。

H: 经过这里。

GD: 经过这里。从四面八方所有的村庄的灵魂都要必须经过这里。所以，灵魂经过的地方。

(46:47)

H: 那，我去过几个不同的地方采访达巴，然后他们对这些事情有一些不同。那，我想问问Apu达巴，咱们的达巴不同地区是不是有所不同的派别，或者他们的仪式是不一样，有没有这样的说法？

GD:

MD:

GD: 本来达巴的根源全部是一样的，所以所有的故事和历史全部是一样的。只是说自己地方的人自己修改了一点。就是，如果我是永宁的，我修改了一些适合永宁的，我是拉伯的，我修改了一些适合拉伯的，自己改的，但是他的根是一样的，根是全部是一样的。

H: 还有口音不同。

GD: 还有口音不同。都是尽量让他本土化。

H: 好。

L: 请问一下，有没有一些比较有意思的那个达巴经文里面的一些成语或者是说法，比较表示达巴教的根本？

GD:

MD:

GD: 是有很多种类，特别多种类，但是分在不同的经文段子里头。所以他需要好好的去分析他，有一些话是你可以说，但不可以和鬼魂啊这类的这些说，有一些话是要跟这个鬼魂说不可以跟人说。所以他分不同的很多的这个，但分部在几十部这个经文里头需要把他慢慢的想起来。

L: 好，好，好。知道有点儿难，如果问一下有点难想得到。

GD: 因为他是全部靠记忆。

MD:

GD: 吃瓜子。还有吗？

L: 我好像差不多啊。不要让Apu太累了。

APPENDIX B

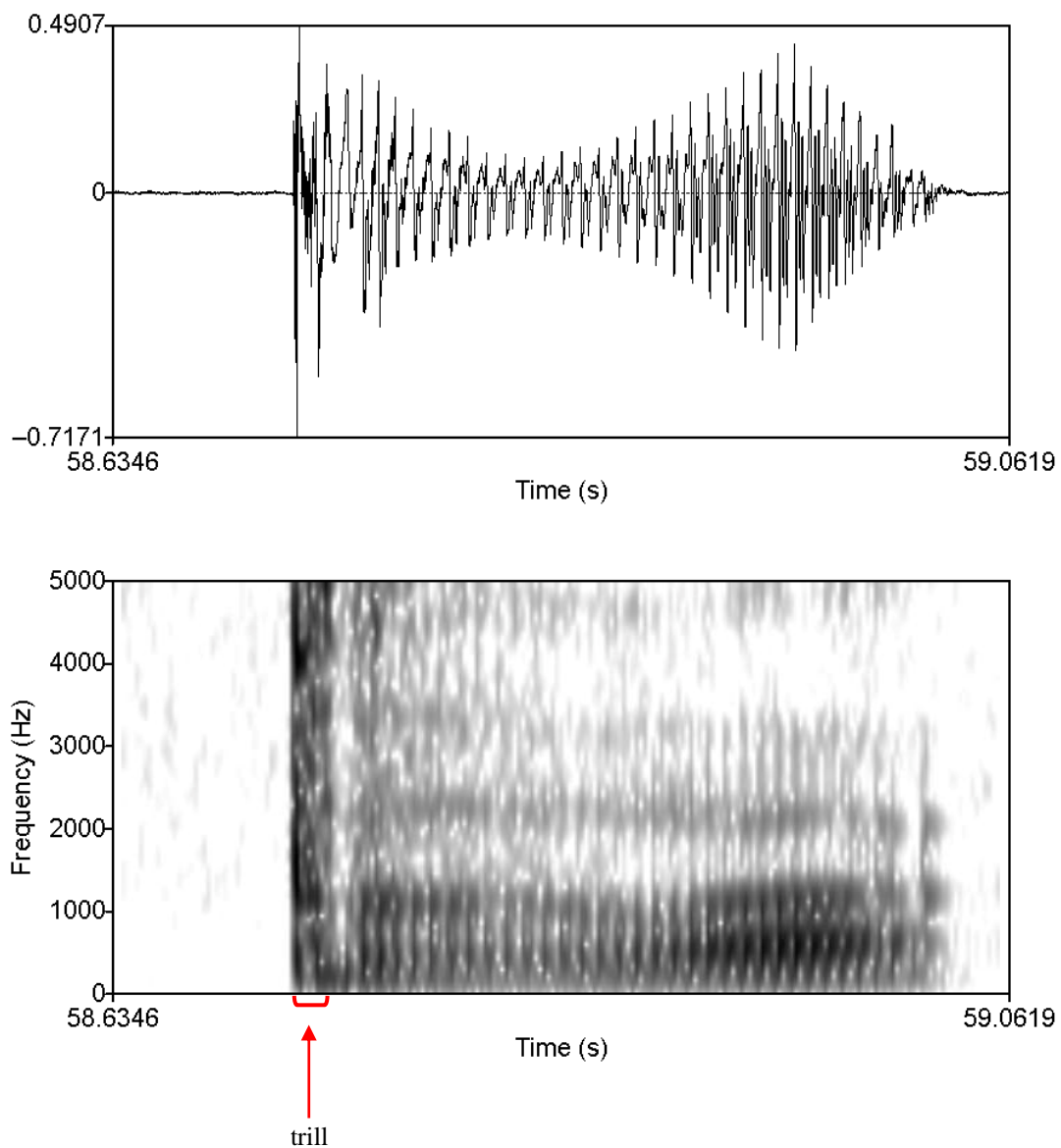


Figure B.1 Waveform and spectrogram of ɸwɪ3 'take out' [ɸwɪ3]

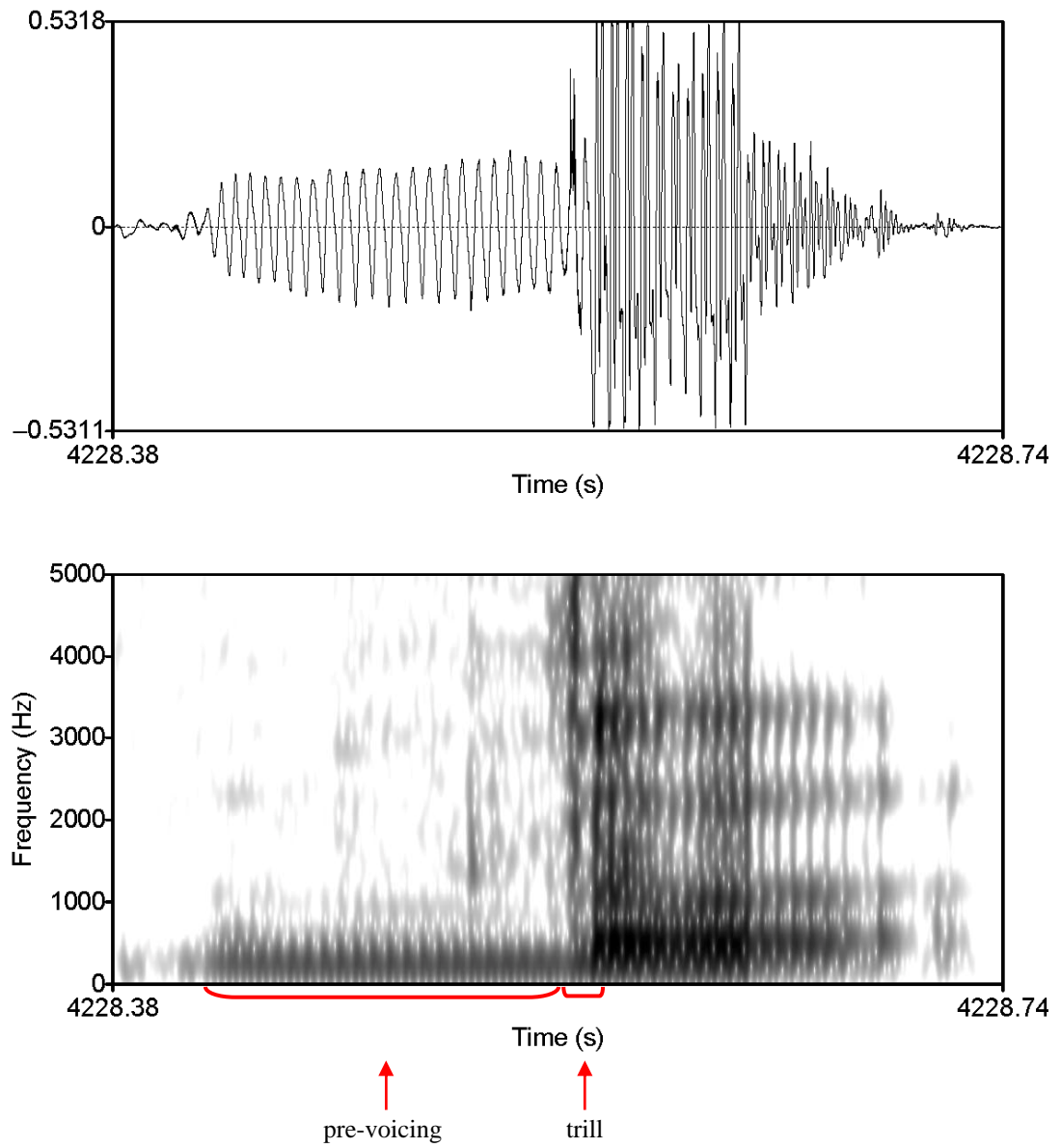


Figure B.2 Waveform and spectrogram of bu33 ‘intestines, bowels’ [bu33]

