Matthias Gerner
A Grammar of Nuosu

# Mouton Grammar Library 

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## Matthias Gerner

## A Grammar of Nuosu

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For Ling 玲
(an exceptional woman)


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## Preface

I started research on the Nuosu language at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijīng in 1995，travelled to Liángshān several times and held many interactive sessions with native informants．

The Nuosu data in this grammar originate from folk stories（Chén \＆Wū 1998）， natural dialogues（Lĭ \＆Mă 1981）and sentences elicited from native speakers．Part of the data was also obtained through questionnaires．

In the first phase，the Nuosu data were edited as separate research papers on syntax（Gerner 2004a）and TAM particles（Gerner 2002a，2002b，2004b，2007，2010， 2013a）．These articles provide the basis of this grammar but were completely rewritten to fit the format of this monograph．Most of this grammar represents original research not published previously in any form．

The first draft was completed at the end of 2011．The manuscript was checked by Zhū Wén Xù 朱文旭 from the University of Nationalities in Beǐijng．I went with him page by page through the draft to discuss his comments．A complete revision of this draft was submitted to Mouton de Gruyter in 2012.

This monograph is informed by different linguistic theories but does not adhere to a particular model．The content is descriptive in nature but contains a few sections with theoretical implications of the data．

All example sentences are edited in the Nuosu script and Romanized script．The grammar is written for linguists and students of Nuosu，especially foreign missionaries．

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## Abbreviations

| * (before expression) | ungrammatical |
| :--- | :--- |
| \# (before expression) | unnatural, odd |
| < | infix |
| $\sim$ | reduplication |
| 1P.DL | First Person Dual |
| 1P.DL.POSS | First Person Dual Possessive |
| 1P.NMT | First Person Nominative |
| 1P.PL | First Person Plural |
| 1P.PL.POSS | First Person Plural Possessive |
| 1P.SG | First Person Singular |
| 1P.SG.POSS | First Person Singular Possessive |
| 2P.DL | Second Person Dual |
| 2P.DL.POSS | Second Person Dual Possessive |
| 2P.PL | Second Person Plural |
| 2P.PL.POSS | Second Person Plural Possessive |
| 2P.SG | Second Person Singular |
| 2P.SG.POSS | Second Person Singular Possessive |
| 3P.ABS | Third Person Absolutive |
| 3P.DL | Third Person Dual |
| 3P.DL.POSS | Third Person Dual Possessive |
| 3P.PL | Third Person Plural |
| 3P.PL.POSS | Third Person Plural Possessive |
| 3P.SG | Third Person Singular |
| 3P.SG.POSS | Third Person Singular Possessive |
| A | Agent role of monotransitive predicate |
| ADJ | Adjective |
| ADVL | Adverbializer |
| ALT | Alternative question |
| ART | Article |
| AUD | Audio information source |
| CAUS | Causative particle |
| CL | Classifier |
| CL* | Classifier with sandhi tone |
| CL' | Comasal auxiliary derived from 'come' |
| CLF |  |
| COME | COMP |


| CONJ | Conjunction |
| :--- | :--- |
| CONJ.and | Conjunction 'and' |
| COP | Copular |
| COV | Coverb |
| COV.see | Coverb derived from 'see' |
| D | Dependent |
| DEFFUT | Definite future |
| DEM | Demonstrative |
| DEM.DD | Discourse deictic demonstrative |
| DEM.DIST | Distal demonstrative |
| DEM.PROX | Proximal demonstrative |
| DEM.INDEF | Indefinite demonstrative |
| DEM.here | Demonstrative 'here' |
| DET | Determiner |
| DIM | Diminutive |
| DIR | Directional |
| DP | Dynamic perfect |
| EMP | Emphatic |
| END | Resultative derived from 'endure' |
| EXCL | Exclamative |
| EXH | Exhaustion particle |
| EXIT | Phasal auxiliary derived from 'exit' |
| EXP | Experiential |
| EXPR | Expressive |
| EXT | Extent |
| FOC | Focus |
| FOC.even | Focus particle 'even' |
| FEAR | Fear attitude particle |
| FUT | Futur tense |
| GET | Resultative derived from 'get' |
| H | Head |
| HAB | Habitual |
| HIT | Resultative derived from 'hit' |
| IDE | Ideophone |
| IND | Indefinite pronoun |
| IND.whatever | Indefinite pronoun 'whatever' |
| IMFUT | Immediate future |
| IMP | Inperative |
| INSERT | INSTR |


| INT.what | Interrogative 'what' |
| :--- | :--- |
| INTENS | Intensification |
| LINK | Linker |
| LOC | Locative |
| LOC.under | Locative 'under' |
| LOG.DL | Dual logophor |
| LOG.PL | Plural logophor |
| LOG.SG | Singular logophor |
| LOG.SG.POSS | Possessive singular logophor |
| LOOK | Phasal auxiliary derived from 'look' |
| META | Metapragmatic |
| MOD | Modal auxiliary |
| MOD.should | Modal auxiliary 'should' |
| N | Noun |
| NCL | Noun classifier |
| NEG | Negation |
| NEG.IMP | Negative imperative |
| NOM | Nominalization |
| NP | Noun phrase |
| NUM | Number |
| NUM.8 | Number eight |
| O | Patient role of monotransitive predicate |
| ObjectComp | Object of comparison |
| ONO | Onomatopoeic |
| OPT | Optative |
| ORD | Ordinal number |
| PASS | Passive |
| PAT | Patient |
| PER | Periodical |
| POEP | Possible epistemic modality |
| POSS | Possessive |
| POST | Postposition |
| PRO | Pronoun |
| PRO.DIR | Directional pronoun |
| PRO.LOC | Locative pronoun |
| PRO.PAT | Patient pronoun |
| PRO.REC | Recipient pronoun |
| PROG | Progressive |
| PUT | QUOT |


| QUANT.all | Quantifier 'all' |
| :--- | :--- |
| RC | Relative clause |
| RECL | Reciprocal |
| REFL | Reflexive |
| REGR | Regret particle |
| RES | Resultative |
| S | Argument role of intransitive predicate |
| SEND | Resultative derived from 'send' |
| SENT.TOP | Sentence topic |
| SOL | Solicitation, feedback |
| StandardComp | Standard of comparison |
| STP | Stative perfect |
| SUFF | Suffix |
| SUG | Suggestion |
| SUP | Superlative |
| SYL | Syllable |
| TAM | Tense, aspect, modality |
| TOP | Topic |
| TR | Transitive |
| TS | Time of situation |
| TT | Time of topic |
| TU | Time of utterance |
| V | Verb |
| VIS | Visual information source |
| VP | Verb phrase |
| VCL | Verb classifier |
| VCL.pickaxe | Verb classifier 'pickaxe' |
| WISH | Wish attitude particle |
|  |  |

## Chapter 1

## The people and their environment

The Nuosu form the principal ethnic group of the Yi（䨐）nationality in terms of language homogeneity and number of speakers．Anthropological accounts on the Nuosu exist in Chinese and English which I shall quote and summarize：on Nuosu history（section 1．1），Nuosu society（section 1．2），culture and religion（section 1．3）．In this chapter，I use materials published in Gerner（2013b）．

## 1．1 Nuosu history

Historical information on the Yi is available from indigenous written records （genealogies，myths and legends），from Chinese sources（ethnographic writers and annals at the county，prefecture and province level）and from Western accounts （travelers，missionaries and scholars）．Westerners started to travel to and interact with the Yi at the end of the 19th century．Early professional travelers include the British diplomat Baber（1882）and the French physician Legendre（1913）who pub－ lished travel accounts．French Catholic missionaries evangelized in several spots of Southwest China and recorded their cultural and linguistic observations（e．g．Swaine 1995，on Father Paul Vial）．

There is great unanimity among ethnographic writers that the origins of the Yi trace back more than 2000 years to an ancient group called Ni people（Bradley 2001；Harrell 2001）．Harrell（1995：76）quoting the Chinese ethno－historiographer Mă Chángshoù 马长寿（1985：100）believes that the earliest mention of the Yi is in his－ torical accounts of the Zhou dynasty（1048－250 B．C．）．Early Chinese records referred to Southwestern peoples as Wūmán 乌蛮（Black Barbarians）and Báimán 白蛮 （White Barbarians）．These names may point to the basic color labels that apply to virtually every minority in Southwest China，not only the Yi but also other groups such as the Miao，Tai，Lahu，Lisu．Chinese sources of the late first millennium A．D． mention the Yi by referring to particular dynasties in Yúnnán，such as the Diān 滇 kingdom close to Kūnmíng，which was ruled by tribes thought to be the ancestors of the Yi．The last important involvement of Yi－type groups with a Southwestern dynasty was the Nánzhaò 南诏 kingdom near Dàlĭ 大理（Yúnnán）．This kingdom was defeated in the 13th century by Kublai Khan，the Mongol ruler of China．After the 12th century，Chinese sources gradually employed the name Lúo 猡 containing the pejorative animal radical（Bradley 2001：201）．The name evolved subsequently into its reduplicated form Lolo．This appellation was the designation used by Chinese and Westerners for many centuries until 1949 when，with the arrival of the People＇s Republic of China，it was substituted by the name Yí 無．In the language classifica－ tion literature，Lolo survived within the group designation Loloish languages．The
name Yi arose during the Míng dynasty as an alternative designation for all non－ Chinese groups in the Southwest．The character originally employed to write it was Yí 夷．

No grouping uses Yi as an autonym．Perhaps $15 \%$ of the Yi population call them－ selves by Lolo or Lalo．The remaining tribes employ heterogenous names such as Nuosu，Nisu，Nasu，Ni，Azhe，Kopho，Mutsi，Phula，Hlehle and so forth．These groups perceive Lolo as pejorative and prefer the collective name Yi instead．The classifica－ tion of these groups within the Yi nationality did not take place through a process of group awareness，which is impossible for a cluster of rural communities spread out across hundreds of kilometers．The decision was made through an authoritative process initiated by the Chinese Nationalities Commission in the 1950s．${ }^{1}$ Harrell （1995：66）（based on Chinese sources）describes this process as follows：

> "So the problem presents itself clearly not as 'Who are the Yi?' which is easily answerable by 'Whoever the Nationalities Commission says they are,' but rather ‘How did the Yi get an identity?' The quick answer to the question when phrased this way is ‘Through the process of ethnic identification conducted in the 1950s, which employed Stalin's criteria of a nationality as having a common territory, language, economy, and psychological makeup expressed in a common culture.'"

The Nuosu in Liángshān prefecture constitute the largest homogenous Yi group with about 2．5 Million members．Different opinions on the historical origin of the Nuosu exist．Several Western writers suggest an old connection of the Nuosu to the Liángshān area．Dessaint（1980：12）and Winnington（1959：15），for example，believe that the Yi have inhabited the Liángshān area since the early years of our era or at least since the tenth century A．D．Harrell（2001： 85 and p．c．）also sees support in indigenous reports and Chinese historiographies for roots of the Nuosu in Liángshān since at least the Sòng dynasty（960－1279）．

A different origin of the Nuosu is suggested in the annals of Wēining County （Western Guìzhōu）．The Nuosu would originate from or be redefined by a migration wave in the 17th century from Guìzhōu province．This migration wave was triggered by warfare that the Míng dynasty general Wú Sānguì 吴三桂 brought upon local Yí lords（ $t u \check{s i ̄}$ ）in Western Guìzhōu in the 1660s．A large portion of the Yi in Guìzhōu fled to Sìchuān where they populated the Liángshān area（Wēiníng Mínwēi 1997：50－51）．${ }^{2}$

[^0]Harrell（p．c．in February 2011）does not accept a recent settlement of the Nuosu in Liángshān 350 years ago，as suggested in the Wēiníng annals，but would only consider the fringes of Liángshān（e．g．Pānzhīhuā area）as possible landing sites of Yi groups from Guìzhōu．He mentions two reasons for an ancient connection of the Nuosu with the Liángshān area．

Firstly，the Nuosu have ceremonial texts（bimo teyy）that differ from other Yi groupings suggesting that the Nuosu lived isolated from surrounding groups when the texts were recorded．Isolation from other Yi peoples is most credible to have occurred in Liángshān．The Nuosu religious manuscripts do not mention the social castes（section 1．2）whose existence Harrell traces back to the time after the 13th century．This absence in the texts suggests a presence of the Nuosu in Liángshān before the 13th century．

Secondly，comparison between different Yi scripts shows that at the earliest stage characters had a vertical orientation before they were rotated into a horizontal pattern．This＇rotation reform＇happened gradually for the different Yi groupings．In Nuosu，genealogies of individual clans contain up to 30 generations and reach back to the earliest recorded ancestors at least 900 years in the past．These genealogical recordings use characters with a horizontal orientation which suggests that for the Nuosu the＇rotation reform＇must have occurred more than 900 ago．On the other hand，it can be demonstrated that texts of other Yi groupings like the Nasu in Northern Yúnnán still used＇upright＇characters at that time．Consequently，the Nuosu must have been isolated from other Yi groups at least until the 12th century． The only area in which the Nuosu could have lived isolated is Liángshān．

To illustrate this point，the standardized Nuosu script of 1978 uses the original upright characters．Handwritten manuscripts from Yúnnán and Guìzhōu demonstrate that many cognate characters have horizontal orientation．

| Meaning | Nuosu script of 1978 | Yi in Yúnnán （＇Ashima’ Poem ${ }^{\text {3 }}$ ） | Yi in Guizhou |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ＇mountain＇ | 米 | ＊ | ＊${ }^{\text {H }}$＇Six Patriarch Epic ${ }^{4}$ |
| ＇snow＇ | or | 하 | ㅎ）＇The origin of the $\mathrm{Yi}^{\prime}{ }^{5}$ |
| ＇tree＇ | Y | ）－ | ）－＇Six Patriarch Epic＇ |

3 The characters for＇mountain＇，＇snow＇and＇tree＇are quoted from the＇Ashima＇Poem（Huáng Jiànmíng 黄建明，Pŭ Weìhuá 普卫华 and Liáng Hóng 梁红（1985）．Āshīmă 阿诗玛．Beijing：College of Nationalities）．The＇Ashima’ Poem was written in the Yi language of Shílín 石林 County in 1813．It is about a girl whose name＇Ahima＇literally means＇more precious than gold＇．
4 The characters for＇mountain＇and＇tree＇are quoted from＇Six Patriach Epic＇，a narrative about the six founding patriarchs of the Yi people（Zhāng Délín 张德林，Liŭ Guāngfú 柳光福 and Wéi Dìngfù韦定富（1983）．Migration of the Six Patriarchs 率族六祖迁徒典籍选编．Beijing：College of Nationali－ ties）．The manuscript is from Dàfāng 大方 County，Guìzhōu Province．
5 The character for＇tree＇is quoted from the Guìzhōu narrative＇The origin of the Yi＇（Bijié writing group（1991）．The origin of the Yi 彝族源流．Guìyáng：Guìzhōu Nationalities Press）．

The Nuosu caste society surfaced after the Mongols extended their subsidiary ruling system based on indigenous chieftains（tŭsī）all over China in the 13th century．The rise of the caste system is probably directly related to the installment of indigenous chieftains by the imperial administration．The nzymo ${ }^{6}$ constituted a relatively small group of indigenous landowners chosen by the central government from several spots in Liángshān．The nuoho caste ${ }^{7}$ constitutes a much larger class of ethnic aristocrats，but not acknowledged by the central government．Further，the quho caste ${ }^{8}$ consists of ordinary people．The Chinese historiographer Mă Chángshoù马长寿（1985：105－109）reports that conflicts between the nzymo and nuoho castes started during the Míng dynasty around the 15th century and escalated gradually into the ejection of the Lili Nzomo from Meigu county by sections of the nuohu caste． Until the dawn of the 20th century these conflicts persisted with the rise of new centrally appointed nzy mo and their displacement enforced by insubordinate nuoho and quhuo．

At the same time，internal fights among nuoho clans resulted in migration of defeated clans to the outskirts of the Liángshān area（Xīchāng 西昌，Yánbiān 盐边， Miănníng 冕宁 and Nínglàng 宁液 in Northern Yúnnán）．In these counties，the Nuosu coexist with other groups，mainly Han，whereas the Nuosu almost exclusively popu－ late the core counties of Liángshān（Meĭgū 美姑，Zhaōjué 昭觉，Xĭdé 喜德，Pŭgē普格）until the current time（Harrell 2001：87）．

The Red Army passed on its Long March through the Liángshān area in April 1935 and the relatively smooth traversal helped the Nuosu gain credit with the Central Government after the People’s Republic was founded in 1949．In the after－ math，Liángshān was established as Yi autonomous prefecture and Xichang became its capital．The caste society was abolished．In 1957－59，at the time of the Great Leap Forward，a rebellion of disillusioned Yi leaders broke out and was defeated．

During the Cultural Revolution 1966－1976，ethnic culture was suppressed，like all over China，but experienced revival in the 1980s．In 1978，the Government stand－ ardized and issued an official Nuosu syllabary of 1119 characters in which bilingual Nuosu－Han education was sponsored．In the wake of Maó Zédōng’s 毛泽东 great investigation into Chinese minority peoples in the 1950s，Nuosu was one of the few groups whose writing system was officially recognized．The modern syllabary con－ sists of characters with vertical orientation which links this script to ancient times when the characters stood upright（section 3．3）．

## 1．2 Nuosu society

Nuosu society is organized along two coordinates，the clan and caste orders，which are the warp and the woof of the social fabric（Harrell 2001：94）．

6 Nuosu term for tŭsī，which can be translated by＇governor＇．
7 The name nuoho means literally＇black group＇in Nuosu．
8 Quho means＇white group＇．

Nuosu society is a clan order of patrilineal lineage (Harrell 2001: 91). Every Nuosu belongs to one clan that is associated with one caste. Each caste consists of several clans. The number of clans that inhabit a given area is limited and known to the residents of that region. Solidarity among clan members is a social imperative. Nuosu clans are exogamous and marriage between clans serves the purpose of establishing kinship networks. Male membership to a clan is inherited from the father, whereas female membership is acquired through marriage.

The prototypical exogamous marriage arrangement is between cross-cousins. Marriage is arranged between a man and his female cross-cousin, the daughter of his father's sister or his mother's brother, or between a woman and her male crosscousin, the son of her mother's brother or her father's sister.

Nuosu prioritize clan membership over attachment to homeland compared to the Han emphasis on attachment to place. For the Nuosu, clan bondage is always stronger than affinity to a physical place. Evidence for this difference can be found in the rites for the soul of the deceased. The Nuosu priest (bimo) assists the soul of the deceased to migrate back to the ancestor's departure point so that people with a common genealogy are concentrated at the same place in the afterworld. In the Han metaphysics, the soul of the deceased can be found by a bureaucratic address in the afterworld matching the physical place in this world (Harrell 2001: 93). ${ }^{9}$

Nuosu clans are associated with one of three castes, nzymo, nuoho or quho. The nzymo caste consists of less than one percent of the Liángshān population. They are the descendants of former aristocrats recognized by the imperial government. The nuoho caste consists of the descendants of former aristocrats that were not recognized by the imperial government. The quho caste comprises independent farmers. The clans within a caste are exogamous but each caste is strictly endogamous. A nzymo marries a nzymo (with some recent relaxation), a nuoho marries a nuoho and a quho marries a quho. In the wake of the takeover in 1949, the economic aspects of the caste system were abolished but conscience of the castes survived until today.

In addition to these three strata, there is a fourth caste, the $g a x y$ houseslaves, which are not associated with any clan. They are the decendants of people that were captured as slaves from the Han area or of aliens that ventured into Nuosu territory without adequate local protection. This four-way caste system have given the Nuosu a prominent place among ethnic groups in China. Communist writers before and after the Cultural Revolution used Nuosu society as an illustration for the Marxist theory of social evolution in which societies pass from the primitive to the feudal stage. During my initial research semester at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing, I was shown an educational movie on the traditional slave system in Liángshān.

[^1]
### 1.3 Nuosu culture and religion

In addition to clans and casts, Nuosu society acknowledges several social offices not tied to the descent of the holder: surgga 'wealthy person', ndeggu 'mediator', ssakuo 'warrior', gemo 'craftman', bimo 'priest', sunyi ‘shaman'. I summarize decriptions provided by Harrell (2001: 96-98).

The surgga is a person whose material possessions in land, livestock and slaves provide him a recognized status as entrepreneur. The ngeddu is a person with a special track record in mediating social conflicts. In traditional society, the ssakuo is a warrior who has proven himself to be hero on the battlefield. The gemo is a craftsman, either a blacksmith, a gold or silversmith.

The bimo 'priest' and sunyi 'shaman' are ministers of the Nuosu folk religion which incorporates elements of spiritism and animism. The bimo performs all kind rituals, especially death rituals, through chanting of texts. Bimo are male, are almost always quho and are considered to be the guardians of the Nuosu traditional script. The office of bimo is acquired through a long process of apprenticeship. The most prominent ritual that bimo are called for is the ritual that guides the soul of a deceased person to the place of his ancestors.

The sunyi is a shaman whose experience is not acquired through ritual texts but through interaction with the spiritual world. The office of sunyi is not tied to caste, clan or gender. The sunyi enters trance and becomes possessed by spirits when called upon to perform rituals such as exorcising or curing diseases.

The Nuosu calendar uses elements of the Chinese zodiac (shēngxiào 生肖) which has wide circulation in East Asia. It uses the twelve zodiac animals to divide days, months and years but the order differs from the Han calendar. The Nuosu monthcycle starts in August with the month of the Rat and is ordered by Rat ( $\approx$ August), Ox ( $\approx$ September), Tiger ( $\approx$ October), Rabbit ( $\approx$ November), Dragon ( $\approx$ December), Snake ( $\approx$ January), Horse ( $\approx$ February), Sheep ( $\approx$ March), Monkey ( $\approx$ April), Chicken ( $\approx$ May), Dog ( $\approx$ June) and Pig ( $\approx$ July). The Nuosu zodiac terms are listed in section 4.4.1.

Across the Liángshān area, the Nuosu celebrate the Torch Festival in July. A mythical legend has the Yi ancestors fighting pests sent by the god Entiguzi to destroy their crops. By holding up torches they defeated the pests and the god who sent them. Every year in the month of the Dog, on the day chosen by the bimo torches are lit to commenmorate the victory.

## Chapter 2

## Language background

In this chapter，I situate Nuosu in the family of Tibeto－Burman languages（section 2．1），describe its dialectal spread（section 2．2），survey previous linguistic accounts （section 2．3），and present a preview of its typological features（section 2．4）．I incor－ porate again materials published in Gerner（2013b）．

## 2．1 Genetic affiliation of Nuosu

Nuosu belongs to the Tibeto－Burman language family．According to scholars who have classified Tibeto－Burman languages such as Benedict（1972），Bradley（1997）， Sūn 孙（1998），van Driem（2001）and Matisoff（2003），the Loloish languages（Sūn 孙 uses the term＇Yi group＇）constitute the principal component of the Burmese－Lolo language group．The Burmese－Lolo languages have seven or eight sister groups and Tibeto－Burman is the higher－level language family on top of these nodes．Bradley （1997），van Driem（2001）and Matisoff（2003）differ from Benedict（1972）in excluding Qiang，the extinct Tangut（西夏）language and Nung from Burmese－Lolo．Sūn 孙 （1998）includes the Bai，Bisu and Tujia languages within the Yi（Loloish）group； these languages are classified by Western scholars in other groups of Tibeto－Burman．

Another difference pertains to the internal subdivisions of the Loloish languages． Sūn 孙（1998）does not propose any internal structure．Benedict（1972）and van Driem （2001）envisage a bipartite structure for Loloish，Northern and Southern，whereas Bradley（1997）and Matisoff（2003）identify a tripartite subdivision，Northern，Central and Southern．The Yi languages are present in each of these subdivisions．The exact position of individual Loloish languages is not agreed upon，but Nuosu is classified within the Northern Loloish languages．See table 2．1．

One of several open questions is whether all groups whose autonym sounds like Nosu，Nasu，Nesu，Nisu，Nyisu or Ngopho should be included in the Northern Loloish branch．In virtually every county of Southwest China we can find small，medium and large groupings with this selfname．The internal classification of the Loloish lan－ guages must be re－established in the future by considering more data sets and also grammatical features．

## 2．2 Nuosu and its dialects

Liángshān Nuosu has five dialects：Shynra，Suondi，Adur，Yynuo，and Lindimu（Han－ Chinese：Tianba）．In this grammar，I shall describe the principal dialect，Shynra as spoken in Xide County，the place chosen by the Government for language standard－ ization．Little is known about the relationship of the five Nuosu dialects．Shynra，

Table 2．1：The Loloish languages

| Loloish | Loloish | Yi | Loloish | Loloish |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Benedict（1972） | Bradley（1997） | Sūn 孙（1998） | van Driem（2001） | Matisoff（2003） |
| Northern | Northern | Yi，Lisu， | Northern | Northern |
| Independent | Nosu，Nasu | Hani，Lahu | Nuosu（？），Nasu | Nosu，Nasu， |
| Lolo，Lisu， | Sami，Kepo | Naxi，Jinuo | Lisu，Axi | Nesu |
| Ahi，Nyi，Ulu | Phula，Laka（．．．） | Nusu，Bai | Lolo，Nyi（．．．） | Lipho，Lalo（．．．） |
|  | Central | Tujia，Bisu |  | Central |
|  | Sani（Nyi），Axi | Azhe（．．．） |  | Lisu，Lahu，Lolo |
|  | Azhe，Lipho，Lisu |  |  | Axi，Nyi，Putao |
|  | Lalo，Lahu（．．．） |  | Southern | Southern（．．） |
| Southern | Southern |  | Lahu，Akha | Hani（Akha） |
| Hani（Akha）， | Hani（Akha），Akeu |  | Phunoi，Mpi | Phunoi，Mpi |
| Phunoi，Lahu， | Phunoi，Mpi |  | mBisu，Sila（．．．） | Bisu（．．．） |
| Black Lolo（．．．） | Bisu，Sila（．．．） |  |  |  |

Table 2．2：Population statistics for the Nuosu dialects

| County／ municipality | Population | Shynra | Suondi | Adur | Yynuo | Lindimu <br> （Tianba） |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Xīchāng 西昌 | 818，033 | 71，400 | 10，200 | － | － | － |
| Mùlĭ木里藏族自治县 | 195，938 | 51，000 | － | － | － | － |
| Yányuán 盐源县 | 469，674 | 212，500 | － | － | － | － |
| Déchāng 德昌县 | 286，574 | 13，600 | 51，000 | － | － | － |
| Huilǐ 会理县 | 676，360 | － | 105，400 | － | － | － |
| Huìdōng 会东县 | 566，111 | － | 79，900 | － | － | － |
| Níngnán 宁南县 | 260，844 | － | 54，400 | － | － | － |
| Pŭgé 普格县 | 221，630 | － | 68，000 | 93，500 | － | － |
| Bùtuō 布拖县 | 220，991 | － | － | 205，700 | － | － |
| Jīnyáng 金阳县 | 214，332 | － | 83，300 | 71，400 | 11，900 | － |
| Zhāojué 昭觉县 | 349，996 | 117，300 | 96，900 | 30，600 | 86，700 | － |
| Xǐdé 喜德县 | 207，478 | 173，400 | － | － | － | － |
| Miănníng 冕宁县 | 474，624 | 142，800 | － | － | － | － |
| Yuèxī 越西县 | 363，674 | 239，700 | － | － | 5，100 | － |
| Gānluò 甘洛县 | 266，847 | 15，300 | － | － | 86，700 | 69，700 |
| Měigū 美姑县 | 261，215 | － | － | － | 251，600 | － |
| Léibō 雷波县 | 361，953 | － | － | 40，800 | 119，000 | － |
| Total for Liángshān： | 6，216，281 | 1，037，000 | 549，100 | 442，000 | 561，000 | 69，700 |

Suondi and Adur appear to be mutually intelligible，whereas Yynuo and Lindimu may constitute separate languages．

The information in table 2.2 on the geographical distribution of these dialects is based on fieldwork carried out during 2000－2001 and on extrapolated population figures from the 1980s（Survey of Liángshān Yi Autonomous Prefecture，Liángshān writing committee 1985）．


Map: The dialects of Liángshān Nuosu

Shynra has the highest number of speakers with more than one Million speakers. It is the Government-sponsored standard dialect of Nuosu. From the numbers in table 2.2, we can draw the geographical distribution of the five dialects on the map above. (The Nuosu living in Xiaŏ Liángshān, Yúnnán, and Pānzhīhuā, Sìchuān, are not represented on this map.)

### 2.3 Literature survey on Nuosu

Linguistic data collection undertaken by native Chinese started before Western travelers, missionaries and linguists reached the groups known today as the Yi.

According to Fù Màojì 傅惁甥（1997：37－38），the earliest written record from a Yi－type language was a poem from an ancient language called Bailang language which was transcribed in Chinese characters．The manuscript dates from 58－75 A．D．Fù believes that Bailang may be an ancestor of Loloish－Naxi languages．Later in the 7th century， the Mán Shū 蛮书（＇Book of the Southern Barbarians’）included eight words of the Wūmán language．Fù views these words as partially cognate to items in the modern vocabulary of Liángshān Nuosu．In the 18th century，several wordlists，one con－ taining 800 words，were recorded in imperial collections using the Lolo script（Fù 1997：39）．

In the first part of the 20th century，Chinese scholars became interested in Yi languages，but examined only the Yi script and did not study the structure of the language（except for Fư’s grammar）．The language was first studied by missionaries and travelers，mainly of French nationality．At the end of the 19th century，diverse writers published vocabularies from Yi languages in Yúnnán and Sìchuān such as Boell（1899），Bonifacy（1904），Clarke（1911）and Liétard（1911，1912）．Two studies pro－ vided sketches of grammatical structures in two Yi languages，Ngi of Lùnán county and Axi of Mílè county of Yúnnán province．Vial（1909）appended a grammatical sketch to his French－Ngi dictionary．Liétard $(1909,1911)$ published a more detailed grammar on Axi．These were the sole Yi languages described by Western writers until 1990 when the linguist Bradley（1990）wrote a paper on the grammatical tone in Liángshān Nuosu．Björverud published a grammar of Lalo（Dàlĭ 大理）as her Ph． D．dissertation at Lund University in 1998.

Fù Màoji＇s Descriptive grammar of Lolo represents the sole available Nuosu grammar in English．This work was submitted in August 1950 as doctoral thesis at Cambridge University and reprinted in an issue of Linguistics of the Tibeto－Burman Area in 1997．Fù collected the Nuosu data of his thesis during 1938－1949．Fù provided large amounts of comparative data from other Nuosu dialects and Yi languages spoken in Yúnnán province．He also traced back the origins of the Yi writing systems． The grammar proper is organized in five chapters：（II）Phonetics，（IV）Parts of Speech， （V）Word formation，（VI）Syntax：General，（VII）Syntax：Special．

Chén Shilín 陈士林 et al．（1985）＇s Sketch of the Yi language introduces basic sentence patterns in Nuosu and other Yi＇dialects＇．Chén 陈 \＆Wū 巫（1998）＇s Yi grammar is a more detailed description of Nuosu in Chinese．The co－author Wū Dá巫达 is native Nuosu speaker from Ganluo county．Like many grammars published in China during the 1970－90s，grammatical properties are mainly discussed in a lexicon－oriented chapter titled＇parts of speech＇．Chén \＆Wū append a collection of twelve lengthy folk stories to their book．

Furthermore，at least 25－30 linguistic journal articles on Nuosu have been pub－ lished since 1979，mainly in Mínzú Yŭwén（＇Ethnic language \＆literature＇），a journal published by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing six times a year． Most of these papers represent lexical and morphological studies．

Table 2．3：Chinese research papers on Nuosu

| Category | Topic and papers |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1）phonology： | －complex consonants（Zhū Wénxù 朱文旭 1989） |
| 2）morphology： | - affixation（Zhū Jiànxīn 朱建新 1984，1986） <br> - proverb quadruplets（Lǐ Xiùqīng 李秀清 1985；Wū Dá 巫达 1995） |
| 3）lexicon： | - proper names（Zhū Wénxù 朱文旭 1987） <br> - kinship terms（Sū Liánkē 苏连科 1988；Bāqiě Rìhuǒ 巴且日火 2000） <br> - adjectives（Xiaŏmén Diănfú 小门典夫 2002） <br> - determiners（Chén Shilín 陈士林 1989） <br> - sound－symbolic words（Mă Xìnguó 马兴国 1991） <br> - Chinese loanwords（Zhū Wénxù 朱文旭 1997） |
| 4）syntax： | －syntactic roles（Hú Sùhúa 胡素华 2005；Wū Dá 巫达 2009） |
| 5）semantics： | －TAM（Chén Kāng陈康 1996；Liú 刘 \＆Gù 顾 2008；Dài 戴 \＆Hú 胡 1998） |
| 6）pragmatics： | －topic construction（Hú Sùhúa 胡素华 2004） |
| 7）diachrony： | －grammaticalization（Shāmă Dăgè 沙马打各 2005） |

The native Nuosu linguist Hú Sùhúa 胡素华（2002）published a book in Chinese on the structural particles in $Y i$ in which she catalogues and explains the function of grammatical particles in Nuosu．Her work is more detailed on grammatical properties than Chén \＆Wū’s grammar．There are also scores of papers on Yi languages pub－ lished in regional journals of Southwest China．

## 2．4 Typological profile of Nuosu

I shall classify Nuosu for an array of morphosyntactic types and catalogue rare properties of Nuosu some of which I previously published in journals．

## 2．4．1 Phonology

Firstly，Nuosu has in its sound inventory a rare bilabial voiced trill，represented as ［ B ］．It occurs always before the vowel［ u ］in either noncreaky［ B ］or creaky syllables ［ ${ }_{\mathrm{B}}$ ］，and sometimes with alveolar consonant onset as in［tв］or［tв］．The trill is more pronounced in creaky syllables and with alveolar consonant onset．（More informa－ tion is provided in section 3．1．1．A．）

| $[\mathrm{B}]:$ | yi bbux | ＇roof＇ | $[\mathrm{B}]:$ | bbut shy | ＇meadow＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $[\mathrm{B}]:$ | shax bbur | ＇bread＇ | $[\mathrm{B}]:$ | bbur | ＇write＇ |
| $\left[\mathrm{t}_{\mathrm{B}}\right]:$ | ddut | ＇poison＇ | $\left[\mathrm{t}_{\mathrm{B}}\right]:$ | she ddu | ＇steel＇ |
| $\left[\mathrm{t}_{\mathrm{B}}\right]:$ | bbux ddur | ＇East＇ | $\left[\mathrm{t}_{\mathrm{B}}\right]:$ | ta ddur | ＇paralyzed＇ |

Secondly，the syllable structure in Nuosu is simple．Syllables exhibit an open structure：C（C）V．Thirdly，Nuosu has a four－way contrast＂prenasalized－voiced－ voiceless－aspirated＂for all major points of articulation（section 3．1．1．A）．

| ［mb］：nbo＇roll＇ | ［b］：bbo＇go＇ | t＇ | ［ph］：po＇escape＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ＇ | ［d］：ddat＇bear＇ | ［t］：da＇put＇ | ［ $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ］：ta＇earthen jar＇ |
| ge＇buckwheat | ［g］：gge＇hear＇ |  | ［ $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ ．ke＇dog＇ |

Finally，Nuosu exhibits three tones plus a fourth sandhi tone which contrasts weakly with the other three tones．Compared with other isolating languages in East－ Asia，Nuosu has a relatively small number of tones．

## 2．4．2 Morphology

Nuosu displays an isolating morphology．In the basic vocabulary，most nouns are disyllabic，whereas verbs tend to be monosyllabic．Nuosu is a predominantly suffix－ ing language．

Nuosu exhibits a strong synesthetic sound symbolism（for this semiotic notion， see Waugh 1992，1994）．For a closed set of gradual antonym pairs，prefixing $i$－to an adjectival root produces the diminutive member，whereas prefixing $a$－to the same root yields the augmentative member of that pair．

Table 2．4：Synesthetic sound symbolism

| ［i］diminutive |  |  | ［a］augmentative |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 旬愛 | ix sho | ＇short＇ | ， 40 | a sho | ＇long＇ |
| 旬路 | ix du | ＇thin＇ | N1俭 | a du | ＇thick＇ |
| 戒込 | ix ly | ＇light＇ | N10 | ax ly | ＇heavy＇ |
| 旬年 | ix jjy | ＇narrow＇ | ，17\％ | a jjy | ＇wide＇ |
| 句丰 | ix nyi | ＇few＇ | 弐丰 | ax nyi | ＇much，many＇ |
| 旬 4 | ix fu | ＇fine＇ | ， 17 | a fu | ＇coarse＇ |
| 旬断 | ix nu | ＇soft＇ | ज17c | ax guo | ＇hard＇ |
| Mik | iet zyr | ＇small＇ | ，${ }^{1}$ | ax yy | ＇big’ |

Nuosu exhibits an African－style logophor（with two suppletive forms）．The two logophors track the source whose speech is reported（section 5．4．1．B）．

lu dda mu ga $_{2}$ jox hxip go $\mathbf{i}_{1 / * 2 / * 3}$ jjiex mguo ox ddix． male name male name to say SENT．TOP LOG．SG clear DP QUOT ＇Ludda ${ }_{1}$ told Muga ${ }_{2}$ that he ${ }_{1 / * 2 / * 3}$ understood it clearly．＇