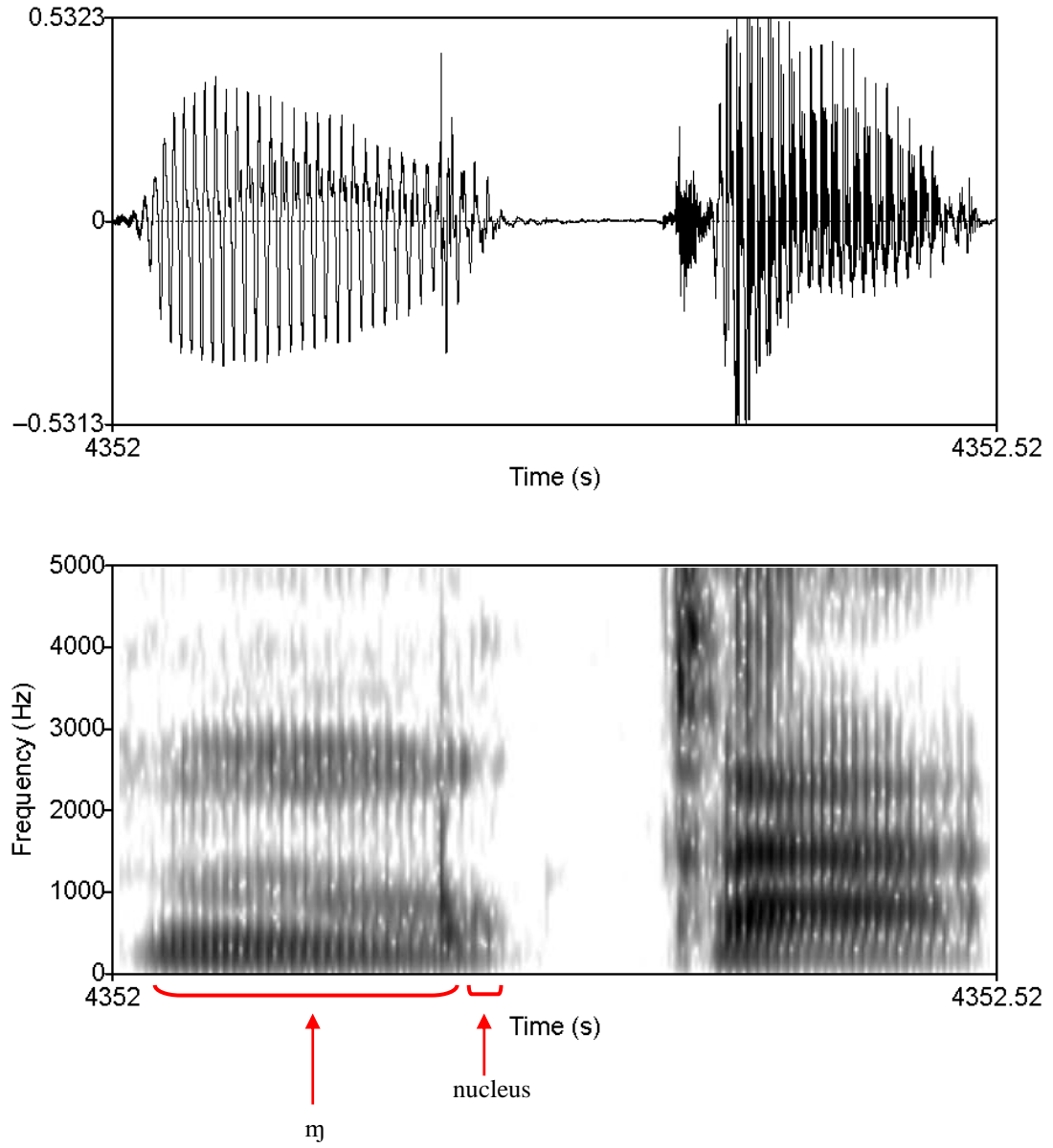


Figure B.3 Waveform and spectrogram of mu31 qæ33 ‘to castrate (an animal)’
[ɨjɨ31 qæ33]

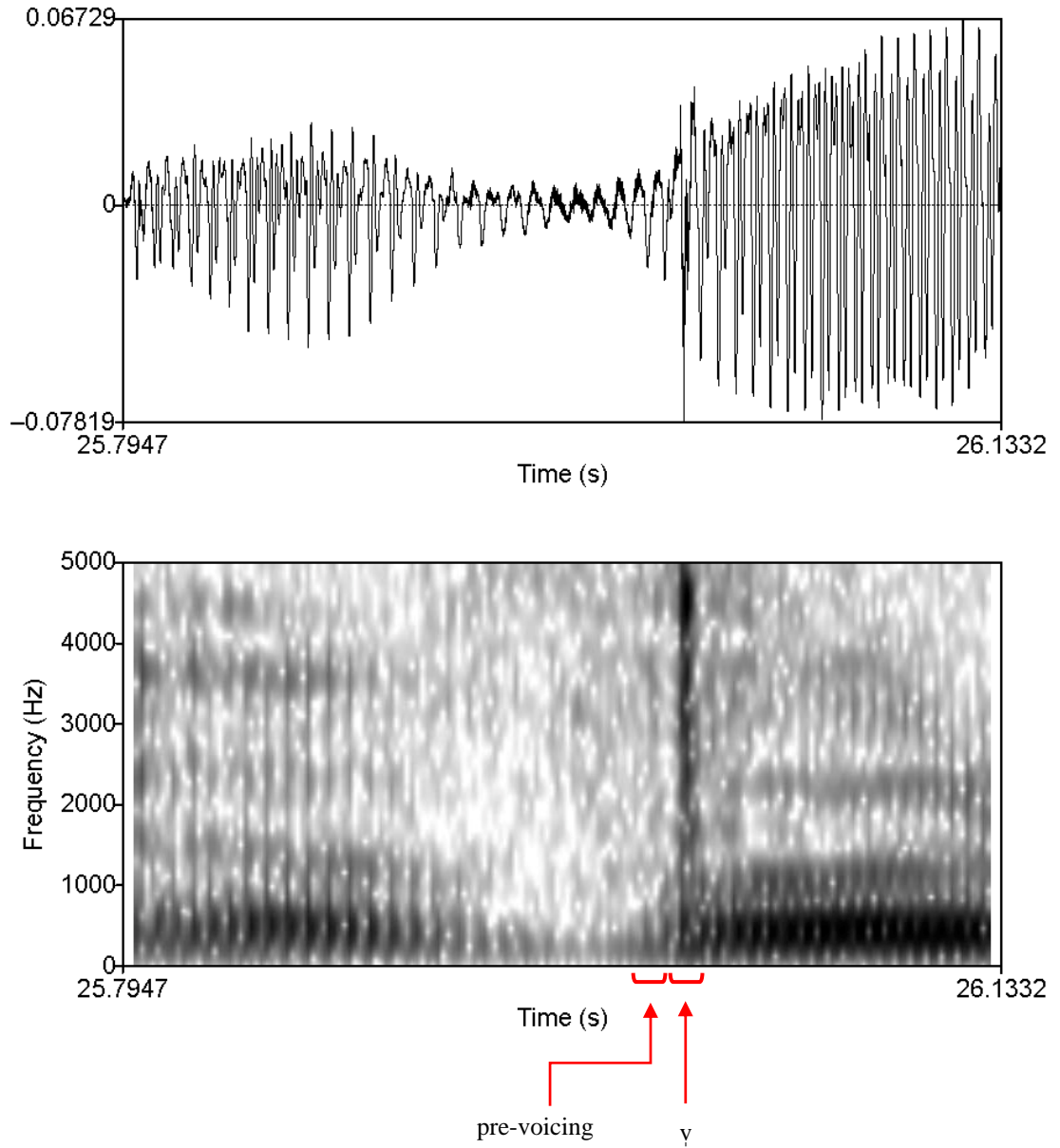


Figure B.4 Waveform and spectrogram of a31 wu55 ‘good looking’ [a31 yu55]

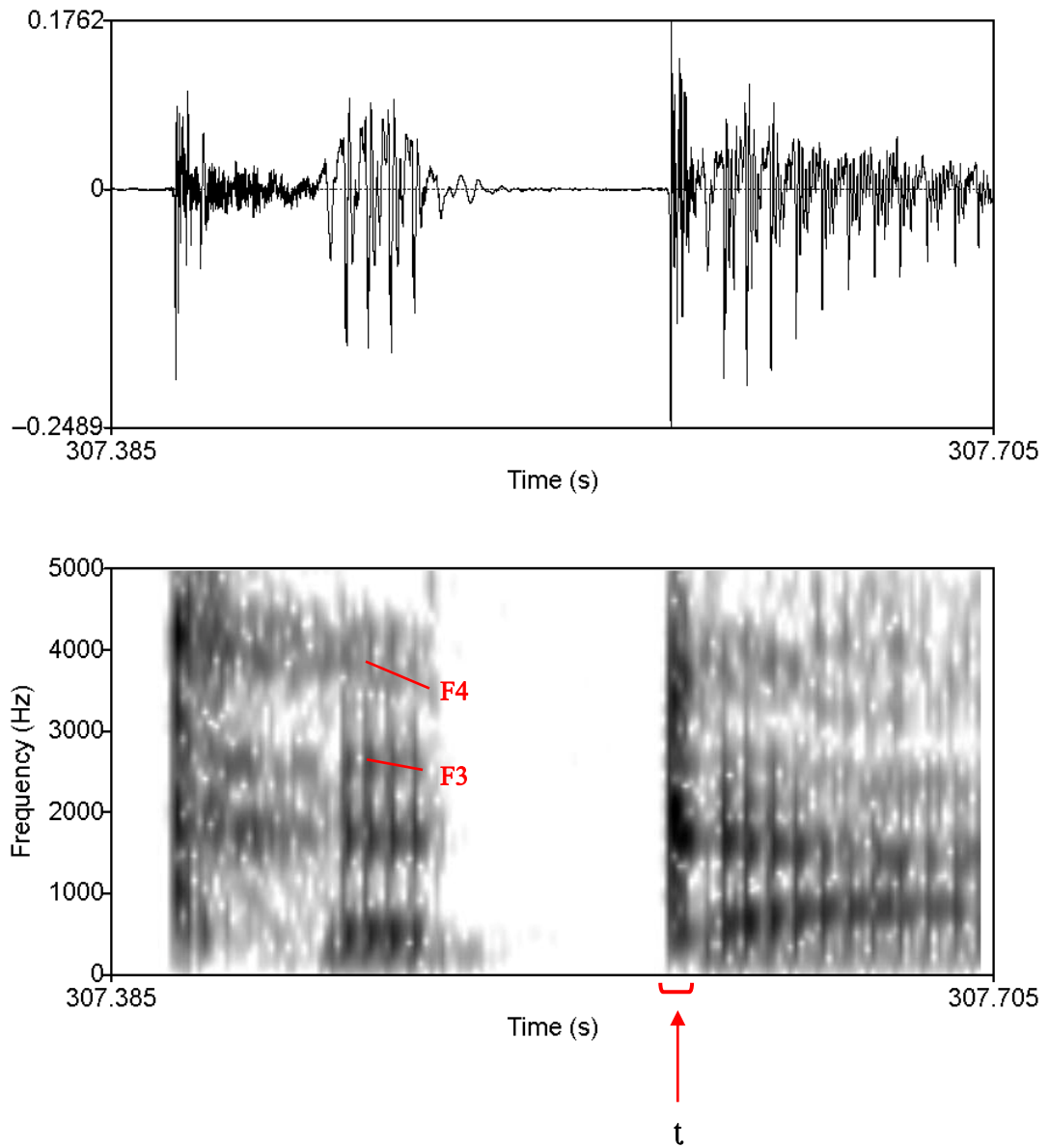


Figure B.5 Waveform and spectrogram of tæ13 'shut' [tæ13] with preceding syllable

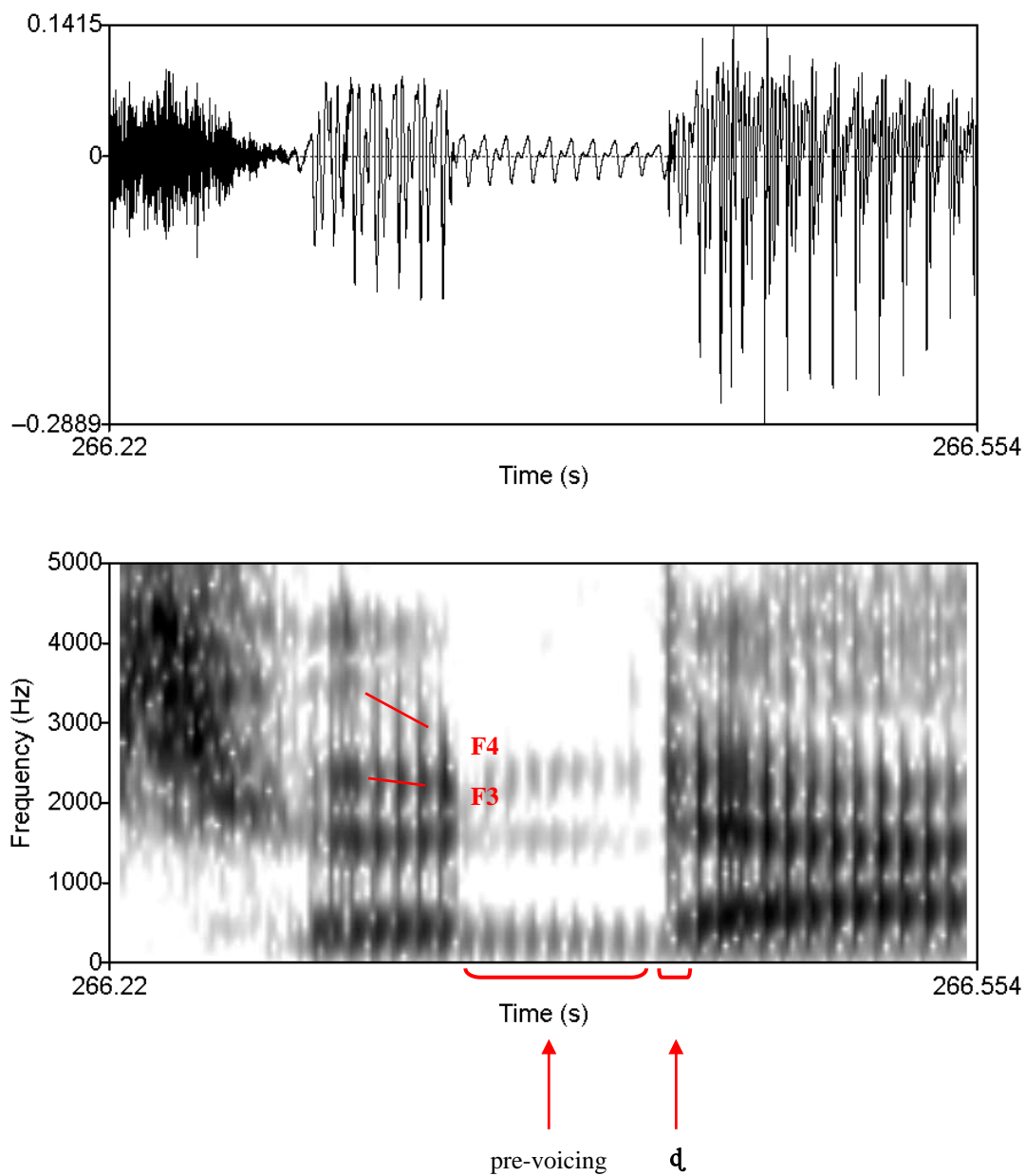


Figure B.6 Waveform and spectrogram of *dæ*13 ‘through’ [dʌ13] with preceding syllable

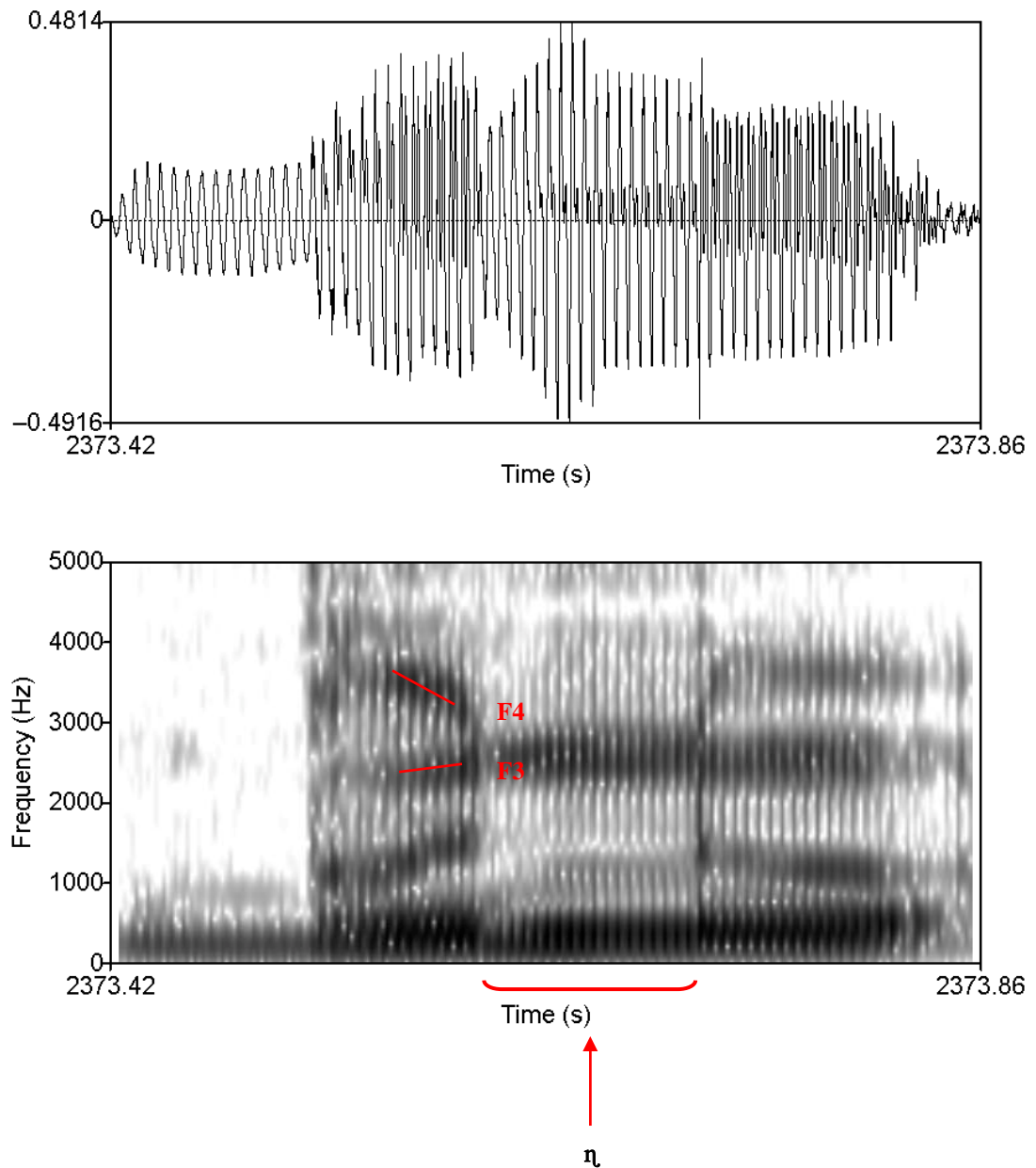


Figure B.7 Waveform and spectrogram of bu33 nu33 ‘smell (v.)’ [bu33 ηu33]

Figure B.7 shows a nasal retroflex. For the alveolar retroflexes, F3 and F4 lower dramatically preceding the retroflex. For the nasal retroflex, F4 does lower, but F3 does not—in fact, F3 raises slightly. This is because the air is exiting the nasal cavity rather than the oral cavity.