$\mathrm{mu} \mathrm{jy}_{1} \quad$ lu dda ${ }_{2}$ ddix da gge go $\mathbf{o p}_{\star_{1 / 2} / \star_{3}}$ jjiex mguo male name male name at COV hear SENT．TOP LOG．PL clear ox ddix．
DP QUOT
${ }^{\prime}$ Mudje $_{1}$ heard from Ludda ${ }_{2}$ that the $\mathrm{y}_{\star_{1 / 2 / * 3}}$ understood it clearly．＇

Definite articles are derived from classifiers with the nominalizer－su（section 5．4．5）．
（2）
a． $181 \theta$
co ma
man CL
＇a man＇
b． 1010 开
co max su
man ART＝CL－DET
＇the man＇
c．$\sqrt{ } \in \mathbb{N}$
bbu shy ji
snake CL ＇a snake＇＇the snake＇

The Nuosu predicate is marked for TAM by verb suffixes．Bare verbs are allowed and frequent．TAM suffixes are described in section 7．At least two types of TAM suffixes are cross－linguistically exceptional．The exhaustion particle targets three kinds of structure：the clause－initial NP on which it acts as universal quantifier （＇all＇），the VP which it modifies as completive marker（＇completely＇）and the AP on which it contributes the meaning of superlative（＇most＇）．This marker with form sat is described in Gerner（2007a）respectively in section 7．5．1．


| co | hxit | yuop su | jiy gex | tep yy | hxep | sat． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| people | NUM．8 | ART＝CL－DET | together | book | see，read | EXH |

＇The eight people are all reading books．＇
b．$\theta$ 爭ま米 $f \theta$ 电兆而。

| cop wox | syp hmi | ci | ma | zze | sat | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．PL | nut | NUM．10 | CL | eat | EXH | DP |

（i）＇They all ate ten nuts．＇（ii）＇They completely ate up ten nuts．＇
（iii）＇They all ate up ten nuts．＇


| i dix | a zzyx | ggux | dax | nrat | sat． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| garment | DEM．DIST | CL | COV | beautiful | EXH |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | ＇That garment is the most beautiful．＇ |  |  |  |  |

Nuosu uses two modal particles that express the wishes and fears of the speaker through a socialized agent．The wish particle is reminiscent of the optative mood conjugation in Ancient Greek，while the fear particle is cross－linguistically unmatched． Both particles are studied in Gerner（2010）or in section 15．3．

cy jjo ssy sho ddep lox．
3P．SG life span long WISH
＇It is desirable（＝I hope）that he has a long life＇．

zzyt mu cyx ma ssut lup ba la mat．
world DEM．PROX CL throw into disorder FEAR
＇It is to be feared（＝I fear）that the world is being thrown into disorder＇．

All major Nuosu word categories allow reduplication with a variety of meanings （section 4．3）：nouns（diminutive），numeral classifiers（ordinal numbers），personal pronouns（emphatic meaning），verbs and adjectives（alternative question），adverbs of manner（intensification）．
（5）Diminutive nouns

zza go uo nyie uo nyie ji gox qo．
dish LOC hair $\sim$ DIM CL LOC have
＇In the dish，there are some hairs．＇
b．可可坐丰き究。

| vox | vox | bbo | nyi | jjip | ndit． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| snow | $\sim$ DIM | CL | also | fall | PER |

＇There is also a small snow shower．＇
（6）Ordinal Numbers

bbu dde nyip ma max su dax hna sa．
story NUM． 2 CL $\sim$ ORD－DET rather hear SUFF
＇The second story is quite amusing．＇

si hni hxit yuop yuop su
woman NUM． 8 CL～ORD－DET
＇the eighth woman＇
（7）Emphatic pronouns

ngat ngat yiet hxop yiet．
1P．SG～EMP song sing
＇I am singing myself（not with the help of others）．＇
（8）Alternative question for verbs and adjectives

b．内干旬乡
cop wox ne gux gu？
3P．PL 2P．SG call～ALT
hxop ci ix fu fu？
＇Did they call you？＇
cord fine $\sim$ ALT
＇Is the cord fine（enough）？＇
（9）Intensification of manner adverbs

ma hxa ahnat ahnat mu jjip ox．
rain intensive $\sim$ INTENS ADVL fall DP
＇It is raining intensively．＇

ne hxit jjo hxit jjo mu ngat ddip la．
2P．SG quick～INTENS ADVL 1P．SG at come
＇Please come here very quickly！＇

## 2．4．3 Syntax

Nuosu exhibits an aspect－conditioned word order split for simple clauses（Gerner 2004a；section 10．2）：SOV order in＇on－going＇（ $\approx$ imperfective）clauses and OSV in ＇resultative＇（ $\sim$ perfective）clauses．
（10）SOV order in＇Ongoing clauses＇

at nyop mu rryr la hxex njuo．
female name male name love PROG
＇Anyo is waiting for Mudge．＇
OSV order in＇Resultative clauses＇
b．NOHCN事。
at nyop mu ga wep mo ox．
female name male name GET see DP
＇Anyo was seen by Muga．＇

Table 2．5：Dependency orders

| Level | Relation | First slot | Second slot |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Phrase | Possessive | Possessor noun（D） | Possessee noun（H） |
|  | Adjectival | Noun（H） | Adjective（D） |
|  | Nominalization | Relative clause（D） | Noun（N） |
|  |  | Noun（H） | Relative clause（D） |
|  | Adpositional | Noun phrase（D） | Postposition（H） |
| Clause | Predicational | Argument／adjunct（D） | Predicate（H） |
|  | Adverbial | Adverb（D） | Verb（H） |
|  | Negation | Negative particle（H） | Verb（D） |
|  | TAM | Verb（D） | Auxiliary（H） |
| Sentence | Subordination | Embedded clause（D） | Complementizer（H） |

Several of Greenberg（1966）＇s universals connect the relative order of O and V to other dependency orders．This fact led Lehmann（1973）to view the relative order of direct object and verb（VO or OV）as a deep property that impacts the relative order of other dependency relations．In Nuosu，which is verb－final，the dependent element generally precedes the head except for adjectival modification，negation and relative clauses（table 2．5）．Nuosu thus complies with Lehmann＇s predictions to a certain degree．

Below，I illustrate the relative order of head and dependent element for various syntactic relations．In（11），possessors always precede possessees．
a．可版与国必

| ax nyie sse <br> cat | i qi <br> head |
| :--- | :--- |
|  |  |

＇the cat＇s head＇
b．び司ゆ
ngat ix yi
1P．SG．POSS younger brother
Possessor（D）Possessee（H） ＇my brother＇

For adjectival modification，the dependent element follows the head，an order that contrasts with the other dependency orders（section 5．2．3）．
（12）
a．禾」可训 $\theta$

| bbox bu | ax hmu |
| :--- | :--- |
| mountain | ha |
|  | CL |


| Noun（H） | Adjective（D） |
| :--- | :--- |

＇A high mountain＇
b． $181+1+\mathrm{H}, \mathrm{HI}$

| co sur ggat | bbu <br> person | rich | CL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Noun（H） |  | Adjective（D） |

Relative clauses represent an exception．They can be attached to the left and to the right of the head noun．Left－branching relative clauses restrict the reference of the head，while right－branching clauses are nonrestrictive（section 5．2．4）．
（13）Relative clause built on common nouns
a．时委报景井少
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { co } & \text { nax } & \text { jjo } & \text { mgo } & \text { jjo } & \text { su } & \text {（Right－branching）} \\ \text { person } & \text { illness } & \text { have } & \text { illness } & \text { have } & \text { NOM } & \end{array}$
Restrictive：＇the people who have an ailment．＇
Relative clause built on proper nouns
b．平手并折片 $\hat{H}$

| nax | joo | mgo | jjo | su | mux ga | （Left－branching） |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| illness | have | illness | have | NOM | male name |  |

Nonrestrictive（appositive）：‘ailing Muga．＇
Postpositions always occur after the NPs they mark for case．Most postpositions are derived from verbs．
（14）a．时困必和生雨总。

| cop | jiet | vot | she | ddie | ngax | zha． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．PL | home | pig | meat |  | COV．prepare | 1P．SG |
|  | feed |  |  |  |  |  |

＇Their family gave me pig meat．＇

ngop wox rruo nuo da cyp nyip gat qip．
1P．PL Mianning COV．put NUM． 1 day delay
Noun（D）Coverb＝postposition（H）
＇We were delayed in Xichang for one day．＇
In the same vein，predicates always follow noun phrases which they modify as arguments or as adjuncts．
（15）
a．岁兰可茾头」乘。
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { lu po } & \text { ax rryr } & \text { go } & \text { bu dex．} \\ \text { male name } & \text { female name } & \text { PAT } & \\ & \text { praise } \\ & \text { Argument（D）} & & \text { Verb（H）}\end{array}$
＇Lupo praises Adge．＇

ddox mu ke jo ix cy hxep da zhe．
knife mouth handle downwards COV．see cut
Adjunct（D）Verb（H）
＇You should cut with the knife－edge facing down＇

Manner adverbs（D），especially when built on the phrasal suffix－mu，occur left to the predicate，the head．


| cy | we zze ji zze | mu | bot． <br> 3P．SG | spending strength |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | ADVL |  | run |  |
|  | Manner Adverb（D） |  |  | Verb（H） |

＇He ran with particular effort．＇


| fu zzi | ax yy | mu | hxi |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| voice | big | ADVL | speak |
| Mann | Adve | （D） | Verb（H） |

‘Speak louder！’

The negative particle is infixed in the verb before the last syllable．In（17a），the verb is monosyllabic，in（17b）it is disyllabic．

$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { cy } & \text { pu jiit } & \text { qop bop } & \text { ap－} & \text { jio．} \\ \text { 3P．SG } & \text { place name } & \text { friend } & \text { NEG } & \text { have } \\ & & & \text { Negative particle（H）} & \text { Verb（D）}\end{array}$
＇He has no friends in Puge County．＇
b．狫玉小扱。

| cy <br> 3P．SG | guo luo <br> angry | －ap－ | ＜NEG $>$ | mut． <br> angry |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  | Verb（D） |  | Negative particle（H） |

＇He does not feel upset．＇

Predicates are in the scope of auxiliary verbs which is reflected by the order of verbs－auxiliary．
（18）a．釉于 $H \oplus \bar{\oplus}$ ！

| nex | li | nji mu | sso |  | ssox！ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P．SG | TOP | quickly | study |  | MOD．should |
|  |  |  |  | Verb（D） |  |
| Auxiliary（H） |  |  |  |  |  |

＇You should study quickly！＇


| cyx | li | ap mu | it nyi gu |  | but | but？ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | TOP | now | sleep |  | MOD．dare | $\sim$ ALT |
|  |  |  |  | Verb（D） |  | Auxiliary（H） |

＇Is he daring to sleep now？＇

Embedded constructions are headed by a complementizer．In Nuosu，the com－ plementizer（H）is always placed after the dependent clause（D）．


| ip nyip | it |  | yur nyip | nge | su | lu ti | go |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| today | LOG．SG．POSS | birthday | COP | COMP | male name | PRO．PAT |  |
| ap－ | shut | ox | ddix． |  |  |  |  |
| NEG－ | remember | DP | QUOT |  |  |  |  |

＇（Muga complained that）Luti did not remember that today is his birthday．＇
b．外き斗（重火く？

| vo | jjip | go | hxuo | ddap | ap－hxuo？ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| snow | become | COMP | slippery | or | NEG－slippery |

＇Was it slippery when it snowed？＇

A syntactic property of a different kind is the order of TAM particles after the predicate．Bare verbs are common，but when they are suffixed by TAM particles，the order is fixed and iconic according to the following arrangement．
（20）Layer 1 （situation－internal）＜Layer 2 （situation－external）＜Layer 3
（propositional attitudes）＜Layer 4 （illocutionary force）

In the following examples，the order of particles must reflect increasing layer level．A permutation of particles that does not respect the monotone increase of layer level is disallowed．


| tit go da，hmu ax nyi gge cy shep | wex | nzop | jox jiip． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| here LOC COV mushroom much CL $3 P . S G$ seek | GET | EXP | POEP |
|  | Layer 1 | Layer 2 Layer 3 |  |

＇It may have been here that he once found many mushrooms．＇


| cop wox | tit | la | sat | ox | ddix. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P.PL | here | come | EXH | DP | QUOT |
| Layer 1 | Layer 2 | Layer 3 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |

'(Someone) said that they all came up.'


| ne | bbut cy | ndo | sat | go shex | hxax. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P.SG | medicine | drink | EXH | HAB | IMP |
|  |  |  | Layer 1 | Layer 2 | Layer 4 |

'Drink always all the medicine, I suggest.'

### 2.4.4 Pragmatics

Nuosu exhibits two topic particles, ne communicates maintaining topic and li contrastive topic. Both particles are attached to the sentence-initial NP.
(22) a. *
vut nyop ne mu jie ap- syp bur zzur.
female name TOP male name NEG- know seem
'As for Vunyo, she appears not to know Mujie.'

a yit li rrop jji -mu ddop hxip.
female name TOP natural -ADVL word say
'(Differently from what you might think) Ayi spoke naturally.'

## Chapter 3

## Phonology

I present the Nuosu sounds in section 3.1, its phonological processes in section 3.2 and its logographic script in section 3.3.

### 3.1 Sounds and tones

### 3.1.1 Consonants

Nuosu exhibits 43 consonant phonemes, presented below in the Romanized script (Nuosu Pinyin) and in the International Phonetic Alphabet.

| Phonation Types |  | Point of articulation |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Labial | Alveolar | Retroflex | Alvelopalatal | Velar | Glottal |
| Stops | prenasalized <br> voiced <br> unvoiced <br> aspirated | $\mathrm{nb}[\mathrm{mb} / \mathrm{mb}$ ] <br> bb [b/B] <br> b [p] <br> $\mathrm{p}\left[\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}\right]$ | nd [nd/ndB] <br> dd [d/dB] <br> $\mathrm{d}[\mathrm{t}]$ <br> $\mathrm{t}\left[\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}}\right]$ |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{mg}[\mathrm{gg}] \\ & \mathrm{gg}[\mathrm{~g}] \\ & \mathrm{g}[\mathrm{k}] \\ & \mathrm{k}\left[\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}\right] \end{aligned}$ |  |
| Fricatives | voiced unvoiced | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{f}[\mathrm{f}] \\ & \mathrm{v}[\mathrm{v}] \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{ss}[\mathrm{z}] \\ & \mathrm{s}[\mathrm{~s}] \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{r}[\mathrm{z},] \\ & \mathrm{sh}[\mathrm{~s}] \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{y}[\mathrm{z}] \\ & \mathrm{x}[6] \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{w}[\mathrm{y}] \\ & \mathrm{h}[\mathrm{x}] \end{aligned}$ | hx [h] |
| Affricates | prenasalized <br> voiced <br> unvoiced <br> aspirated |  | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{nz}[\mathrm{ndz}] \\ & \mathrm{zz}[\mathrm{dz}] \\ & \mathrm{z}[\mathrm{ts}] \\ & \mathrm{c}\left[\mathrm{ts}{ }^{\mathrm{h}}\right] \end{aligned}$ | nr [ndz_] <br> rr [dz] <br> zh [tş] <br> ch $\left[t s^{\mathrm{h}}\right]$ | nj [ndz] <br> jj [dz] <br> j [tcc] <br> $\mathrm{q}\left[\mathrm{t} \mathrm{c}^{\mathrm{h}}\right]$ |  |  |
| Nasals | voiced unvoiced | m [m] <br> hm [m] | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{n}[\mathrm{n}] \\ & \mathrm{hn}[\mathrm{n}] \end{aligned}$ |  | ny [ n ] | ng [ n ] |  |
| Laterals | voiced unvoiced |  | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{l}[1] \\ & \mathrm{hl}[1] \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |

Remarkable features of the consonant system are the four fully contrastive phonation types: prenasalized, voiced, unvoiced and aspirated. A rare sound is the labial trill $[\mathrm{B}]$, which is an allophone of [b]. The words listed in this section are quoted from Mă \& Walters \& Walters (2008) and from my own database.

## A. Stops

The labial stop [b] is in complementary distribution with the bilabial trill [B] before the back vowel [ $u$ ]. The trill is more pronounced if the vowel is creaky: $[\underset{\sim}{u}]$ (written as $u r$ ). Both allophones are represented in Nuosu Pinyin by bb. Furthermore, the prenasalized consonants [mb] / [mB] form another pair of allophones before the vowel [u], which are written as $n b$ in Nuosu Pinyin.

| nb [mb/mb] | bb [b/B] | b [p] | $\mathrm{p}[\mathrm{p}]$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nbi 'distribute' (tr.) | bbi 'spread' (intr.) | bi 'read' | pi 'cut open' |
| nbie 'shoot' | bbie 'penis' (coll.) | bie 'kick' | pie 'malaria' |
| nba 'bundle' | bba 'carry on back' | ba 'exchange' | pat 'hatch out' |
| nbo 'roll' | bbo 'go, leave' | bo 'rent' | po 'escape' |
| nbu 'curse' | bbu ''exist' | bu 'porcupine' | pu 'price' |
| nbur 'full' | bbur 'write' | bur 'return; again' | pur 'turn over' |
| nbyr 'peel, cut off' | bbyp 'give' | byp 'compensate' | pyp 'inhale' |
| byr 'child diarrhea' | pyr 'fold (clothes)' |  |  |

The alveolar stops [nd] and [d] are pronounced as [ndв] and [dв] before the back vowel [ $u$ ]. These allophones are trills onset by an alveolar stop. The trills are more marked if the back vowel is creaky: $[\underset{\sim}{u}]$.

| nd [nd/ndB] | dd [d/dB] | $\mathrm{d}[\mathrm{t}]$ | $\mathrm{t}[\mathrm{t}$ ' $]$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ndi 'contain' | ddi 'bad, rotten' | di 'single, alone' | ti 'mean, signify' |
| ndie 'skillful' | ddie 'make' | die 'layer' | tie 'nominalizer' |
| ndat 'enough' | ddat 'accept' | da 'put' | ta 'earthern jar' |
|  | dduo 'climb' | duo 'hold in arms' | tuo 'sharp, keen' |
| ndo 'drink' | ddop 'word' | dop 'point at' | to 'cut swiftly' |
|  | dde dde mu 'often' | dep 'rise up' | te 'time' |
| ndu 'dig' | ddu 'home' | dut 'step on' | tut 'family' |
| ndur 'shake grain' | ddur 'exit' | dur 'thousand' | tur 'chop up' |

The four phonation types are also fully contrastive for the velar point of articulation.

| mg [ng] | gg [g] | $\mathrm{g}[\mathrm{k}]$ | $\mathrm{k}[\mathrm{k}]$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | ggit 'die out' | gip 'care for' | ki 'have contact' |
| mgie 'tell lies' | ggie 'break' (intr.) | gie 'guess' | kie 'chop' |
| mga 'pass' | gga 'road' | ga 'drop, shake' | ka 'want' |
| mguo 'embroider' | gguo 'rake' | guo 'fierce' | kuo 'brave' |
| mgo 'cold' | ggo 'used up' | go (pronoun) | ko 'spread' |
| mge 'buckwheat' | gge 'hear' | ge 'foolish' | ke 'dog' |
| mgu 'love, like' | ggu 'nine' | gu 'call' | ku 'steal' |
| mgur 'pick up' | ggur 'frightened' | gur 'frighten' | kur 'year, age' |

## B. Fricatives

There are eleven fricative phonemes. They are contrastive for most vowels, as illustrated for different neighbouring consonants.

| $\mathrm{f}[\mathrm{f}]$ | v [v] | w [y] |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| jix fi 'separate' | vit 'time' |  |
| fat 'set free' | va 'chicken' | wat 'saddle' |
| pu fox 'mislead' | vo 'snow' | wo 'bear' |
| fut 'six' | vu 'go crazy' |  |
| fur 'pour' | vur 'enter' |  |
| fy 'ugly' | vy 'buy' |  |


| ss [z] | s [s] | r [z.] | sh [s] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ssi 'use' | si 'choose' |  |  |
| ssa kuo 'hero' | sat 'mark, sign' suo 'three' | ra 'make noise' ruop 'pull trigger' | sha 'splash' <br> shuo 'scrape' |
| sso 'study' | sot 'breath' | ro 'frugal' | sho 'harvest' |
| sse 'son' |  | rep 'gather' | she 'meat' |
| ssut 'mix' | su (nominalizer) | rup 'unlucky' | shut 'remember' |
|  | sur 'repay' | rur 'weed' | shur 'lake' |
| ssy 'lifetime’ | sy 'blood' | ry 'early' | shy 'gold' |
| ssyr 'press down' | syr 'sweep' | ryr ggur ggur 'firm' | shyr 'yell' |
| y [z] | X [¢] | w [y] | h [x] |
| yit 'needle' | xi 'arrive' |  | hit 'harm' |
| yie (classifier) | xie 'pick, pluck' |  |  |
|  |  | wa 'behind' | hat 'cover' |
| yuo (classifier) | xuo ‘slip, slide’ | wuo 'pull up' | huo 'pour' |
| yo 'sheep’ | xop 'leak out' | wo 'group' | ho 'pen, fold' |
|  |  | we 'strength' | he 'good' |
| yy 'water’ | xy 'foot' |  |  |


| $\mathrm{x}[\mathrm{c}]$ | $\mathrm{h}[\mathrm{x}]$ | hx [h] |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| xit 'bite' <br> xie 'catch fish' | hit 'harm' | hxit 'eight' <br> hxie mat 'heart' |
| xuo 'slip, slide' ha 'advise' | huop lyt 'apricot' <br> hxa 'hundred' <br> hot 'bow' <br> he vat 'very good' | hxuo 'mix, add' <br> hxo 'grow, raise' <br> hxe 'fish' |

## C. Affricates

Affricates are consonants that begin as stops and are released as fricatives. Nuosu exhibits for the alveolar, retroflex and alvelopalatal points of articulation four fully contrastive affricates (altogether twelve affricates).

| nz [ndz] | zz [dz] | z [ts] | c [ts ${ }^{\text {b }}$ ] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nzi 'hammer nails' nzie 'chop' nza 'sing (of bird)' nzuo 'leak' nzop (exp asp) nze 'pretty' nzup 'armful of' nzur 'hate' nzy 'rule’ nzyr 'hot' | zzi 'bridge’ <br> zzie 'drench' zza 'crops, food' <br> zze 'eat' zzu 'jab, poke' zzur 'reside, live’ zzy 'ride (horse)' zzyr muo 'peace' | zi ‘leave over’ (tr.) <br> zie 'compensate' <br> za pux 'earth wall' zuo 'hire' <br> zo 'entertain, bear' <br> zep 'tighten' <br> zut 'stir up’ <br> zur bop ‘origin’ <br> zy 'plant' <br> zyr 'accumulate’ | ci 'fall’ <br> cie 'deer’ <br> ca 'hot' cuop luop 'a little’ <br> co 'person’ <br> ce 'salt' <br> cu 'fat' <br> cur 'build' <br> cy ‘wash’ <br> cyr 'pinch' |
| nr [ndz.] | rr [dz.] | zh [tş] | ch [ts ${ }^{\text {h }}$ ] |
| nra 'measure, test' <br> nro 'stuff in' <br> nrep 'withdraw' <br> nrut 'rust' <br> nrur 'lock' <br> nry 'wine' <br> nryr 'pierce' | rrax ggie ‘aligned' rruo 'thief' rro 'accomodate' rre 'row' rrup 'chopsticks’ rrur 'lie about' rry 'tooth' rryr 'worn out' | zha 'feed' <br> zhuo 'bridle' <br> zhot 'despise' <br> zhep 'bowl' <br> zhu 'praise' <br> zhur 'whet' <br> zhy 'command' <br> zhyr 'pull up' | cha 'discuss' chuo 'rip off' chop 'breakfast' che 'rice' chu 'thorn' mu chur 'autumn' chy 'bequeath' chyr 'tear' |
| nj [ ndz ] | jj [dz] | j [tç] | $\mathrm{q}\left[\mathrm{tc}^{\mathrm{h}}\right]$ |
| nji 'fast' <br> njie 'vomit' <br> njuo 'wander' <br> njo 'make level' <br> nju 'crawl' <br> njurx zuo 'expell' <br> njy 'skin' <br> njyr 'weed' | jij ‘fly’ <br> jiie ‘burn’ (intr.) <br> jjuo 'collapse' <br> jjo 'have, exist' <br> jjut 'waist' <br> jjur (classifier) <br> jjy 'melt' | ji (classifier) <br> jie 'burn’ (tr.) <br> juo 'press flat' <br> jo ‘turn’ <br> ju 'manage' <br> jur 'marrow' <br> jy 'bladder, gall' <br> jyr 'slip off' | qi 'want' <br> qie 'jump’ <br> quo 'navel' <br> qo 'contain' <br> qu 'silver' <br> qur 'shave’ <br> qy ‘sweet’ <br> qyr dit 'cremate' |

## D. Nasals and laterals

There are six nasal consonants, four voiced and two unvoiced, and two lateral consonants, one voiced and one unvoiced.

| m [m] | n [n] | ny [ n ] | ng [ n ] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| mit 'hungry' | nit 'your' | nyi 'sit' |  |
| mie 'nimble' | hxa nie 'tongue' | nyiet 'late' | ngie 'turn over' |
| mat (illocut. part.) | na 'ill; ache' |  | nga 'I' |
| muo (classifier) | nuo 'hide' | nyuo bby 'tears' | nguo 'chest' |
| mo 'see' | not 'flesh' | nyot 'paste, stick' | ngo 'cry' |
|  | ne 'you' |  | nge 'be' |
| mup 'hemp' | nut 'sunken' | nyu 'crawl' |  |
| murx nyie 'pamper' | nur ma 'soybean' |  |  |


| m [m] | hm [m] | n [n] | hn [n] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| mix 'even' | hmi 'name' | ni 'sprout' | ax hni 'red' |
| miep 'front' | hmie 'poke, flick' | niep sha 'Liángshān' | xyx hnie 'shoe' |
| ma (classifier) | hmat 'teach' | nax li 'chronic ill' | hna 'ask' |
| iet muop 'dream’ |  | ax nuo 'hide' |  |
| mot 'soldier' | hmo 'blow' | nop 'you' (pl.) | hnop 'drive' |
|  |  | ne (topic particle) | hne (classifier) |
| mu 'do, make' | hmu 'mushroom' | ix nu 'soft' | a hnut 'deep' |
| mur hni 'siblings' | hmur 'explode' | nur ji 'soybean pod' |  |
| myt 'strop’ | hmyp 'end' |  |  |


| n [n] | l [l] | hn [n] | hl [1] |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ni 'scent' | li 'go upwards' | hnip 'smell' | hlit 'dry in sun' |
| niep ga 'pumpkin' | lie 'scald' | hniet rra 'vegetable' | hlie 'spleen' |
| na shy 'typhus' | la 'come' | hna 'listen' | hla 'soul' |
| nuo su 'Nuosu' | luo 'instance' |  | hluo 'rinse' |
| no 'equal' | lo 'boat' | hnox 'until' | hlo 'entertain' |
| ne 'stop' | le 'ox' | nep ndit 'lack' | hlep 'month' |
| nu 'leprosy' | lu 'dragon' | hnut kip 'deep soil' | hlu 'stir fry' |
| nur ni 'sprout' | lur kur 'city' |  | hlur 'fester' |
|  | ly 'four' |  | hly 'winnow' |
|  | lyr 'bind, wind' |  | hlyr 'stir up' |

### 3.1.2 Vowels

Nuosu exhibits eight vocalic phonemes: two front vowels, two central vowels and four back vowels. They are represented in Nuosu Pinyin and IPA below.

|  | Front |  | Central |  | Back |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Unrounded | Rounded | Unrounded | Rounded | Unrounded | Rounded |
| Close | i [i] |  | $y[$ [ $]$ |  | e [w] | u [u] |
| Close-mid |  |  |  |  |  | o [o] |
| Open-mid | ie [ $\varepsilon$ ] |  |  |  |  | uo [o] |
| Open |  |  |  | a [a] |  |  |

These vowels have the status of phonemes as the following lists of contrastive words demonstrate.

| i [i] | ie [ $\varepsilon$ ] | y [i] | e [u] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| i (logophor) | ie 'duck' |  | e 'yes' (agreement) |
| bi 'scatter' | bie 'have diarrhea' | by 'cry (eagle)' |  |
| ddip 'be called’ | ddie 'serve as' |  | dde (nominalizer) |
| gi 'official' | gie 'strange' |  | get 'groom hair' |
| vi mop 'ax' | vie hlur 'worried' | vy 'millet' |  |
| sit 'kill' | sie 'touch, pat' | syp 'know' |  |
|  |  | shyp 'seven' | shep 'search' |
| zzip 'compete' | zzie 'engrave’ | zzyt mu 'world' | zze 'wear out' |
|  |  | zhyp 'urge' | zhet 'correct' |
| jji 'bee’ | jijie 'leave’ | jjyt 'short person' |  |
| mix (Future Tense) | mie lie 'steep' | myt 'purse lips' |  |
| nit 'shift blame' | niep nie 'breast milk' |  | nep 'germs' |
| lip 'elephant' | lie 'pop up' | ly 'request' | lep 'swing' |
| u [u] | o [o] | uo [0] | a [a] |
|  | op 'goose’ | uox ba 'frog' | ap (negator) |
| bu (classifier) | bop 'show' | buo 'colour-match' | bat zhu 'small cup' |
| ddu (nominalizer) | ddox mu 'knife' | dduo zip 'ladder' | ddap 'or' |
| gut 'support' | go (classifier) | guo 'too much' | gat 'dress' |
| vu 'intestines' | vot 'pig' |  | vat 'dollar' |
| sup 'resemble' | sot 'calculate' | suo 'quietly' | sat 'all; finish' |
| shu 'make' zzup zzup 'icicle' | shot 'shameful' | shuo 'brush by' | shax tur 'bullet' zzat 'stare at' |
| zhut nyot 'curl up' | zhop 'coax' | zhuop zy 'table' | zhat 'embroider' |
| jjut 'medium' | jjop 'cut' | jjuo 'chop’ |  |
| mup 'hemp' | mo 'plow' | muo (classifier) | ma 'bamboo' |
| nu 'leprosy' | not 'flesh' | nuo 'peep' | na ddi 'epidemic' |
| lut 'enough' | lot 'hand' | luop (expressive) | lat 'tea' |

### 3.1.3 Tones

There are three tonemes, $\left.{ }^{[55}\right],\left[{ }^{33}\right],\left[{ }^{21}\right]$, and a fourth tone sandhi [44] whose phonological status is weak (section 3.2.2). The sandhi tone is mainly attested in disyllabic words. Very few monosyllabic words carry this tone.

| -t [55] | -(no letter) [33] | -p [ ${ }^{21}$ ] | -x [44] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| xit 'bite' | xi 'thread' | xip 'such a' | xix 'what' |
| lot 'hand' | lo 'ravine' | lop 'surround' | lox 'after' |
| jjut 'waist' | jju 'oats' | jjup 'mark, track' | jjux (nominalizer) |
| bbot 'group' | bbo (classifier) | bbop 'possess' | bbox zze 'man' |
| vut 'press, mash' | vu 'corn stalk' | vup 'intestinal gas' | vux nuo 'intestine' |
| dit 'cloth layer' | di 'lacquer' | dip 'grind' | dix lo 'concave' |
| hlit 'flash' | hli 'heap things up' | hlip 'unbent' | hlix ndo 'lose' |
| not 'rich soil' | no 'equal' | nop 'faint' | nox nzy 'family status' |
| shyt 'put to bed' | shy 'twist' | shyp 'lead' | shyx ba 'golden' |
| chet 'distribute' | che 'be kidnapped' | chep 'spread legs' | chex zi 'rice silk' |
| nyit 'make room' | nyi 'exist' | nyip 'dax' | nyix dde 'seat' |
| hxot 'apply' | hxo 'steam' | hxop 'dye' | hxox ssu 'sparse' |
| yot 'incorrect' | yo 'sheep' | yop 'rock, shake’ | yox mu 'fly, insect' |

### 3.2 Phonological processes

### 3.2.1 Creaky voice

Syllables with medium vowel $y[i]$ and back vowel $u[u]$ can be laryngealized resulting in two set of vowels: one with, the other without creaky voice. Creaky voice is written in Nuosu Pinyin by $-r$ after the vowel.

| u [u] | ur [u] | y [i] | yr [i] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nbu 'bore a hole' | nbur 'full' | nbyt 'overflowing' | nbyr 'peel' |
| bu (classifier) | bur 'return' | by 'cry (goat)' | byr 'diarrhea' |
| pu 'gush' | pur 'blow (wind)' | py 'mouth painful' | pyr 'plot' |
| hmu 'boil in water' | hmur 'inflate' | hmy 'tail' | hmyr 'close, shut' |
| vu 'flock' | vur 'turn over' | vy 'millet' | vyr 'scratch' |
| tu 'tung tree' | tur 'chisel' |  |  |
| hlu 'leather' | hlur 'burnt up' | hlyp 'shed, molt' | hlyr 'escape' |
| lup 'take by force' | lur 'stuffy, stifling' | ly 'moan, groan' | lyr 'wrap up' |
| zu 'set upright' | zur bop 'origin' | zy 'accept, receive’ | zyr 'accumulate’ |
| sut 'other people' | sur ggat 'rich' | sy 'still, yet' | syr 'wipe clean' |
| zhup 'soak' | zhur 'cheat' | zhyp 'throw' | zhyr 'pull up' |
| shut 'China fir' | shur 'lake, sea' | shy 'liter' | shyr 'yell' |
| rrut 'bin' | rrur 'lie down' | rry 'corner' | rryr 'worn out' |
| ju 'bell' | jur 'blame' | jy 'provoke’ | jyr 'slip away’ |
|  |  | xy 'foot' | xyr xyr 'continuous' |
| yu 'pick up' | yur 'wind into roll' | yy 'laugh' | yyr 'image’ |

## 3．2．2 Tone sandhi

The sandhi tone $-x\left[{ }^{44}\right]$ has a weak phonological status．It is the result of a dissimila－ tory process in which a monosyllabic word with neutral tone［33］is adjacent to another syllable with［33］－tone．One of the tones is raised to differentiate it from the other．Most sandhi tones occur within compound words．A few cases are syntacti－ cally motivated and happen when two independent words stand next to each other． Eight such contexts are identified below．
（1）a．Sandhi Rule 1 （meaningful tone）：
Singular personal pronouns take the sandhi tone［44］if they are patient noun phrases of a monotransitive verb in the［33］－tone（see section 10．2．3．A）．
b．N
nga gu
1P．SG call
＇I called（someone）．＇
d．$y^{x}$
ne mgu
2P．SG love
＇You love（someone）．＇
f．$X_{1} H^{\prime \prime}$
cy jie
3P．SG fear
＇He fears（someone）．＇
$\rightarrow$ c．NT
ngax gu
1P．SG call
＇（Someone）called me．＇
$\rightarrow$ e．気苃
nex mgu
2P．SG love
＇（Someone）loves you．＇
（2）a．Sandhi Rule 2 （not carrying meaning）：
A monosyllabic noun with［33］－tone takes the sandhi tone［44］if it stands next to a classifier with［33］－tone．

| b． | ${ }^{\star}\|\theta\| \theta$ |  |
| ---: | :--- | ---: |
|  |  |  |
|  | clor | ma |
|  | person | CL |
|  | ＇a person＇ |  |

$\rightarrow$ c．$\hat{\theta} \theta$
cox ma
person CL ＇a person＇

$\rightarrow$ e．身园 zzix gur bridge CL ＇a bridge＇
（3）a．Sandhi Rule 3 （not carrying meaning）：
A monosyllabic（pro）noun with［33］－tone takes the sandhi tone［44］before one of the topic markers li or ne．
b．＊xiy
＊cy ne
3P．SG TOP
＇as for him＇
d．＊\＆1リ
＊Co li
person TOP
＇as for the man＇
$\rightarrow$ c．形
cyx ne
3P．SG TOP
＇as for him＇
$\rightarrow$ e．飤
cox li
person TOP
＇as for the man＇
（4）a．Sandhi Rule 4 （not carrying meaning）：
A monosyllabic（pro）noun with［33］－tone takes the sandhi tone［44］before the noun conjunction si nip＇and＇．
b．夫ボ見\＆゙
＊ne si nip nga 2P．SG and 1P．SG
＇You and I＇
$\rightarrow$
c．寸界\＆か
nex si nip nga 2P．SG and 1P．SG
＇You and I＇
（5）a．Sandhi Rule 5 （not carrying meaning）：
A monosyllabic reduplicated verb／adjective with［33］－tone takes the sandhi tone［ ${ }^{44}$ ］before its reduplicant．
b．＊＊N？
＊ku ku？
steal～ALT
＇steal？＇
d．＊fㅏ ？
${ }^{*}$ ssi $\quad \mathrm{ssi}$ ？
bright～ALT ＇bright？＇
$\rightarrow$ c．可井？
kux ku？
steal～ALT
＇steal？＇
$\rightarrow$ e．尻民？
ssix ssi？
bright～ALT
＇bright？＇
（6）a．Sandhi Rule 6 （not carrying meaning）：
A monosyllabic verb with［33］－tone takes the sandhi tone［44］before the postverbal adverb sy＇still＇．
b．＊iJY
＊la sy
come still
＇still come＇
$\rightarrow \quad$ c．โिY
lax sy
come still
＇still come＇
d．＊Q ${ }^{\prime}$
＊zze sy
eat still
＇still eat＇
$\rightarrow$ e．$\overline{\text { Q }} \mathrm{y}$
Q
zzex sy
eat still
＇still eat＇
（7）a．Sandhi Rule 7 （not carrying meaning）：
A monosyllabic verb／adjective with［33］－tone takes the sandhi tone［ ${ }^{44}$ ］ before the nominalizers $s u$ or dde．
b．＊目片
＊rro straight NOM ＇the one that is straight＇

＊vit gga cy dde clothes wash NOM ＇the place to wash clothes＇
$\rightarrow$ c．白片
rrox su
straight NOM
＇the one that is straight＇
$\rightarrow$ e．世忍义
vit gga cyx dde
clothes wash NOM
＇the place to wash clothes＇

The last sandhi rule is the result of a dissimilatory process in which the low ［21］－tone，not the neutral［33］－tone，switches to the sandhi［44］－tone．
（8）a．Sandhi Rule 8 （meaningful tone）：
Monosyllabic verbs with underlying［ ${ }^{21}$ ］－tone and word order OAV take the sandhi $[44]$－tone and impose the word order AOV（see section 10．2．3．B）．

mu jy luti shep mu jy luti shex male name male name look for male name male name look for ＇Mudje looks for Luti．＇ ＇Luti looks for Mudje．＇
d．$\quad \underset{G}{\underline{w}} X_{1}$ 오
$\rightarrow$ e．$\underset{\cup}{\underline{W}} \bar{X} \mathbb{U}$
lu po cy ndup
male name 3P．SG beat
＇He beats Lupo．＇
lu po cy ndux male name 3P．SG beat ＇Lupo beats him．＇

## 3．2．3 Syllable structure

The Nuosu syllable structure is regular and simple．Every syllable is open，has a vowel and a tone．
(9) Nuosu syllable structure:
a. (S)(F)VT $\quad \mathrm{S}=$ Stop; $\mathrm{F}=$ Fricative; $\mathrm{V}=$ Vowel; $\mathrm{T}=$ Tone
b. NVT $\quad \mathrm{N}=$ Nasal; $\mathrm{V}=$ Vowel; $\mathrm{T}=$ Tone
c. LVT $L=$ Lateral; $\mathrm{V}=$ Vowel; $\mathrm{T}=$ Tone

When nasals and laterals co-occur with the central vowel $y[i]$, they are in free variation with syllabic consonants: ${ }^{1}$

| Syllable (without tone) | Basic pronounciation | Free variation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| my | mi | m |
| hmy | mi | ற |
| ny | (not attested) | (not attested) |
| hny | (not attested) | (not attested) |
| ly | 1 i | 1 |
| hly | 1 l |  |
| ngy | (not attested) | (not attested) |

The attested Nuosu syllables are shown in section 3.3.2.