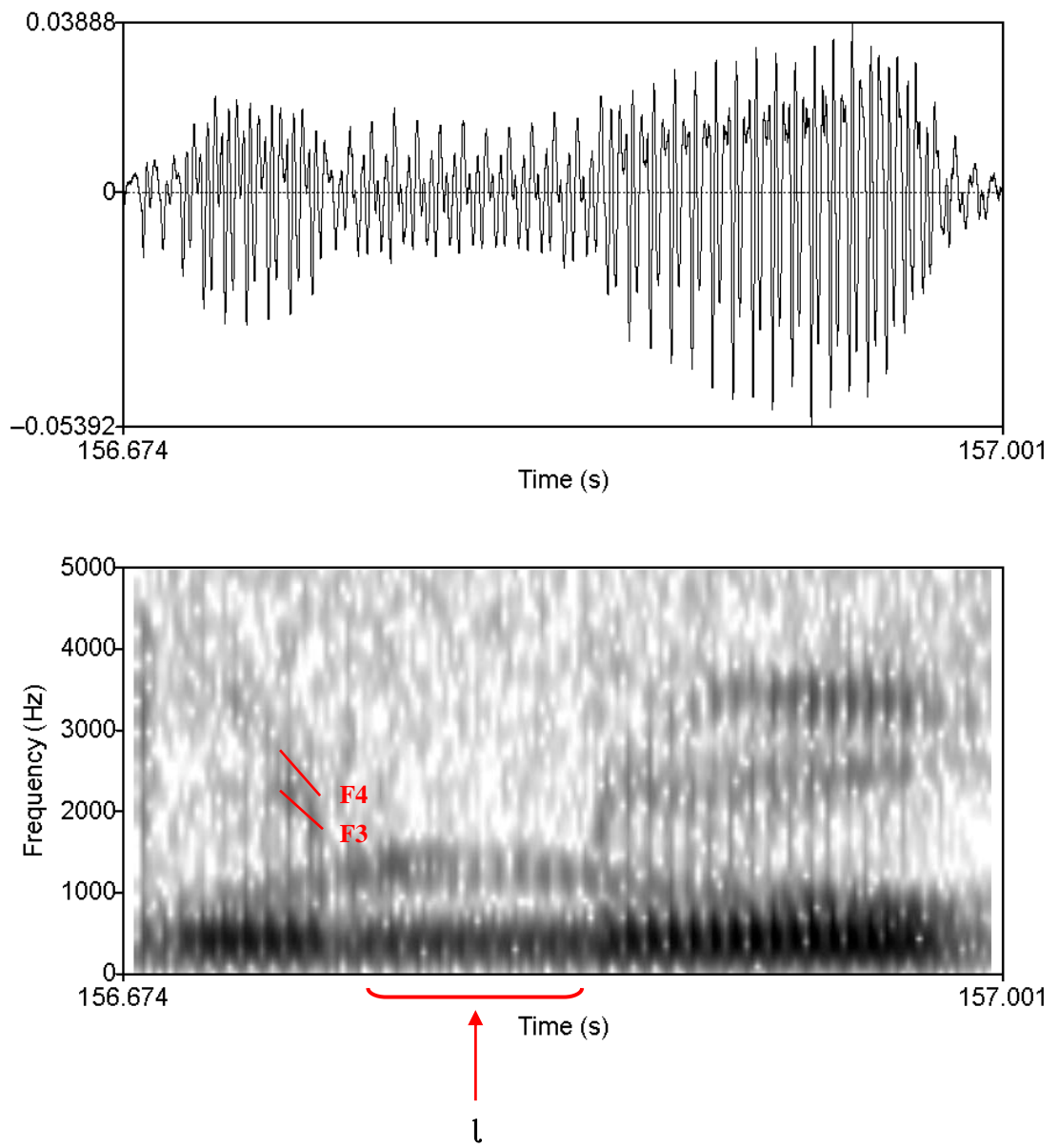


Figure B.8 Waveform and spectrogram of bɔ13-lu13 ‘feed the pigs’ [bɔ13-lu13]

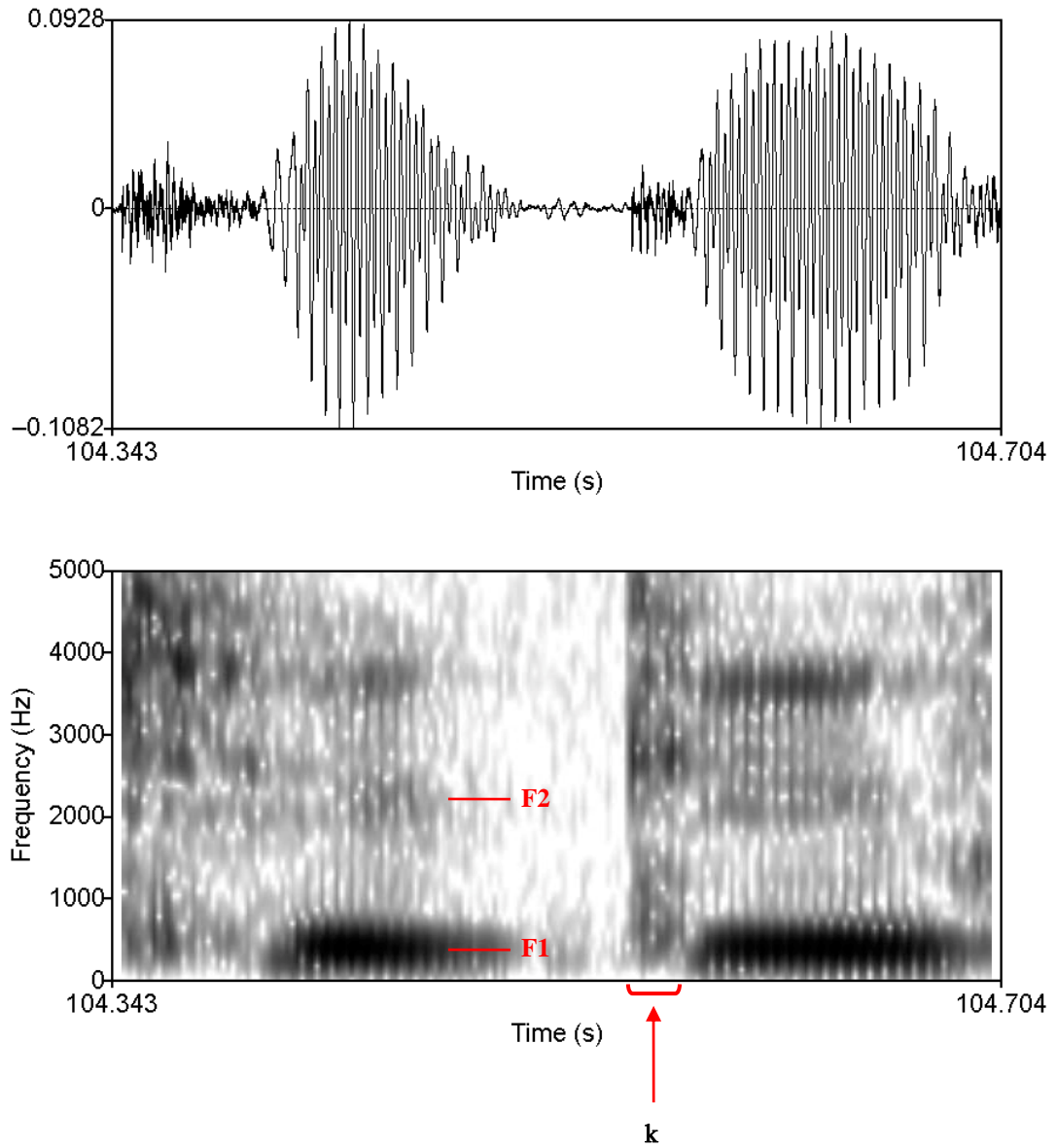


Figure B.9 Waveform and spectrogram of ki33 ‘wear’ [ki33] with preceding syllable

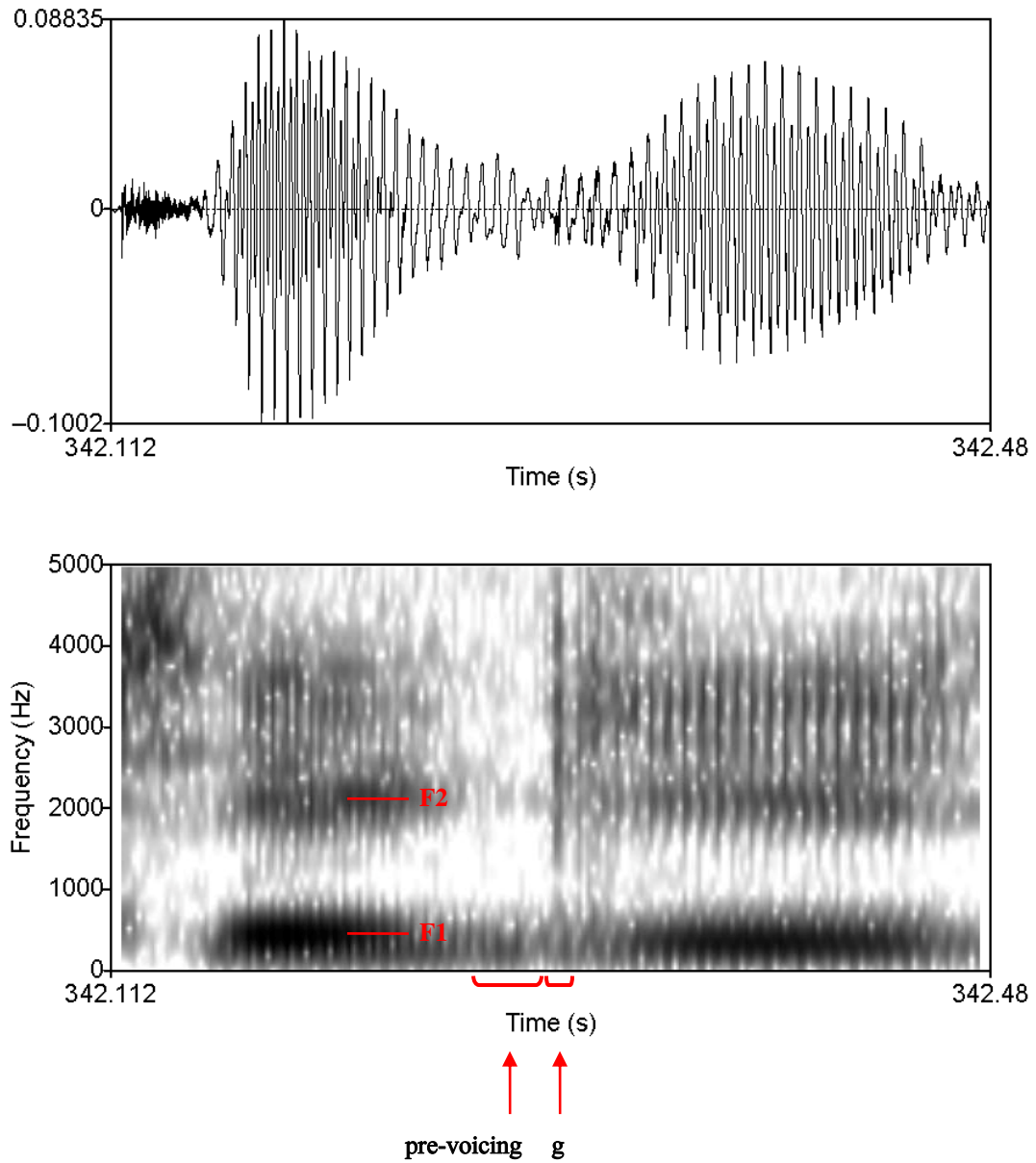


Figure B.10 Waveform and spectrogram of gi13 ‘after’ [gi13] with preceding syllable