### 3.3 The logographic script

### 3.3.1 Introduction

The different Yi groupings share a long history of religious and secretive texts using a syllabic script. The priests, the experts of the Yi writing, employed largely similar character sets throughout the Yi residence area. The oldest traces of the Yi script go back to stone and pottery inscriptions dating from the 8th century B.C. (Wu Gu 2001: 24). ${ }^{2}$

Each grapheme of the Yi system corresponds to one syllable. After 1000 A.D., the priests conducted a writing reform by rotating the vertical orientation of characters into a horizontal one. For the most populous branch of Yi, the Nuosu of Liángshān prefecture (Sìchuān), the Chinese Government standardized in 1978 a set of 1119 characters. For this set, the orientation of graphemes was reverted to a vertical pattern similar to the one used in ancient times. The systems of other Yi groups were not standardized and differ from the Nuosu system through the 'reclining' appearance of graphemes. The Nuosu system is used as a teaching medium in

[^2]primary schools and some secondary schools of Liángshān prefecture. Official documents are drafted in both languages, Chinese and Nuosu. The International Standardisation Organisation (ISO) reserved space for the Nuosu character set in Unicode in 1995. With the Unicode support of Windows 2000, typewriting is possible by using special input software.

### 3.3.2 Nuosu syllabary

Unlike the Chinese logographic script, Nuosu syllables stand in one-to-one correspondence with graphemes of the script. Nuosu has 44 initial segments ( 43 consonants plus empty initial segment), ten final segments (eight plain vowels and two creaky vowels) and four suprasegments (three tonemes and one tone sandhi). The theoretical number of logical syllables the script should provide graphemes for is 1,760 . Since certain combinations of initials and finals are not attested in any dialect of Nuosu, the designers of the Government-sponsored Nuosu script only standardized 1,119 graphemes in 1978. In the standard Shynra dialect an even smaller number of graphemes is in actual use, about 1,005.

| Logical Syllables: | $1,760(=44$ Initials $\times 10$ Finals $\times 4$ Suprasegments $)$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Graphemes in Nuosu Script: | 1,119 |
| Graphemes in actual use: | 1,005 |

Graphemes that represent syllables in the sandhi tone have a bonnet compared to the grapheme symbolizing the syllable with [33]-tone.

| N | mi | § | mix |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\ldots$ | jjuo | ${ }^{\text {g }}$ | jjuox |
| 巛 | lu | W | lux |

In two cases, the sandhi-tone grapheme contrasts with the grapheme for the syllable with [ ${ }^{[21]}$-tone.

| 3 | vep | $\overline{3}$ | vex |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\vdots$ | nzop | $\bar{\delta}$ | nzox |

In the attached syllabary, I have marked those graphemes of the script that are not in actual use with gray shade. Three folk stories with interlinear Nuosu script, romanization, IPA transcription, English glosses and translation are appended to this grammar.

## Chapter 4

## Word structure

Nuosu has isolating morphology. Grammatical categories can be expressed on the noun or verb but do not need to. This chapter is divided into four sections, a preview on the basic word categories in Nuosu (section 4.1), a section on affixation (section 4.2), on reduplication (section 4.3), and on word compounding (section 4.4).

### 4.1 Word categories

### 4.1.1 Open categories

Nuosu nouns, verbs and adjectives are open word classes. They are defined syntactically not morphologically. Verbs and adjectives always occur in the rightmost slot of a minimal simple clause. Nouns always occur in nonfinal position of a minimal simple clause. Nuosu adjectives differ from verbs (section 6.1.3). They are always intransitive and cannot take the progressive marker -njuo. Those verbs that do not co-occur with -njuo are gradable and monotransitive.

Widespread homophony and polysemy result in overlap of the category of nouns, verbs and adjectives.

Table 4.1: Open word categories

| Nouns | Verbs | Adjectives |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lyp 'seed' | lyp 'sow' |  |
| jjie 'fork' | jiie 'separate' |  |
| njot 'ice' | njot 'freeze' |  |
| gguo 'harrow' | gguo 'dras a harrow' |  |
|  | dop 'adapt' |  |
|  | jjip 'become' | dop 'well-suited' <br> ijip 'full' |

### 4.1.2 Closed and semi-closed categories

In Nuosu, there are five closed and three semi-closed word categories. Closed categories have a small and definite number, semi-closed categories a medial and vague number of members.

Table 4.2: Closed and semi-closed word categories

| Category | Subcategory | Section |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Determiners (semi-closed) | Classifier (semi-closed) | section 5.2.1 |
|  | Quantifier (closed) | section 5.3.2 |
|  | Demonstrative (closed) | section 5.4.3 |
|  | Article (semi-closed) | section 5.4.5 |
| Pronouns (closed) | Personal (closed) | section 5.4.1 |
|  | Anaphor (closed) | section 5.4.2 |
|  | Interrogative/indefinite (closed) | section 5.4.6 |
| Coverbs (closed) |  | section 6.2 |
| Auxiliaries (closed) | Phasal (closed) | section 7.2 |
|  | Resultative (closed) | section 7.3 |
|  | Modal (closed) | section 8.2 |
| Particles (closed) | Nominalizer (closed) | section 5.2.4 |
|  | Progressive aspect (closed) | section 7.4 |
|  | Perfective aspect (closed) | section 7.5 |
|  | Quantitative aspect (closed) | section 7.6 |
|  | Perfect (closed) | section 7.7 |
|  | Tense (closed) | section 7.8 |
|  | Quotative (closed) | section 8.3.1 |
|  | Negation (closed) | section 9.2 |
|  | Topic (closed) | section 14.1 |
|  | Focus (closed) | section 14.2 |
|  | Illocutionary (closed) | section 15 |
| Adverbs (semi-closed) | Movable (semi-closed) | section 9.1.2 |
|  | Immovable (semi-closed) | section 9.1.3 |
|  | Postverbal (semi-closed) | section 9.1.4 |
| Conjunctions (semi-closed) | Noun (closed) | section 5.3.3 |
|  | Forward-linking (semi-closed) | section 13.1.2 |
|  | Backward-linking (semi-closed) | section 13.1.3 |
| Complementizers (closed) |  | section 13.2 |

The exact definition of these categories relies on morphosyntactic and semantic features and is decribed in the relevant sections.

### 4.2 Affixation

Bybee, Pagliuca \& Perkins (1990) found that suffixation is more common than prefixation at the ratio of 3:1. For verb-final languages the ratio is $5: 1$, for verb-initial languages it is still 2:1. The preference for suffixing was explained in terms of grammaticalization and cognitive processing of the human mind (Whaley 1997). This preference for suffixation also exists in Nuosu.

## 4．2．1 Inventory of prefixes

I present nine derivative prefixes in this section．However，only the size and fruit pre－ fixes are true prefixes（section A－B）．The other seven morphemes are prefixes in the making（section C－I）．They are bound morphemes that were used as independent nouns at a previous point in time．

## A．Size prefixes

Nuosu exhibits two sound－symbolic prefixes．The diminutive prefixes $i$－and the augmentative prefix $a$－can be prefixed to a set of adjectival roots generating pairs of antonyms．

Table 4．3：Synesthetic sound symbolism

| ［i］diminutive |  |  | ［a］augmentative |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 因愛 | ix sho | ＇short＇ | ， 10 | a sho | ＇long＇ |
| 本低 | ix du | ＇thin＇ | N1TE | a du | ＇thick＇ |
| 田 | ix ly | ＇light＇ | N1T | ax ly | ＇heavy’ |
| 戒午 | ix jiy | ＇narrow＇ | ，ञ17 | a jjy | ＇wide＇ |
| 回丰 | ix nyi | ＇few＇ | ，弐 | ax nyi | ＇much，many＇ |
| 戒 | ix fu | ＇fine＇ | N14 | a fu | ＇coarse＇ |
| 旬数 | ix nu | ＇soft＇ | ，ज1＊ | ax guo | ＇hard＇ |
| 0 \％ | iet zyr | ＇small＇ | NT 1 | ax yy | ＇big＇ |

## B．Fruit prefix syp－

| キ乎 | syp | vo | ＇peach’ | \＃サ | syp | ndat | ＇pear＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | fruit | － |  |  | fruit | － |  |
| ま⿻丷木大 | syp | hmi | ＇walnut＇ | キわ | syp | yi | ＇apricot＇ |
|  | fruit | － |  |  | fruit | － |  |
| $\ddagger$ | syp | ga | ＇plum＇ | きキ | syp | hni | ＇apple＇ |
|  | fruit | － |  |  | fruit | － |  |
| キ¢ | syp | nju | ＇citrus orange＇ |  |  |  |  |
|  | fruit | － |  |  |  |  |  |  |

C．gga－＇road＇

| ¢ฺ¢ | gga | shyx | ＇lead way＇ | 耍 ${ }^{\text {H }}$ | ggax | shu | ＇walk＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | road | lead |  |  | road | make |  |
| 串果可 | gga | re dde | ＇crossing＇ | 耍丰 | ggax | nyi | ＇neighbour＇ |
|  | raod | crossing |  |  | road | sit |  |
| § ${ }_{\text {¢ }}$ | gga | jo | ＇stroll around＇ | ¢ 9 9 | gga | yot | ＇go astray＇ |
|  | road | hand to |  |  | road | wrong |  |

## D．co－＇person＇（also as free morpheme）

| $101 \times$ | co | cux | ＇nationality＇ | H1N | co |  | ＇genealogy＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | person | － |  |  | person | family line |  |
| 1014 | co | shet | ＇eunuch＇ | 1018 | co | mo | ＇body，corpse＇ |
|  | person | － |  |  | person | － |  |
| ，时头 | cox | go | ＇prisoner＇ |  |  |  |  |
|  | person | LOC |  |  |  |  |  |

## E．ddop－＇word＇

$\left.\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { 点ほ } & \text { ddop } & \text { bur } & \text {＇answer＇} & \text { 点事 } & \text { ddop } & \text { shep } & \text {＇accuse＇} \\ & \text { word } & \text { return } & & & & \text { word } & \text { search }\end{array}\right)$

F．hxie－＇heart＇

| N（0） | hxie | ca | ＇eager＇ | 小边 | hxie | jjuo | ＇heart moving＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | heart | hot |  |  | heart | move |  |
| 小セせ | hxie | kat | ＇happy＇ | 小尤 | hxie | vu | ＇like，love＇ |
|  | heart | happy |  |  | heart | enter |  |
| 小（e）H | hxie | sha | ＇sorrowful＇ | 小戈 | hxie | guo | ＇hardened heart＇ |
|  | heart | sorrow |  |  | heart | hard |  |
| 尤年 | hxie | na | ＇jealous＇ | 小⿺𠃊⿻丷木犬入 | hxie | pur | ＇evil－minded＇ |
|  | heart | ill |  |  | heart | turn |  |
| NCCH | hxie | nbut | ＇bother＇ | 小禹䒠 | hxie | ndot | ＇disgust＇ |
|  | heart | bother |  |  | heart | disgust |  |

G．$k e$－＇mouth＇

| ${ }^{1} 1$ | ke mouth | bbo <br> go | ＇agree＇ | ${ }^{11}$ | ke mouth | bot argue | ＇argue，discuss＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ${ }^{11} 1$ | ke mouth | ci <br> fall | ＇tired＇ | 1－N | ke <br> mouth | cyt | ＇open mouth＇ |
| ${ }_{1}^{119}$ | ke mouth | hxa tongue | ＇eloquence＇ | ${ }_{1}^{1} 1$ | ke mouth | $\begin{aligned} & \text { yy } \\ & \text { big } \end{aligned}$ | ＇boast＇ |
| ${ }^{1} 1 \times$ | ke mouth | zy <br> attest | ＇cross－examine’ | ${ }_{1}^{11}$ | ke <br> mouth | jjip become | ＇promise＇ |

## H. mu- 'place, sky, steam'



| 10.7 |  | kup | ＇pillow＇ | 10＊ |  | go | ＇headband＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | head | － |  |  | head | LOC |  |
| 10才 | o－ | ji | ＇pointed＇ | 10＊ | o－ | zzy | ＇pointless＇ |
|  | head | CL |  |  | head | － |  |
| 10」1 | o－ | bu | ＇bald＇ | 10.51 | 0 | bbu | ＇intelligent＇ |
|  | head | － |  |  | head | － |  |
| 102 | o－ | mop | ‘dizzy；giddy’ | 108 | 0 | vu | ＇dizzy＇ |
|  | head | － |  |  | head | dry |  |
| 回小 | o－ | hmy | ＇start \＆end＇ | 100 | o－ | qu | ＇old person |
|  | head | tail |  |  | head | white |  |
| 1080 | o－ | ngep | ＇nod head，agree＇ | $10 \%$ |  | qyp | ＇lift head＇ |
|  | head | lean |  |  | head | lift |  |

## 4．2．2 Inventory of suffixes

In this section，I present three nominalizer suffixes（section A），four gender／age suffixes（section B），and two adjectivizer suffixes（section C）．

## A．Nominalizer suffixes

There are three nominalizers that derive lexical nouns from verbs：The action nomi－ nalizer－lu，which is unproductive，the quality／extent nominalizer－jjux and the man－ ner nominalizer－tie，which are both productive．

| Verb | －lu（action） | －jiux（quality or extent） | －tie（manner） |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| mgu＇love＇ | mgu－lu＇love＇（n．） | mgu－jiux＇extent of love＇ | mgu－tie＇way of loving＇ |
| ＇eat＇ | zze－lu＇diet＇ | zze－jiux＇quality of diet＇ | zze－tie＇way of eating＇ |
| p＇know＇ | syp－lu＇knowledge＇ | syp－jiux＇extent of knowledge＇ | syp－tie＇way of knowing＇ |
| govern | ju－lu＇act of governin | ju－jiux＇extent of governmen | ju－tie＇way of governing＇ |
| at＇tea | hmat－lu＇teaching＇ | hmat－jjux＇quality of teaching＇ | hmat－tie＇way of teaching＇ |
| hxip＇speak＇ | hxip－lu＇speech＇ | hxip－jiux＇quality of speech＇ | hxip－tie＇way of speaking＇ |
| yp＇wea | chyp－lu＇act of weaving | chyp－jiux＇weaving quality | yp－tie＇way of weavin |
| ＇do＇ | mu－lu＇acts＇ | mu－jiux＇extent of deeds＇ | y of |
| at＇wear＇ | ggat－lu＇wardrobe＇ | ggat－jiux＇quality of clothing＇ | ggat－tie＇way of wearing＇ |
| hxep＇see | hxep－lu＇view＇ | hxep－jiux＇vision＇ | xep－tie＇way of see |
| o＇drink＇ | ndo－lu＇act of drinking＇ | ndo－jjux＇extent of drinking＇ | ndo－tie＇way of drinking＇ |
| writ | bbur－lu＇writing＇ | bbur－jjux＇quality of writing | bbur－tie＇way of writing＇ |
| nra＇measur | t of meas | nra－jiux＇measure＇（abstrac） | －tie＇way of measuring＇ |
| get＇comb＇ | get－lu＇act of combing＇ | get－jiux＇quality of combing＇ | get－tie＇way of combing＇ |
| yy ‘laugh＇ | yy－lu＇act of laughing＇ | yy－jiux＇extent of laughing＇ | tie＇way of laughing＇ |
| t＇sew＇ | ggut－lu＇act of sewing＇ | ggut－jiux＇quality of sewing＇ | ＇way of sewing＇ |
| d＇ | bi－lu＇act of reading＇ | bi－jijux＇extent of reading＇ | read－tie＇way of reading＇ |

The verbs listed above can take all three nominalizers．The verbs listed below only take－jjux and－tie，not－lu．The suffix classes of－jjux and－tie are largely identical．

| Verb | －jiux（quality or extent） | －tie（manner） |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{zh}$ | zhe－jjux＇extent of cutting＇ | zhe－tie＇ |
| at＇remember＇ | shut－jjux＇extent of memories＇ | shut－tie＇manner of memorizing＇ |
| hxe＇lend＇ | hxe－jjux＇extent of lending＇ | hxe－tie＇manner of lending＇ |
| gu＇call，crow＇ | gu－jjux＇extent of crowing＇ | gu－tie＇manner of crowing＇ |
| kie＇fell＇ | kie－jiux＇extent of felling＇ | kie－tie＇manner of felling＇ |
| ngo＇weep＇ | ngo－jiux＇extent of weeping＇ | ngo－tie＇manner of weeping＇ |
| vy＇buy＇ | vy－jiux＇extent of buying＇ | vy－tie＇manner of buying＇ |
| la＇come＇ | la－jiux＇quality of coming＇ | la－tie＇manner of coming＇ |
| syr＇sweep | syr－jiux＇extent of sweeping＇ | syr－tie＇manner of sweeping＇ |
| sot＇count＇ | sot－jjux＇extent of counting＇ | sot－tie＇manner of counting＇ |
| ku＇steal＇ | ku－jjux＇extent of stealing＇ | ku－tie＇manner of stealing＇ |
| nzyt＇bite＇ | nzyt－jjux＇extent of biting＇ | nzyt－tie＇manner of biting＇ |
| zyt＇dig＇ | zyt－jjux＇extent of digging＇ | zyt－tie＇manner of digging＇ |
| lo＇scald，burn＇ | lo－jiux＇extent of scalding＇ | lo－tie＇manner of scalding＇ |
| hlu＇cook＇ | hlu－jiux＇quality of cooking | hlu－tie＇way of cooking＇ |
| hxip ryt＇a | hxip ryt－jiux＇admission’ | hxip ryt－tie＇way of admission＇ |
| la hxex＇w | la hxex－jiux＇extent of waiting＇ | la hxex－tie＇manner of waiting＇ |
| hxo lo＇depend＇ | hxo lo－jjux＇dependance＇ | hxo lo－tie＇kind of dependance＇ |
| nyie＇shear | nyie－jiux＇extent of shearing＇ | nyie－tie＇way of shearing＇ |
| $\underline{\text { mgot＇chase＇}}$ | mgot－jiux＇extent of chasing＇ | mgot－tie＇manner of chasing＇ |

The three suffixes－lu，－jjux and－tie scope over the verb alone，not over the verb phrase（the verb，its complements and adjuncts）．No complement noun phrase may be added．The agent of the verb can be expressed as the possessor of the nominalized verb．
（1）

```
a. *ᄇᄋ\쑤
    *nry ndo -lu
    wine drink NOM
        'act of drinking wine'
    c. *木外午
    *tep yy bi -tie
        book read NOM
        'the manner of reading books'
```



```
    *vy lot mu -lu
        business do NOM
        'the act of doing business'
```

b．＊甘必必乘
${ }^{*}$ qi get－jjux head comb NOM ＇act of combing one＇s hair＇
d．＊ぶもま果
＊hxie mgat syp－jiux
Chinese know NOM ＇the extent of knowing Chinese＇
f．＊世具H我
＊vit gga ggat－tie clothes wear NOM ＇the manner of wearing clothes＇
（2）

| a．＊Nव |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | ＊nga yy－lu |
|  | 1P．SG laugh NOM |
|  | ‘＊My laughing’ |
| c． | ＊才我午 |
|  | ＊ne hxip－tie |
|  | 2P．SG speak NOM |
|  | ＇＊ your way of speaking＇ |
| e． | ＊$\chi_{\text {䄰乐 }}$ |
|  | ＊cy hxep－jjux |
|  | 3P．SG see NOM |
|  | ‘＊his vision＇ |

b．$\forall$ dư
ngat yy－lu
1P．SG．POSS laugh NOM
＇my laughing＇
d．dig f
nit hxip－tie
2P．SG．POSS speak NOM
＇your way of speaking＇
f．」n筞
cyp hxep－jjux
3P．SG．POSS see NOM
＇his vision＇

## B．Gender／age suffixes

There are three gender and one age suffixes attached to animal names：－bat（male）， －bu（male），－mop（female）and－sse（young）．The two male suffixes occur after different nouns．Several nouns can use both suffixes．For inanimate nouns，the female suffix －mop and the age suffix－sse have developed secondary functions as augmentative and diminutive suffixes（see Jurafsky 1996；Matisoff 1991）．

| Noun | －bat（male） | －bu（male） | －mop（female） | －sse（young） |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| le＇ox＇ | le－bat＇bull＇， | le－bu＇ox＇ | le－mop＇cow＇ | le－sse＇calf＇ |
| mu＇horse＇ | mu－bat＇stallion＇ | mu－bu＇stallion＇ | mu－mop＇mare’ | mu－sse＇colt，foal＇ |
| yo＇sheep＇ | yo－bat＇ram＇ | yo－bu＇wether＇ | yo－mop＇ewe＇ | yo－sse＇lamb＇ |
| vot＇pig＇ | vot－bat＇boar＇ | - | vot－mop＇sow＇ | vot－sse＇piglet＇ |
| ke＇dog＇ | ke－bat＇dog＇ | - | ke－mop＇bitch＇ | ke－sse＇puppy＇ |
| ax nyie＇cat＇ | - | ax nyie－bu＇tomcat＇ | ax nyie－mop＇queen＇ | ax nyie－sse＇kitten＇ |
| va＇chicken＇ | - | va－bu＇rooster＇ | va－mat＇hen＇ | va－sse＇chick＇ |
| ie＇duck＇ | - | ie－bu＇drake＇ | ie－mat＇female duck＇ | ie－sse＇duckling＇ |
| op＇goose＇ | - | op－bu＇gander＇ | op－mop＇female goose＇ | op－sse＇gosling＇ |
| lat－＇wolf＇ | - | lat－bu＇male wolf＇ | lat－mop＇wolf＇ | lat－sse＇pup＇ |
| wo－＇bear＇ | - | wo－bu＇he－bear＇ | wo－mop＇she－bear＇ | wo－sse＇cub＇ |
| lot jy＇finger＇ | - | - | lot－mop＇thumb＇ | lot jy－sse＇little finger＇ |
| bbo＇mountain＇ | - | bbo－bu＇moutain＇ | - | bbo－sse＇hill＇ |
| vat＇rock＇ | - | vat－bu＇rock＇ | vat－mop＇big rock＇ | vat－sse＇small rock＇ |
| lur（mat）＇stone＇ | - | - | lur－mop＇big stone＇ | lur－sse＇little pebble＇ |
| yyp－＇water＇ | - | - | yyp－mop＇river＇ | yyp－sse＇creek＇ |
| ggap－＇path＇ | - | - | ggap－mop＇road＇ | ggap－sse＇lane＇ |

In addition，－mop and－sse can also co－occur with several verbs to derive lexical nouns．

| Verb | －mop（female） | －sse（son） |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bi＇read＇ | bi－mop＇priest＇ | bi－sse＇apprentice of priest＇ |
| get＇able＇ | get－mop＇master＇ | get－sse＇apprentice＇ |
| hlut＇pasture＇ | hlut－mop＇shepherd＇ | hlut－sse＇shepherd boy＇ |
| hmat＇teach＇ | hmat－mop＇teacher＇ | - |
| sso＇study＇ | - | ssox－sse＇pupil＇ |
| surx sha＇poor＇ | - | sha－sse＇poor guy＇ |

## C．Adjectivizer suffixes

Two suffixes derive adjectives from verbs．The suffix－sa encodes the easiness or plea－ sure of doing an activity．The suffix－we expresses the opposite state of difficulty．The suffix－we is less productive than－sa，as illustrated below．The derived adjectives are gradable and can be intensified with－jjy－．

| Q ${ }^{\text {易 }}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { zze } \\ & \text { eat } \end{aligned}$ | sa <br> easy | ＇easy to eat＇ | Q ${ }_{\text {® }}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { zze } \\ & \text { eat } \end{aligned}$ | we difficult | ＇difficult to eat＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 禹出 | ndo <br> drink | sa <br> easy | ＇easy to drink＇ | 9\％ | ndo <br> drink | we difficult | ＇difficult to drink＇ |
| 出出 | yu grasp | sa <br> easy | ＇easy to grasp＇ | 虫河 | yu grasp | we difficult | ＇difficult to grasp’ |
| 近出 | mga <br> go，pass | sa easy | ＇easy to go＇ | 近为 | mga <br> go，pass | we difficult | ＇difficult to go＇ |
| 世出出 | jot cook | sa <br> easy | ＇easy to cook＇ | ＂${ }_{+}^{\text {\％}}$ | ot cook | we <br> difficult | ＇difficult to cook＇ |
| H出 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { mu } \\ & \text { do } \end{aligned}$ | sa <br> easy | ＇easy to do＇ | Н末 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { mu } \\ & \text { do } \end{aligned}$ | we difficult | ＇difficult to do＇ |
| 果出 | mgot <br> pursue | sa <br> easy | ＇easy to pursue’ | 果沛 | mgot pursue | we difficult | ＇difficult to pursue＇ |
| NH | hxep see，look | sa <br> pleasant | ＇look good＇ | ＊N\％ | ＊hxep <br> look | we <br> difficult | ＇look bad＇ |
| 小゙出 | hna <br> hear | sa <br> pleasant | ＇pleasant to hear＇ |  | ＊hna <br> hear | we difficult | ＇difficult to hear＇ |
| 丰出 | nyi <br> sit | sa <br> pleasant | ＇pleasant to sit＇ | ＊垹 | $\begin{aligned} & { }^{*} \text { nyi } \\ & \text { sit } \end{aligned}$ | we difficult | ＇difficult to sit＇ |

## 4．3 Reduplication

In Nuosu，all major word categories allow reduplication with an array of meanings： nouns（section 4．3．1），numeral classifiers（section 4．3．2），personal pronouns（section 4．3．3），verbs（section 4．3．4），adjectives（section 4．3．5），and ideophones（section 4．3．6）．

In addition，Nuosu idioms are composed of four partially reduplicated syllables （section 4．3．7）．

## 4．3．1 Nouns

Nouns are wholly reduplicated in three constructions．
（3）
Structure
a．$\quad \mathrm{N}+\mathrm{CL}$
b． $\mathrm{N} N(+$ ART／DEM +CL$)$
c． N －jiy－N

Input nouns Gloss
N common nouns＇some＇，＇a few＇
N body part term＇only＇，＇always＇
few common nouns＇real＇，＇authentic＇

In all three constructions，monosyllabic nouns are reduplicated as AA and dissyllabic nouns as ABAB．In the first construction，most common nouns can be reduplicated and followed by a classifier to encode a diminutive meaning．

mu ket te go ne，mu di mu di nzy nyi go ndit la yip luop evening when TOP cloud～DIM CL also LOC attached come META REGR ＇Oh a few clouds appear in the evening．＇

muti te go ne，mu hly mu hly tu pur la ndit． morning when TOP wind $\sim$ DIM CL blow come PER ＇A slight wind is blowing sometimes in the morning．＇
 mux dde cy jot lur mat lur mat ma gox rur．
soil DEM CL stone～DIM CL LOC lie about
＇Some stones lie about this piece of land．＇

syr juo go ggap mop ggap mop zha nyi gox bbu yip luop．
forest LOC path～DIM CL also LOC exist META REGR
＇There is a small pathway in the forest．＇

ket mop si qix suo ko ko，kex ke ma go jjo vot ndit． night calm～DIM dog～DIM CL LOC have bark PER ＇At night a few dogs are barking sometimes．＇
b．水员斗番类雨坐小米。
bbut jjuop go viex vie viex vie bu vie． grass LOC flower～DIM CL blossom ＇A few flowers blossom in the grassland．＇

Terms for unique or double body parts can be reduplicated with the sense of exclusive predicational relation glossable as only or as always.

ax pa li he sat, ngat iqiiqi max su ax di na go shex. other TOP good EXH 1P.SG.POSS head~only ART only ill HAB 'Otherwise everything's ok, only my head always aches.'

bbu sse ngat ka nyuo ka nyuo go ax di cyt la go shex. mosquito 1P.SG.POSS face~only LOC only sting come HAB 'The mosquitoes only sting my face.'

va cyx ma ax yi lot lot go da zza tur la go shex.
hen DEM CL child hand~only LOC COV crops peck come HAB 'The hen is always pecking food from the child's hand.'


| ax rryr cyp | bbur lie bbur lie go nyi la go shex. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| female name | 3P.SG.POSS thigh~only | LOC sit come HAB |

'Adge always comes to sit on his thighs.'
The third reduplication pattern is not productive. Several common nouns can undergo epenthetic reduplication by using the intensifier infix -jjy- 'very'. This process emphasizes the definitional properties of the noun and can be glossed as real or authentic.

nop it dde li la dda -jiy- la dda ji nge.
2P.PL hometown TOP valley very valley CL COP
'Your hometown is in a real valley.'

cop jiet lap bbu a zzyx ji, le -jjy- lex ji nge. 3P.PL.POSS home ox DEM CL ox (general) very ox CL COP
'Their family's ox is a real ox.'

### 4.3.2 Classifiers

In combination with numerals, classifiers can be wholly reduplicated in three constructions.

|  | Structure | Input category | Meaning／gloss |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| a． | NUM＋CL $C L^{\star}+$ su | numerals，classifiers | ordinals numbers |
| b． | NUM CL NUM CL＋mu | numerals，classifiers | unit processing |
| c． | cyp CL cyp CL＋ne／ax di | classifiers | ＇individual＇ |

Ordinal numbers are encoded in Nuosu by the nominal construction in（9a）．The reduplicant together with the nominalizer－su function as definite article．

co nyip ma max su li ngat jip xi ma nge． person NUM． 2 CL ART TOP 1P．SG．POSS relative CL COP ＇The second person is my relative．＇

cyp xy pot go chu sox ji jix su li bit ap－dop ox． 3P．SG．POSS foot LOC thorn NUM． 3 CL ART TOP pull out NEG－can DP ＇I cannot get out the third thorn from his foot．＇

kax ddi nyi nge ci fut qi qix su go pur da．
who also NUM． 16 CL ART LOC go STP
＇Everybody go now to page sixteen．＇

The phrasal reduplication pattern（9b）produces an adverbial．The numeral and classifier are reduplicated together and attached to the predicate with $-m u$ ．This con－ struction expresses the idea that an entity is processed in increments．
（11）a．ふわらたよFH干け。
ie qyt cyp tot cyp tot mu ci la．
water NUM． 1 CL～one after other ADVL fall come
＇The water leaks one drop after another．＇

xy nge bbo nge bbo mu ddie cyp gga qyp da． manure NUM． 5 CL～one after other ADVL COV NUM． 1 place put STP ＇Put the manure in one place according to piles of five．＇

cop wox yi bo go ly bbop ly bbop mu bo． 3P．PL house rent SENT．TOP NUM． 4 CL～one after other ADVL rent ＇When they rent houses，they rent in groups of four．＇

The nominal reduplication construction（9c）is phrasal．The numeral one and the classifier are reduplicated within the noun phrase．This pattern encodes the sense of a few，some isolated．

ddop ma cyp go cyp go ne hxip six jjie－ap－mgur．
word NUM． 1 CL～isolated TOP speak RES clear＜NEG＞
＇Some isolated words were pronounced unclearly．＇

mux dde cyp jot cyp jot ne zza gox zzur yip sy． soil NUM． 1 CL～isolated TOP crops LOC stick up still ＇Some isolated pieces of land still grow crops．＇

cyp nyuo yi cyp zzip cyp zzip ax di hxep－ap－sa． 3P．SG．POSS glass NUM． 1 CL～isolated only see clear＜NEG＞ ＇He does not see well with some（of these）glasses．＇

## 4．3．3 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns may be reduplicated as emphatic pronouns．Tone changes are co－associated with the process of reduplication．Reduplicated pronouns only occur in the role of subject not of object（section 5．4．1．A）．

|  | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P | ngat ngat | ngap nyit ngap nyit | ngop ngox |
| 2P | nit nit | nep nyit nep nyit | nop nox |
| 3P | nit nit | cyp nyit cyp nyit | cop cox |

（13）a．ジチエ里ふせ，びび「ふ。
ne lot buop ddie－ap－ddur，ngat ngat sip mo．
2P．SG help need＜NEG＞1P．SG～EMP take IMP
＇You do not need to help me，I will take it myself．＇

pu jiet kep nyix nge su nep nyit nep nyit jjy－hxix yy．
price how much COP COMP 1P．DL～EMP RECL－discuss
＇You both may discuss the price yourselves．＇

ne cop wox zzy yyx si-ap-ssop, cop cox la yix syp.
2P.SG 3P.PL accompany not need 3P.PL~EMP come still
'You do not need to accompany them, they are coming on their own.'

### 4.3.4 Verbs

All verbs can be reduplicated to encode alternative questions. Gradable verbs can further undergo epenthetic reduplication with the intensifier infix -jjy-.

|  | Structure |  | Input verbs |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| a. | V V Veaning |  |  |  |
| b. | V-jiy-V verb |  | V gradable verb |  |
| Alternative question |  |  |  |  |
| Intensification |  |  |  |  |

For alternative questions, monosyllabic verbs with mid- or low tone have their base raised to sandhi tone $-x$ and the reduplicant preserving the original tone. Dissyllabic verbs AB reduplicate in an unpredictable way for both constructions, partially as ABB (AB-jjy-B) or wholly as ABAB (AB-jyy-AB).

Alternative questions are formed through whole or partial reduplication of the verb. Some dissyllabic verbs are reduplicated as ABAB/ABB, some only as ABB.

Table 4.4: Reduplication in a representative sample of verbs

| Verb | Alternative question | Intensification |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| mgu 'love' | mgux mgu | mgu-jiy-mgu |
| qyt 'bind' | qyt qyt | - |
| ndup 'beat' | ndux ndup | ndup-jiy-ndup |
| lot buop 'help' | lot buop buop | - |
| uo mur tit 'worship' | uo mur tit tit | - |
| bu dex 'praise' | bu dex bu dex / bu dex dex | bu dex-jiy-bu dex |
| hxie vur 'like' | hxie vur vur | hxie vur-jiy-hxie vur / hxie vur-jiy-vur |
| ggat qip 'delay' | ggat qip ggat qip / ggat qip qip | - |
| la hxex 'wait' | la hxex hxep | - |
| lyrx nyie 'move' | lyrx nyie nyie | lyrx nyie-jiy-lyrx nyie |
| jy jie 'fear' | jy jiex jie | jy jie-jiy-jy jie / jy jie-jiy-jie |
| hxie nep ndit 'regret' | hxie nep ndit ndit | hxie nep ndit-jiy-ndit hxie nep ndit-jjy-hxie nep ndit |
| ggup cyr 'rescue’ | ggup cyrx cyr | - |
| lyr ggex 'tremble' | lyr ggex gge | lyr ggex-jiy-lyr ggex / lyr ggex-jiy-ggex |
| hxie jjuo 'move (sb)' | hxie jjuo jjuo | hxie jjuo-jiy-hxie jjuo |
| syp mgep 'chat' | syp mgep mgep | - |
| yyx zyr 'drench' | yyx zyr zyr | - |


cox ku max su cop sip qyt qyt？
people steal ART 3P．PL take bind～ALT
＇Did they get hold of the thief？＇

hmat mop ssox sse max su bu dex bu dex？
teacher student ART praise～ALT
＇Did the teacher praise the student？＇

hmat mop ssox sse max su bu dex dex？
teacher student ART praise～ALT
＇Did the teacher praise the student？＇

ne ip si cyp vit ngop la hxex hxex？
2P．SG just now NUM． 1 time 1P．PL wait～ALT
＇Have you been waiting for us just now？＇

Gradable verbs can be intensified through reduplication and epenthesis of the infix－jjy－．For dissyllabic verbs the pattern is $\mathrm{AB}-\mathrm{jjy}-\mathrm{AB}$ or $\mathrm{AB}-j \mathrm{jy}$－ B ．
（18）a．N州事程岸
nga ax mo mgu－jiy－mgu．
1P．SG mother love very love
＇I love mother very much．＇

nga ngat mu ddix ngop－jjy－ngop．
1P．SG 1P．SG．POSS hometown think，miss very think，miss
＇I am missing my hometown very much＇

bbu dde cyx ma cox hxie jjuo－jiy－hxie jjuo．
story DEM CL people heart－move very heart－move
＇This story is very moving．＇

## 4．3．5 Adjectives

Adjectives can also be reduplicated to express alternative question．Gradable adjec－ tives can further be reduplicated with the epenthetic intensifier infix－jjy－．

|  | Structure |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| a. | A A A |  |  | A adjective |
|  |  |  | Meaning |  |
| b. | A-jjy-A |  | V gradable adjective |  |
| Intensification |  |  |  |  |

Adjectives and verbs are reduplicated in the same way. For pattern (20a), the base of monosyllabic adjectives with mid- or low tones rises to the sandhi tone $-x$ while the reduplicant preserves the original tone. Dissyllabic verbs $A B$ reduplicate partially as $A B B(A B-j j y-B)$, or wholly as $A B A B(A B-j j y-A B)$. The availability of partial or whole reduplication is unpredictable.

Table 4.5: Reduplication in a representative sample of adjectives

| Adjective | Alternative question | Intensification |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ge 'stupid' | gex ge | ge-jiy-ge |
| o bbu 'intelligent' | o bbux bbu | o bbu-jiy-o bbu |
| ax yy 'big' | ax yy ax yy / ax yy yy | ax yy-jiy-ax yy / ax yy-jiy-yy |
| ix fu 'thin' | ix fu ix fu / ix fu fu | ix fu-jiy-ix fu / ix fu-jiy-fu |
| a hmu 'high' | a hmu a hmu / a hmu hmu | a hmu -jjy-a hmu / a hmu-jjy-hmu |
| ix sho 'short' | ix sho ix sho / ix sho sho | ix sho -jiy-ix sho / ix sho-jjy-sho |
| gga sho 'far' | gga shox sho | gga shox-jjy-gga sho |
| ix jjy 'narrow' | ix jjy jiy | ix jiy-jiy-ix jiy |
| ix bbo 'thin' | ix bbo bbo | ix bbo-jiy-ix bbo |
| wox bu 'fat' | wox bu wox bu / wox bu bu | wox bu-jiy-wox bu / wox bu-jiy-bbu |
| ax nyi 'many' | ax nyi nyi | ax nyi-jiy-ax nyi |
| mip ji 'pointed' | mip jix ji | mip ji-jiy-mip ji / mip ji-jiy-ji |
| lap rryt 'skew' | lap rryt rryt | lap rryt-jiy-lap rryt |
| ax nuo 'black' | ax nuo nuo | ax nuo-jiy-ax nuo / ax nuo-jjy-nuo |
| chyp hni 'stinky' | chyp hnix hni | chyp hn -jiy-chyp hni / chyp hni-jiy-hni |
| ce qy 'salty' | ce qyx qy | ce qyx -jiy-ce qyx / ce qyx-jjy-qyx |
| sha qip 'exhausting' | sha qip qip | sha qip -jjy-sha qip / sha qip-jiy-qip |

For alternative questions, monosyllabic adjectives are reduplicated as AA, disyllabic adjectives as ABB or occasionally as ABAB.

ma gop cyx ji ssix ssi?
lamp DEM CL bright~ALT
'Does this lamp shine brightly?'

ngat ix di ggux su zhut zhut?
1P.SG.POSS clothes ART crinkly~ALT
'Are my clothes crinkly?'

xyx hnie cyx zzip iet zyr（iet）zyr？
shoe DEM CL small～ALT
＇Is this pair of shoes small？＇
c． 10 日タ，ネఁて
op rro shur mop a hxuox hxuo？
Xichang lake deep～ALT
＇Is the lake of Xichang deep？＇

For intensification，the epenthetic infix－jjy－is inserted between the base and its reduplicant： $\mathrm{A}-j \mathrm{jy}-\mathrm{A}, \mathrm{AB}-j j y-\mathrm{AB}$ or $\mathrm{AB}-j \mathrm{jy}-\mathrm{B}$ ．
（23）a．折事塛手呆。
ip nyip mo mu mgo－jjy－mgo．
today sky，weather cold very cold
＇Today the weather is very cold．＇
b．びザ少我手き。
ngat pax shu jjip－jjy－jjip．
1P．SG．POSS bag full very full
＇My bag is very full．＇
（24）甘゙罗为归手手？
ngat nyuo zzy a hnix hnix？
1P．SG eye red～ALT
＇Are my eyes red？＇

## 4．3．6 Colour ideophones

Colour adjectives take reduplicated ideophones to express colour nuances．They evoke images in the mind of the addressee．The ideophone is meaningless in isola－ tion．The following list is nonexhaustive．

| Adjective root | Ideophonic expression | Gloss |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| a shyx＇yellow＇ | shyx ndo ndo | yellow full of fruits |
|  | shyx bur bur | yellow and pale |
|  | shyx juo juo | yellow full of poults or blooms |
|  | shyx lo lo | yellow in sky before thunderstorm |
|  | shyx ssy ssy | a lot of yellow entities together |
| shyx jie jie | yellow colour of stars in the sky |  |


|  | shyx ly ly | yellow colour of body hair |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | shyx mo mo | very pale yellow |
|  | shyx ggo ggo | yellow colour of roasted fish |
|  | shyx ba ba | yellow colour of buckwheat cake |
|  | shyx mge mge | yellow colour in face of ill person |
| ax hni 'red' | hnix sy sy | red colour of glowing fire |
|  | hnix lo lo | very red |
|  | hnix zhyr zhyr | redish colour of human face |
|  | hnix jjo jjo | area-wide red |
|  | hnix mo mo | red and pale |
|  | hnix xyr xyr | red and healthy colour of face |
|  | hnix njie njie | a lot of red entities together |
|  | hnix ssyr ssyr | full of red dots |
|  | hnix zzyr zzyr | ordered red blocks |
|  | (hni mox vu) | ('pink') |
| a vut 'green' | vut mo mo | green and pale |
|  | vut lo lo | azure, sapgreen |
|  | vut nyie nyie | green and foggy |
|  | vut zhu zhu | lively green |
|  | vut zhyr zhyr | green colour of moss |
|  | vut hlip hlip | green colour of crops in field |
|  | vut jjo jio | glossy and green |
| sox 'silver, grey’ | sox bo bo | silver-grey |
|  | sox mo mo | light grey |
| a qu 'white' | qux zyr zyr | snow-white |
|  | qux juo juo | white dots area-wide |
|  | qux shy shy | snow-white area-wide |
|  | qux sha sha | foamy-white |
|  | qux zi zi | white thread on dark background |
|  | qux mo mo | dirty-white |
|  | qux jie jie | ashen, pale as a sheet |
|  | qux bbie bbie | beaming white |
|  | qux sy sy | little white on dark background |
|  | qux ndo ndo | white colour of earthworm |
| ax nuo 'black' | nuo jjur jjur | shiny black colour of hair |
|  | nuo chuo chuo | black colour of face |
|  | nuo zzyt zzyt | deep black |
|  | nuo bbip bbip | roughly black |
|  | nuo sot sot | dark-grey |
|  | nuo ddie ddie | layered black |
|  | nuo ddep ddep | black-green colour of forest |

More illustrations are provided below.
a．す斤䟓Hキ $\ddagger$
ip nyip mo mu vut lo lo．
today sky green－IDE～EXPR
＇Today，the sky is azure．＇
b．减为手手代
nit ka nyuo hnix zhyr zhyr．
2P．SG．POSS face red－IDE～EXPR
＇Your face is reddish．＇
c．
vit gga yyx cy six qu zhyr zhyr．
clothes wash RES white－IDE $\sim$ EXPR
＇wash the clothes snow－white．＇

## 4．3．7 Idioms

Nuosu makes extensive use of four－syllable idioms to capture certain states of affairs．A varied use of these idioms in every day situations shows a high command of the stylistic register．Based on their form，idioms can be classified into five cate－ gories： $\mathrm{AABB}, \mathrm{ABAB}, \mathrm{ABAC}$（frequent）， ABCB （frequent）， ABCD ．Examples are drawn from Chén \＆Lǐ（1996）＇s dictionary of idioms．

## AABB

Very few Nuosu idioms exhibit the internal structure AABB．

| 于f米米 | dop | dop | zzy | zzy | ＇not so good＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | can | can | － | － | （dop dop＇insufficient＇） |
| 88牟笔 | ggur | ggur | chyr | chyr | ＇tireless＇ |
|  | sturdy | sturdy | tear open | tear open |  |

## ABAB

The structure ABAB is also rarely attested for idioms．Below，one example is pro－ vided in which the second $A$ has the tone sandhi $-x$ ．
$\Phi \Phi^{\Phi} \Phi$ 第 $\Phi$ kuop luo kuox luo＇thornbush；patchwork＇

## ABCB

The pattern $A B C B$ is frequent．The repeated syllable $B$ is often a predicate，either adjective or verb．The syllables $A$ and $C$ are arguments of the predicate．

| Wばすく | lit | yy | dat | yy | ＇arrogant＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | pharynx | big | pawn | big |  |
| H＊マ | pat | shut | mop | shut | ＇remember one＇s parents＇ |
|  | father | remember | mother | remember |  |
| 小的学必 | xy | ggot | lot | ggot | ＇muscle ache＇ |
|  | foot | ache | hand | ache |  |
| 来栥州果 | ssup | hlit | sha | hlit | ＇dry barley and wheat in the sun＇ |
|  | barley | dry in sun | wheat | dry in sun |  |
| FH日H | dur | mu | vat | mu | ＇become a great multitude＇ |
|  | 1000 | do | 10000 | do |  |

For the following idioms，A and C form disyllabic words or two independent words with similar meanings．

| 10けけ＊ | ke <br> mouth | nrat <br> nice | hxa <br> tongue | nrat <br> nice | ＇eloquent＇ <br> （ke hxa＇eloquence＇） |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | wox <br> group | ggur <br> scared | sat | ggur <br> scared | ＇family members are scared＇ （wox sat＇family＇） |
| 以州式州 | yi | shyt | ga | shyt | ＇new farmhouse＇ |
|  | house | new | steel | new | （yi ga＇farmhouse＇） |
| （2） 米 $^{\text {\％}}$ | qop | zzy | wo | zzy | ＇entertain friends＇ |
|  | friend | receive | group | receive |  |
| シくよく | zha | hxuo | dop | hxuo | ＇willing to share food and drinks＇ |
|  | feed | capable | give drink | capable |  |
| \＃$\subset$ ¢ ${ }_{\underline{\text { ® }}}$ C | syp | hxuo | pox | hxuo | ＇talkative＇ |
|  | talk | capable | show | capable | （syp pox＇talk freely＇） |
|  | ro | zzi | mo | zzi | ＇pretend to be angry＇ |
|  | taut face | leave over | see | leave over |  |
|  | vo | guo | hxi | guo | ＇snowy and frosty weather＇ |
|  | snow | much | frost | much |  |

Sometimes，A and C form two independent antonymic words．

| ¢ききた和 | ot | jiip | tot | jiip | ＇easy come easy go＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | downside | become | upside | become |  |
|  | ku | ddop | hxi | ddop | ＇insider talk and outsider talk＇ |
|  | inside | word | outside | word |  |

One common subtype uses the coverb ddie＇prepare＇（section 6．2．2．A）：AB－ddie－B．

| ，水里业 | ke | sat | ddie | sat | ＇all the money is distributed＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | mouth | EXH | prepare | EXH |  |
| 用川坐川 | jjox | sha | ddie | sha | ＇hard life＇ |
|  | live | poor，tired | prepare | poor，tired |  |
| 代丰里丰 | shot | nyi | ddie | nyi | ＇awareness about one＇s shame＇ |
|  | shame | sit | prepare | sit |  |
|  | ssix | pu | ddie | pu | ＇rental price（for ox）＇ |
|  | use | price | prepare | price |  |
| $\bigcirc$ 「圱が | sso | get | ddie | get | ＇be good at studying＇ |
|  | study | can | prepare | can |  |
| SV出ソ | hmop | yot | ddie | yot | ＇play the wrong notes＇ |
|  | blow | wrong | prepare | wrong |  |
| ＊出里出 | vut | sa | ddie | sa | ＇easy to turn the grindstone＇ |
|  | grind | easy | prepare | easy |  |
| ¢早尘是 | lup | zze | ddie | zze | ＇take food by force＇ |
|  | rob | eat | prepare | eat |  |

ABAC
Another frequent idiom pattern is ABAC ．In some cases， B and C form together a word or are independent words with similar meanings．

| ब WGH | mot | vit | mot | ggat | ＇armor＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | soldier | － | soldier | wear | （vit ggat＇clothes＇） |
|  | jjyx－ | mgu | jjyx－ | dde | ＇mutual love and friendship＇ |
|  | RECL－ | love | RECL－ | － | （mgux dde＇love＇） |
|  | na | mup | na | mit | ＇individual cases of disease＇ |
|  | ill | － | ill | － | （mup mit＇case，circumstance＇） |
| $\forall$ 米 $y^{\text {H }}$ | ka | bbo | ka | pat | ＇Creator；origin＇ |
|  | CLF | father | CLF | father |  |
|  | ap－ | bbop | ap－ | zze | ＇no possessions，no consumables＇ |
|  | NEG－ | possess | NEG－ | eat |  |

Some ABAC－idioms are composed of two antonyms B and C．
firdifir mga yy mga la＇coming and going＇
pass go down pass come

In the following idiom， AB and AC form two words that are antonymic．
qu＇$^{\text {H }} \mathrm{H}^{\mathrm{A}} \mathrm{C} 8$ vop mu vop ngo＇rich harvest and famine＇
－do－weep（vop mu＇harvest＇；vop ngo＇famine＇）
In the next idiom， AB forms a word that is partially repeated．The third and fourth syllables have no relevant meaning．

```
災尽館 lu byx lux ji 'folk story idioms'
    dragon - dragon CL (lu byx 'idiom')
```


## ABCD

A group of idioms are composed of four different syllables，$A B C D$ ．When this happens， the four syllables entertain a semantic relation：A and C have similar meaning．．．

|  | rre | quo | zzax | bi | ＇waste resources＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | money | tear down | food | scatter |  |
| 和以兩 | xyp | xi | hni | jyx | ＇wedding＇ |
|  | bride | reach | female | － | xyp xi＇wedding＇ |

．．．or B and D have similar meanings as do A and C．．．

|  | nry | ndo | she | zze | ＇feast，regale oneself＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | wine | drink | meat | eat |  |
| 青出京䒽 | na | ndit | mgox | zzur | ＇chronically ill＇ |
|  | ill | attached | ache | stick up |  |
| 10＊小欠 | o | hxi | hmy | ga | ＇refuse any advice or task＇ |
|  | head | shake | tail | drop |  |
|  | ke | ssyt | nyuo | hxi | ＇naughty＇ |
|  | mouth | bite | eye | wave |  |

．．．or A and C are antonyms，B and D have similar meanings．


There are also idioms in which A，B，C，D have no semantic relation with each other（which would not qualify as reduplicative pattern）．

```
jex\\ga hxie bba la jjuo 'heart broken'
    heart carry come broken
```


## 4．4 Compounding

We illustrate several groups of compound words：nominal compounds（section 4．4．1），verbal compounds（section 4．4．2）and mixed compounds（section 4．4．3）．

## 4．4．1 Nominal compounds

The meaning of nominal compounds may be related to the meaning of its com－ ponents in different ways．I have distinguished 15 cases in this subsection．

## $A$ and $B$ are unrelated in meaning

| 可\＃six | ax jji | bbu zza | ＇mulberry tree＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | crow | worm as food |  |
| 牙来师㿻 | ax jju fox | sha bbur <br> sheep wool | ＇wild cotton＇ |
| 牙战不（1） | ax nyie <br> cat | hnap bo ear | ＇edible tree fungus＇ |
| 式回もきス | ax pu grandfather | yo hlut mop sheperd | ＇the praying mantis＇ |
|  | bbut grass | $\begin{aligned} & \text { sse } \\ & \text { son } \end{aligned}$ | ＇reed－pipe wind instrument＇ |
| 同世师＊ | mga jot <br> buckwheat cake | hna bbi without nose | ＇cactus＇ |
| ，風が年 | a zhat magpie | bbup ddi worm | ＇earthen silkworm＇ |
| 甘屏 | it maize | ry <br> reed，grass | ＇corn stove＇ |

## $A$ and $B$ are figuratively related

| 践 | bbox | sse | ＇small hill＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | mountain | son |  |
| 米 8 | bbo | jjut | ＇halfway up a mountain＇ |
|  | mountain | waist，loins |  |
| 米中 | bbo | xy | ＇foot of mountain＇ |
|  | mountain | foot |  |
| đね | yyx | hmy | ＇south＇ |
|  | water | tail |  |
| 小漦牙可 | ap vy | ax yi | ＇careless＇ |
|  | left | right |  |

## $A$ and $B$ are parallel

| 牙」，ylo | ax bu grandfather | a vo | ＇ancestors＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | grand－grandfather |  |
| H， | pat | mop | ＇parents＇ |
|  | father | mother |  |
| 小坐可下 | ap bbo | ax sse | ＇male members in a family＇ |
|  | father | son |  |
| 小米れ | ap bbo | ap my | ＇father and his daughters＇ |
|  | father | daughter |  |
| 小ア小西 | ap mop | ap my | ＇female members in a family＇ |
|  | mother | daughter |  |
| งE | bbu | shy | ＇snake＇ |
|  | worm | snake |  |
| H手 | mu | wo | ＇brown bear＇ |
|  | horse | bear |  |
| H：＇，＇ | lat | ke | ＇wolfdog＇ |
|  | wolf | dog |  |
| ${ }_{1}^{1} 1$ | ke | hxa | ＇eloquence＇ |
|  | mouth | tongue |  |
| $\#_{2}$ | ka | nyuo | ＇face＇ |
|  | mouth | eye |  |
| \＃S | we | sot | ＇diligent，using strength＇ |
|  | strength | breath |  |

## $A$ is the material of which $B$ is made

| $\chi^{\prime \prime}$ 吅 | pip | yi | ＇wooden barrack，wooden house＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | board | house |  |
| ※ | lur | zhep | ＇earthen bowl＇ |
|  | stone | bowl |  |
| 平㑟\＄员 | chyt nyie | yiep but | ＇wool cloth＇ |
|  | goat hair | cloth |  |
| 和9导 | shy | nrur pop | ＇golden key＇ |
|  | gold | key |  |

## B denotes a part of A

| も可学 | i dix clothes | lot hand | ＇sleeve＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Y \％ | syr | lot | ＇branch＇ |
|  | tree | hand |  |
| \＄物 | ie | she | ＇duck meat＇ |
|  | duck | meat |  |


| JiU | bu | ddur |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | hedgehog | wing，sting |$\quad$| ＇sting of hedgehog＇ |
| :--- | :--- |


| 隶せ | bbut | njip | ＇grass root＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | grass | root |  |

$A$ is the producer of $B$

| \＄（1） | ie | qip | ＇duck egg＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | duck | egg |  |
|  | ax bu grandfather | bbu dde story | ＇legend，fairy tale’ |

## $A$ is processed into $B$

| 9\％${ }_{\text {京 }}$ | nda <br> bracken | mox <br> powder | ＇bracken powder |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | zza | mox | ＇flour＇ |
|  | crops | flour |  |
| 世京 | sha | mox | ＇wheat flour＇ |
|  | wheat | flour |  |
| Hid | lat | yy | ＇tea water＇ |
|  | tea | water |  |
| ＊ | vap ga | yy | ＇rapeseed oil＇ |
|  | rapeseed plant | water |  |
| X ${ }^{1}$ | lur | cy | ＇oil＇ |
|  | stone | oil |  |
| 水 $\mathrm{X}_{1}$ | bbut | cy | ＇medicine＇ |
|  | grass | oil |  |
| ※星 | lur | si | ＇stone coal＇ |
|  | stone | coal |  |
| ¢曻 | za | si | ＇coal＇ |
|  | earth | coal |  |
| 冰中 | bbut | xy | ＇green manure＇ |
|  | grass | fertilizer |  |

## A describes the kind or nature of $B$

| Ifi $X_{\text {ii }}$ | mga | zza | ＇buckwheat crops＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | buckwheat | crops |  |
| $\Phi H$ | lo | mu | ＇brumby，wild horse＇ |
|  | wild environment | horse |  |
| $\Phi$ व丰 | lo | yyx nyi | ＇wild buffalo＇ |
|  | wild environment | buffalo |  |



## A denotes the body part of disease $B$

| 和 | hnax | bbur | ＇sore at the nose＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | nose | sore，ulcer |  |
| \％ | ke | bbur | ＇sore at mouth＇ |
|  | mouth | sore，ulcer |  |
| 2年 | nyuo | na | ＇illness at eyes＇ |
|  | eye | ill |  |

## $B$ is a representative symbol for $A$

| ब出 | mot | sa | ＇（military）flag＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | soldier | seal，mark |  |
| 9－ H N®囲年 | vo mu <br> king | di nzyp uo tie | ＇king＇s crown＇ |

## A denotes the sign in Chinese zodiac for time unit B

| 小゙半／$\theta$ | hxie | hlep／kut | ＇month／year of rat＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | mouse；rat | month／year | month of rat $\sim$ August |
| 丰 $\Psi / \Theta$ | nyi | hlep／kut | ＇month／year of ox＇ |
|  | livestock；ox | month／year | month of ox $\sim$ September |
| H：$\sim / \theta$ | lat | hlep／kut | ＇month／year of tiger＇ |
|  | tiger | month／year | month of tiger $\approx$ October |
| $\aleph \ominus \Psi / \theta$ | tep hlep | hlep／kut | ＇month／year of rabbit＇ |
|  | rabbit | month／year | month of rabbit $\approx$ November |
| 世 $\Psi / \theta$ | lu | hlep／kut | ＇month／year of dragon＇ |
|  | dragon | month／year | month of dragon $\approx$ December |
| $\varepsilon \Psi / \theta$ | shy | hlep／kut | ＇month／year of snake＇ |
|  | snake | month／year | month of snake $\approx$ January |
| H $/$／$\theta$ | mu | hlep／kut | ＇month／year of horse＇ |
|  | horse | month／year | month of horse $\sim$ February |
| $\epsilon \Psi / \theta$ | yo | hlep／kut | ＇month／year of sheep＇ |
|  | sheep | month／year | month of sheep $\approx$ March |
| $\Theta * / \theta$ | nyut | hlep／kut | ＇month／year of monkey＇ |
|  | monkey | month／year | month of monkey $\approx$ April |
| $\omega \Psi / \theta$ | va | hlep／kut | ＇month／year of rooster＇ |
|  | rooster | month／year | month of rooster $\approx$ May |
| ${ }^{1} \mathrm{I}$ \％／$\theta$ | ke | hlep／kut | ＇month／year of dog＇ |
|  | dog | month／year | month of dog $\approx$ June |
| ＊$\Psi / \theta$ | vot | hlep／kut | ＇month／year of pig＇ |
|  | pig | month／year | month of pig $\approx$ July |

## 4．4．2 Verbal compounds

Verbal compounds relate to the meaning of their components in four major ways，as listed below．Directional verb compounds are presented in section 6．4．1．

## $A$ and $B$ are unrelated

| 门采 | la | hxex | ＇wait＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | come | see |  |
| 尘邱 | ddie | mga | ＇please＇ |
|  | prepare | pass |  |
| 9 | but | ndit | ＇courageous＇ |
|  | dare | stick out |  |
| Sif | lyr | mga | ＇disturb＇ |
|  | wrap | pass |  |

## $A$ and $B$ are antonymic

| $\forall$ 为 | it | dep | ＇rise＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | lie | rise |  |
|  | vup－jiup sell－SUFF | vy－lot－mu buy－hand－do | ＇do business＇ |
| $\sqrt{2} \times$ | li | xi | ＇come around to someone＇s turn＇ |
|  | go | arrive |  |
| ofy 0 | ggep | qy pur | ＇angered because of excessive joke’ |
|  | make fun | break off |  |

## $A$ and $B$ are parallel

| Nが | hxep | hna | ＇take care＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | see | listen |  |
| 才采 | hxo | hxex | ＇sustain，nourish＇ |
|  | nourish | see |  |
| 为碞 | jjip | qot | ＇change＇ |
|  | become | change |  |
| 乐れ゙ | nbot | hat | ＇hide＇ |
|  | hide | cover |  |
| ©赦 | ju | hmox | ＇rule＇ |
|  | manage | govern |  |
| f少 | dop | sat | ＇direct＇ |
|  | point at | point toward |  |
| 昛事 | du | dex | ＇emit，produce＇ |
|  | raise | rise |  |
| T ${ }^{\text {d }}$ | ly | hmot | ＇request，ask for＇ |
|  | want，request | beg |  |
| 815 | gut | gep | ＇give heartfelt support，approve of ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |
|  | support | add |  |

## $B$ denotes resultative state of $A$

| 小 ${ }^{1}$ | hna <br> hear | cie clear | ＇hear clearly＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nd | hxep | yy | ＇greatly respect＇ |
|  | regard | big |  |
| $\sqrt{3}$ | gep | jjip | ＇become full，complete＇ |
|  | add | full |  |
| e 0 ： 0 | zze | nbur | ＇eat one＇s fill＇ |
|  | eat | full up |  |
| （4） H | hmip | mga | ＇overripe＇ |
|  | ripe | pass |  |

## 4．4．3 Mixed compounds

Nouns can form lexical compouns with verbs and with classifiers．Occasionally， verbs also combine with classifiers，as illustrated below．

## $A$ is noun and $B$ is verb

| 尔き | lot | jiip | ＇spring into action＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | hand | become |  |
| 可的 | xyx | ne | ＇rest＇ |
|  | foot | rest |  |
| Jet | hxie | vur | ＇like，love＇ |
|  | heart | enter |  |
| قs | rre | sot | ＇account＇（v．） |
|  | money | count |  |
| 9戞 | nrur | pop | ＇key’ |
|  | lock（n．） | open |  |
| OH | nyop | mu | ＇do farming work＇ |
|  | profession | do |  |
| 日\＃ | pu | jjo | ＇expensive＇ |
|  | price | have |  |
| 成 1 | bbux | ddur | ＇East＇ |
|  | sun | come out |  |

## $A$ is noun and $B$ is classifier

|  | nur | ji | ＇soybean pod＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | soybean | CL |  |
| 0\＃1米 | chu | bbo | ＇thornbush＇ |
|  | thorn | CL |  |
| 第类 | dip | bbo | ＇tomb，grave＇ |
|  | bury | CL |  |


| $\mathfrak{\mathfrak { r }}$ 米 | vix | bbo | ＇load＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | load，bundle | CL |  |
| Y米 | syr | bbo | ＇tree＇ |
|  | wood，tree | CL |  |
| （1）$\theta$ | gup | ma | ＇bead of sweat＇ |
|  | sweat | CL |  |
| $\cdots \theta$ | lyp | ma | ＇grain of seed＇ |
|  | seed | CL |  |
| Y必 | syr | qi | ＇leaf＇ |
|  | wood，tree | CL |  |
| 凹品 | dut | zi | ＇torch，flambeau＇ |
|  | fire | CL |  |
| d ${ }_{\text {c }}$ | yy | jiur | ＇spring’ |
|  | water | CL |  |
| 区如 | hxix | gur | ＇appearance，profile＇ |
|  | outside | CL |  |

## $A$ is verb and $B$ is classifier

| 中 | yur | nyip | ‘birthday’ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | be born | CL．day |  |
| 沀甬 | ngop | jix | ＇thought＇ |
|  | think | CL |  |
| 兆 $\theta$ | sat | ma | ＇mark，symbol＇ |
|  | point at | CL |  |
| $N \theta$ | bbur | ma | ＇letter＇ |
|  | write | CL |  |
| 沙 $\Phi$ | ko | lo | ＇mattress＇ |
|  | spread（a mat．．．） | CL |  |

## Chapter 5

## The noun phrase

The Nuosu noun phrase represents rare features such as the existence of semi-open classes of in/definite articles and of an African-style logophor. This chapter is divided into four sections, an overview section (section 5.1), a section on classifiers, possession, adjectival modification, and relativization (section 5.2), a section on quantification (section 5.3), and a section on deixis and definiteness (section 5.4).

### 5.1 Introduction

### 5.1.1 Constructions of the noun phrase

The noun phrase (NP) was replaced in recent versions of Generative Grammar by determiner phrase (DP) whose head is a determiner like the definite article the (Carnie 2007). For Chinese, there is a controversy on the structural unit that would correspond to the English article the as the head of DP (Tang 1990; Cheng \& Sybesma 1999; Wu \& Bodomo 2009). Since classifiers in Cantonese can have definite reference, Cheng \& Sybesma (1999) argue for the classifier to be the head of DP, which they call the head of the classifier phrase. Wu \& Bodomo (2009), citing empirical constraints, disagree with this position.

This discussion has relevance for Nuosu in which the classifier contributes to the formation of indefinite and definite determiners (section 5.4.5). As this grammar is not committed to one particular syntactical framework, we will continue to employ the notion of noun phrase instead of deteminer phrase, but adopt one structural unit that is reminiscent of labels used in Generative Grammar: the unit CL' (classifier-bar) which is a unit greater than a bare classifier but smaller than the whole noun phrase.

Table 5.1: The unit CL' in three types of determiners

| Demonstratives | N | DEM | CL |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Indefinite articles | N |  | CL |  |  |
| Definite articles | $N$ |  | CL | su | CL' |

Demonstratives, indefinite articles and definite articles require classifiers. Definite articles are derived from indefinite articles by appending the nominalizer -su (see section 5.2.4.C). The particle -su cannot be directly suffixed to the noun but must be complemented by other elements. It is thus not the element which encodes the determiner function, but it contributes to establishing definite determiners. The element that encodes the determiner function is the classifier.

Table 5.2: Noun phrase constructions


Table 5.2 provides an overview of the constructions of the noun phrase. Different columns of the table show the relative order of multiple components.

### 5.1.2 The order of components in the noun phrase

Noun phrases in Nuosu consist at least of a bare noun and at most of four different components (classifier, adjective, possessor and relative clause). If several of these elements appear, their order is fixed according to the following schema:

## (1) Left- and right-attached material:

$\begin{aligned} & \text { relative } \\ & \text { clause }\end{aligned}+\begin{aligned} & \text { possessor } \\ & \text { component }\end{aligned}+$ noun $+\begin{aligned} & \text { adjective } \\ & \text { component }\end{aligned}+\begin{aligned} & \text { relative } \\ & \text { clause }\end{aligned}+\begin{aligned} & \text { classifier } \\ & \text { component }\end{aligned}$

The relative clause can occur on both sides of the head noun with a difference in meaning. The following examples illustrate this pattern:


suo ggux su
NUM. 3 ART=CL-DET
'my three green shirts which I bought yesterday'

$\frac{\text { a vut } \mathrm{su}}{\text { green NOM }} \frac{\text { ngat }}{\text { 1P.SG.POSS }} \left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & \text { i dix } \\ & \text { garment }\end{aligned} \frac{\text { ap ndi hxix vy six la }}{\begin{array}{l}\text { yesterday } \\ \text { buy RES come }\end{array}}\right.$
suo ggux su
NUM. 3 ART=CL-DET
'my three green shirts which I bought yesterday'

 'my green shirts which I bought yesterday'

$\frac{\text { ngat }}{\text { 1P.SG.POSS }}$ i dix $\frac{\text { a vut su }}{\text { garment }} \frac{\text { green NOM }}{\text { gren }}$
ap ndi hxix vy six la suo ggux su
yesterday buy RES come NUM. 3 ART=CL-DET
'my three green shirts which I bought yesterday'


| cop | chex zy | syt ddur da lat jiip su |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| car | affair exit | STP broken NOM |

shyt nyi a shyt pux nyi liex guo ggex su
new also new price also expensive ART=CL-DET
'Their new and expensive car which was damaged in a car accident.'


| op rro | da | la | su | o bbu | su | ssox sse student |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | intelli |  |  |  |  |  |  |

xip kep nyip yuot.

DEM.INDEF several CL
'Several intelligent students who arrived from Xichang.'

$\frac{\text { op rro } \quad \text { it } \quad \text { su }}{\text { Xichang live NOM }} \frac{\text { mu ga }}{\text { name }}$ vyt vu ix yi si nip hnip mop $\begin{aligned} & \text { nrat } \\ & \frac{\text { brothers }}{} \text { and sisters }\end{aligned}$
ly yuox su
NUM. 4 ART=CL-DET
'Muga's four nice brothers and sisters who live in Xichang.'

### 5.2 Qualifying nouns

### 5.2.1 Noun classifiers

Classifiers in Asian languages assume an individualizing function. Individualization is the assignment of shape boundaries to a nominal concept (Burling 1965: 259-260; Greenberg 1972: 10; Croft 1994: 162-163; Bisang 1999: 115; Gerner 2006: 241). Bisang (1999: 121) distinguishes between actualizing and creative individualization. If a noun referent has inherent shape boundaries, a classifier actualizes them (actualizing individualization). Otherwise, a classifier imposes shape boundaries (creative individualization).

In theory, sortal classifiers actualize and mensural classifiers create shape boundaries. This division is sometimes blurred in Nuosu. Sortal classifiers might also create shape boundaries. For example, the sortal classifier for one-dimensional entities can co-occur with mass nouns such as gold to convey the sense of gold bar. Classifiers are therefore predominantly sortal or predominantly mensural.

As a general rule, sortal classifiers are clitics with bleached nominal meanings, while mensural classifiers are independent words that contribute stronger meanings to the noun. Almost all Nuosu classifiers are monosyllabic and have the neutral midtone [33]. This situation is expected, as classifiers are grammaticalized nouns which have undergone tone lenition (high and low tones weakened to midtones).

We distinguish eight groups of classifiers: animate sortal classifiers (section A), inanimate sortal classifiers (section B), small-range sortal classifiers (section C), double nominal and verbal classifiers (section D), collectivizers (section E), partitioners and subclassifiers (section F), measure words (section G), and auto-classifiers (section H ).

## A. Animate sortal classifiers

There is one human classifier, one classifier for body parts and one for plants. The human classifier $m a$ is the same as the general classifier (section B). The human classifier is number-sensitive. For the numbers one or two modulo ten, ${ }^{1}$ the form is $m a$, for the numbers three to five, nine and ten modulo ten, the form switches to yuo (midtone). For six and eight modulo ten, the classifier form is yuop (low tone) and for seven modulo ten the form is yuot (high tone).