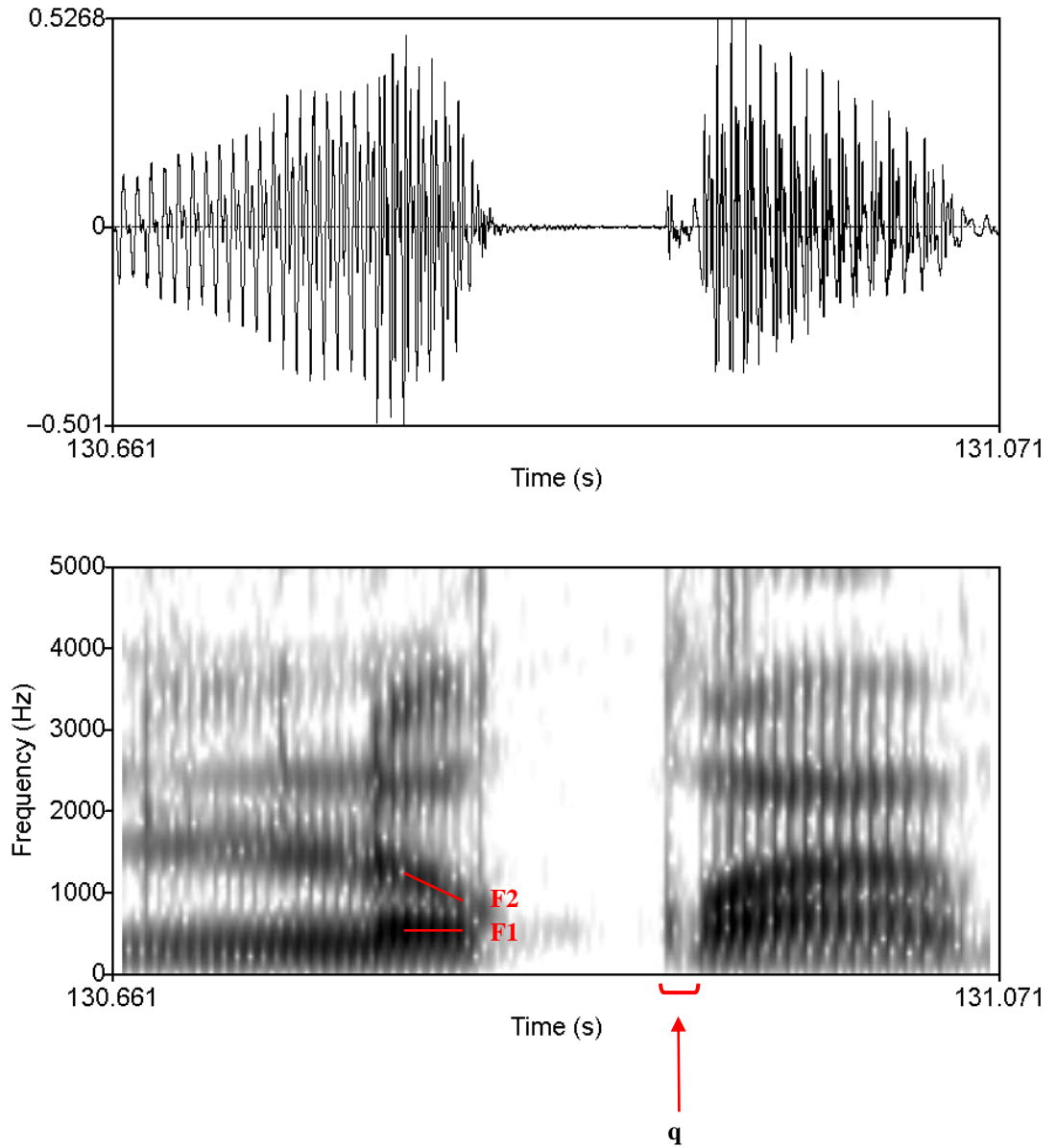


Figure B.11 Waveform and spectrogram of lu33 qwæ13 ‘dig up (one) CLS’ [lɿ33 qwæ13]

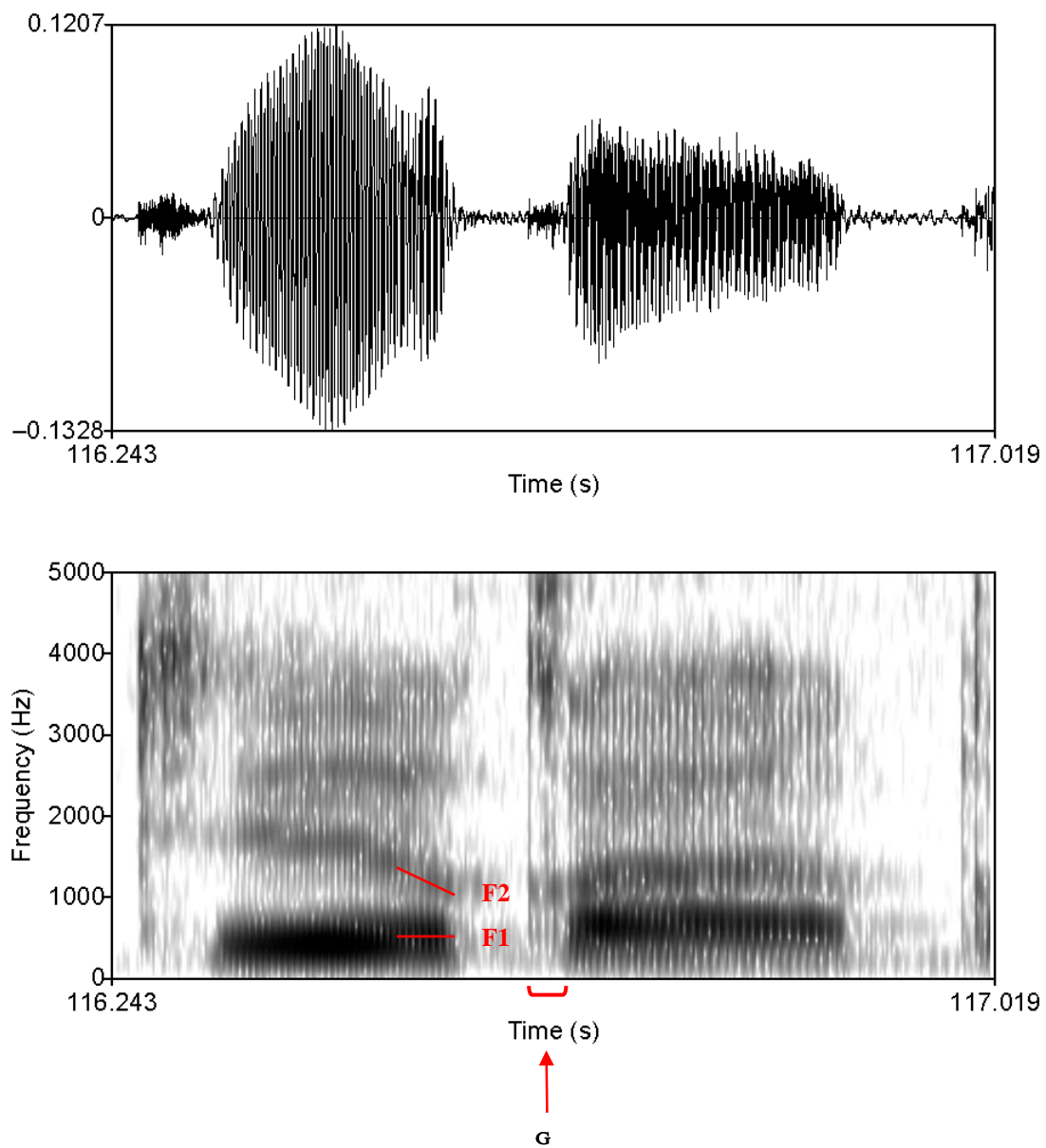


Figure B.12 Waveform and spectrogram of $t^h u_{33} \text{ } \alpha_{13} \text{-} \alpha_{13}$ ‘help his (family)’
 $[t^h u_{33} \text{ } \alpha_{31} \text{-} \alpha_{13}]$