[^3]Classifier：ma（1－2）；yuo（3－5，9，10）；yuop（6，8）；yuot（7）
Classifieds：people
co ‘person’ ax yi ‘child’ bbox zze ‘man’
si hni＇woman’ bi mox＇priest＇qop bop＇friend＇

The general classifier $m a$（section B）can be involved for all numbers．Several examples of the human classifier ma are provided in（4）．
（4）

```
a. 10150
    co cyp ma
    person NUM.1 CL
    `one person'
c. 寻舟E
    si hni hxit yuop
    woman NUM. }8\mathrm{ CL
    `eight women'
```

b． $81 / 11$ 所
co suo yuo
person NUM． 3 CL
＇three persons＇
d．比系 $\Psi$ 距
bi mox shyp yuot
priest NUM． 7 CL
＇seven priests＇

The classifier pot categorizes body parts of dual number（hand，arm，foot，eye and so forth）as well as pieces of clothing（shoe，gloves，sleeves and so forth）．It is the counterpart of the classifier $z z i$＇pair＇（section E）which subcategorizes the same nouns．

## Classifier：pot

Classifieds：dual body parts and certain pieces of clothing

| hnap bo＇ear＇ | lot＇hand＇ | hlop bbop＇arm＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ka nyuo＇face＇ | mip bup＇lip＇ | bbur lie＇thigh＇ |
| jy xy＇foot＇ | ddur＇wing＇ | xyx hnie＇shoes＇ |
| i dix lot ke＇sleeve＇ |  |  |

（5）a．※ॅよ |  |
| :---: |

lot cyp pot hand NUM． 1 CL ＇one hand＇
b．も尔学い「扔
i dix lot ke nyip pot
sleeve NUM． 2 CL
＇two sleeves＇

The plant classifier bbo is predominantly sortal with several mensural uses．It co－occurs with fruit nouns and several nouns not related to plants．For example， bbo categorizes the noun snow as show shower，the noun stone as pile of stones and medicine as bag of medicine．The relation of these mensural uses to the plant classi－ fier meaning is uncertain．

Classifier：bbo＇shower＇，＇pile＇，＇bag’
Classifieds：plants，trees and a few other nouns

| syr bbo＇tree＇ | te bbo＇pine＇ | ma＇bamboo＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| syp vo＇peach＇ | hly vo＇cherry＇ | syp ndat＇pear＇ |
| syp hmi＇nut＇ | nyi mop syp vo＇grape＇ | che＇paddy rice＇ |
| sha＇millet＇ | it mup＇maize＇ | hxa bit＇vegetable＇ |
| yiep yot＇potato＇ | niep ga＇pumpkin＇ | mup ly＇sesame＇ |
| sha zzit＇chili＇ | bbut＇grass＇ | chu＇thorn＇ |
| ce＇salt＇ vo＇snow＇ | lur mat＇stone，rock＇ |  |
| bbut cy＇medicine＇ |  |  |


| （6） a ． | まor」坐 <br> syp vo cyp bbo <br> peach NUM． 1 CL <br> ＇one peach tree＇ |  | けか「坐 <br> hxa bit nyip bbo vegetable NUM． 2 CL ＇two vegetable plants＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| c． | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (3) } 5 \text { 坐 } \\ & \text { ce cyp bbo } \\ & \text { salt NUM. } 1 \quad \text { CL } \\ & \text { 'one bag of salt' } \end{aligned}$ | d． | 水和风娄 <br> bbut cy suo bbo medicine NUM． 3 CL ＇three bags of medicine＇ |
| e． | ※用「类 <br> lur mat nyip bbo stone NUM． 2 CL ＇two piles of stones＇ | f． | 9） 11 类 <br> vo suo bbo <br> snow NUM． 3 CL <br> ＇three snow showers＇ |

## B．Inanimate sortal classifiers

Nuosu exhibits several one－dimensional classifiers（subsection i），several two－ dimensional classifiers（subsection ii），and a large number of three－dimensional classifiers（subsection iii）．

## （i）One－dimensional shape classifiers

There are one wide－range and five small－range classifiers in this group．The wide－ range classifier ji categorizes nouns that have lengthy one－dimensional shape， though several items are not directly related to shape．

Classifier：ji＇bar＇
Classifieds：one－dimensional entities，tools and several other nouns

| le＇ox＇ | hxe＇fish＇ | bbup ddi＇worm＇ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| bbu shy＇snake＇ | uo nyie＇hair of head＇ | nyie＇hair of body＇ |
| vup ddu＇bone＇ | lot jy＇finger＇ | hxa nie＇tongue＇ |
| pup shu＇tail＇ | rry＇tooth＇ | syr dda＇stem＇ |
| syr lot＇branch＇ | njip＇root＇ | ma＇bamboo＇ |
| hni bbu＇sprout＇ | chu＇thorn＇ | tep ke＇cucumber＇ |
| jie dda＇stick，club＇ | sha zzit＇chili＇ | jie shat＇street＇ |
| ggap mop＇road＇ | yyp hmop＇river＇ | la dda＇valley＇ |
| shy＇gold＇ | jjy＇copper＇ | she ddu＇steel＇ |
| xi＇thread＇ | yiex syr＇broom＇ | syr dda＇wood＇ |
| o gat＇comb＇ | hxi＇arrow＇ | she ki＇nail＇ |
| nyie da＇scissors＇ | yit＇needle＇ | nrur pop＇key＇ |
| jjup hlup ‘flute’ | hxiet ggur＇sickle＇ | ssi mgu ssi mge＇tool＇ |
| ciep yiet＇thing＇ | ddax dda＇pole＇ | zhep sse＇bowl＇ |
| pip nzy＇plate’ | mu zyr＇thunder＇ | syt＇event＇ |
| ngop jjux＇thought＇ | jix po＇method＇ | li yot jjux＇mistake＇ |
| lie ba jjux＇danger＇ | jjy ap sup jjux＇difference＇ | mgat jip＇advantage＇ |

a．$\sqrt{ } \varepsilon \sqrt{N}$
b．ボTiN
bbu shy cyp ji yit nyip ji snake NUM． 1 CL ＇one snake＇
needle NUM． 2 CL
＇two needles＇
（8）a．利
b．$\varepsilon \pi{ }^{\prime}$
le ly ji
ox NUM． 4 CL
＇four oxen＇
shy suo ji
gold NUM． 3 CL
＇three gold bars＇
（9）a．Hix $\sqrt{\text { N }}$
mu zyr cyp ji thunder NUM． 1 CL ＇four thunderclaps＇

li yot jjux nyip ji mistake NUM． 2 CL
＇two mistakes＇

The classifier hmo is restricted to the noun＇river＇which has the shape of a one－ dimensional axis in the landscape．

Classifier: hmo
Classifieds: river
yy ‘river’
Four classifiers categorize tools with a one-dimensional shape. The classifiers qit and pit contribute similar meanings to the noun phrase. All of these classifiers modify small ranges of nouns.

Classifier: qit
Classifieds: tool
ddox mu 'knife' nyie da 'scissors' yyrt shup 'saw'
vi mop 'ax' luot guop 'harrow' zyt mop 'hoe'
hxiet ggur 'sickle'
Classifier: pit
Classifieds: tool
ddox mu 'knife'

Classifier: zi
Classifieds: certain tools
yiex syr 'broom' dut zi 'torch'

Classifier: zzyr
Classifieds: tool
syr ggut 'plough' hnap chot 'gun' hot 'bow'

## (ii) Two-dimensional shape classifiers

There are six two-dimensional classifiers in Nuosu, three relate to the natural landscape, three others categorize flat objects such as paper, mats and so forth. The classifier ggat co-occurs with the generic noun for places.

Classifier: ggat
Classifieds: place
mu ddix 'place'

The classifier jot categorizes nouns of land surface and crops. For crops, it contributes the meaning of piece of land on which the crops grow. The classifier $g u$ expresses the meaning of a large piece of land.

Classifier：jot＇small piece’
Classifieds：cultivated land
mux dde＇land＇che＇paddy rice＇sha＇millet＇
hxa bit＇vegetable＇yiep yot＇potato＇jju＇oat＇
zza bbo＇crops＇
（10）
a．今元实
b．ㅃㅔㅜ
mux dde ly jot
land NUM． 4 CL ＇four pieces of land＇
sha suo jot
millet NUM． 3 CL
＇three fields of millet＇

Classifier：gu＇big piece’
Classifieds：land
mux dde＇land＇

The classifier bbut categorizes flat objects shown in the chart below．The classi－ fier $q i$ is an auto－classifier and co－occurs with nouns of leaves and paper．The classifier zzit is reserved for books，manuscripts and related documents．

Classifier：bbut
Classifieds：mainly two－dimensional entities
njyx gur＇skin’ max juo ‘bamboo mat＇ip ko＇door＇
vap hat＇gate’ tep yy＇letter’ yip bbur＇picture’
a ji ‘sieve’

Classifier：qi ‘leaf’
Classifieds：two－dimensional entities
syr qi＇leaf＇tep yy＇paper’
Classifier：zzit
Classifieds：books
tep yy＇book＇

## （iii）Three－dimensional shape classifiers

There are one general and three small－range classifiers in this group．The general classifier ma individualizes a wide range of nouns，many denoting entities with a three－dimensional shape．Some classifieds of ma，however，do not extend physically in three dimensions（e．g．street）；some denote mental states or events（e．g．dream，
thought). Unlike the human classifier ma, the general classifier ma involves the same form for all numerals it co-occurs with. This classifier has cognates in most Yi languages. For example, $m a^{55}$ is the general classifier in Weishan Lalo (Björverud 1998: 69).

Classifier: ma (general)
Classifieds: wide range of nouns
mux dde 'land' bbox sse 'mountain’ shur 'lake, sea'
mu jjur 'hole'
bap nip 'clay’
qu 'silver'
bbap ga 'village’
jie yi 'prison’
i qi 'head'
hxie mat 'heart'
chyt 'goat'
ax nyie 'cat'
ie ‘duck’
lat hni ‘lion’
ax hxie 'mouse'
ax jju 'fox'
uox ba 'frog'
syr zza 'fruit'
syp ndat 'pear'
chex nyo 'glutinous rice'
jju 'oats'
niep ga 'pumpkin’
nur ma 'bean'
she 'meat'
fup jip 'button’
yi 'house’
ciep yiet 'thing'
hlut bbup 'umbrella’
yiet hxop 'song'
yyr hla 'spirit'
te kop 'time’
lur mat 'stone, rock' hmyx shy 'sand'
syr juo 'forest' shy 'gold'
jjy 'copper’ she ddu 'steel'
ce 'salt' jie shat 'street'
hnap bbi 'nose’ gop bo 'body’
ip mo 'belly' co mo 'corpse'
mu 'horse’ yo 'sheep'
ke 'dog’ vot 'pig'
ap help 'hare’ va 'hen’
op 'goose' ssyt 'tiger'
wo 'bear' tap hly 'dove’
ke rra 'sparrow' lat mop 'wolf'
hxie zyr 'bird' bbu sse 'gnat'
bbut vup 'ant’ jji 'bee’
syp vo 'peach' hly vo 'cherry'
syp hmi 'nut' che 'rice'
lyp ma 'seedling' sha 'millet’
sax le 'cotton' yiep yot 'potato'
huo se 'peanut' mup ly 'sesame'
hmu 'mushroom' che ma 'rice'
va qip 'egg' uo tie 'turban'
uop lur 'hat' o kup 'pillow'
lix ti 'storied building' hox ho sse 'box'
zhuop zyr 'table' it ggo 'bed'
bbur ma 'character' biex qie 'dance'
zy ly 'bell'
hmi 'name'
nyit cy ‘demon’
iet muop ‘dream’
(11) a. 悉跑 $\theta$
bbox sse ly ma
mountain NUM. 4 CL
'four mountains'
b. $\pi \in \pi \theta$
hmyx shy suo ma sand NUM. 3 CL 'three grains of sand'
c．子1介
jjy nyip ma copper NUM． 2 CL ＇two pieces of copper＇
e．$\tilde{\sigma} \nexists+\theta$
biex qie nge ma dance NUM． 5 CL ＇five dances＇
d．$H^{\prime \prime} \lambda 5 \theta$
jie shat cyp ma street NUM． 1 CL ＇one street＇
f．$x x_{N} N$
nyit cy hxit ma
demon NUM． 8 CL
＇eight demons’

The classifier $n z y$ is the sortal classifier for clouds．It actualizes the inherent boundaries of the classified．

## Classifier：nzy

Classifieds：clouds
mu di＇cloud＇

The sortal classifier zha categorizes entities of tiny size such as granulated mate－ rials．It also functions as mensural classifier for certain mass nouns contributing the sense of $a$ little，as illustrated in（12）．

Classifier：zha
Classifieds：entities with tiny shape
ciep yiet＇thing＇hmyx shy＇sand＇ce＇salt＇
mup ly＇sesame＇sha＇millet＇zza＇food＇
（12）
a．出を出
b．$x_{i 1}$ な
hmyx shy ly zha
sand NUM． 4 CL
＇four grains of sand＇
zza nyip zha
food NUM． 2 CL
＇two tiny bits of food＇

The classifier tot categorizes small amounts of liquid that appear in the shape of drops，typically body liquids．

Classifier：tot＇drop’
Classifieds：liquids
yy＇water’ sy＇blood＇nyo bby＇tear＇
gup ma＇sweat＇

The sortal classifier ggu categorizes garments except those that co-occur with the classifier pot (see above). In addition, ggu is a classifier for looms which is related to the production of clothing.

Classifier: ggu
Classifieds: garment
vit gga 'garment' hlat 'trousers' nbo jjuo 'skirt'
vap la chyp ddu 'loom’

## C. Diverse small-range sortal classifiers

There are six sortal classifiers that categorize small ranges of noun referents. The classified nouns do not always exhibit a three-dimensional shape. The classifier jjur categorizes openings in a building such as doors or windows.

Classifier: jjur
Classifieds: narrow openings
ip ko ‘door’ siex nyuo 'window’

The classifier lo is restricted to valleys and reflects the omnipresence of the mountains on which the Nuosu people live.

Classifier: lo
Classifieds: valley
la dda 'valley’

The sortal classifier gur co-occurs with a couple of unrelated countable classifieds for which it actualizes shape boundaries.

Classifier: gur
Classifieds: diverse
zzi 'bridge' hmyp 'snare, trap’ njit 'net'

Moreover, there are three sortal classifiers of mental states and events. Most classifieds have conceptual boundaries that are actualized by the classifiers. The classifier jjit categorizes abstract states and events. The form ka classifies dreams. The classifier go, which is homophonous to the pronoun go (section 5.4.1.G), categorizes speech such as words, jokes, riddles.

Classifier：jjit
Classifieds：certain mental states and events
syt＇event’ li yot jjux＇mistake’ lie ba jjux＇danger＇
jjy ap sup jjux ‘difference’ mgat jip＇advantage’ ssi chot jjo＇usefulness’

Classifier：ka
Classifieds：dream
iet muop＇dream＇

Classifier：go
Classifieds：speech
ddop ma＇word’ lu byx＇proverb’ yyp ddu＇joke’
gie ddop＇riddle’ hne gge ddop＇news＇
a．㔛 $\theta$ Nシ
ddop ma hxit go
word NUM． 8 CL ＇eight words’
b．䒩屋雨
lu byx nyip go proverb NUM． 2 CL ＇two proverbs＇

## D．Mixed nominal and verbal classifiers

Verb classifiers categorize verbs by applying temporal boundaries to the referring event．In Nuosu，the classifier vit＇time＇is a double noun classifier and verb classifier （section 7．6．4．D）．With nouns like rain，which allow material and process interpreta－ tions，the classifier vit can occur in different argument slots of the predicate and is a double noun and verb classifier．
（14）$\theta$ 利 期気。
ma hxa cyp vit jjip ox．
rain NUM． 1 VCL．time become DP ＇There was a rain shower．＇

nga ma hxa cyp vit（jijp su）gge ox．
1P．SG rain NUM． 1 VCL．time become NOM hear DP
＇I heard a rain shower．＇

Similarly，the classifier $t u$＇shower＇is a double noun and verb classifier．

Classifier：tu＇shower＇，‘drench＇
Classifieds：weather phenomena
ma hxa＇rain＇mu hly＇wind＇hlyx shy＇dust＇

## E．Collectivizers

Collectivizers are classifiers that group several tokens of a noun together in a collec－ tion．In Nuosu，there are several collectivizers．The most common is gge that can co－occur with most count and mass nouns．

Classifier：gge
Classifieds：wide range of count and mass nouns
co＇person’ le＇ox＇syr bbo＇tree＇ ie qyt＇water＇nry＇wine＇ce＇salt＇ （．．．）

The classifier gge may not co－occur with numerals except cyp＇one＇with which it developed into a quantifier．However，gge is compatible with demonstrative pro－ nouns and the definite article，see（ $16 \mathrm{c}-\mathrm{d}$ ）．
a．Y米 5 l
syr bbo cyp gge
tree QUANT．some
＇some trees＇
c．$\quad$ 米再／武雨｜
syr bbo cyx／a zzyx gge tree DEM CL ＇these／those trees＇
b．＊Y类间
＊syr bbo nyip gge
tree NUM． 2 CL
Intended meaning：＇two trees’
d．$\quad Y$ 米用 4
syr bbo ggex su
tree ART＝CL＋NOM
＇the trees＇

The collectivizer wo is the same form as the plural suffix for personal pronouns． The classifier wo categorizes people，animals and also she＇meat＇for which it con－ tributes the meaning of piece．It switches to the tone sandhi wox for the two nouns ke＇dog＇and vot＇pig＇．

Classifier：wo＇group，flock，herd＇
Classifieds：animate nouns and meat

| co＇person＇ | ax yi＇child＇ | bbox zze＇man＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| si hni＇woman＇ | bi mox＇priest＇ | qop bop＇friend＇ |
| le＇ox＇ | yo＇sheep＇ | chyt＇goat＇ |
| ke＇dog＇ | va＇hen＇ | ie＇duck＇ |
| jji＇bee＇ | she＇meat＇ |  |

（17）
a．Q포」手
qop bop cyp wo
friend NUM． 1 CL．group
＇one group of friends＇
c． 11 風爭
ke suo wox
dog NUM． 3 CL．group
＇three packs of dogs＇
b．尔斤手
she nyip wo
meat NUM． 2 CL．piece
＇two pieces of meat＇
d．扗出爭
vot ly wox
pig NUM． 4 CL．group
＇four herds of pigs＇
Classifier：bbot＇group＇
Classifieds：mainly people
co＇person＇ax yi ‘child＇bbox zze＇man＇
si hni＇woman＇bi mox＇priest＇qop bop＇friend＇

The collective classifiers rre and pip both contribute the meaning of row and co－occur with entities that can be piled up in a line．

Classifier：rre＇row＇
Classifieds：a few nouns whose referents can be arranged in a row
syr bbo＇tree’ bbur ma ‘written character’ che＇rice’

Classifier：pip＇row＇
Classifieds：tiles
mguox lur＇tile＇sa pip＇board，plank＇

The classifier $z z i$ categorizes nouns denoting dual body parts（e．g．ear，hand， eye）and their associated articles of clothing（e．g．gloves，sleeves）．Its classifieds cover the same range of nouns as the classifier pot（section A）．

Classifier：zzi＇pair’
Classifieds：dual body parts and certain items of clothing
hnap bo＇ear＇lot＇hand＇hlop bbop＇arm＇
ddur＇wing’ xyx hnie＇shoes＇i dix lot ke＇sleeve＇
（18）

lot cyp zzi
hand NUM． 1 CL．pair ＇one pair of hands’
b．种出完
xyx hnie ly zzi shoe NUM． 4 CL．pair
＇four pairs of shoes＇

The classifiers bbur＇breed＇and ke＇nest＇collectivize small groups of livestock， insects and birds．The morpheme ke also functions as existential verb in the sense of live in a nest（section 12．1．2．K）．

Classifier：bbur＇breed＇
Classifieds：animals
kep sse＇puppy’ va zyt sse＇chick＇

Classifier：ke＇nest＇
Classifieds：certain animal nouns
jji ‘bee’ hxie zyr＇bird’ jyx zo＇ant＇
a．싸5
kep sse cyp bbur
puppy NUM． 1 CL．breed ＇one breed of puppy’
b．在汉䍐
hxie zyr ly ke
bird NUM． 4 CL．nest
＇four nests of birds＇

The classifier kie categorizes nouns for villages of an area and contributes the meaning of range or area．

Classifier：kie＇range’，‘area’

## Classifieds：

bbap ga＇village＇

The dissyllabic collective classifier zzyr ggup＇set＇categorizes clothes that are worn during social events．It appears to be the sole dissyllabic classifier besides a few ad－hoc dissyllabic classifiers（which can be derived from container nouns of materials or liquids）．

Classifier：zzyr ggup＇set’
Classifieds：garment
vit gga＇garment’

## F．Partitioners and subclassifiers

Collective classifiers，partitive classifiers and subclassifiers act upon entities with shape boundaries and individualize these boundaries．They create new conceptual boundaries by grouping several tockens into a collection（collective classifiers，see section E），or by cutting a part off a whole（partitive classifiers）．The following two charts present parti－ tive classifiers，zip categorizes storeys of buildings，bbop refers to rooms of houses．

Classifier：zip＇layer＇
Classifieds：layered entities
lix ti＇storied building＇dduo zip＇stairs＇

Classifier：bbop＇room＇
Classifieds：houses
yi＇house＇lix ti＇building＇le ho＇cow barn＇ da yi＇storehouse＇
a．リキ・
lix ti cyp zip
building NUM． 1 CL．storey ＇three storeys in the building＇
b．
le ho ly bbop
cow barn NUM． 4 CL．room
＇four rooms in the cow barn＇

A subclassifier divides a class of entities into subclasses，each associated with a different bundle of features．The morpheme yiet＇kind＇is a subclassifier which can co－occur with most common nouns．For certain mental states and events，yiet is the sole available form of individualization．The subclassifier yiet is not naturally used with nouns of unique reference，e．g．nose，heart．

Classifier：yiet＇kind＇
Classifieds：most common nouns
lur mat＇stone，rock＇ mu＇horse＇ hxie zyr＇bird＇ bbut vup＇ant＇ （．．．） hxop＇language＇ ngop jjux＇thought＇ we vi＇power＇ mgat jip＇advantage＇ ssi mgu ssi mge＇tool＇
shy＇gold’ she ddu＇steel＇ yo ‘sheep’ ka bba＇gift＇
（．．．） hne gge ddop＇news＇ jix po＇method’ jjo jjux＇life’ ssi chot＇usefulness＇ ddut＇poison＇
qu＇silver’
ax nyie＇cat＇
jji ‘bee’
（．．．）
hmi＇name＇
jjip jjup ‘appearance’
jjy ap sup jjux＇difference’ shax ndur jjux＇suffering＇
li yot jjux＇mistake’
（21）
a．$\Rightarrow$ 为 N
ka bba hxit yiet
gift NUM． 8 CL．kind ＇eight kinds of gift＇
b．予并个
jix po nyip yiet
method NUM． 2 CL．kind
＇two methods＇

```
c. #不*介隹
    #hnap bbi suo yiet
    nose NUM.3 CL.kind
    'three noses'
```


\＃ip mo nyip yiet
belly NUM． 2 CL．kind
＇two bellies＇

## G．Measure Words

Standard measures are socially recognized with a precise value．They measure the length，weight，volume，time，and other aspects of entities．In Nuosu，several more or less standard measures exists．These measures are not borrowed from Chinese， except for jip＇pound＇（Chinese jīn 斤斤）．

| Standard Measure Words | Classifieds |
| :--- | :--- |
| shy＇liter＇（container measure） | e．g．sha mox＇flour＇ |
| muo＇measure of ca． 13 liter＇（container measure） | e．g．jju＇oats＇ |
| yi＇measure of ca． 350 liter＇（container measure） | e．g．nry＇wine＇ |
| bu＇measure of one barrel＇（container measure） | e．g．sha mox＇flour＇ |
| jip＇measure of one pound＇（weight measure） | e．g．ce＇salt＇ |
| ne kop＇measure of ca．500m＇（length measure） | e．g．ggap mop＇road＇ |
| lot wap nuo＇measure of one cubit＇（length measure） | e．g．xi＇thread＇ |
| dur＇penny＇（currency measure） | e．g．rre mop＇money＇ |
| vat＇dollar＇（currency measure） | e．g．rre mop＇money＇ |
| yop＇ounce＇（measure of precious metals） | e．g．qu＇silver＇ |

Among these standard measure words，the classifier $b u$ is predominantly mensural but also has sortal uses．As sortal classifier，it categorizes plants such as flowers．As collective classifier，it co－occurs with nouns of cotton（with the sense of ball）and grape（contributing vine）．For liquids and finely granulated materials，$b u$ is a mea－ sure word（barrel）．

Classifier：bu＇barrel＇
Classifieds：flower，cotton and grape；certain mass nouns
viex vie＇flower’ vie bbup ‘bud’ nyi mop syp vo＇grape’
sax le＇cotton＇ie qyt＇water＇nry＇wine＇
sha mox ‘flour’ lyp ma＇seedling＇
（22）a．桽坐」 $\sqrt{1}$
viex vie cyp bu flower NUM． 1 CL ＇one flower＇
b．丰かまのケ「」
nyi mop syp vo nyip bu
grape NUM． 2 CL ＇two grape vines＇

The time measure word kur／kut＇year＇is socially recognized as the period of one year．It categorizes the noun kut $t i$＇age＇and is number－sensitive．With numbers seven modulo ten，it is pronounced kur with creaky voice and pronounced kut with a non－creaky sound for all other numbers．

Classifier：kur（with numeral seven）；kut（with other numerals）＇year＇
Classifieds：age

## kut ti ‘age’

The set of non－standard measures is open，since many entities can be trans－ formed into containers or limiters of other objects．Non－standard measures share the property of being vague and not socially recognized．Below，several non－standard measures are provided．Illustrations of their use follow in（23a－f）．

Classifier：gep＇handful＇
Classifieds：hair
uo nyie＇hair＇nyie＇animal hair＇zza lyx＇seed＇

Classifier：luo zzi＇double－hand measure’
Classifieds：certain mass nouns
hmyx shy＇sand＇syx jo＇earth，mud＇

Classifier：ta＇jar’（loaned from the Chinese tán 坛）
Classifieds：certain mass nouns
qu＇silver’ nry＇wine’

Classifier：zhep＇bowl＇（loaned from the Chinese zhăn 盛）
Classifieds：mass nouns
ie qyt＇water’ yy ‘soup’ sha mox＇flour＇
nry＇wine＇lat yy＇tea＇

Classifier：pip＇bottle’（loaned from the Chinese píng 瓶）
Classifieds：liquids
ie qyt＇water＇nry＇wine＇

Classifier：pax shu＇bag＇

## Classifieds：

hmyx shy＇sand＇syx jo＇earth，mud＇lyp ma＇seedling＇
sha＇millet＇jju＇oats＇sha mox＇flour＇
（23）


Finally，there are other frequently used measure words．The container measure word ga＇stem＇individualizes tobacco as cigarettes．The measure word bo＇ball＇indi－ vidualizes material as clustered balls．The measure word cup collectivizes nouns denoting hair as coil or buckle．

Classifier：ga ‘stem’
Classifieds：tobacco
yi＇tobacco＇

Classifier：bo ‘ball＇，＇clew’（Chinese loanword 包）
Classifieds：certain mass nouns
ce＇salt＇xi＇thread＇

Classifier：cup＇coil＇，＇buckle’
Classifieds：hair
uo nyie＇hair＇

## H．Auto－classifiers

Auto－classifiers are nouns that serve as their own classifier．The term was coined by Matisoff（1973：89）for Lahu，a Tibeto－Burman language spoken in Thailand．Many Lahu nouns function as their own classifier．
（24）Thailand Lahu（Matisoff 1973：89）
a．$z \varepsilon^{21} \quad \mathrm{te}^{54} \quad z \varepsilon^{21}$
b． $\mathrm{q}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{a}^{45} \quad \mathrm{ni}^{45} \quad \mathrm{q}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{a}^{45}$
house NUM． 1 CL．house
＇one house＇
village NUM． 2 village
＇two villages＇

Auto－classifiers are broadly attested in Lahu and other Yi languages，but in Northern Yi to which Nuosu belongs few examples exist．For some dissyllabic nouns， the second syllable is an auto－classifier．
a．Y类」坐
syr bbo cyp bbo
tree NUM． 1 CL
＇one tree＇
b．Y必必
syr qi nyip qi
leaf NUM． 2 CL
＇two leaves＇
c．䝮倸名
dut $\mathbf{z i}$ suo $\mathbf{z i}$
torch NUM． 3 CL
＇three torches＇

## 5．2．2 Possession

Although the concept of in／alienability ${ }^{2}$ has no significance for the grammar of Nuosu， the concept is helpful for the organization of the amorphous possessor－possessee pairs． Scholars（Gerner 2005：310；Langacker 1991a：169；Riegel 1984；Taylor 1989）sketch the notion of in／alienation as a prototypical category with two feature axes：concep－ tual distance（small $\leftrightarrow$ great）and durability（permanent $\leftrightarrow$ temporary），see figure 5．1．

Possessive noun phrases exhibit several so－called possessive roles．These roles may be associated with the two macro－roles of possessor and possessee．Nuosu does not use morphological marking but word order to encode possessor and possessee roles．
（26）Possessive constructions： $\mathrm{N}_{\text {Possessor }}+\mathrm{N}_{\text {Possessee }}$

[^4]| Link | permanent durability | temporary |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| small | ```& person-body part owner-belongings animal-body part plant-plant part object-part mass-constituent``` | person－body substance animal－body substance plant－fruit／plant－leaves |
| conceptual distance | person－kin <br> family－member set of objects－object collection－collection of parts （e．g．people－their legs） | person－social contact social group－member container－contents |
| great | entity－attribute entity－state | agent－／patient－action thinker－idea |

Figure 5．1：A cognitive map of possessor－possessee pairs

The possessor noun always precedes the possessee．The following examples illustrate most possessive relations．
（27）Kinship
a．A1H番
b．式隹似
cop pat vu
3P．PL uncle
＇their uncle＇
ax yi ax da
child father
＇the child＇s father＇
c．$\forall H H^{\top} \cdot \theta$
ngat mu ddix co
1P．SG．POSS hometown
＇my hometown＇
（28）Person－body part
a．di年号
nit nyuo zzyp
b．ザ旬ゆ ¥ \％
2P．SG．POSS eye
＇your eye’
ngat ix yi lot ggur
1P．SG．POSS brother bracelet
＇my brother＇s bracelet＇
（29）Person－body substance
a．＊ล而笑
hnip mop uo nyie
sister hair
＇the hair of my sister＇
b． $5 \frac{1}{2}$ 』
cyp nyuo bby
3P．SG．POSS tears
＇his tears＇
c．$: \mathbb{i} \mathbb{S} \mathbb{U}$
nit sot ddur 2P．SG．POSS breath ＇your breath＇
d． 5 Y
cyp sy
3P．SG．POSS blood ＇his blood＇
（30）Owner－belongings
a．Nヨx＂
nop
rre zza
2P．PL．POSS assets
＇your（pl．）assets＇
b．甘゙ザ
ngat vit gga
1P．SG．POSS clothes
＇my clothes＇
（31）Animal－body part
a．牙哺典是
ax nyie hna si small cat head ＇the head of the small cat＇
b．N小川雨서․
le a zzyx ji pup shu
ox DEM．DIST CL tail ＇the tail of that ox＇
c．$H: \neq N i \theta$
lat hni rry ma
lion tooth
＇the teeth of the lion＇
d．用岕中！
uox ba xy li
frog leg ＇the legs of that frog＇
（32）Plant－part

syr bbo a zzyx bbo njip
tree DEM．DIST CL root
＇the root of that tree＇
（33）Plant－renewable part
Y坐禾片头 Y 必
syr bbo bbox su go syr qi
tree ART＝CL－DET LOC leaf
＇the leaves of the tree＇
（34）Plant－fruit
ب娄州平米斗旬 $\theta$
syr bbo a zzyx bbo go max ma
tree DEM．DIST CL LOC fruit
＇the fruit of that tree＇
（35）Substance－constituent

ie qyt cyp zhep go ce ggex su
water NUM． 1 CL．bowl LOC salt ART＝CL－DET
＇the salt content of that bowl of water＇
（36）Container－contents
a．朝水斗島州
jie vi go jiex jie
law LOC prescription ＇the prescriptions of the law＇
b．Ј目秘 ※
hxo pu go lur mat mountain LOC stone ＇the stones of the mountain＇

zhep sse cyx ji go cha zza
bowl DEM．PROX CL LOC rice
＇the rice in this bowl＇
（37）Entity－attribute

ax pu kut ti
grandfather age
＇the age of（my）grandfather＇
b． 5 雨 8
cyp jjip jjup
3P．SG．POSS character ＇his character＇
c．$\$$ 氏（®）

mup dut ca jjux
fire heat
＇the heat of the fire＇
nuo su mu pix nzop ndit Nuosu traditions ＇the traditions of the Nuosu people＇
e． $8^{\circ} 8^{\circ}$ 名时
zhu zhu pu jiet
pearl price
＇the pearl＇s price＇
（38）Person－social contact

ngat qop bop suo yuo
1P．SG．POSS friend NUM． 3 CL ＇my three friends＇
（39）Agent／patient－action
a． 5 H采
cyp mu jjux 3P．SG．POSS deed ＇his deeds＇
b．甘゙上゙ス
ngat hmat mop
1P．SG．POSS teacher ＇my teacher＇
c．ऽ名午
cyp hxip tie
3P．SG．POSS tone
＇his tone，way of talking＇
（40）Thinker－idea
$\forall$ 水果
ngat ngop jjux
1P．SG．POSS idea
＇my ideas＇

## 5．2．3 Adjectival modification

Adjectives that modify nouns require the nominalizer $s u$ and／or a classifier．Adjec－ tives that restrict reference of the head noun are attached right to it；appositive adjectives with non restricting reference occur left to the head noun．
（41）Adjectival modification：
（i） $\mathrm{ADJ}+$ su +N ；（Appositive）
（ii） $\mathrm{ADJ}+s u+\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{CL}$ ；（Appositive）
（iii） $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{ADJ}+$ Su；（Restrictive）
（iv） $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{ADJ}+\mathrm{CL}$ ．（Restrictive）

Examples（42a）and（43a）represent appositive adjectives，whereas（42b）and（43b） restrictive adjectives．

mi yi yi su hmiep chur yit mop qit
sharp NOM sword CL
＇a sharp sword（appositive：a sword which is sharp）＇

hmiep chur yit mop mi yi yi qit
sword sharp CL
＇a sharp sword（restrictive：a sword that is sharp）＇

syx nie su zzax hxo
sticky NOM porridge ＇porridge which is sticky（app．）＇

zzax hxo syx nyie su porridge sticky NOM ＇porridge that is sticky（res．）＇

In（44），appositive and restrictive adjectives are illustrated for three types of determiners：indefinite articles，definite articles and demonstratives．
a．可す近 ${ }^{\prime \prime} \theta$
ax nuo su ke ma
black NOM dog CL
＇a black dog（app．）＇
c．$\ddagger ⿻ 丷 木 \operatorname{liN} \theta$
syp hmi bbit ggop ma walnut empty CL ＇an empty walnut（res．）＇

le she ax vu su
beef dry NOM ＇beef that is dry（res．）＇
g．禾愛片句 $\theta$
bbox sho su yi ma
clean NOM house CL ＇a clean house（app．）＇
i．$\quad$＂平是
syt we zze jjit
issue difficult CL ＇a difficult issue（res．）＇

ax yi o bbu su
child intelligent NOM ＇intelligent children（res．）＇
b．
vit gga ax du cyx ggu
clothes thick DEM．PROX CL ＇this thick garment（res．）＇

ssox sse la ry a zzyx ma pupil early DEM．DIST CL ＇that early pupil（res．）＇
f．जीリJ片 $Q$ 조 $\hat{\theta}$
ax li su qop bop max su
old NOM friend ART
＇the long－time friend（app．）＇
h．N王旬愛気
ji bop ix sho cyx ji cord short DEM．PROX CL ＇this short cord（res．）＇
j．寽串出点 $\theta$ 尔
jjiex mguo su ddop ma go
clear NOM speech CL ＇a clear utterance（app．）＇

1．陁出片是丰
hxie sa su si hni
happy NOM woman
＇happy women（app．）＇

Monosyllabic adjectives with the midtone［33］take the sandhi tone［44］before the nominalizer su or before a classifier（sandhi rule 7，section 3．2．2）．All other adjectives do not change their tone when preceding $s u$ ．
（45）
a．扎親有
vot cux su
pig fat NOM
＇fat pigs（res．）＇
c． 어 $\underset{\substack{\mathrm{J}}}{\sqrt{1}}$
co nbop su
person good NOM
＇good people（res．）＇
b．SNで
gga mop hxuox ji road slippery CL ＇a slippery road（res．）＇
d．类坐（け」
viex vie nrat bu
flower beautiful CL ＇a beautiful flower（res．）＇

It is possible to omit the head noun if it is salient from the discourse context．
（46）
a．折卯会少
sur sha max su
poor ART＝CL－DET
＇the poor＇
b．シッチ採：
ddi a zzyx gge
evil DEM．DIST CL
＇those evil ones＇

Examples（47a＋b）consist of headless nominalized adjectives that have been lexicalized as nouns．
（47）
a．$\sqrt{5}$
nuo su
black NOM
＇Nuosu（＝black）people’
b． $2 \boldsymbol{\pi}$
mop su
old，great NOM
‘old person’

## 5．2．4 Nominalization

Nuosu relative clauses are marked by invariable particles，notably the morpheme su （section A）．The two morphemes $d d u$ and $d d e$ have restricted usage as nominalizer （section B）．The multiple functions of $s u$ are historically derived from the indefinite pronoun sut（section C）．

## A．The nominalizer su

Some of the material presented in this subsection has been published in Gerner （2004a：139－142）．

The nominalizer su encodes restrictive，appositive（nonrestrictive），and free （headless）relative clauses．Free relative clauses built on bare verbs are ambiguous． They refer to the activity or to a participant of the activity．Free relative clauses with bare verbs are employed only when the context provides clear cues about the iden－ tity of the referents．

hxip－su mu－su jjyx－qo ssox． say NOM do NOM RECL－follow MOD．should
（i）＇（A person＇s）speech should agree with（his）deeds．＇
（ii）＇Walk your talk（lit．the speaker should agree with the doer）．＇
b．白臭事版宁女。
hxip six mo su gex xi．
talk RES see NOM tell arrive
（i）‘（Let＇s）talk about the view．＇（ii）‘（Let’s）talk about the watchers．＇
c．$\quad$ 却水那可。
sy su ap－jjo ox．
die NOM NEG－exist DP
（i）＇Death is no more．＇（ii）＇The dead（person）is no more．＇

In（49a＋b），we have a headless relative clause referring to the A －and O －arguments of the relative clause in which they are gapped．

sut co mox da ngax wa zyt bit su jio． someone else COV．see 1P．SG after criticize NOM have ＇There are those who speak badly about me in front of others．＇

at gop yu six la zzit su
name grasp RES come ART＝CL－DET
＇The one（＝book）that Ago grasped yesterday＇

Relative clauses can be attached to the left and right of a head noun．The left－ branching nominalized phrase should not be reduced to a bare verb．It can be a bare verb，if it is right－branching．
a．$\quad * \in \stackrel{\pi}{4} \cdot \theta$
＊zze su Co eat NOM person ＇the eating person＇
c．＊
＊gat qip su co delay NOM person ＇the delaying person＇
b． $1819 \sqrt{1}$
co zze su
person eat NOM
＇the person who is eating＇
d．A1 M（1）J
co gat qip su
person delay NOM
＇the person who is delaying＇

Left－branching relative clauses are appositive and do not restrict possible refer－ ents．Right－branching relative clauses are restrictive relative clauses．If the head noun is a common noun，left－and right－branching relative clauses are both grammatical， as in $(51 a+b)$ ．For proper nouns or nouns with unique reference，only left－branching relative clauses are grammatical，see（52a＋b）．
（51）RC built on common nouns
a．时委打京井片
co nax jjo mgo jjo su（Right－branching）
person illness have illness have NOM
Restrictive：＇the people who have an illness．＇

nax jio mgo jjo su co（Left－branching）
illness have illness have NOM person
Nonrestrictive（appositive）：＇the ill people．＇
（52） RC built on proper nouns
a．＊HC雨井京折片
＊mu ga nax jjo mgo jjo su（Right－branching） name illness have illness have NOM Restrictive：＇Muga who has an illness．＇
b．乎打呆折片HC
nax jjo mgo jjo su mu ga（Left－branching）
illness have illness have NOM name
Nonrestrictive（appositive）：＇ill Muga．＇

We can distinguish five basic relative constructions，a headless，two left－and two right－attached constructions．
（53）Relative constructions：

| （i） | $\mathrm{RC}+s u ;$ | （Free） |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| （ii） | $\mathrm{RC}+s u+\mathrm{N} ;$ | （Appositive） |
| （iii） | $\mathrm{RC}+s u+\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{CL} ;$ | （Appositive） |
| （iv） | $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{RC}+s u ;$ | （Restrictive） |
| （v） | $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{RC}+C L^{\prime}$. | （Restrictive） |

The head of the relative construction is co－referential with a gapped or resumed argument in RC．The following arguments can be gapped or resumed．

## （i）Argument role $\mathbf{S}$

The gapped argument of a relative clause can have the $S$ role（intransitive subject）， as in（54a）．The S－role cannot be resumed as in（54b）．

 pupil［empty］ill DEM．DIST CL home go DP ＇The student who was ill went back home．＇

＊ssox sse cy na a zzyx ma ix go bbo ox． pupil 3P．SG ill DEM．DIST CL home go DP Intended meaning：＇The student who was ill went back home．＇

## （ii）Argument role A

In（55），the head noun co＇person＇has the A－role of the relative clause．${ }^{3}$（55a）illus－ trates left－branching and（55b）right－branching relative clauses．

cyx li $\quad \varnothing \quad$ nry ap－ndo su ngat qop bop ma nge． 3P．SG TOP［empty］wine NEG－drink NOM 1P．SG．POSS friend CL COP ＇He is a friend of mine who doesn＇t drink．＇
b．1015米点广肅打。
co $\quad$ Ø cyp nyit ddop njyp su ap－jjo． person［empty］3P．DL speech believe NOM NEG－have ＇There was nobody who believed what they said．＇

The basic word order in Nuosu is aspectually conditioned．Clauses with progres－ sive aspect have the order AOV；resultative clauses have the order OAV（section 10．2）． In resultative relative clauses with word order OAV，the A－argument is gapped with a resumptive pronoun in the relative clause．


＇The peasants who sold cereals at the market have gone home．＇

[^5]
## (iii) Argument role 0

In resultative relative clauses with word order OAV, the O-argument is gapped without a resumptive pronoun in the relative clause. The relative clause in example (57) is resultative because of the particle gox sha 'away' (section 7.3.2.B).


'The books which were thrown away by Muga were (all) brand-new.'
In clauses with indeterminate word order which are neither progressive nor resultative, the 0 -argument is gapped without resumptive pronoun.


'Muga fed the pigs that Lamo intended to slaughter for the New Year.'

In progressive relative clauses with word order AOV, the O-argument must be gapped by a resumptive pronoun.

vit gga ax mo gox cy njuo ggex su ax nyi -jiy- ax nyi.
clothes mother PRO wash PROG ART=CL-DET much very much
'The clothes that Mum washes are many.'
(iv) Argument role of Recipient

Recipient arguments (indirect objects) can be relativized not by co-referential deletion but by substituting a resumptive pronoun for the recipient noun phrase.
(60) Hとよ


| bbyx | ggex su |
| :--- | :--- |
| give | ART=CL-DET | blame | byt. |
| :--- |

'Muga blamed the pupils to whom Lamo had given money.'


| ax $\mathbf{y i}$ | nga | bbux dde sip | cop | ge | ggex su |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| o bbu－jjy－o bbu． |  |  |  |  |  |
| child | 1P．SG | story | COV．take | 3P．PL | tell |
|  | ART＝CL－DET | very intelligent |  |  |  |

In Nuosu，it is not possible to relativize other semantic roles than A，O and recipient．There is no direct strategy to express constructions like the man by／ through／for whom．

## B．The nominalizers $d d u$ and dde

For instruments and locations，Nuosu uses two nominalizers distinct from su：$d d u$ （instrumental）and dde（locative）．These particles have limited productivity．They can only scope over untensed verb phrases and nominalize unspecific events．

zza zze ddu ssi bux ssi ot
food eat NOM utensil
＇the utensils of food consumption＇

＊zza zze ox ddu ssi bux ssi ot food eat DP NOM utensil Intended meaning：‘＊the utensils that were used for food consumption’
a．HU甘ォワ
muga it dde yi
name live NOM house
＇the house where Muga lives＇

＊mu ga it da dde yi name live STP NOM house Intended meaning：‘＊the house where Muga is living（now）’

In（62）and（63），the second example is ungrammatical because the nominaliza－ tion particles $d d u$ and $d d e$ nominalize verb phrases marked by the perfect particles $o x$ and $d a$ whose function is to refer to specific events．

These nominalizers might be historically derived from one proto－form before splitting into $d d u$ and $d d e$ ．In Wēiníng Neasu，a close genetic relative of Nuosu，there is a cognate nominalizer，$d r^{33}$ ，for both instrumental and locative．
（64）Wēiníng Neasu（author’s fieldnotes 29－June－1999）
a． $\mathrm{si}^{33} \mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{o}^{33} \mathrm{dr}^{33}$
b． $\mathrm{ya}^{33} \mathrm{~d}^{21} \mathrm{lr}^{21} \mathrm{~d} \gamma^{33}$
tree fell NOM ＇the instruments for felling a tree’

## （i）The nominalizer ddu

The particle $d d u$ nominalizes transitive verbs phrases as headless relative clauses． Ddu nominalizes bare verbs as patient nominals and object－verb phrases as in－ strumental nominals．It was productive at some earlier stage of history and was lexicalized afterwards．
a．$e^{\psi}$
b．$X_{i n} e_{i}$
zze ddu
eat NOM
＇food＇
zza zze ddu
food eat NOM
＇utensils for eating＇
c．${ }^{\Downarrow}$
ndo ddu
drink NOM
＇drinks＇
d． $\boldsymbol{H}_{\mathrm{N}} \boldsymbol{\psi}$
nry ndo ddu
wine drink NOM
＇utensils for drinking wine＇

The particle $d d u$ nominalizes the verb ggat＇wear＇as clothes，the verb ndit＇wear＇ as hat，gloves，shoes and so forth．
e．$H \Psi$
ggat ddu
wear NOM
＇clothes＇
f．㐫世
ndit ddu
wear NOM
＇what is worn at extremeties of body＇

Some verbs to which $d d u$ is attached have lexicalized meanings．
（66）
a．$H_{H}$
b．£坐 $\Psi$
kop ddie ddu
need NOM
＇needs’

Verbs nominalized by $d d u$ can be modified by certain nominal modifiers，for example by the classifier yiet＇kind＇，see（67a）．The possibility of using numerals hinges on the degree these nominalized expressions are lexicalized，see（67b）．

nop wox nra ddu xix yiet jjox jjo？
2P．PL measure NOM INT．what CL have～ALT
＇What kind of measure do you have？＇
b．疗门料出 5
vap la chyp ddu cyp gu
coat weave NOM NUM． 1 CL ＇one loom＇

The agent of the verb nominalized by $d d u$ is expressed as a possessor，in example（67c）by the possessive pronoun ngat＇my＇．


| ngat | ly | ddu | li | wep | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG．POSS | request | NOM | TOP | get | DP |
| ＇My request was granted．＇ |  |  |  |  |  |

The morpheme $d d u$ can also nominalize stative verbs．In one case，$d d u$ can even be attached to the predicate $a p c y$＇more＇with the sense advantage．

ne xix mu jy jie ddu jjo？
2P．SG INT．what do fear NOM have
＇Why are you afraid？＇

ne co jox ap cy ddu xix jjo？
2P．SG person toward more NOM INT．what have
＇What do you have that others do not have？＇

$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { cy } & \text { ddie } & \text { co } & \text { box } & \text { ddu } & \text { ap－} & \text { jjo．} \\ \text { 3P．SG } & \text { COV．prepare } & \text { people } & \text { show } & \text { NOM } & \text { NEG－} & \text { have }\end{array}$
＇He has no accomplishments’（lit．＇he has nothing to show to others．＇）

## （ii）The nominalizer dde

The particle dde can nominalize any verb／adjective whose referring event／state is tied to a fixed place．It may be attached to subject－verb，object－verb or verb－verb phrases．In each case the verb／adjective must refer to generic nonspecific events／ states．In particular，the verb or adjective cannot be suffixed by an aspect particle as shown in（69b）．
（69）a．刘ザ甘丰もすさ。
$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { cyx } & \text { li } & \text { ngat } & \text { it nyi gu } & \text { dde } & \text { nge．} \\ \text { DEM．PROX } & \text { TOP } & \text { 1P．SG．POSS } & \text { sleep } & \text { NOM } & \text { COP }\end{array}$
＇This is my sleeping place．＇
b．＊代げも丰も可気さ。
＊cyx li ngat it nyi gu ox dde nge．
DEM．PROX TOP 1P．SG．POSS sleep DP NOM COP Intended meaning：＇This is the place where I slept．＇

The particle dde is attached to a subject－verb phrase in（70a）and to an object－ verb phrase in（70b－d）．
（70）

cop cy shyp six qop bop max su jjox dde go xi ox． 3P．PL 3P．SG lead RES friend ART＝CL－DET live NOM LOC arrive DP ＇He led them to the place where his friend lived．＇
b．ヨ习习】
rre mop dax dde
money put NOM
＇place to put money＇

co zzax zze dde go nyi ggex su li，hxie mgat nyip
person food eat NOM LOC sit ART＝CL－DET TOP Han NUM． 2
ma qo．
CL contain
＇Among the people who sit at the table，there are two Han Chinese．＇

cy ma gop ddie ma gop dit dde go dit da．
3P．SG lamp COV．prepare lamp hang NOM LOC hang STP
＇He had the lamp placed on the lamp pedestal．＇

In（70e）dde nominalizes a directional verb phrase which then is individualized by a classifer．

mu ddix cop gox bbo dde ggat su
place 3P．PL PRO．LOC go NOM ART＝CL－DET
＇the place they are going to＇

The particle dde can also nominalize stative verbs and adjectives as long as they encode generic states that can be associated with fixed places．${ }^{4}$

ke co gep mgot hnop hxi jox nuo jy jyx dde bbo ox． dog person PASS drive out outside towards black－IDE～EXPR NOM go DP ＇The dog was driven out by someone into the darkness．＇

The particle dde was lexicalized after a few verbs．In（72a），ssox dde does not denote an ad－hoc place of study，but is the noun for school．
a． $\bar{\theta} \mathscr{\theta}$
ssox dde
study NOM
＇school＇
b．बも「
mot it dde
soldier live NOM
＇barracks＇
c．NGモ
mop mge dde
meet NOM
＇assembly，meeting place’
d．手
a．
nyix dde
sit NOM
＇seat＇

The particle dde can be used in expressions $\mathrm{V}_{1}-d d e-\mathrm{V}_{2}$－$d d e$ to denote abstract concepts．These expressions are partly lexicalized．

co cyx ma li xix dde jjip dde ap－jjo su nge． person DEM．PROX CL TOP arrive NOM become NOM NEG－have NOM COP ＇This man does not have any credibility（i．e．is exaggerating）．＇

## C．Appendix：The particle su

The particle su exhibits six grammatical functions which are analyzed in different parts of this grammar and summarized in this subsection．

Meanings
（i）Indefinite pronoun sut＇someone else＇
（ii）Determiner particle $s u$
（iii）Nominalizer $s u$
（iv）Focus particle $s u$
（v）Topic particle $s u$
（vi）Complementizer $s u$

Section of grammar
section 5．4．1．E
section 5．4．5
section 5．2．4．A
section 14．2．2
section 14．1．2
section 13．2．3

4 For instance，the verb ngop＇think＇cannot be nominalized by dde as＊ngop dde．The activity of thinking cannot be easily associated with a place．

## （i）As indefinite pronoun sut＇someone else＇

An indefinite pronoun is a pronoun that refers to one or more beings，objects，or places unfamiliar to the addressee．Sut＇someone else＇is an indefinite pronoun．
（74）a．H
mu ga sut wa ddop ddi hxa ddi hxip ox．
name someone else behind evil words speak DP ＇Muga has slandered other people．＇

mu ga sut co sha mu hxi．
name someone else have compassion
＇Muga cares for others．＇

The indefinite pronoun sut is derived from the common noun＊su＇person＇in an ancestor language of Nuosu．There are several residual words using this form in the modern language．
a．片畐
b．$\sqrt{1} d$
su hlit
person young
＇adolescent＇
c．少买
su nyit
person magic arts
＇priest＇
sux yy
person great
＇（tribal）elder＇
d． $2 \sqrt{1}$
mop su
old，great person
＇old person＇

## （ii）As determiner particle su

The morpheme $s u$ is not an independent determiner but contributes to the formation of a definite article together with a classifier（see section 5．4．5）．

kep sse bburx su
puppy ART＝CL－DET
＇the breed of puppy＇
b．$\quad 9$ 抱为水
iet muop kax su
dream ART＝CL－DET
＇the dream＇

## （iii）As nominalizer su

The morpheme $s u$ is a marker of relative clauses．The semantic roles which $s u$ can relativize are S，A，O and Recipient．In（77），the head noun is coreferential with the gapped 0 －argument of the relative clause．


| ggap mop | cy | mga | su | gup lur gut lur. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| way | 3P.SG | pass | NOM | stable-not-stable | 'He is unstable in his paths (= ways which he is passing through).'

## (iv) As focus particle su

The morpheme su co-occurs optionally with the copular nge to form a special focus construction, called association with focus pattern (Jackendoff 1972; Rooth 1985; Paul \& Whitman 2008). The Nuosu construction has similar focus properties as the Chinese bare shi-construction (see section 6.1.2.B). In Nuosu, every constituent marked by su / su nge can be focused by assigning it intonational prominence. In (78), the distant subject is in focus.


| ne | xip | mu | go | li, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P.SG | DEM.DD | do | COMP | TOP |


| cy | a hnat mu | nit | jox | zyt ry | la | su | nge, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P.SG | especially | 2P.SG | toward | enrage | become | FOC | COP |

nga a hnat mu nit jox zyt ry la su ap- nge.
1P.SG especially 2P.SG toward enrage become FOC NEG- COP
'If you proceed in this way, he will be particularly enraged against you, but I won't.'

## (v) As topic particle su

Another function of $s u$ is to mark sentence topics which do not participate in the argument structure of the main predicate (section 14.1.2). Sentence topics occur in initial position and can be further marked by one of the topic markers ne (maintaining topic) or li (contrasting topic).

ssux mi su li lat ti cop jox ku gep we gex. riot SENT.TOP TOP male name 3P.PL toward encourage 'Regarding the riots, Lati encouraged them to take heart.'
b.
syt kax jjo cyx gge mu bbit ddur su li, matter CLF have DEM.PROX CL QUANT.all happen SENT.TOP TOP cop wox hxie kat -jjy- kat. 3P.PL happy very happy
'All these things happened for the purpose of making them happy.'

## (vi) As complementizer su

The particle su functions as complementizer for matrix verbs such as sso 'learn', hxep ddur la 'recognize', dde jji 'know', shut 'remember' and so forth (see section 13.2.3).


| ip nyip | it |  | yur nyip | nge |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| su |  |  |  |  |
| today | LOG.SG.POSS | birthday | COP | COMP |
| lat hxa | go | ap-shut |  | ox |
| ddix. |  |  |  |  |
| male name | PRO.PAT | NEG-remember | DP | QUOT |

'(Muga complained about) Laha forgetting that today is his birthday.'

### 5.3 Quantifying nouns

In this section, we analyze the Nuosu numeral system (section 5.3.1), nominal quantifiers (section 5.3.2) and the additive noun conjunction si nip 'and' (section 5.3.3).

### 5.3.1 Numerals

Number can be encoded in a language as a grammatical category (Corbett 2000) or as a lexical category (Comrie 1999, 2005; Hammarström 2010). As grammatical category, number can have obligatory or facultative expression in the nominal / verbal system. In English, we are forced to choose between singular and plural when we use a noun. Languages in which nouns are indeterminate for number have "general number" (Corbett 2000: 10). Nouns in Nuosu only have general number in this sense.

## A. Cardinal numbers

Cardinal number systems differ for the arithmetical base that is used in constructing numeral expressions. The base of a system of cardinal numbers is the number $n$ such that numeral expressions are constructed according to the formula $a n+b$, that is a number $a$ multiplied by the base $n$ plus some other number $b$. Comrie (2005: 530) mentions five kinds of arithmetical bases. ${ }^{5}$

Nuosu exhibits a purely decimal system and is similar to Mandarin Chinese and other isolating langugages of Southwest China.

[^6]Table 5.3: The major arithmetical bases for number systems in the world

| Base | Name of system | Language examples |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 10 | Decimal (+hybrid) | English, Chinese, Nuosu |
| 20 | Vigesimal (+hybrid) | Diola-Fogny (Niger-Congo: Senegal; <br> Sapir 1965: 84-85) |
| Other (e.g. 60) | Other (e.g. sexagesimal) | Sexagesimal: Ekari (Trans-New Guinea: <br> Indonesia; Drabbe 1952: 30) |
| Body parts | Extended body-part system <br> (fingers, arm etc.) <br> Restricted <br> (using only $\approx 20$ numbers) | Kobon (Trans-New Guinea: Papua; <br> Comrie 2005: 530) |
|  | Pirahã (Mura in Brazil; <br> cited in Comrie 2005:530) |  |

(i) 1-20

| 1 | cyp | 11 | cix zy |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 | nyip | 12 | ci nyix |
| 3 | suo | 13 | ci suo |
| 4 | ly | 14 | ci ly |
| 5 | nge | 15 | ci nge |
| 6 | fut | 16 | ci fut |
| 7 | shyp | 17 | ci shy |
| 8 | hxit | 18 | ci hxit |
| 9 | ggu | 19 | cix ggu |
| 10 | ci | 20 | nyip zi |

(ii) 20-100

| 20 | nyip zi | 61 | fut ci cyx |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | :--- |
| 21 | nyip ci cyx | 62 | fut ci nyix |
| 22 | nyip ci nyix | 70 | shyp ci |
| 30 | suo ci | 71 | shyp ci cyx |
| 31 | suo ci cyx | 72 | shyp ci nyix |
| 32 | suo ci nyix | 80 | hxit ci |
| 40 | ly ci | 81 | hxit ci cyx |
| 41 | ly ci cyx | 82 | hxit ci nyix |
| 42 | ly ci nyix | 90 | ggu ci |
| 50 | nge ci | 91 | ggu ci cyx |
| 51 | nge ci cyx | 92 | ggu ci nyix |
| 52 | nge ci nyix | 100 | cyp hxa |
| 60 | fut ci |  |  |

(iii) 100-1,000

| 100 | cyp hxa |
| ---: | :--- |
| 101 | cyp hxa nip cyp |
| 111 | cyp hxa cix zy |
| 200 | nyip hxa |
| 202 | nyip hxa nip nyip |
| 222 | nyip hxa nyip ci nyip |
| 300 | suo hxa |
| 303 | suo hxa nip suo |
| 333 | suo hxa suo ci suo |
| 400 | ly hxa |
| 404 | ly hxa nip ly |
| 444 | ly hxa ly ci ly |
| 500 | nge hxa |
| 505 | nge hxa nip nge |

555
600
606
666
700
707
777
800
808
888
900
909
999
1,000 cyp dur
(iv) 1,000-1,000,000,000

| 1,000 | cyp dur | 11,000 | cyp vat cyp dur |
| ---: | :--- | ---: | :--- |
| 1,001 | cyp dur nip cyp | 20,000 | nyip vat |
| 1,010 | cyp dur nip ci | 100,000 | ci vat |
| 1,100 | cyp dur cyp hxa | $1,000,000$ | cyp hxa vat |
| 2,000 | nyip dur | $10,000,000$ | cyp dur vat |
| 3,000 | suo dur | $100,000,000$ | cyp sur |
| 10,000 | cyp vat | $200,000,000$ | nyip sur |
| 10,001 | cyp vat nip cyp | $1,000,000,000$ | ci sur |

For large numbers, languages differ in the use of exponentiation of the numeral base. English, for example, has a decimal system and uses a special term for $10^{2}$, which is hundred, one for $10^{3}$, thousand, as well as one for $10^{6}$, million. Nuosu uses exponential bases that partially differ from English, see table 5.4 below.

## B. Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers identify the position of an element in a set relative to other members of the same set (Hurford 1975, 1987; Stolz \& Veselinova 2005). In Nuosu, ordinal numbers employ cardinal numbers, a classifier and the nominalization particle $s u$ as in the following construction:
(81) Ordinal number construction: NUM+CL+CL*+su.

If the classifier has the midtone [ ${ }^{33}$ ] in isolation, then the second copy takes the sandhi tone [44]. If the classifier is in the low tone [ ${ }^{21}$ ], the tone of the second copy is

Table 5．4：Exponential bases of 10 in English and Nuosu

| Exponentiation | Number | English base | Nuosu base |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | :--- |
| $10^{1}$ | 10 | ten | ci |
| $10^{2}$ | 100 | hundred | hxa |
| $10^{3}$ | 1,000 | thousand | dur |
| $10^{4}$ | 10,000 | - | vat |
| $10^{5}$ | 100,000 | - | - |
| $10^{6}$ | $1,000,000$ | million | - |
| $10^{7}$ | $10,000,000$ | - | - |
| $10^{8}$ | $100,000,000$ | - | sur |

low too．If the classifier has the high tone［55］，then the second copy occurs in the same tone［55］．The string $C L^{\star}+S u$ is a definite article．
a．$\quad 1015 \theta \hat{\theta} \sqrt{5}$
co cyp ma max su
person NUM． 1 CL ART＝CL－DET
＇the first person＇

si hni hxit yuop yuop su
woman NUM． 8 CL ART＝CL－DET
＇the eighth woman＇
c．长京 $\Psi$ 程距片
bi mox shyp yuot yuot su
priest NUM． 7 CL ART＝CL－DET
＇the seventh priest＇

o get suo ji jix su
comb NUM． 3 CL ART＝CL－DET
＇the third comb＇

The above construction is available for sortal as well as for mensural classifiers， as illustrated by the following example．

ie qyt nyip zhep zhep su
water NUM． 2 CL．bowl ART＝CL－DET
＇the second bowl of water＇

## 5．3．2 Noun quantifiers

In this section I describe the scope and function of more than ten noun quantifiers （section A－section I）．One of them，the quantifier $m u$＇all＇has a wide range of gram－ matical functions overviewed in section J．

## A．The quantifier $m u$＇whole／all＇

The particle $m u$ occurs at the right edge of the noun phrase and assumes the func－ tion of collective universal quantifier．It acts upon definite noun phrases marked by demonstratives or definite articles．Bare nouns that have a definite interpretation also co－occur with $m u$ ．
（84）The mu－constructions：（i） $\mathrm{N}+m u$
（ii） $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{CL}^{\prime}+m u$

If the noun phrase is a singular count noun or a mass noun，then $m u$ conveys the sense of whole．If the noun phrase denotes several countable entities，the mor－ pheme $m u$ has the sense of all．
（85）a．HNX，H Н平 $\Phi \Phi$
mu di cyx ggat mu hnix lo lo．
cloud DEM．PROX CL QUANT．whole red IDE～EXPR
＇This whole cloud is very red．＇
b．サスペ片 $H \theta N=$ 。
ip mop maxsu mu ma wa ddur． stomach ART＝CL－DET QUANT．whole ulcer exit ＇The whole stomach is full of ulcers．＇

mu hly cyx tu mu la bbap ga vur．
wind DEM．PROX CL QUANT．whole come village enter
＇This whole wind blew into the village．＇

yy jjur max su mu ie qyt jjip ox．
spring ART＝CL－DET QUANT．whole water become DP
＇The whole spring is full of water．＇

ax hxie cyx ma mu ax nyie gax zze．
mouse DEM．PROX CL QUANT．whole cat COV．drop eat ＇The cat ate the whole mouse．＇

The quantifier $m u$ can be used with a bare noun，if the context provides a definite quantity．
（86）（©）$\theta H X_{1}$ 雪州。
gup ma mu cy syr gox sha．
sweat QUANT．all 3P．SG wipe SEND
＇He wiped away all the sweat．＇

The quantifier $m u$ must refer to definite quantities of the noun referent．With indefinite numeral expressions，it is ungrammatical．
a．＊$x$ 沙 $5 \theta \mathrm{H}$
＊pip go cyp ma mu apple NUM． 1 CL whole ＇a whole apple’
b．＊N小四 H
＊le suo ji mu
ox NUM． 3 CL whole
＇all three oxen＇

The noun phrase must consist of a common noun．Plural pronouns cannot co－occur with the quantifier $m u$ ．Plural pronouns can be instead universally quanti－ fied with the verb particle sat（section 7．5．1）．

＊cop wox mu la ox．
3P．PL QUANT．all come DP
Intended meaning：＇They all came．＇
b．日爭门炎向
cop wox la sat ox
3P．PL come EXH DP
＇They all came．＇

Nouns for punctual events such as thunderclap are ungrammatical with the quantifier $m u$ even if modified by a classifier．In（89a＋b），a unique thunderclap is not compatible with $m u$ ，whereas a definite set of thunderclaps is．
a．＊H 呧分片H事点。
＊mu zyr jix su mu mo－jjy－mo． thunder ART＝CL－DET QUANT．whole loud very loud ＇The whole thunderclap was very loud．＇

mu zyr ggex su mu mo－jjy－mo． thunder ART＝CL－DET QUANT．all loud very loud ＇All the thunderclaps were very loud．＇

The exhaustion particle sat quantifies the sentence－initial NP（all）and also func－ tions as event quantifier（completely）．It may occur independently or in combination with the nominal quantifier $m u$ ．
（90）啡第坐H干兆向。

| vo | a zzyx | bbo | mu | jiy | sat | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| snow | DEM．DIST | CL | QUANT．whole | melt | EXH | DP |

＇All the snow from that shower has completely melted away．＇

The quantifier $m u$ can act upon count nouns whose cardinality is two in contrast to English which would involve both rather than all．
（91）29月品向。

| nyuo zzyp | mu | na | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| eye | QUANT．all | sick | DP |

＇be sick in both eyes＇

The quantifier $m u$ modifies sentence－initial NPs．It is ungrammatical after the second noun phrase in the sentence．


| ＊gup ma | nyop mu co | ggex su | mu | syr | gox sha． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sweat | peasant | ART＝CL－DET | QUANT．all | wipe | SEND |

Intended meaning：＇All the peasants wiped their sweat away．＇

The abstract noun ngop jjux＇idea＇can be individualized by the classifier $j i$ but then cannot be quantified by $m u$＇whole＇．If it is categorized by the collective classifier gge，it can be quantified by $m u$ ．


| $*$ ngop jjux | cyx | ji | mu | he－jiy－he． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| idea | DEM．PROX | CL | QUANT．all | good－very－good |

Intended meaning：‘That whole idea is good．＇

ngop jjux cyx gge mu he－jjy－he．
idea DEM．PROX CL QUANT．all good－very－good
＇All the ideas are good．＇

## B．The quantifier zzix ap zzi ‘every’

The quantifier $z z i x a p z z i$ is a distributive universal quantifier．Similar to $m u$ ，the quantifier zzix ap zzi acts upon a definite set of referents．Its distributive meaning is enforced by the numeral cyp＇one＇and the quantifier mu．
(94) The zzix ap zzi-construction: $\mathrm{N}+c y p+C L+z z i x ~ a p ~ z z i+m u$

Count and mass nouns alike can occur in this construction provided that a suitable sortal or mensural classifier individualizes them.
 mux dde cyp jot zzix ap zzi mu zzax zy da. land NUM. 1 CL QUANT.every QUANT.all crops plant STP 'Crops are planted on every plot of land.'

ie qyt cyp zhep zzix ap zzi mu ndo sat. water NUM. 1 CL.bowl QUANT.every QUANT.all drink EXH 'Every bowl of water has been finished.'

la dda cyp lo zzix ap zzi mu ry jio. valley NUM. 1 CL QUANT.every QUANT.all grass have 'Every valley has grass.'

uo nyie cyp ji zzix ap zzi mu ax nuo.
hair NUM. 1 CL QUANT.every all black
'Every hair is black.'

hxe cyp ji zzix ap zzi mu nge vat ly. fish NUM. 1 CL QUANT.every all NUM. 5 CL.dollar require 'Every fish costs five dollars.'

Although it is natural to have NPs quantified by zzix ap zzi occurring in sentenceinitial position, they may also be found after NPs in second position.

lur mat co cyp ma zzix ap zzi mu nrep six bbo. stone person NUM. 1 CL QUANT.every all move RES go 'Every man moved the stones away.'

Dual noun phrases can be used in the zzix ap zzi-construction with the meaning of both.

hnap bo cyp pot zzix ap zzi gge ap- hxit ox.
ear NUM. 1 CL QUANT.every hear NEG- can DP
'Both ears cannot hear.'

Similar to $m u$, the $z z i x a p z z i$-construction is compatible with the exhaustion particle sat, as shown in (98).


| co | cyp | ma | zzix ap zzi | xip mu | hxip | sat. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| person | NUM. | CL | QUANT.every | DEM.DD | talk | EXH |

'Everyone is talking in this way.'

## C. The quantifier kep nyix 'several'

The quantifier kep nyix 'several' is a non-proportional quantifier with vague numeral value. It requires the presence of a classifier interpreted with indefinite reference.
(99) a. The kep nyix-construction: $\mathrm{N}+$ kep nyix+CL

This quantifier can modify almost every count, mass and event noun. Unique body parts for which counting is pragmatically odd should not involve the quantifier kep nyix, as in (100g).

niep sha mu ddix yy hmo kep nyip ji jjip.
Liángshān area river QUANT.several CL become
'In the Liángshān area there are several rivers.'

op rrop bbo su ggap mop kep nyip ji jjip.
Xichang go NOM road QUANT.several CL become 'There are several roads that lead to Xichang.'

a ddit go syr juo ax yy kep nyip ma jjip.
there LOC forest big QUANT.several CL become 'There are several forests in that area.'

gup ma kep nyix tot cyp ka nyuo go ndit. sweat QUANT.several CL.drop NUM. 1 face LOC have 'There are several sweat drops on his face.'
e．尘分前争汇向。
ddip vip kep nyix gge la ox．
guest QUANT．several CL come DP
＇Several guests have come．＇

va mat kep nyix gge qip ox．
hen QUANT．several CL lay egg
＇Several hens have laid eggs．＇

\＃ka nyuo kep nyix ma face QUANT．several CL ＇several faces＇

## D．The quantifier ax pa＇other＇

The quantifier ax pa＇other＇can but need not use classifiers for individualizing the noun．It is attached right to the head noun and before the classifier complex．
（101）The ax pa－construction： $\mathrm{N}+a x p a(+C L ')$
The quantifier ax pa＇other＇has the same binding properties as pronouns which are captured by Chomsky＇s binding principle B：＂A pronoun must be free in its binding domain＂（Chomsky 1981：188）．A noun phrase with ax pa refers to an entity not mentioned in the same sentence but salient from the discourse context．This property is called by some authors the discourse anaphoric property（Beck 2000：103）．

cy syt ax pa mu ap－dop ox．
3P．SG strength QUANT．other do NEG－can DP
Discourse anaphoric：＇He cannot do other things＇（different from some contextually salient things）．
b．サ志 $\theta$ 可世水看可。
nga ddop ma ax pa ap－hxip ox．
1P．SG word QUANT．other NEG－say DP
Discourse anaphoric：‘I do not say anything else’（in addition to some contextually salient utterances）．

bbur ddu ax pa kop yip sy．
pen QUANT．other need yet
Discourse anaphoric：＇He still needs other pens’（more than those he has been using already）．

cy zze ddu ax pa ap－jjo ox．
3P．SG food QUANT．other NEG－have DP
Discourse anaphoric：＇He doesn＇t have any other food＇（than that contextually salient food）．
e．氏 氏
mge fu ax pa max su li ap－hmip sy． buckwheat loaf QUANT．other ART＝CL－DET TOP NEG－done still Discourse anaphoric：＇The other buckwheat loaf is not done yet＇ （implying that one buckwheat loaf is done）．

cy i dix ax pa ggu vy ox．
3P．SG shirt QUANT．other CL buy DP
Discourse anaphoric：＇He bought other clothes’（than those at hand）．

## E．The quantifiers ax nyi＇much＇／ix nyi＇few＇

The quantifiers ax nyi＇much＇and ix nyi＇few＇act upon noun phrases and verb phrases．When they modify noun phrases，they co－occur with the collective classifier gge．The diminutive noun quantifier must be used as the reduplicated form ix nyi nyi gex．When the quantifiers target verb phrases，they are marked by the adverbializer mu．
（103）The ax nyi／ix nyi－constructions：（i） $\mathrm{N}+a x$ nyi $+g g e$（nominal）
（ii） $\mathrm{N}+$ ix nyi nyi gex（nominal）
（iii）ax nyi／ix nyi＋mu＋V（verbal）
No other classifier except gge can be used in（103i）．Ax nyi and ix nyi are proportional quantifiers and incompatible with the universal quantifier $m u$ ．
（104）a．所坐武丰记き。
niep sha bbo ax nyi gge jiip．

Liángshān mountain QUANT．many CL have ＇Liángshān has a lot of mountains．＇
b．X 㱜氙必武丰：（＊H）不向。
cy vot i qi ax nyi gge（＊mu）vup ox． 3P．SG pig head QUANT．many CL QUANT．all sell DP ＇He has sold a lot of pig heads．＇

The collective classifier gge attaches the quantifiers ax nyi／ix nyi to the head noun，while the adverbializer $m u$ connects them to the verbal complex．
（105）

nga ip nyip gup ma ax nyi gge ddur ox． 1P．SG today sweat QUANT．much CL exit DP ＇I have sweated a lot today．＇

nga ip nyip gup ma ax nyi mu ddur ox．
1P．SG today sweat QUANT．much ADVL exit DP ＇I have sweated a lot today＇．

The adverbializer $m u$ requires the subject of the sentence to control the situation which is not the case in（106b），but in（107）．

bbup ddi ix nyi nyi gex mux dde go njuo． worm QUANT．few ground LOC move ＇Few worms move in the ground．＇

＊bbup ddi ix nyi mu mux dde go njuo． worm QUANT．few ADVL ground LOC move Intended meaning：＇Worms move sparsely in the ground．＇
（107）N开\＃国丰HHCN。
nga shax jji ix nyi mu muga bbyx．
1P．SG sweet QUANT．few ADVL name give ＇I gave Muga a few sweets．＇

Noun phrases with quantifiers ax nyi or ix nyi may occur in both argument slots． In（108），they occur in patient NPs．

$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { uo nyie } & \text { ax nyi } & \text { gge } & \text { cy } & \text { nyie } & \text { gox sha } & \text { ox．} \\ \text { hair } & \text { QUANT．many } & \text { CL } & \text { 3P．SG } & \text { cut } & \text { SEND } & \text { DP }\end{array}$
＇He cut off a lot of hair．＇
b．N゙必不田武丰：
nga vot hnap bo ax nyi gge zze ox．
1P．SG pig ear QUANT．many CL eat DP
＇I ate a lot of pig ears．’

mux dde cy jot xy ix nyi nyi gex gep ox． ground DEM．PROX CL fertilizer QUANT．few add DP ＇［He］applied little fertilizer to this field．＇

## F．The quantifier cyp gge＇some＇

The quantifier cyp gge＇some＇is composed of cyp＇one＇and the collective classifier gge（section 5．2．1．E）．This quantifier is attached right to the head noun and no other modifying material can occur in the noun phrase．
（109）The cyp gge－construction： $\mathrm{N}+$ cyp gge

It is a partial quantifier which focuses on a portion of a contextually salient referent．Count and mass nouns can both be quantified by cyp gge．
a． H 末よ
mu jjur cyp gge li ma gop ap－ndit．
hole QUANT．some TOP lamp NEG－put，exist
＇Some holes do not have lamps sticked into．＇
b．§才 よ
ie qyt cyp gge cy fur gox sha ox．
water QUANT．some 3P．SG pour SEND DP
＇He poured out some water．＇
c．N小目采们向。
le cyp gge hlix ndo ox．
ox QUANT．some lose DP
＇Some oxen got lost．＇

syr zza lur ma cyp gge go ap－hmip sy．
fruit QUANT．some PRO．LOC NEG－ripe still
＇Some fruit is not ripe yet．＇