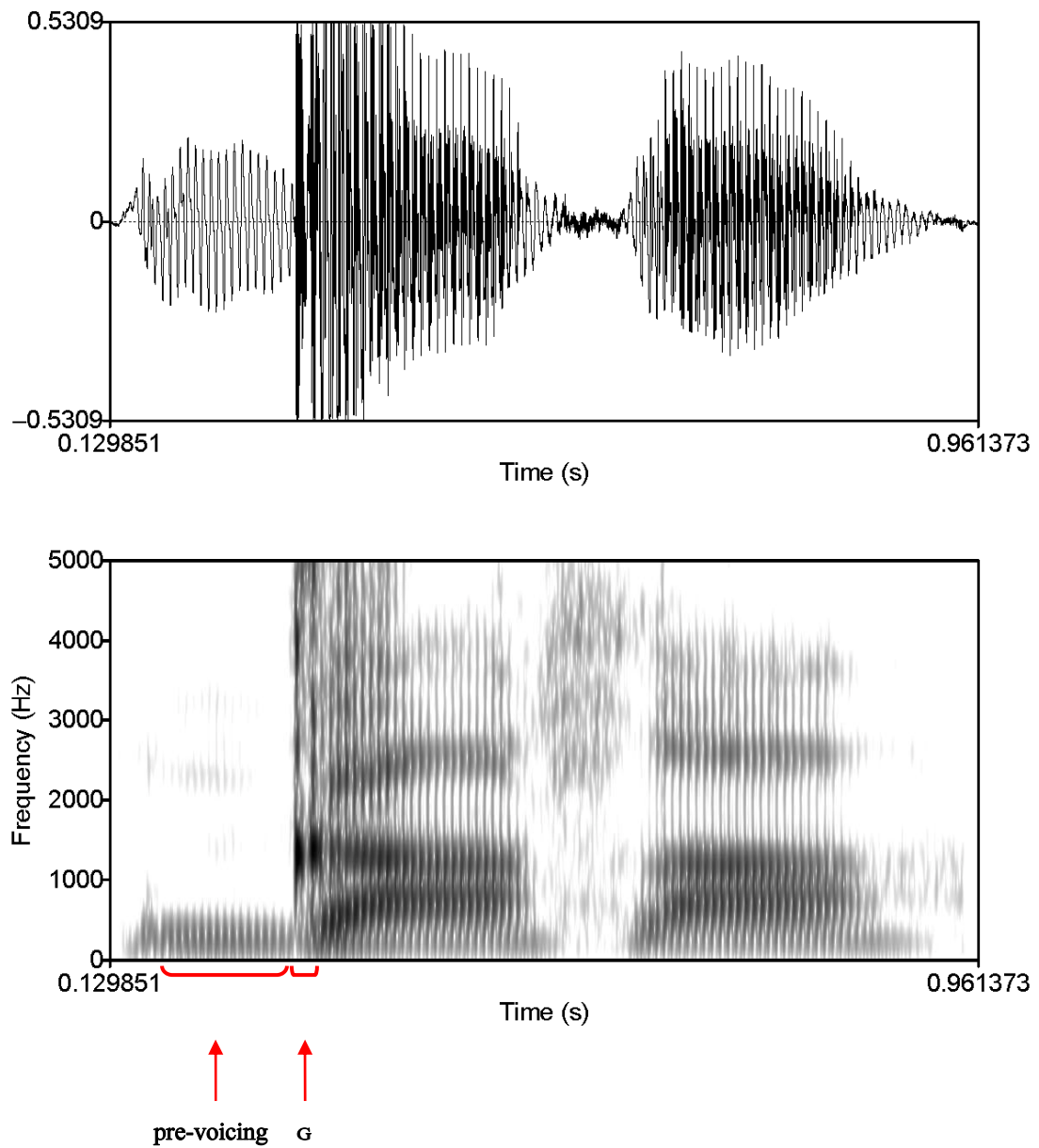


Figure B.13 Waveform and spectrogram of Ga33 ɬa33 ‘god, Buddha’ [Ga33 ɬa33]

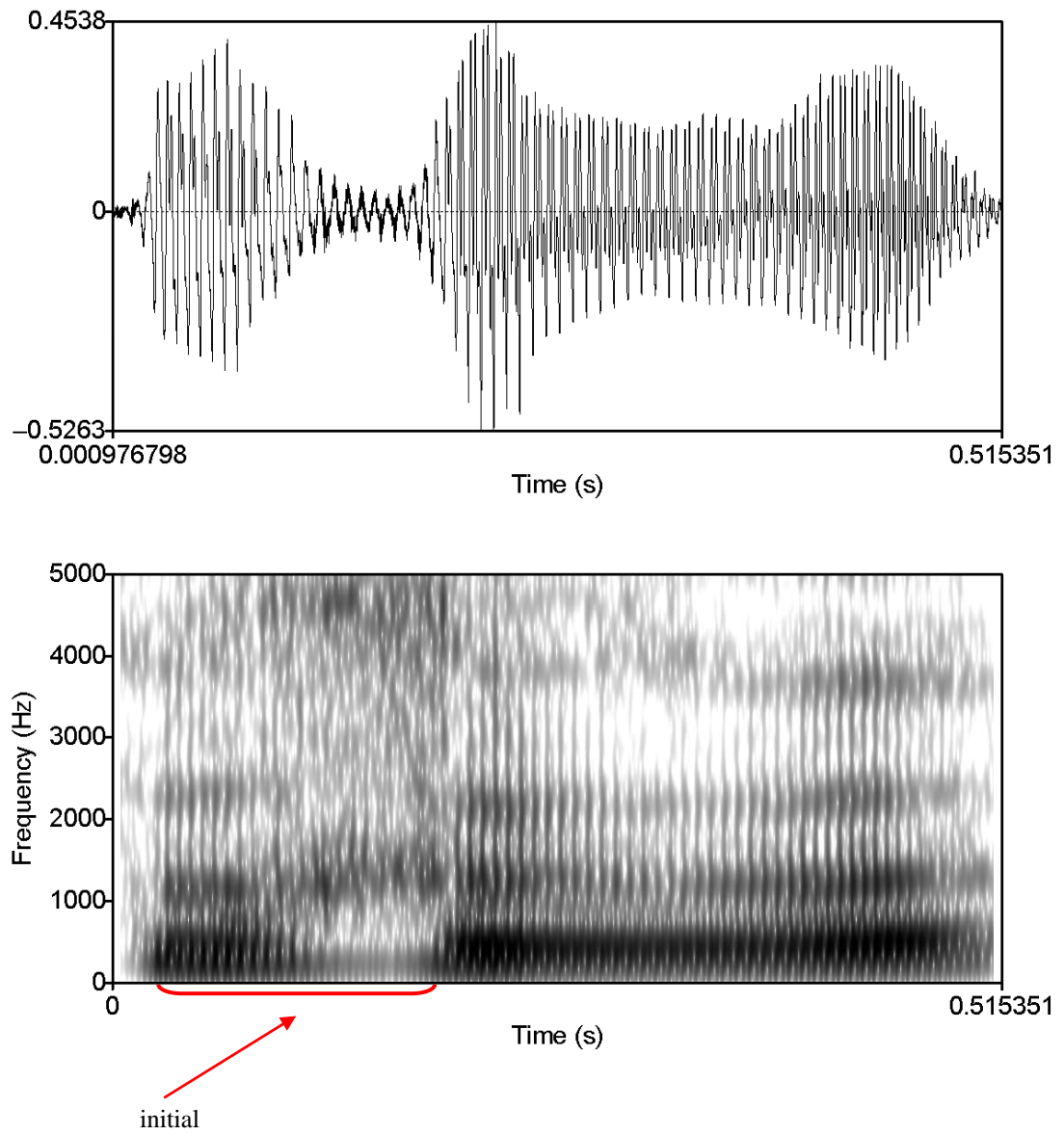


Figure B.14 Waveform and spectrogram of γu_{13} ‘skin, hide’ [γu_{13}]

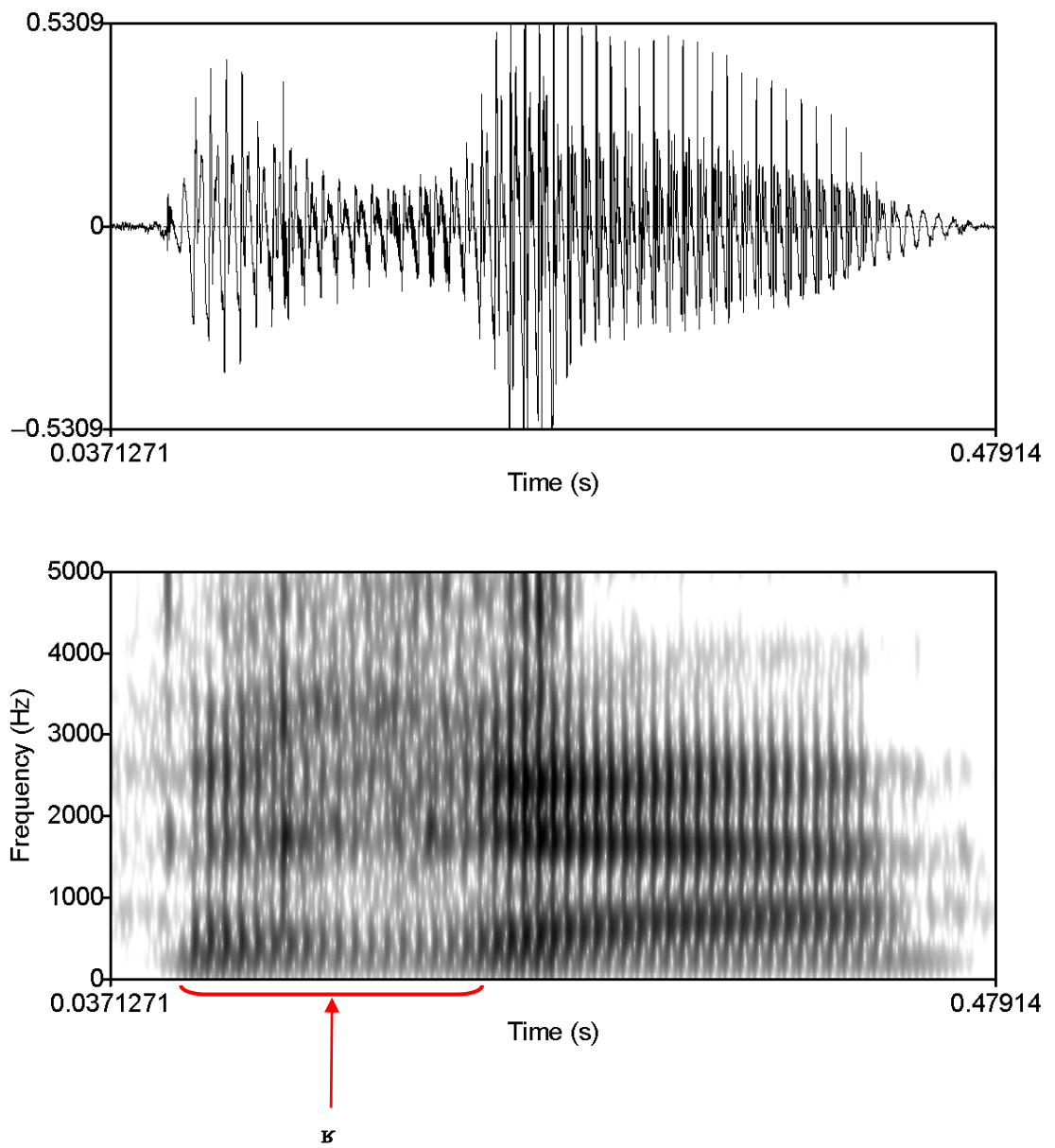


Figure B.15 Waveform and spectrogram of $\gamma_{æ33}$ 'wealthy' [æ_{æ33}]