## G．The quantifier ax di＇only＇

The quantifier ax di＇only＇can occur within the NP，before or after the head noun， or outside the NP as adverb．The quantifier ax di must be reduplicated as ax di di within the noun phrase．It can be reduplicated outside the noun phrase if adver－ bialized by－mu．
(111) The ax di-constructions:
(i) axdidi+su+N NP-internal:
(ii) ax di di+su+N+CL' $\}$ left-branching, appositive
(iii) $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{ax}$ di di+su NP-internal:
(iv) $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{ax}$ di di+CL' $\}$ right-branching, restrictive
(v) NP+ax di NP-external
(vi) NP+ax di di+mu adverbial constructions

When the quantifier ax di di is right-branching, it marks the noun referent as unique for the property encoded in the noun, as in (112a). If it is left-branching, the noun referent is unique for the property of the noun or for some other property, as in (112b)
(112) NP-internal (right-branching)

$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { sse } & \text { ax di di } & \text { su } & \text { bbur ma } & \text { sso } & \text { bbo. } \\ \text { son } & \text { only } & \text { NOM } & \text { character } & \text { learn } & \text { go }\end{array}$
'The unique son is attending school (he is unique in the family).'
NP-internal (left-branching)


| ax di di | su | sse | bbur ma so | sbo. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| only | NOM | son | character | learn go |
| 'The unique son is attending school (he is unique for a property).' |  |  |  |  |

The quantifier can only be attached to the left side of a proper noun but not to its right side. This is also true for nouns with unique referents.
(113) NP-internal (left-branching)

ax di di su mu jie max su op rro it da.
only NOM name ART=NOM+DET Xichang live STP
'Mujie who is a lonely person lives in Xichang.'
NP-internal (right-branching)

*mu jie ax di di su op rro it da. name only NOM Xichang live STP
Intended meaning: 'The Mujie who is alone lives in Xichang.'
（114）
NP－internal（left－branching）

ax di di su hxo bbu
only NOM sun
＇the sun that is alone（in the sky）＇

＊hxo bbu ax di di su
sun NOM NOM
＇the unique sun＇

If $a x d i$ is attached after a bare noun，it can be interpreted as noun or verb quan－ tifier．The uniqueness may refer to the property of the noun or of the verb．
（115）NP－internal／NP－external
a．$\sqrt{\text { 可可以 } \theta \text { 米。 }}$
sse ax di bbur ma sso bbo．
son only character learn go
NP－internal：（i）‘The unique son attends school（only son）．’
NP－external：（ii）＇The son is attending school alone（only attender）．＇

NP－external
b． $5 \tilde{\theta}$ 路领 $\theta$ 米。
sse max su ax di bbur ma sso bbo．
son ART＝CL－DET only character learn go
＇The son alone is attending school（without any company）．＇

NP－external
c．H武式居10日もめ。
mu jie ax di op rro it da．
name only Xichang live STP
＇Mujie lives alone in Xichang．＇

As external quantifier，it may take the forms $a x d i$ and $a x$ di di mu．The form $a x$ di can target noun phrases in any argument role．Ax di di mu only aims at agents．

cy ax di vot she zze．
3P．SG alone pork eat
＇He alone eats pork．＇


| cy | ax di di | mu | vot she | zze． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | alone | ADVL | pork | eat |

＇He alone eats pork．＇
a．X必和可祀是。
cy vot she ax di zze．
3P．SG pork alone eat
＇He only eats pork．＇

＊cy vot she ax di di mu zze．
3P．SG pork alone eat
Intended meaning：＇He eats pork alone．＇
The property of agent－orientation is imposed by the adverbializer－mu which requires the preceding noun phrase to be the controlling entity of the situation．This constraint is violated in（117b）and（118c）．
（118）a．NiNTN
nga ax di syt cyp jjit mu．

1P．SG alone matter NUM． 1 CL do ＇I alone did one thing．＇
b．Nサ干
nga syt cyp jjit ax di mu．

1P．SG matter NUM． 1 CL only do
＇I only did one thing．＇

${ }^{\text {nnga }}$ syt cyp jjit ax di di mu mu．
1P．SG matter NUM． 1 CL alone do
Intended meaning：‘I did one thing alone．＇
The quantifier $a x d i$ after a temporal NP has the function to emphasize the short duration of the time stretch．


| cyx | luo | ax di | nga | bbyx | mo | shux． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| DEM．PROX | instant | only | 1P．SG | COV．give | see | CAUS |

＇Let me see for one instant only．＇

## H．The quantifiers ax nyi yix nyi＇at most＇／ix nyi yix nyi＇at least＇

The two quantifiers are ax nyi yix nyi ‘at most’ and ix nyi yix nyi ‘at least’ are embedded in noun phrases with numerals．They contain the quantifiers ax nyi＇many＇and ix nyi ＇few＇（section E）．The second component yix nyi＇even if’ is a clausal conjunction （section 13．1．2．C）．Both quantifiers imply numeral ranges below or above the value provided in the NP．
（120）The ax nyi yix nyi／ix nyi yix nyi－constructions：
（i） $\mathrm{N}+a x$ nyi yix nyi＋NUM＋CL＇at most＇
（ii） $\mathrm{N}+i x$ nyi yix nyi＋NUM＋CL＇at least＇

English approximations for these quantifiers are if much then only 60 years and if few then only 60 years．
（121）

bbox zze cyx ma kut ti ax nyi yix nyi fut ci kut jo． man DEM．PROX CL age QUANT．less NUM． 60 year have ＇This man is at most 60 years old．＇

si hni cyx ma kut ti ix nyi yix nyi fut ci kut jio． woman DEM．PROX CL age QUANT．more NUM． 60 year have ＇This woman is at least 60 years old．＇

## I．Other quantifying expressions

Several quantifiers in English are nominal，while their counterparts in Nuosu are encoded as adverbial expressions．

## （i）＇more than five＇

The adverb ap cy＇more＇is used in comparative constructions after the predicate or before the predicate using the adverbializer－mu．

sy jox nge che ap cy mu ka．
clay NUM． 5 CL．car，load more ADVL need，want ＇More than five loads of clay are needed．＇

zhep sse go she nge ma ap cy mu it． bowl LOC meat NUM． 5 CL more ADVL lie ＇More than five pieces of meat are in the bowl．＇

## （ii）＇different＇

In order to convey the English meaning different，a periphrastic construction is used in Nuosu：not resemble each other．
（123）5米手ヶ。
cyp nyit jiy－ap－sup．
3P．DL RECL－NEG－resemble
＇Both are different．＇

## （iii）＇special＇

The adjective special is expressed in Nuosu as the complex predicate qop ap sup ＇follow－not－resemble＇．
（124）H $\mathrm{H} O \boldsymbol{N}$
muga qop ap－sux．
name follow NEG－resemble ＇Muga is special．＇

## J．Appendix：The particle mu

The particle $m u$ exhibits five functions that are analyzed in different parts of this grammar．

Meanings
（i）Main verb $m u$＇do＇
（ii）Quantifier $m u$＇whole／all＇
（iii）Adverbializer $m u$ and $m u d a$
（iv）Circumstantial conjunction $m u d a$
Section of grammar
（v）Circumstantial conjunction $m u$ （in negated clauses）

In this section，we summarize the different functions of－mu．

## （i）As main verb

The morpheme $m u$ has a limited use of main verb with the sense do，function as．It predicates nouns denoting professions，offices or other functions．With the noun syt ＇affair＇，it refers to specific activities of someone．
（125）
a．XINAH。
cy hmat mop mu．
3P．SG teacher do
＇He is a teacher．＇
＇He is a teacher．＇
b．$\quad X_{i} i \underline{\underline{w}} H$ 。
cy $\operatorname{sip} p o \quad m u$.
3P．SG landlord do
＇He is a landlord．＇
c．踶孚H。
nga vy lot mu．
1P．SG business do ＇I am doing business．＇
d． $\begin{aligned} & x \\ & x\end{aligned}+H$ ？
ne xix syt mu？
2P．SG INT．what affair do
＇What are you doing？＇

With the event noun nyop＇labor＇，mu means＇do＇；the noun for peasant was lexicalized as work－do－person．
（126）
a． $\begin{array}{ll}\text { 乎 } Q \mathrm{H} \text { 。 }\end{array}$
cop wox nyop mu．
3P．PL labor do
＇They work．＇
b． $\mathrm{OH} \cdot \mathrm{H} \mid \mathrm{Al}$ 。
nyop $\mathbf{m u}$ co
work do person
＇Peasant＇

## （ii）As quantifier $m u$＇whole／all＇

The meaning of collective universal quantifier is analyzed in detail in section 5．3．2．A． Here again an example．


| co | cyx | gge | mu | la． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| person | DEM．PROX | CL | QUANT．all | come |
| ＇All the people came．＇ |  |  |  |  |

## （iii）As adverbializer $m u$ and $m u d a$

The string $m u$ links adverbial expressions to the verb（section 9．1．3．A）．Moreover，$m u$ combines with the perfect particle ta（section 7．7．1．B）to form $m u$ da that can substitute $m u$ without difference in meaning．
a．$\quad \mathcal{H} / \mathrm{H} X \theta$ ！
nji mu／mu da zze！ quick ADVL eat ＇Eat quickly！＇

fu zzi ax yy mu／mu da hxip！ voice big ADVL speak ‘Speak louder！’

cy we zze mu／mu da bot．

3P．SG spending strength ADVL run
＇He ran with particular effort．＇

Some adjectives are lexicalized as fixed adverbials like the following：
（129）
a．$\varnothing$ Ø $H$
dde dde mu
no meaning
＇often＇
b．水有H
ap nryr mu
honest
＇really＇

box gu ap cy nge mu xie sat．
maize roughly harvest EXH
＇We have roughly finished harvesting the maize．＇

## (iv) As circumstantial conjunction mu da

Moreover, the compound $m u$ da (though not $m u$ alone) can be used as circumstantial conjunction to attach clauses to a main clause. In (130), mu da cannot be replaced by a unique occurrence of $m u .{ }^{6}$

(...) cy sip jit tuo -jjy- tuo mu da mu zyt. 3P.SG take sharpen pointed very pointed CONJ soil dig 'Having sharpened [the bamboo rod] very much, he ploughed the earth to earn a living.'

## (v) As circumstantial conjunction mu (in negated clauses)

The particle $m u$ can link a negated clause to a main clause with a circumstantial meaning, as in (131a-c). Positive circumstantial sentences lacking the negator cannot be attached to a main clause with $m u$, as shown in (131d).

cy le she ap- zze mu vot she zze. 3P.SG ox meat NEG- eat CONJ pig meat eat 'He is not eating beef, only pork.'
 cop wox ap ndi hxix op rro ap- bbo mu chep du bbo. 3P.PL yesterday Xichang NEG- go CONJ Chengdu go 'They did not go to Xichang yesterday but to Chengdu.'

cop wox nyop bbop ap- bbo mu jie shat ggep bbo. 3P.PL work NEG- go CONJ street entertain go 'They did not go to work but looked for entertainment in the street.'

*cy le she zze mu vot she zze.
3P.SG ox meat eat CONJ pig meat eat
Intended meaning: 'He is eating pork while eating beef.'

### 5.3.3 The additive noun conjunction si nip 'and'

The noun conjunction si nip 'and' serves two functions. First, it juxtaposes two NPs in different syntactic positions of the sentence. Si nip combines two agents in (132a), two patients in (132b) and two recipients in (132c).

6 Adapted from the folk story "The elder and the younger brother" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 218).

vut ga si nip at gop nyix jiy gex bbur ma sso． name and name NUM． 2 together writing system study ＇Vuga and Ago both study the writing system．＇

nga yiet yot si nip mge fu hxie vur．
1P．SG potato and buckwheat cake like
＇I like potatoes and buckwheat．＇

nga tep yy ddie mu gox si nip vut ga bbyx．
1P．SG book COV．prepare name and name give
＇I gave books to Mugo and Vuga．＇

Unlike English and，the conjunction si nip should not be used before the last item of a list．In the Nuosu writing system，the convention was adopted from Chinese to separate items in the list not by commas but by so called pause marks（顿号）． Pause marks have no counterpart in the English writing system．
（133）a．シ
vut ga，at go，mu jie，（＊si nip）mu ga jjy gex dep la． name name name and name together rise come ＇Vuga，Ago，Mujie and Muga stood up together．＇

cy le she，vot she，（＊si nip）va she ap－zze． 3P．SG beef pork and chicken NEG－eat ＇He does not eat beef，pork or chicken．＇

Moreover，si nip may combine two nouns in a noun phrase that can be modified together by a determiner．Yet，it is not possible to combine two determiners within a noun phrase．
a．$\widehat{\operatorname{\theta }} \sqrt{\text { ® }}$ \＆
ssox sse si nip hmat mop ly yuo
pupil and teacher NUM． 4 CL
＇four pupils and teachers＇（＝group of four with at least one pupil and one teacher）


| $*$ co | cyx | si nip | a zzyx | ma |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| person | DEM．PROX | and | DEM．DIST | CL |

Intended meaning：＇this and that person＇

In order to juxtapose two adjectives or verbs, the conjunction si nip cannot be used, but another type of construction, illustrated in (135b), is employed.


| *vit gga | cyx | ggu | a shyt | si nip | pux liex guo |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| clothes | DEM.PROX | CL | new | CONJ.and | expensive |
| Intended meaning: 'new and expensive clothes’ |  |  |  |  |  |


vit gga cyx ggu shyt nyi a shyt, pux nyi liex guo. clothes DEM.PROX CL new also new price also expensive 'new and expensive clothes'

Secondly, si nip can be used as a postposition for the oblique semantic role of companion, a kind of secondary agent. When si nip acts as noun conjunction, it is inserted in between two NPs; when it functions as postposition for the role of companion, it occurs after the second NP.

cyx si nip cyp qop bop jjy gex ggap mox go njuo. 3P.SG CONJ 3P.SG.POSS friend together road LOC walk 'He and his friends are walking on the road.'

cyx cyp qop bop si nip jjy gex ggap mox go njuo. 3P.SG 3P.SG.POSS friend POST together road LOC walk 'He is walking with his friends on the road.'

With the reciprocal verb prefix jjy-, the postposition si nip marks the NP with which the primary S - or A -argument has a relationship of reciprocity.

nga ngat ix yi si nip jjyx-nzur-jiyx-yie.
1P.SG 1P.SG.POSS brother POST RECL-angry-RECL-angry
'I am angry with my younger brother.'

ne cy si nip jiy-sux mu sso jjix ddep lox. 2P.SG 3P.SG POST RECL-resemble ADVL perfect WISH 'It is desirable that you are as perfect as he.'

### 5.4 Localizing nouns

In this section, we describe the set of personal pronouns (section 5.4.1), the reflexive pronoun zyt jie 'self' (section 5.4.2), the set of demonstratives (section 5.4.3), the function of bare nouns (section 5.4.4), the set of in/definite articles (section 5.4.5) and the set of interrogative/indefinite pronouns (section 5.4.6).

### 5.4.1 Personal pronouns

An overview of the set of personal pronouns is provided in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Personal pronouns

| Person | S/A | 0 | Emphatic (S/A) | Possessive <br> adnominal | Possessive <br> pronominal |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P.SG | nga | ngax | ngat ngat | ngat | ngat vi |
| LOG.SG | i | ix | it it | it | it vi |
| 2P.SG | ne | nex | nit nit | nit | nit vi |
| 3P.SG | cy | cyx | cyp cyx | cyp | cyp vi |
| 1P.DL | ngap nyit | ngap nyit | - | ngap nyit | ngap nyit vi |
| LOG.DL | ip nyit | ip nyit | - | ip nyit | ip nyit vi |
| 2P.DL | nep nyit | nep nyit | - | nep nyit | nep nyit vi |
| 3P.DL | cyp nyit | cyp nyit | - | cyp nyit | cyp nyit vi |
| 1P.PL | ngop wox | ngop wox | - | ngop | ngop vi |
| LOG.PL | op | op | - | op | op vi |
| 2P.PL | nop wox | nop wox | - | nop | nop vi |
| 3P.PL | cop wox | cop wox | - | cop | cop vi |
| Versatile |  | go |  |  |  |

In this set, the logophor with two suppletive forms as well as the reduplicated emphatic pronouns represent rare pronouns.

For a short discussion of some of the Nuosu pronouns in a pan-Burmese-Lolo perspective, see Bradley (1993: 185). I analyze the set of basic pronouns (section A), the set of logophoric pronouns (section B), the set of dual pronouns (section C), the set of possessive pronouns (section D), the indefinite personal pronoun sut 'someone else' (section E), and the versatile pronoun go 'him/her/them' (section F). In the appendix (section G), I summarize the grammatical functions of go.

## A. The basic pronouns

Nuosu has three basic personal pronouns for speaker, addressee and third person. Plural pronouns are derived from the singular pronouns with the plural suffix wox. The singular pronouns have further undergone anticipatory assimilation of their
vowel (Trask 1996: 54).7 The plural suffix wox can also be used after a few human nouns (section 4.2.2) and is related to the collectivizing classifier wo (section 5.2.1.E).

Table 5.6: Basic pronouns

| Person | S/A | $\mathbf{0}$ | Emphatic (S/A) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P.SG | nga | ngax | ngat ngat |
| 2P.SG | ne | nex | nit nit |
| 3P.SG | cy | cyx | cyp cyx |
| 1P.PL | ngop wox / ngop | ngop wox / ngop | - |
| 2P.PL | nop wox / nop | nop wox / nop | - |
| 3P.PL | cop wox / cop | cop wox / cop | - |

The three plural pronouns can be reduced as ngop / nop / cop without change in meaning, but native speakers characterize the short forms as sloppy. These forms are homophonous to the possessive plural pronouns. Although there is no risk of confusing both uses, native speaker disprefer the shorter version if their attention is focused on this issue, see ( $138 \mathrm{a}+\mathrm{b}$ ). The longer versions cannot be employed as possessive pronouns, see (138c).

ngop / ngop wox ip nyip jie shat bbo.
1P.PL 1P.PL today street go
'We'll go into the street.'

mu ga ngop / ngop wox la hxex.
name 1P.PL 1P.PL wait
'Muga is waiting for us.'

ngop (/*ngop wox) vit gga kat go rrur?
1P.PL.POSS 1P.PL clothes where rest
'Where are our clothes?'

Singular personal pronouns take the sandhi tone [44] if they are patient noun phrases of a monotransitive verb in the [ ${ }^{[33]}$-tone (Sandhi Rule 1, section 3.2.2).

7 Bradley (1993: 185) proposes that the suffix wox might have been doubly suffixed and fused once with the singular pronouns. This complex scenario is less probable than the relatively straightforward explanation of anticipatory assimilation.
（139）


## a zzyx te go cy mgu da． <br> DEM．DIST time 3P．SG love STP

＇At that time，she was in love．＇
b．$x$ 式気。
cy nex mgu．
3P．SG 2P．SG love
＇She loves you．＇
a．$X \in \mathbb{D} \cdot \overline{0}$ 。
cy gu ox．
3P．SG crow DP
＇It（＝the rooster）crowed．＇
b． $\mathrm{HF} \overline{\mathrm{F}}_{\mathrm{X}} \mathrm{H}$ 何。
mu gox cyx gu ox． name 3P．SG call DP
＇Mugo called him．＇
（141）


| a zzyx | te go | cy | yur | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| DEM．DIST | time | 3P．SG | be born | DP |

＇At that time，he was born．＇
b．可事时料头平中。
ax mo muti te go nex yur．
mother morning time 2P．SG bear
＇Mom gave birth to you in the morning．＇
a．狈雨向。
cy ngax ga ox． 3P．SG 1P．SG beat DP
＇He beat me．＇
b．よษN゙欠向。
cyp lot nga ga ox． 3P．SG．POSS hand 1P．SG beat DP ＇I beat his hand．＇

One exception from this sandhi rule is the ambi－transitive verb yy＇laugh＇．Not the pronoun takes the sandhi tone［ ${ }^{44}$ ］but the verb itself，see（143b）．
（143）
a．N゙d解。
nga yy ox．
1P．SG laugh DP
＇I laughed．＇
b．Ө手がす。
cop wox nga yyx．
3P．PL 1P．SG laugh
＇They laughed at me．＇

Moreover，singular pronouns can be reduplicated with some additional sound changes：ngat ngat，nit nit，cyp cyx．The reduplicated forms are emphatic pronouns， must be agents and must create a contrast with other referents．First and second
person pronouns are pronominal，while the third person pronoun can be pro－ nominal，as in（144c），or adnominal，as in（144d）．

tep yy nit nit ddiex bur six a hnat mu vat ox． book 2P．SG～EMP change RES especially good DP ＇You have improved the book very much yourself （as opposed to others who might have improved the book）．＇
b．びび ख゙けで。
ngat ngat yiet hxop yiet．
1P．SG～EMP song sing
＇I am singing myself（not with the help of others）．＇

muga lie ba ox su cyp cyx hxep ddur la．
name be in danger DP NOM 3P．SG～EMP see exit come
＇Muga recognized himself that he was in danger
（as opposed to others who saw him in danger）．＇

mu jie cyp cyx ssox sse hmat．
name 3P．SG～EMP student teach
＇Mujie taught the student himself（without outside help）．＇

The emphatic pronoun cannot have the role of patient，as in（145a），or be the complement of a postposition，as in（145b）．
（145）

＊mu ga ngap ngax ngox ddie． name 1P．SG～EMP distrust
Intended meaning：＇Muga distrusts only me（as opposed to others）．＇

＊cop wox cyp cyx jop shyr．
3P．PL 3P．SG～EMP to shout
Intended meaning：‘They shout only at him（as opposed to others）．＇

Bradley（1993：185）identified the emphatic pronouns as reflexives which they are not since they cannot co－refer with arguments in other syntactic slots．

$\begin{array}{clll}\text { *mu ga } & \text { cy cyx } & \text { jop } & \text { zyt. } \\ \text { name } & \text { 3P.SG~EMP } & \text { to } & \text { blame }\end{array}$
Intended meaning: 'Muga blames himself.'

*nga hxe ddie ngap ngax bbyp.
1P.SG fish COV.prepare 1P.SG~EMP give, allocate
Intended meaning: 'I am allocating the fish to myself.'

The emphatic pronoun cyp cyx in an embedded clause can refer to the subject of the matrix clause, as in (147a). The emphatic logophoric pronoun it it tracks the person whose speech is reported, as illustrated in (147b).

mu gox ${ }_{1}$ ngop go cyp cyx $x_{1 / 2}$ lat hxa ${ }_{3}$ jop hxip tat xi shu kax. name think SENT.TOP 3P.SG~EMP male name to say should think 'Mugo thought that he ${ }_{1 / 2}$ should tell Laha ${ }_{3}$ alone (not by others).'

lat hxa ${ }_{1}$ hxip go it it mgie at nyop $_{2}$ zi ddix. male name say SENT.TOP LOG.SG~EMP cheat female name cheat QUOT ${ }^{\prime}$ Laha ${ }_{1}$ said that he ${ }_{1}$ cheated $\mathrm{Anyo}_{2}$ himself (not by using others).'

## B. The logophors

A logophor ${ }^{8}$ is a form that is required to mark dependency on a noun phrase which has a discourse role in the sense of Sells (1987).
(148) Three discourse roles (Sells 1987: 457)
a. Source: one who is the intentional agent of the communication;
b. Self: one whose mental state or attitude the proposition describes;
c. Pivot: one with respect to whose (space-time) location the content of the proposition is evaluated.

Nuosu has one SOURCE-logophor, used in reported speech constructions, and a reflexive anaphor with extensions as SELF-logophor (section 5.4.2.B). The SOURCE-

[^7]logophor has two suppletive forms, a singular $i$ and plural form $o p$. The singular form underwent tone changes for the patient and possessive roles.

Table 5.7: Logophors

| Person | S/A | $\mathbf{O}$ | Emphatic (S/A) | Possessive <br> adnominal | Possessive <br> pronominal |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Logophor-Singular | i | ix | it it | it | it vi |
| Logophor-Dual | ip nyit | ip nyit | - | ip nyit | ip nyit vi |
| Logophor-Plural | op | op | - | op | op vi |

The reported speech constructions in Nuosu employ verbs of saying of hearing, the complementizer go, and a sentence final particle, either the quotative particle ddix or the adverbializer mu.
(149) Reported speech constructions:

Secondary speaker $+\mathrm{V}_{\text {say }}+$ go+reported speech $+d$ dix / $m u$
Examples in (150) illustrate this pattern for the two suppletive logophors $i$ and op, which must be bound by a secondary speaker (SOURCE) whose speech is reported.
(150) Chén \& Wū (1998: 267)


| si sse | max su | hxip | go |  | cyp mu | ox | go | ne |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

'The god $_{1}$ said that when you ${ }_{2}$ wake up after a week, you ${ }_{2}$ should scoop some hot water and give it to him $_{1}$ so that he ${ }_{1}$ may spread it.'

mu jie ${ }_{1}$ hxip bur go $\mathbf{o p}_{1+2}$ kat zza zze ap- la ox mu. male name emphasize SENT.TOP LOG.PL dinner eat NEG- come DP ADVL ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{Mujie}_{1}$ emphasized that they $y_{1}$ would not attend the dinner.'

The logophors interact with the personal pronouns and the reflexive anaphors which we explore in the following subsections.

## (i) Bound in reported speech clauses

In binding theory (Chomsky 1981: 188), the English reflexive anaphor himself is required to be dependent on a c-commanding NP which occurs in the same simple clause. The Nuosu logophors have different binding conditions.
(151) Binding conditions on logophors:

The interpretation of the logophors $i$ and $o p$ must depend on a secondary speaker (SOURCE).

The logophors $i$ and $o p$ have no antecedent in the same simple clause and need not be c-commanded by their antecedent. The logophors and antecedents are at different clausal levels, as in (152). The logophors need not be c-commanded by their antecedent, as in ( $152 \mathrm{~b}+\mathrm{c}$ ).

lat $\mathbf{t i}_{1} \quad$ mu nyox ${ }_{2}$ jox hxip go $\mathbf{i}_{1 / *_{2} / * 3}$ bbo ox ddix. male name male name to say SENT.TOP LOG.SG go DP QUOT 'Lati ${ }_{1}$ told Munyo $_{2}$ that he ${ }_{1 / \star 2 / \star 3}$ had already left.'

lat ti $\mathrm{i}_{1} \quad$ mu nyox ${ }_{2}$ ddix da gge go $\mathbf{i}_{\star_{1 / 2 / * 3}}$ bbo ox ddix. male name male name from STP hear SENT.TOP LOG.SG go DP QUOT ${ }^{\prime}$ Lati $_{1}$ heard from Munyo $_{2}$ that he ${ }_{\star_{1} / 2 / * 3}$ had already left.'

lat ti $\mathrm{m}_{1} \quad$ mu nyox ${ }_{2}$ ddix da gge go $\mathbf{o p}_{\star_{1 / 2 / * 3}}$ bbo ox ddix. male name male name from STP hear SENT.TOP LOG.PL go DP QUOT 'Lati ${ }_{1}$ heard from Munyo ${ }_{2}$ that they ${ }_{*_{1 / 2} / * 3}$ had already left.'

The logophor can occur in any syntactic position of the reported speech clause: as subjects as in (152), as direct objects as in (153a), or as adjunct noun phrases as in (153b).

mu ga ${ }_{1}$ hxip go la hxa ${ }_{2}$ ix $x_{1}$ nzur jox jjip ox ddix. male name say SENT.TOP male name LOG.SG hate POEP DP QUOT 'Muga ${ }_{1}$ said that Laha $_{2}$ might hate him ${ }_{1}$.'

lu po ${ }_{1}$ hxip go cop wox w $_{2} \mathbf{i x}_{1}$ yy ddi mu da la male name say SENT.TOP 3P.PL LOG.SG because CONJ come su nge ddix.
NOM COP QUOT
${ }^{\prime}$ Lupo $_{1}$ said that they ${ }_{2}$ would come because of him ${ }_{1}$.'

The other pronouns and the reflexive anaphor zyt jie (section 5.4.2) are illicit in reported speech constructions if they are taken to depend on a SOURCE. (154a) and (154b) show that third person pronouns cannot track secondary speakers.

lat $\mathbf{t i}_{1} \quad$ mu nyox ${ }_{2}$ jox hxip go $\quad \mathbf{c y}_{\star_{1 / 2} / 3}$ bbo ox ddix. male name male name to say SENT.TOP 3P.SG go DP QUOT 'Lati ${ }_{1}$ told Munyo $_{2}$ that he ${ }_{*_{1 / 2} / 3}$ had already left.'

lat ti ${ }_{1}$ mu nyox $x_{2}$ ddix da gge go cop wox $x_{1 / * 2 / 3}$ bbo ox ddix. name male name from STP hear SENT.TOP 3P.PL go DP QUOT ${ }^{\prime}$ Lati $_{1}$ heard from Munyo $_{2}$ that the $y_{1 / * 2 / 3}$ had already left.'

In the same vein, examples in (155) illustrate that the reflexive anaphor cannot depend on the secondary speaker.

${ }^{*}$ lat $\mathbf{t i}_{1} \quad$ mu nyox ${ }_{2}$ jox hxip go $\quad$ zyt $\mathbf{j i e}_{\mathbf{*}_{1 / *} /{ }^{2} \times 3}$ bbo ox ddix. male name male name to say SENT.TOP REFL go DP QUOT 'Lati ${ }_{1}$ told Munyo ${ }_{2}$ that he himself ${ }_{*_{1 / 2}}{ }^{2 / * 3}$ had already left.'

lat $\mathrm{ti}_{1} \quad$ mu nyox n $_{2}$ ddix da gge go zyt jie en $_{1 / *_{2} \times 3}$ bbo male name male name from STP hear SENT.TOP LOG.SG go
ox ddix.
DP QUOT
'Lati ${ }_{1}$ heard from Munyo $_{2}$ that he himself ${ }_{1 / * 2 / * 3}$ had already left.'

If the speaker reports his own utterance, the logophor is illicit. In this case, the reflexive anaphor or the first person pronoun should track the speaker.
(156) Constraint of primary speaker:

The logophor cannot depend on a secondary speaker (SOURCE) who is also the primary speaker.

Examples in (157) illustrate this constraint.


| ${ }^{\text {nnga }}{ }_{{ }_{1}}$ | hxip | go | $\mathbf{i}_{\star_{1}}$ | ko wex | ox | mu. |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P.SG | say | SENT.TOP | LOG.SG | pass exam | DP | ADVL | ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{I}_{1}$ said that $\mathrm{I}_{\star_{1}}$ had passed the exam.'



| nga $_{1}$ | hxip | go | zyt $^{\boldsymbol{j i e}}$ | 1 | ko wex | ox |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1Pu. |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1P.SG | say | SENT.TOP | REFL | pass exam | DP | ADVL |

' $\mathrm{I}_{1}$ said that $\mathrm{I}_{1}$ had passed the exam.'


| nga $_{1}$ | hxip | go | nga $_{1}$ | ko wex | ox |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mu. |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1P.SG | say | SENT.TOP | 1P.SG | pass exam | DP |
| ADVL |  |  |  |  |  |
| ' $I_{1}$ said that $I_{1}$ | had passed the exam.' |  |  |  |  |

When the secondary speaker is the addressee or a third person, then the logophor should be used, as in (158) and (159).

ne $_{1}$ hxip go $\mathbf{i}_{1}$ ko wex ox ddix.
2P.SG say SENT.TOP LOG.SG pass exam DP QUOT
'You ${ }_{1}$ said that you ${ }_{1}$ had passed the exam.'

ne $_{1}$ hxip go ne $_{\star_{1 / 2}}$ ko wex ox ddix.
2P.SG say SENT.TOP 2P.SG pass exam DP QUOT
'You ${ }_{1}$ said "You ${ }_{\star_{1 / 2}}$ passed the exam" (= that $\mathrm{I}_{2}$ passed the exam).'
(159)


| $\mathbf{c y}_{1}$ | hxip | go | $\mathbf{i}_{1}$ | ko wex | ox | ddix. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P.SG | say | SENT.TOP | LOG.SG | pass exam | DP | QUOT |

' $\mathrm{He}_{1}$ said that he ${ }_{1}$ had passed the exam.'

$\mathbf{c y}_{1}$ hxip go $\quad \mathbf{c y}_{\star_{1 / 2}}$ ko wex ox ddix.

3P.SG say SENT.TOP 3P.SG pass exam DP QUOT
' $\mathrm{He}_{1}$ said he $\mathrm{x}_{\star_{1 / 2}}$ had passed the exam.'
In very specific contexts, logophors may take referents outside the sentence, but only if it is understood that the immediately preceding sentence has an identifiable secondary speaker. The logophors cannot refer to someone in the physical world not mentioned in the discourse.
a. $\mathbb{N}_{2}$ 由1/ $_{1 / 2 / * 3}$ Nd
nga $_{2} \quad \mathbf{i x}_{1 / * 2 / * 3}$ hxep yy.
1P.SG LOG.SG respect
'( Lupo $_{1}$ said that) $\mathrm{I}_{2}$ respect him ${ }_{1 / * 2 / * 3}$.'
b. $\quad X_{2} \mathrm{E}_{1 / * 2 / * 3}$ Nd.
$\mathrm{cy}_{2} \quad \mathbf{i x}_{1 / * 2 / * 3} \quad$ hxep yy.
3P.SG LOG.SG respect
'( Adje $_{1}$ said that) he ${ }_{2}$ respects her $_{1 / * 2 / * 3}$.'

## (ii) Free in simple clauses

Similar to personal pronouns, the logophor cannot take its antecedent in the simple clause.
(161) Simple clause constraint.

The logophor must be free in simple clauses.
(162a) illustrates that two singular logophors in the same simple clause are illicit, (162b) shows the same point for the plural logophor, and (162c) for mixed singularplural logophor pairs. The reflexive anaphor zyt jie should track the logophor in simple clauses, as in (162d).


| ${ }^{\star} \mathbf{l u} \mathrm{ti}_{1}$ | hxip | go | $\mathbf{i}_{1}$ | $\mathbf{i x}{ }^{1}$ | hxep yy | ddix. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| male name | say | SENT.TOP | LOG.SG | LOG.SG | respect | QUOT |
| ${ }^{\text {* }}$ Ludi ${ }_{1}$ said | at h | respects | mself $_{\text {1 }^{\prime}}$, |  |  |  |

b. *

| ${ }^{*} \mathbf{l u ~ t i}_{1}$ | hxip | go | op $_{1}$ | op $_{\star_{1}}$ | hxep yy | ddix. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name | say | SENT.TOP | LOG.PL | LOG.PL | respect | QUOT |
| ${ }^{\text {} * \text { Ludi }_{1} \text { said that they }}{ }_{1}$ respect themselves ${ }_{*_{1}}$, |  |  |  |  |  |  |




luti $\mathbf{t i}_{1}$ hxip go $\quad \mathbf{i}_{1} \quad$ zyt jie ${ }_{1}$ hxep yy $\quad$ ddix. male name say SENT.TOP LOG.SG REFL respect QUOT 'Ludi ${ }_{1}$ said that he ${ }_{1}$ respects himself ${ }_{1}$.'

## (iii) Bound by nearest secondary speaker

An ambiguity arises when two speech reports are embedded in each other with two secondary speakers. This ambiguity is resolved in Nuosu in the following way.
(163) Nearest secondary speaker constraint.

The logophor is dependent on the nearest secondary speaker (SOURCE) in case that there is more than one.

Example (164) shows two secondary speakers, Laze and Ludda. Laze is reported to inform on Ludda's utterance. The logophor is contained in Ludda's utterance and thus dependent on Ludda. Laze is blocked as potential antecedent of the logophor.

lat sse ${ }_{1}$ hxip ngop $_{2}$ ge go, $\quad$ lu dda $_{3} \quad$ hxip $\quad$ go,
male name say 1P.PL tell SENT.TOP male name say SENT.TOP
$\mathbf{i}_{\times_{1 / 3}}$ mup shy dex op rro la tat xi ddix.
LOG.SG tomorrow Xichang come should QUOT
${ }^{\prime}$ Laze $_{1}$ told $\mathrm{us}_{2}$ that Ludda ${ }_{3}$ said that he ${ }_{\star_{1} / 3}$ should come to Xichang tomorrow.'
In (165), two logophors occur at different clausal levels. The higher logophor occurs with Ludda in the same clause and can only be dependent on Laze. In line with (163), the lower logophor is dependent on the proximal Ludda, and hence cannot be dependent on the distant Laze.

lat sse $_{1}$ hxip go, lu dda ${ }_{2}$ hxip $\mathbf{i x}_{1 / \star_{2}}$ ge go, male name say SENT.TOP male name say LOG.SG tell SENT.TOP $\mathbf{i}_{1_{1 / 2}}$ mup shy dex op rro la tat xi ddix.
LOG.SG tomorrow Xichang come should QUOT
${ }^{\prime}$ Laze $_{1}$ said that Ludda ${ }_{2}$ told him $_{1 / \star_{2}}$ that he ${ }_{*_{1 / 2}}$ should come to Xichang tomorrow.'