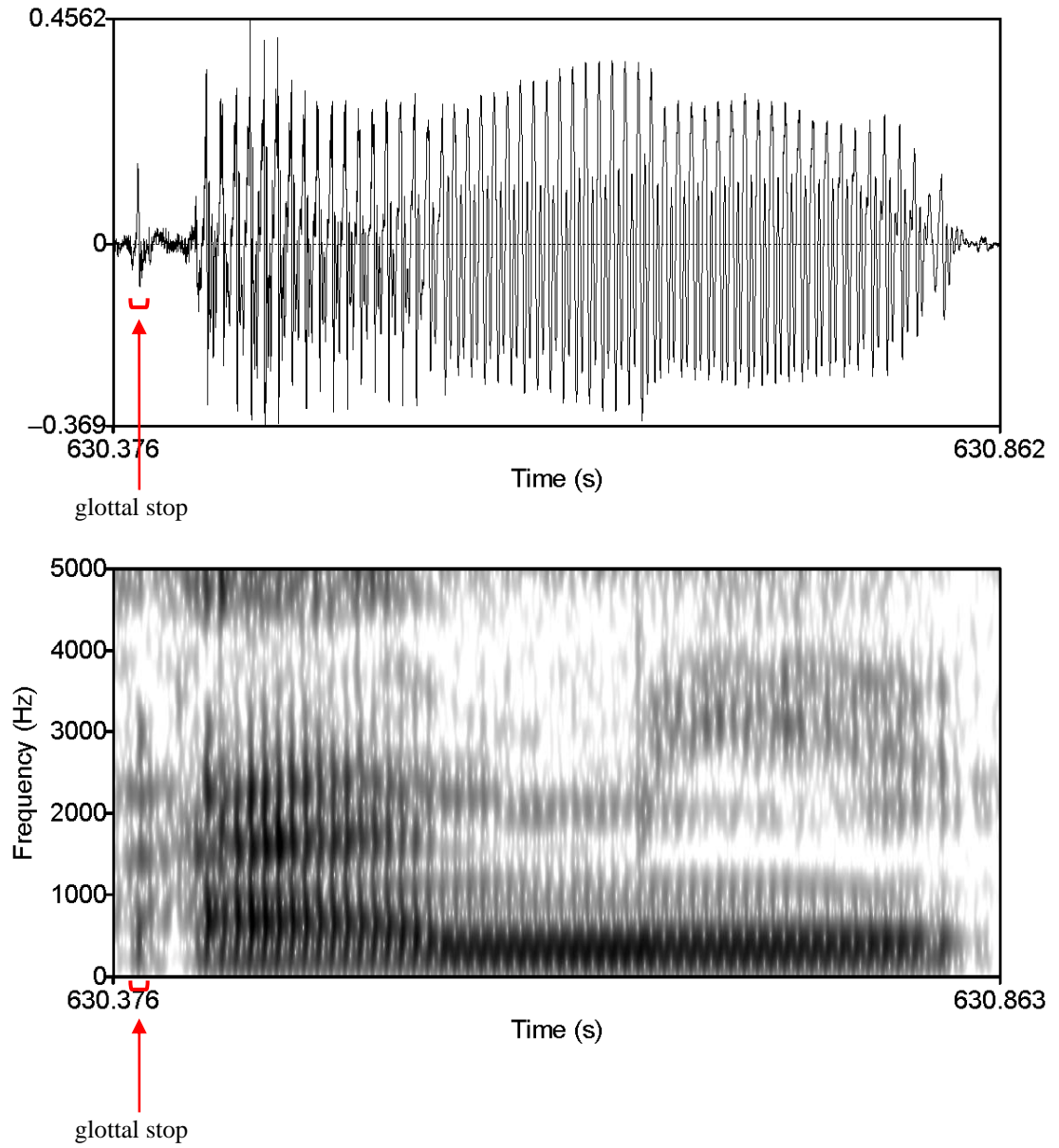


Figure B.16 Waveform and spectrogram of $\alpha 33$ -mi33 ‘mother’ [ʔæ33-mi33]

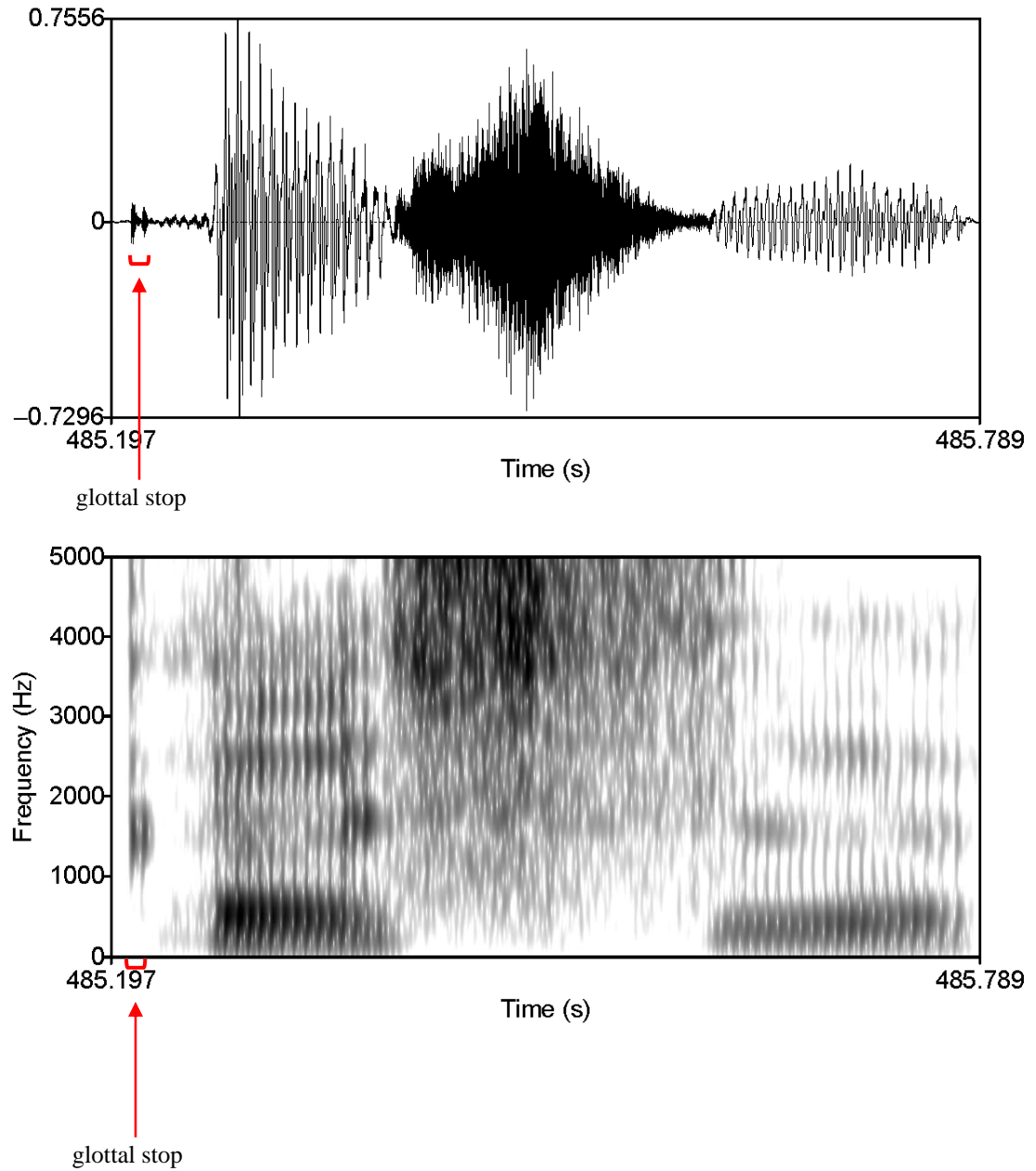


Figure B.17 Waveform and spectrogram of $\text{a}33\text{-su}33$ ‘great grandmother, great grandfather’ [$ʔ\text{ə}33\text{-su}33$]

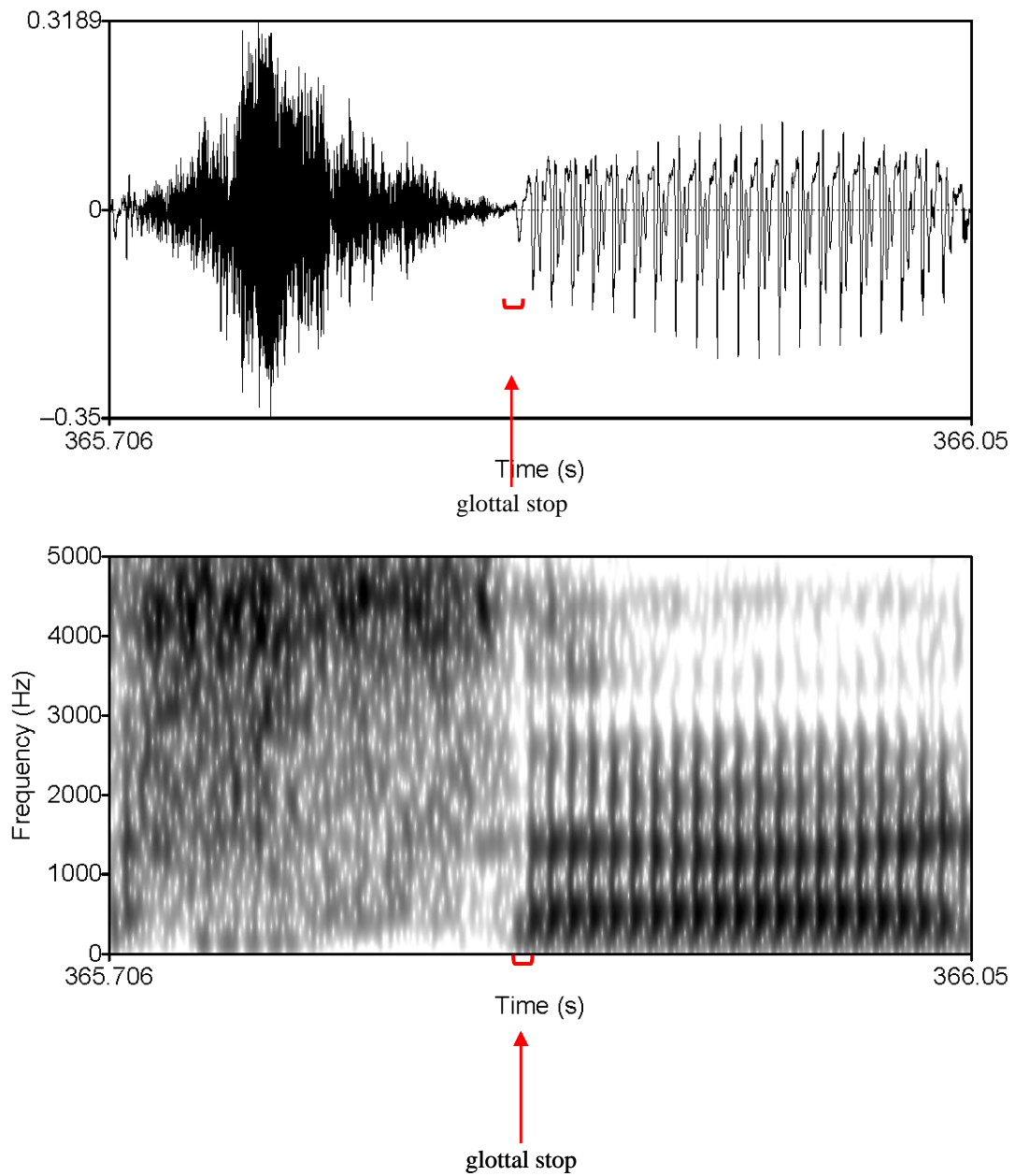


Figure B.18 Waveform and spectrogram of su33 ə33 ‘pearl’ [su33 ʔə33]

In Figure B.18, one can see the glottal stop preceding the vowel /ə/ in both the waveform and the spectrogram. [ə] occurs here in the second syllable of a word; all other instances of [ə] in the dataset occur in monosyllabic words and have liaison with the preceding word—no glottal stop attested in such cases.

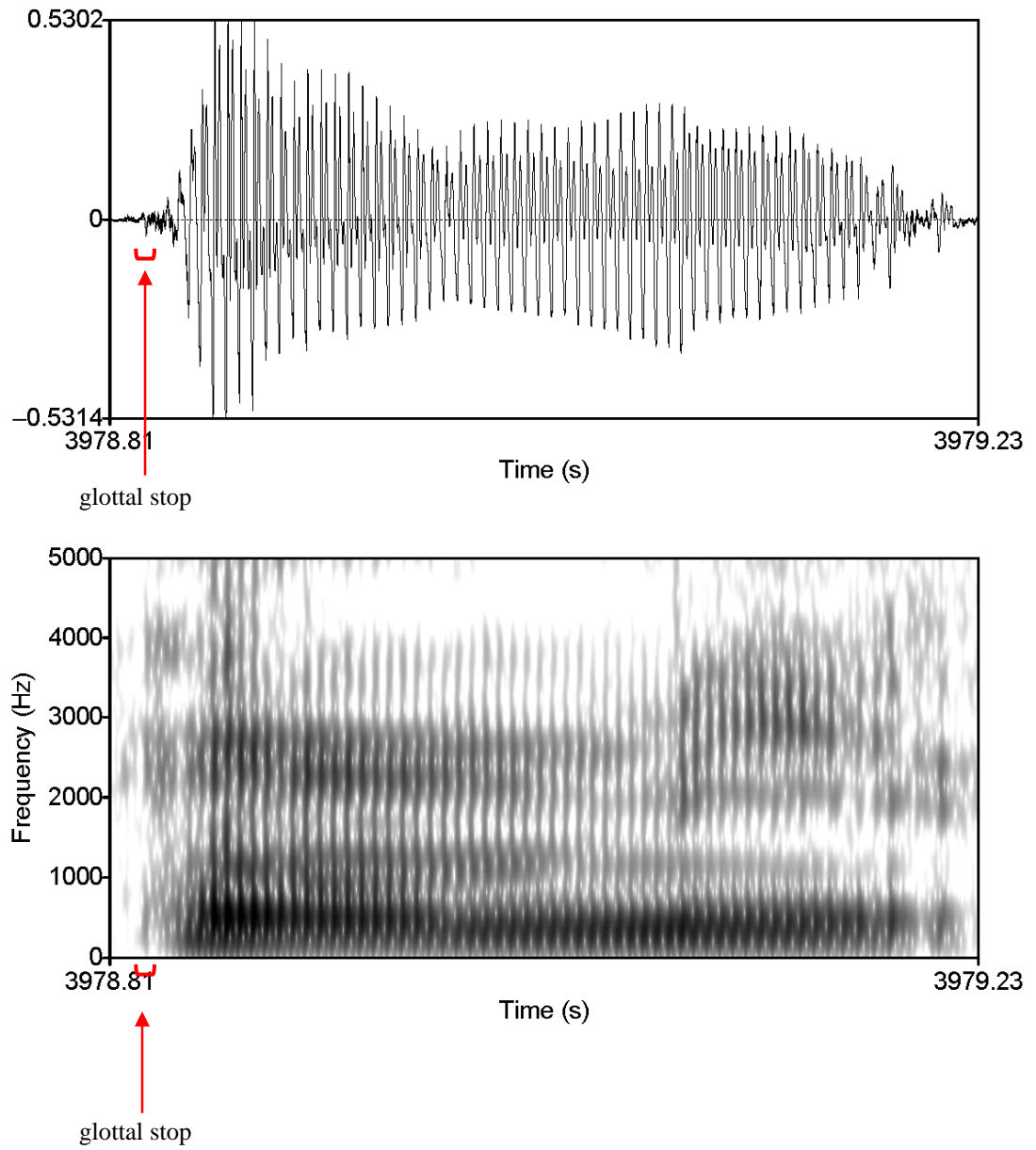


Figure B.19 Waveform and spectrogram of 533 mi33 'skeleton' [ʔ533 mi33]

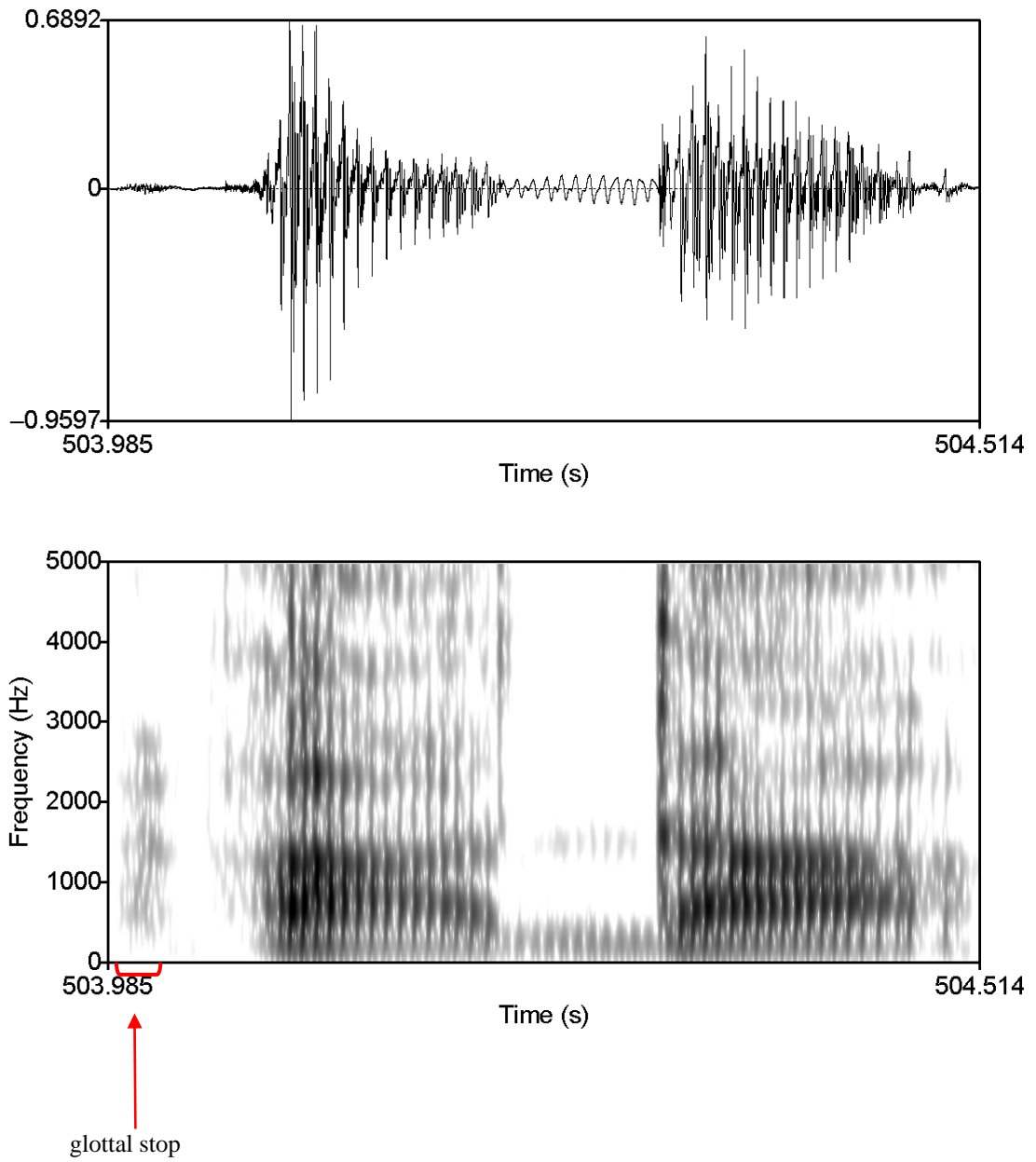


Figure B.20 Waveform and spectrogram of $\alpha 33$ - $da 33$ 'father' [$ʔ\alpha 33$ - $da 33$]

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