As logophors are bound by the nearest SOURCE, reference to the distant SOURCE can be made by means of the reflexive anaphor or pronouns.

lat sse ${ }_{1}$ hxip go, lu dda ${ }_{2}$ hxip ix $_{1 / * 2}$ ge go, male name say SENT.TOP male name say LOG.SG tell SENT.TOP

| zyt $\mathrm{jie}_{1 / \times 2 / \times 3}$ | mup shy dex | op rro | la | xi | ddix. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| REFL | tomorrow | Xichang | come | should | QUOT |

${ }^{\prime}$ Laze $_{1}$ said that Ludda ${ }_{2}$ told him $_{1 / \star 2}$ that he himself ${ }_{1 / \star_{2 / *}}$ should come to Xichang tomorrow.'

lat sse $e_{1}$ hxip go lu dda ${ }_{2}$ hxip ix $x_{1 / * 2}$ ge go male name say SENT.TOP male name say LOG.SG tell SENT.TOP

| $\mathbf{c y}_{1 / \star 2 / 3}$ | mup shy dex | op rro | la | tat xi | ddix. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $3 P . S G$ | tomorrow | Xichang | come | should | QUOT |

${ }^{\prime}$ Laze $_{1}$ said that Ludda ${ }_{2}$ told $\operatorname{him}_{1 / \star 2}$ that he ${ }_{1 / \star 2 / 3}$ should come to Xichang tomorrow.'

When attitudes are reported, then two internal logophoric roles are assigned to constituents in the complex clause: SOURCE and SELF. The reflexive anaphor tracks the SELF and the logophor the SOURCE, as illustrated in $(167 \mathrm{a}+\mathrm{b})$. The pronoun can also depend on the SELF (in addition to exophoric reference possibilities) but not on the SOURCE, see (167c).


| mu jy $_{1}$ | hxip | go, | ax ga $_{2}$ | $\mathbf{i}_{1 / \star 2}$ | tep yy | bi |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name | say | SENT.TOP | female name | LOG.SG | book | read |
| xi mgu | ddix. |  |  |  |  |  |
| hope | QUOT |  |  |  |  |  |

'Mudje ${ }_{1}$ said that Aga $_{2}$ hoped that he $_{1 / \star 2}$ would attend school.'

$\begin{array}{lllllll}m u j y_{1} & \text { hxip } & \text { go } & \text { ax ga }_{2} & \text { zyt jie } \\ 1 / \star_{2} & \text { tep yy } & \text { bi }\end{array}$
male name say SENT.TOP female name REFL book read xi mgu ddix.
hope QUOT
'Mudje ${ }_{1}$ said that Aga $_{2}$ hoped that she ${ }_{*_{1 / 2}}$ would attend school.'

$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { mu jy } & \text { hxip } & \text { go } & \text { ax }_{1} \mathbf{g a}_{2} & \text { cy }_{*_{1 / 2} / 3} & \text { tep yy }\end{array}$
male name say SENT.TOP female name 3P.SG book read xi mgu ddix.
hope QUOT
'Mudje ${ }_{1}$ said that Aga $_{2}$ hoped that she $_{\star_{1 / 2 / 3}}$ would attend school.'

## C. The dual pronouns

Nuosu exhibits semi-grammaticalized dual pronouns. The dual forms are made up of the singular pronouns and the number nyip 'two'. They have undergone the following tone changes.

Table 5.8: Dual pronouns

| Person | Basic pronouns |  | 'two' |  | Basic dual pronouns |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P | nga | + | nyip | $\rightarrow$ | ngap nyit |
| LOG.SG | i | + | nyip | $\rightarrow$ | ip nyit |
| 2P | ne | + | nyip | $\rightarrow$ | nep nyit |
| 3P | cy | + | nyip | $\rightarrow$ | cyp nyit |

In isolation, the plural pronouns refer to quantities equal to or greater than two. In the presence of a dual, however, the plural always denotes at least three participants. This effect on the interpretation of the plural pronouns is a cross-linguistic
trait of languages with dual pronouns（Siewierska 2004：88）．（168c）contrasts a dual with a plural pronoun that refers to at least three people．

ngap nyit jjy－hxix da go rre mop cyp dur nge 1P．DL RECL－say STP SENT．TOP money NUM． 1000 COP jjyx－ap－da ddap？
RECL－NEG－put INT
＇Didn＇t we both agree on 1，000 dollars？＇

lat mop si nip lu ti nyix hxip go ip nyit mu ddix male name and male name both say SENT．TOP LOG．DL area a zzy ggat jjie ox ddix．
DEM．DIST place leave DP QUOT
＇Lamo and Luti ${ }_{1}$ both said that they ${ }_{1}$ have left the area．＇

nep nyit ngop rrox mu zza yy zyt dop bbo da．
2P．DL 1P．PL COV．replace food prepare go STP
＇（Toward two people）：Prepare some food for us（＝speaker plus two other people）．’
d． 5 雨宔虫。
cyp nyit ggax shu njuo．
3P．DL path walk PROG
＇They were both on the way．＇

## D．The possessive pronouns

Adnominal possessives are derived from basic pronouns forms through rhyme and tone changes．（Possessive noun phrases are characterized in section 5．2．2．）

Table 5．9：Rhyme and tone changes for possessive pronouns

| Person | Basic pronouns |  | Basic possessive pronouns |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P | nga | $\rightarrow$ | ngat |
| LOG．SG | i | $\rightarrow$ | it |
| 2P | ne | $\rightarrow$ | nit |
| 3P | cy | $\rightarrow$ | cyp |

The dual possessives are identical with the basic dual pronouns．The plural posses－ sives are derived from the plural forms by omitting the suffix wox．Moreover，all the
pronominal possessives are invariably derived from adnominal possessives by suffix－ ing the morpheme $-v i$ ．

Table 5．10：Possessive Pronouns

| Person | Singular |  | Dual |  | Plural |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | adnom． | pronom． | adnom． | pronom． | adnom． | pronom． |
| 1 P | ngat | ngat vi | ngap nyit | ngap nyit vi | ngop | ngop vi |
| 1P LOG | it | it vi | ip nyit | ip nyit vi | op | op vi |
| 2P | nit | nit vi | nep nyit | nep nyit vi | nop | nop vi |
| 3 P | cyp | cyp vi | cyp nyit | cyp nyit vi | cop | cop vi |

Several possessive forms are exemplified below．Examples（169e＋f）illustrate that the plural possessive forms cannot append the suffix－wox；examples in（170） exhibit pronominal possessives pronouns．
（169）

a．」 | 平 |
| :--- |

cyp jjip tie
3P．SG．POSS character
＇his character＇
c．รжヨล
cyp nyit rre mop
3P．DL．POSS money
＇The money of them both＇
e．※（＊
nop（＊wox）ip mop
2P．PL．POSS belly
＇your（pl．）bellies’
b．准Hf
nit mu tie
2P．SG．POSS handling
＇your handling＇
d．护米出兆完亭
ngap nyit ndit fu ndit hne
1P．DL．POSS jewelry
＇the jewelry of us both＇
f． $\mathfrak{B}^{(*)}$ 爭） $\mathrm{N} \theta$
ngop（＊wox）rry ma
1P．PL．POSS teeth
＇our teeth＇

cyp nyit hxip go hlat cyx gge ip nyit－vi nge ddix． 3P．DL say SENT．TOP trousers DEM．PROX CL LOG．DL－POSS COP QUOT ＇Both said that these trousers are theirs．＇

mu ga hxip go tep yy cy zzit it－vi nge ddix． name say COMP book DEM．PROX CL LOG．SG－POSS COP QUOT ＇Muga said that this book is his．＇

## E．The personal pronoun sut＇someone else＇

The morpheme sut（high tone）is an indefinite personal pronoun with the meaning someone else．Sometimes，it can be used adnominally with other human common nouns such as co＇person＇．

cy jjie bbo yix ne hxi yip sut ddip jiip hxit． 3P．SG leave go provided that again someone at become can ＇If she leaves，she can go to another（＝marry someone else）．＇


| lat ti | sut | ax pa | guop jiet | ddop ma | hxip | hxit． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name | someone | other | country | language | speak | can |
| ＇Lati can speak the language of other countries．＇ |  |  |  |  |  |  |


cy sut co miep lie da yiet hxop yiet． 3P．SG someone in front of COV．put song sing ＇He is singing in front of others．＇

Similar to the quantifier ax pa＇other＇（section 5．3．2．D），the pronoun sut exhibits binding properties captured by Chomsky＇s binding principle B：＂A pronoun must be free in its binding domain＂（1981：188）．The pronoun sut refers to an entity not men－ tioned in the same sentence but salient from the discourse context．We refer to this property as the discourse anaphoric property（Beck 2000：103）．
（172）

cyx li sut nzy ke lap vut jjo da syt mu． 3P．SG TOP someone power under have STP business do Discourse anaphoric：＇He does business under the authority of others＇ （different from himself）．
b．如品旬斗も。
cy sut ix go it．
3P．SG someone home LOC live
Discourse anaphoric：＇He lives in the home of others＇（not his own）．

sut co bbyx cyp rre mop vup shux．
others give 3P．SG．POSS money count CAUS
Discourse anaphoric：＇Let others count his money＇（different from him）．

## F．The versatile pronoun go

As a pronoun，the morpheme go refers to individual people or objects，collections of entities，places or destinations．Syntactically，it may not function as the subject（agent） of the clause and may not occur at the beginning of the sentence．With a few verbs， the morpheme go developed into fixed lexicalized and grammaticalized expressions．

## （i）For 0－argument

The pronoun go can track a person or thing that occupies the role of patient（0）．If the verb is monosyllabic and has a basic midtone［33］，then the pronoun go switches to the sandhi tone gox（see Sandhi Rule 1，section 3．2．2）．
（173）a．Yロ斗出。
at nyop go ndux．
female name PRO．PAT beat
＇Anyo beats him／her／it／them．＇
b．visix。
at zop gox mgu．
female name PRO．PAT miss
＇Adzo misses him／her／them．＇

Many monotransitive verbs in Nuosu encode the semantic roles of A and O ambiguously if both arguments have human or animate referents（for details，see section 10．2．3）．In a sentence like（174），the distributions of roles is uncertain．
a．崱兰H平学茥。
lu po mu gox lot buop．
male name male name help
＇Lupo helps Mugo／Mugo helps Lupo．＇

One technique of disambiguation is to use the morpheme go as resumptive pro－ noun for the O－role（section 10．2．3．C）．
b．茵兰H平头学㺯。
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { lu } \mathrm{po}_{1} & \text { mu gox } & \text { go }_{1} & \text { lot buop．} \\ \text { male name } & \text { male name } & \text { PRO．PAT } & \text { help } \\ \text {＇Lupo }_{1} \text { ，Mugo helps him }{ }_{1} \text { ．＇} & & \end{array}$

## （ii）For recipient

The pronoun go can also represent recipient noun phrases（indirect objects）．As recipients tend to be animate，go refers to animate beings in this function．

vo mu nze ke jo go bbyx da．
king power hand over PRO．REC give STP
＇The king handed over his power to him／her／them．＇

## （iii）For location

Positional verbs such as stand，sit，lie require the specification of locative phrases， while most activity verbs allow locative phrases．The locative phrase may consist of just go which refers then to a place that is salient in the discourse situation．
（176）＊$*$ 丰丰。
vut nyop go nyi．
female name PRO．LOC sit
＇Vunyo is sitting here／there．＇

## （iv）For direction

In the same vein，directional verbs（go，come，enter）require the presence of a direc－ tional phrase．The pronoun go can track destinations of directional verbs．


| co | ma | go | vur | la | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| person | CL | PRO．DIR | enter | come | DP |

＇Someone came in．＇

## （v）Lexicalized／grammaticalized meanings

The pronoun go has been lexicalized and grammaticalized in the neighborhood of a few verbs．With the directional verb ddur＇exit＇，it was lexicalized into an abstract predicate，happen．With two other verbs，go formed two resultative auxiliaries．With the verb shep＇search＇，it was grammaticalized as habitual aspect marker．

Table 5．11：Lexicalized／grammaticalized expressions with go

| Form | Lexicalized／grammaticalized meaning | Meaning of verb | Section |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| gox ddur | ＇happen＇，＇occur＇ | ddur＇exit＇ |  |
| go zix | Phase auxiliary（INSERT） | zip＇insert＇ | section 7．2．2．C |
| gox sha | Resultative auxiliary（SEND） | sha＇send＇ | section 7．3．2．B |
| gox ssop | Resultative auxiliary（HIT） | ssop＇endure＇ | section 7．3．2．C |
| go shex | Habitual aspect particle（HAB） | shep＇search＇ | section 7．6．3 |

These meanings are analyzed in different parts of the grammar．Below are illus－ trations for each of these expressions．

syt cy jjit gox ddur su nge．
thing DEM．PROX CL happen FOC COP
＇This thing will happen．＇

cy go zix zzax zze ge．
3P．SG INSERT food eat PROG
＇He is in the process of eating．＇


| lat sse | cyp | xyp mop | zip | gox sha | ji ngox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name | 3P．SG．POSS | wife | divorce | SEND | intend |

＇Laze intends to divorce his wife．＇
d．X否我きか。
cy ddop hxip go ssop．
3P．SG word speak HIT
＇He will say it right．＇
Gerner（2004b：1357）
e．$\quad$＇ 1 区 $\theta$ 果斗雨。

| ke | cyx | ma | yo | mgot |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dog shex． |  |  |  |  |
| dog．PROX | CL | sheep | chase | HAB |
| ＇This dog used to chase sheep．＇ |  |  |  |  |

## G．Appendix：The particle go

Besides its pronominal use，the morpheme go exhibits one lexical and three gram－ matical meanings that are analyzed in different parts of this grammar．

Meanings
（i）Classifier for speech
（ii）Pronoun for O －and oblique arguments
（iii）Locative case particle
（iv）Complementizer
（v）Topic particle

Section of grammar
section 5．2．1．C
section 5．4．1．F
section 10．2．3．C
section 13．2．2
section 14．1．3

## （i）As classifier for speech

The morpheme go functions as classifier for speech and categorizes a small range of speech－related nouns（see section 5．2．1．C）．
（179）
a．点 $\theta$ 川斗
ddop ma suo go
word NUM． 3 CL
＇three words＇
b．\＆\％「斗
yyp ddu cyp go
joke NUM． 1 CL
＇one joke’

## （ii）As pronoun for $\mathbf{0}$－and oblique arguments

As a pronoun，go can represent people，things and places that are patients，recipi－ ents，locations or destinations of some activity．The pronoun go cannot function as subject or occur in clause－initial position．Examples were supplied in the previous subsection and are not repeated here（see also Gerner 2004a）．
（iii）As locative case particle
The morpheme go also acts as locative case marker（Gerner 2004a）．The specification of a locative phrase is obligatory for positional verbs（nyi＇sit＇，hxit＇stand＇，it＇lie＇and so forth）and go is the default marker，unless the speaker wants to express a more specific position．

hxie zyr sse siex nyuo go hxit da．
small bird window LOC stand STP
＇A small bird was sitting in the window．＇
For verbs of motions，go functions as case marker of directional noun phrase to indicate the destination of a motion．


| mu ga | ip ko | ix jjy | jjurx su | go | mga | li． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| name | door | narrow | ART＝CL－DET | DIR | cross | go | ＇Muga goes through the narrow door．＇

## （iv）As complementizer

The particle go also is complementizer of certain matrix predicates．The verb phrase or clause marked by go is part of the argument structure of the main predicate．Com－ plement clauses typically occur in initial position（see section 13．2．2）．


| vo jiip | go | hxuo | ddap | ap－ | hxuo？ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| snow become | COMP | strong | or | NEG－ | strong |
| ＇Was the snowfall dangerous？＇ |  |  |  |  |  |

 le she sip gup ke zha go li ap- zhet su nge. beef take throw dog feed COMP TOP NEG- good NOM COP 'It is not good to throw the beef to the dogs.'

diep yyr cyx ma hxep go ne jjur hla ddap jjur-ap-hla? film DEM.PROX CL watch COMP 2P.SG fear or fear<NEG> 'Were you afraid watching the film?'

## (v) As topic particle

The particle go can mark sentence topics that are not part of the argument structure of a predicate. Sentence topics occur in initial position and can optionally be marked by one of the topic markers ne (maintaining topic) or li (contrasting topic). For further information, see section 14.1.3.


| nga | hxep | go | syt | cy | jjit |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ga ap nzie. |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1P.SG | see | SENT.TOP | matter | DEM.PROX | CL |
| strange<NEG> |  |  |  |  |  |
| 'In my view, this thing isn't strange.' |  |  |  |  |  |

Lǐ \& Mă (1981: 89)

"kat ap- sso mix?" "ap sso go ne kep mu
INT.where NEG- study SOL NEG study SENT.TOP TOP INT.how
syp la?"
know come
‘"Why shouldn’t we study?"
"If we do not study, how can we become knowledgable?"'


| shyrx rruo | la | go | ne | ku | ax di | ku. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| robber | come | SENT.TOP | TOP | steal | only | steal | 'If the robber comes, all he does is steal.'


mu rryr op rro bbo go li ggap mop go da
male name Xichang go SENT.TOP TOP road LOC COV.put
jji go ndox bbo su nge.
fall LOC RES go FOC COP
'If Mudge goes to Xichang, he will collapse on the way.'

### 5.4.2 Reflexive anaphors

Nuosu is in process of substituting an older reflexive anaphor, yip dde 'self', by zyt jie 'self', a form which is borrowed from the Chinese reflexive anaphor zijĭ (e.g. Li \& Thompson 1981; Huang \& Liu 1993).
A. zyt jie 'self' as short-distance anaphor

In binding theory (Chomsky 1981: 188), a short-distance anaphor must depend on a c-commanding NP which occurs in the same simple clause ("Binding Condition A"). In Nuosu, two basic expressions serve as reflexive anaphor.

Table 5.12: Reflexive anaphors

| Short form: | zyt jie | 'oneself' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Long form: | zyt jie yip dde zyt jie | 'oneself' |

The short form is preferred by young speakers, the longer form is used by elder speakers. Both include zyt jie which is borrowed from Chinese ziji. The form yip dde is in process of being lost in Modern Nuosu. It preserved an independent use as emphatic pronoun (section D).
(184) O-argument

ne $_{1} \quad\left\{\begin{array}{ll}(\text { nit }) & \text { zyt jie } \\ & \text { zyt jie yip dde zyt jie }\end{array}\right\} \quad$ bu dex.
2P.SG 2P.SG REFL praise
' $\mathrm{You}_{1}$ praised yourself ${ }_{1}$.'
 $\begin{array}{lll}\text { ax yi cyx } & \operatorname{ma}_{1}\left\{\begin{array}{ll}(c y p) & \text { zyt jie } \\ & \begin{array}{ll}\text { zyt jie yip dde zyt jie }\end{array} 1\end{array}\right\} \quad \text { hxo lo. }\end{array}$
child DEM.PROX CL 3P.SG REFL depend
'This child ${ }_{1}$ is self ${ }_{1}$-dependent.'

Oblique argument



```
3P.PL 3P.PL REFL to word say
'They \({ }_{1}\) spoke to themselves \({ }_{1}\).'
```

Only the short form，not the long form is used in the possessor role of possessive noun phrases．
（185）Anaphor is possessor in possessive phrase

$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { a yit } & \text { zyt jie } & \text { q qi }_{2} & \text { get } & \text { njuo．}\end{array}$
female name REFL head comb PROG
Possessor
＇Ayi $1_{1}$ combed her own $1_{1}$ hair（lit．Ayi $1_{1}$ combed the［head of self $]_{2}$ ）．＇

${\text { ngop } \text { wox }_{1} \quad \text { zyt jie }}_{1} \quad$ i dix $_{2} \quad\left(\right.$ zyt jie $\left._{1}\right)$ ggat．
1P．PL REFL clothes REFL wear
Possessor
＇We ${ }_{1}$ wear our own clothes $_{2}$（lit．we ${ }_{1}$ wear the［clothes of self $\left.{ }_{1}\right]_{2}$ ）．＇

The anaphor zyt jie is subject－oriented；it cannot refer to the direct object（0）but must refer to the subject（A）．
$\mathrm{H}_{\mathrm{N}}$
$\boldsymbol{N} \mathbb{H ゙}_{2}$
白H

\} 出も。
mu ga $_{1} \quad$ a yit $_{2}$
rrox mu $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { zyt jie } \\ \text { zyt jie yip dde zyt jie }\end{array}\right\}$
male name female name COV REFL change
＇Muga ${ }_{1}$ changed himself ${ }_{1}$ for the sake of $\mathrm{Ayi}_{2}$ ．＇

## B．zyt jie＇self＇as long－distance anaphor

Like Chinese zijĭ，the reflexive anaphor zyt jie also tracks antecedents which are（i） possessors in a possessive noun phrases，or（ii）at a higher syntactic level of the matrix clause．

## (i) Antecedent is possessor of possessive phrase

When the anaphor is the direct object, as in (187a), or the possessor of the direct object, as in (187b), then the subject antecedent "sub-commands" the antecedent (Huang \& Liu 1993: 142). ${ }^{9}$

$\operatorname{ngop}^{\operatorname{lu}} \mathrm{u}_{2}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { zyt jie }_{1} \\ \text { zyt jie yip dde zyt jie }\end{array}\right\}$ gat tat- qip!

2P.SG.POSS idea REFL
'Don't let [your $_{1}$ ideas $_{2}$ hinder yourself ${ }_{1}$ )!' hamper NEG.IMP- hamper

mu hlie ${ }_{1} \quad$ ddop ma $_{2} \quad$ zyt jie ${ }_{1}$ ngop ddux ${ }_{3}$ zie.
male name words REFL thought match '[Muhlie ${ }_{1}$ 's words $]_{2}$ match $\left[\text { his }_{1} \text { thoughts }\right]_{3}$.'

The possessor antecedent is blocked if the possessee is a human referent. The only antecedent in (187c) is the possessee.

| C. $\int_{1}$ | $\mathrm{QI}_{2}$ |  | Nd。 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\operatorname{cyp}_{1}$ | qop $\mathrm{bop}_{2}$ | $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text { zyt jie } \\ \text { zyt jie yip dde zyt jie } \end{array}\right\}$ | hxep yy. |
| 3P.SG.POSS | friend | REFL | respect |
| ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{His}_{1}$ friend $_{2}$ loves himself ${ }_{2}$.' |  |  |  |

## (ii) Antecedent is at higher syntactic level of matrix clause

The anaphor tracks the SELF in a matrix clause, "the one whose mental state or attitude the proposition describes" (Sells 1987). Example (188) illustrates the anaphor zyt jie for a verb of thinking, (189) for a verb of fearing. Only zyt jie (not the long form) occurs as the subject of the embedded clause. Alternatively, the SELF can also be tracked by the pronoun $c y$, see (188b) and (189b).
 mu gox $x_{1}$ ngop go $\quad$ zyt jie $_{1 / \star 2}$ vot zza dop bbo tat xi ox. male name think SENT.TOP REFL pig food feed go should DP Main clause Embedded clause
' $\mathrm{Mugo}_{1}$ thinks he ${ }_{1 / \star 2}$ should go to feed the pigs.'

[^8] mu gox ${ }_{1}$ ngop go $\quad \mathbf{c y}_{1 / 2}$ vot zza dop bbo tat xi ox. male name think SENT.TOP 3P.SG pig food feed go should DP Main clause Embedded clause
'Mugo ${ }_{1}$ thinks $\mathrm{he}_{1 / 2}$ should go to feed the pigs.'

at nyop ngat $_{2}$ yy ddi mu zyt jie 1/*2/*3 la ap- dop su jie name 1P.SG.POSS because of REFL come NEG- can COMP fear

'Because of $\mathrm{me}_{2}$, Anyo $_{1}$ is afraid that $\mathrm{she}_{1 / * 2 / * 3}$ is unable to come.'

at nyop ${ }_{1}$ ngat $_{2}$ yy ddi mu $\mathbf{c y}_{1 / \star 2 / 3}$ la ap dop su jie.
female name 1P.SG.POSS because of 3P.SG come NEG can COMP fear
Main clause
Embedded clause
Main clause
'Because of $\mathrm{me}_{2}$, Anyo $_{1}$ is afraid that she ${ }_{1 / * 2 / 3}$ is unable to come.'
Examples in (190) represent reported speech. In (190a), both reflexive anaphors are bound by a third person pronoun which in turn can depend on Muga in the matrix clause or on some external referent.


| lat mop $_{1}$ | mu ga $_{2}$ | jop | hxip | go | cy $_{2 / 3}$ | a hnat mu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name | male name | to | say | SENT.TOP | 3P.SG | especially |

\(\left\{\begin{array}{l}zyt jie <br>
zyt jie yip dde zyt jie <br>

2 / 3\end{array}\right\}\) syp tat xi | ddix. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

REFL know should QUOT
${ }^{\prime}$ Lamo $_{1}$ told Muga 2 that he ${ }_{2 / 3}$ should better know himself ${ }_{2 / 3}$.'

When we replace the third person singular pronoun by a second person, then reference to antecedents in the matrix clause is blocked, as in (190b). When we replace it by a logophoric pronoun, reference is routed to the speaker whose speech is reported, Lamo, as in (190c).


| lat $\mathrm{mop}_{1}$ | mu ga $_{2}$ | jop | hxip | go | ne $_{3}$ | a hnat mu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name | male name | to | say | SENT.TOP | 2P.SG | especially |

$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { zyt } \text { jie }_{3} \\ \text { zyt jie yip dde zyt jie }\end{array}\right\}$ syp tat xi ddix.
REFL know should QUOT
${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{Lamo}_{1}$ told Muga $_{2}$ that you ${ }_{3}$ should better know yourself ${ }_{3}$.'

lat $\mathrm{mop}_{1} \quad \mathrm{muga}_{2} \quad$ jop hxip go $\mathrm{i}_{1} \quad$ a hnat mu male name male name to say SENT.TOP LOG.SG especially $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { zyt jie }_{1} \\ \text { zyt jie yip dde zyt jie }_{1}\end{array}\right\}$ syp tat xi ddix.
REFL know should QUOT
' $\mathrm{Lamo}_{1}$ told Muga 2 that he ${ }_{1}$ should better know himself ${ }_{1}$.'

## C. zyt jie 'self' as emphatic pronoun

The short anaphor zyt jie (not of the long form) acts as emphatic pronoun when posed after a subject noun phrase.

mup sse zyt jie bbur jjip ox.
colt REFL obey DP
'The colt obeyed by itself (without others forcing it to obey).'

ngat pat vu zyt jie yix cur get.
1P.SG uncle REFL house build MOD.able
'My uncle can build a house alone (without outside help).'

nop wox zyt jiet yiep yot zy mo ddix.
2P.PL REFL potato plant MOD.committed
'Prepare the planting of potatoes yourselves (without outside help).'
The short anaphor zyt jie can be used in a statement of general truth, when no specific and definite referent is intended. The anaphor assumes the function of indefinite pronoun similar to the English one.

zyt jiet nyop bbop, zyt jiet mgat.
REFL work REFL advantageous
'If one is working, then one is happy.'
D. yip dde 'original-self' as emphatic pronoun

The expression yip dde (which is a component of the reflexive anaphor zyt jie yip dde zyt jie) has limited use as emphatic pronoun after a subject noun phrase.

lat sse yip dde li hmat mop nge.
male name original-self TOP teacher COP
'Originally, Laze is a teacher.'

cyp yip dde li ax ga la ap- dop su cy dde jii. 3P.SG original-self TOP female name come NEG- can COMP 3P.SG know 'He originally knew that Aga cannot come.'

nga hxep go ngat yip dde nyi cyx moli ap- but. 1P.SG see SENT.TOP 1P.SG original-self also 3P.SG see go up NEG- dare 'In my view, I originally do not dare to go to see him.'

Derived from the function of emphatic pronoun is the adverb yip dde go 'originally' whose position is immovable after the subject of the clause.


| cyx | gge | li | yip dde go | nop | gox | mu | tat xi. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| DEM.PROX | CL | TOP | originally | 2P.PL | PRO.PAT | do | should |
| 'Originally, you should do these things.' |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

### 5.4.3 Demonstratives

Nuosu employs two basic demonstratives with exophoric, anaphoric, cataphoric, and recognitional uses (Diessel 1999). Furthermore, there is an indefinite demonstrative that can be glossed by 'such as this/that'. Indefinite demonstratives are attested in several languages worldwide. They are often morphologically derived from definite
demonstratives (Lyons 1999: 151). ${ }^{10}$ Rarely, they are single morphemes as in Nuosu. The indefinite demonstrative may be compounded with definite demonstratives to express discourse deictic meanings. There are also three adverbial demonstratives, two encode relative distance to the speaker, one expresses discourse deixis.

Table 5.13: Demonstratives

| Distance value | Definite determiner | Indefinite determiner | Pronoun | Adverb |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| indefinite |  | xip | xip | xip mu |
| proximal / recent | cyx |  | cyp xip | tit |
| distal / remote | a zzyx |  | a zzyx xip | a ddit |

The demonstratives in Table 5.13 have overlapping discourse functions. The following table shows the different discourse function of each demonstrative.

Table 5.14: Pragmatic uses of demonstratives

| Pragmatic uses | Form | Pragmatic uses | Form |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Exophoric: indefinite | xip | Anaphoric | cyx, a zzyx |
| Exophoric: proximal | cyx, tit | Cataphoric | cyx, xip, xip mu |
| Exophoric: distal | a zzyx, a ddit | Recognitional | a zzyx |
| Discourse deixis: indefinite | xip, xip mu |  |  |
| Discourse deixis: recent | cyp xip |  |  |
| Discourse deixis: remote | a zzyx xip |  |  |

The demonstratives cyx, a zzyx and xip are adnominal determiners attached to the right of a common noun. They require a classifier in order to individuate the nominal concept.
(195) The demonstrative determiner construction: N+DEM+CL

The analysis of demonstratives proceeds in the following order: cyx and a zzyx (section A), xip (section B), cyp xip, a zzyx xip and xip mu (section C), tit and a ddit (section D).

10 Turkish and Japanese have two contrastive sets of definite and indefinite demonstratives:

|  | DEF.PROX | DEF.MED | DEF.DIST | INDEF.PROX | INDEF.MED | INDEF.DIST |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Turkish | bu | şu | o | böyle | şöyle | öyle |
| Japanese | kono | sono | ano | konna | sonna | anna |

## A. The demonstratives cyx and a zzyx

The demonstrative cyx tracks noun referents that are located close to the deictic center, either physically to the speaker or temporally to the time of utterance. The demonstrative a zzyx is the counterpart of cyx. It indicates relative distance from the deictic center. The morphemes cyx and a zyyx have four pragmatic uses: exophoric, anaphoric, cataphoric and recognitional.

## (i) Exophoric uses

Demonstratives refer exophorically when their referents are located in the physical speech situation. Exophoric reference is the core function of the demonstratives cyx and a zzyx. Examples (196a-c) illustrate the proximal cyx which refers to real world entities that are obvious and at hand.

bbu shy cyx ji ne tat- jiip!
snake DEM.PROX CL 2P.SG NEG.IMP- touch
'Don't touch this snake!'

nga vit gga cyx ggu jjie shyr gox sha.
1P.SG clothes DEM.PROX CL tear SEND
'I will tear these clothes into pieces.'


| cy | tep yy | cy | zzit | bi |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P.SG | book | DEM.PROX | CL | read |
| 'HOD.should |  |  |  |  |
| 'He should read this book.' |  |  |  |  |

The distal demontrative in (197a) can be uttered by a speaker who looks over a village from the top of a mountain. The context of (197b) suggests visibility of the village. It is naturally uttered in a context in which the speaker uses fingers to point at the referent in the speech situation.

cop wox co a zzyx yie go jjie bbo mat.

3P.PL person DEM.DIST CL LOC leave go FEAR
'It is a worry that they leave that family.'

ngap nyit bbap ga a zzyx ma go hxep da li. 1P.DL village DEM.DIST CL LOC COV.watch go up 'Let's go up to that village (on top of the mountain).'

## (ii) Anaphoric uses

English typically uses an indefinite article for the introduction of new referents in discourse (Himmelmann 1996). For the second mention, it uses an anaphoric demonstrative (this, that or these but not those) which aims to establish previously new referents as major discourse topics. Any third or subsequent mention maintains or reactivates previously established referents. Third and higher mentions are represented by third person pronouns and definite articles but not by anaphoric demonstratives.

Nuosu resembles English. Indefinite articles introduce new discourse participants. Both cyx and $a z z y x$ are used as anaphoric demonstratives to establish new referents as major discourse topics or to reactivate them if they have phased out from discourse attention.


sho mo cyp nyip cox ma diep huop ndup nga bbyx, co three days ago man CL telephone hit 1P.SG give man a zzyx ma hxip go i ngat qop bop DEM.DIST CL say SENT.TOP LOG.SG 1P.SG.POSS friend ma nge ddix, tit cy kax ddi nge su nga go CL COP QUOT but 3P.SG who COP NOM 1P.SG PRO.PAT syx ddur ap- la, wax nga cyp jox hna lox, co know exit NEG- come afterwards 1P.SG 3P.SG to ask CONJ man a zzyx ma li ngat qop bop ap- nge ddep lox, DEM.DIST CL TOP 1P.SG.POSS friend NEG- COP originally cy diep huop ndup yot ox. 3P.SG telephone hit wrong DP
'Three days ago, a man phoned me. That man said that he was a good friend of mine, but I did not know who he was. So after I insisted, the man acknowledged that he was not my friend and that he had dialed the wrong number.'

The first mention is marked by an indefinite article, the second mention by the distal anaphoric demonstrative $a z z y x$, the third and fourth mention by a third person pronoun. The fifth mention is marked again by the anaphoric demonstrative a $z z y x$ and the sixth by a third person pronoun. The use of $a z z y x$ for the fifth mention of the referent has the function of reinforcing the referent as discourse topic.

In (199), cyx has an anaphoric use and tracks the referent Muga who was introduced previously in discourse.


| mu ga | hxip | go | i | mup shy dex | op rro | la |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| name | say | COMP | LOG.SG | tomorrow | Xichang | come |


| yip | ddix, | tit | nga | hxep | go, | co | cyx | ma |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| EXCL | QUOT | but | 1P.SG | see | COMP | man | DEM.PROX | CL |


| cy | mgie | ngap nyit | zi | hxit. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P.SG | cheat | 1P.DL | cheat | say |

'Muga said that he would come to Xichang tomorrow. In my opinion, this man is cheating us both.'

The following dialogue exhibits two sentences of semi-direct speech (in which some but not all of the deicitic centers are converted). The first utterance introduces a dog which is not in visible reach of the speech site. The second utterance refers to that dog by means of the proximal demonstrative cyx.
(200) Chén \& Wū (1998: 217)


vyt vu gox hna lax sy, "ne xix sip
elder brother PRO.PAT ask come still 2P.SG INT.what COV.take
mux mo zze" ddix go ne, "i kex ma sip
soil plough eat QUOT COMP TOP LOG.SG dog CL COV.take
mux mo zze" ddix. ix yi jox hxip "nit
soil plough eat QUOT younger brother to say 2P.SG.POSS
ke cyx ma sip ix hxe lax sy" ddix.
dog DEM.PROX CL COV.take LOG.SG borrow come still, again QUOT
'The elder brother asked him again: "With what do you plough the earth to make a living?" (His brother replied:) "I am using a dog." (He said) again to the younger brother: "Let me borrow (this) your dog.""

## (iii) Cataphoric uses

Only the proximal demonstrative $c y x$, but not the distal a $z z y x$, can have cataphoric reference. Nuosu resembles English in this regard which only uses this not that for cataphoric reference. Example (201a) with cyx has a natural cataphoric reading although it may also be interpreted anaphorically, especially if we omit the locative demonstrative tit. By contrast, (201b) is only understood anaphorically since a $z z y x$ must refer back to a referent mentioned previously.

ne (tit) ddop ma cyx go cuop luo hna.
2P.SG DEM.here word DEM.PROX CL little bit listen
'Please listen to this word (that will follow).'

ne ddop ma a zzyx go cuop luo hna.
2P.SG word DEM.DIST CL little bit hear
'Please listen to that word (that you heard previously).'

## (iv) Recognitional uses

Recognition is a type of reference to entities whose knowledge is shared by the speaker and the addressee (Himmelmann 1996: 230-239; Diessel 1999: 106). The shared knowledge is usually new, not mentioned in previous discourse, unactivated and consisting of private information not readily available to outsiders. It is part of the specific history of the speaker and addressee.

In Nuosu, only a zzyx not cyx can have recognitional uses. In (202), a zzyx reactivates the experience shared by the speaker and addressee about a heavy storm. The proximal demonstrative cyx cannot be employed here, at least not with a recognitional meaning.

ap nyip miep ma hxa ax guo mu jjip a zzyx (/ \#cyx)
recently before rain violent ADVL fall DEM.DIST DEM.PROX
ddip hxix ne syt ap- jjo mu ix go xi ox bat?
day 2P.SG incident NEG- have ADVL house arrive DP SUG
'Did you arrive home safe with that awful storm last week?'

## B. The demonstrative xip

The term indefinite demonstrative is used in two ways. In languages of Middle and South America (Tupí, Cariban and Amazonian families), this term describes indefinite pronouns like someone, something, somewhere, which can be turned into interrogative pronouns in the presence of an additional interrogative particle (see Hoff 1968: 271; Bhat 2004: 236-237).

The name of indefinite demonstrative is also used for forms that convey a 'variety interpretation' and can be paraphrased by such as or of this/that kind (Lyons 1999: 40-41).
(203) a. I wish I could afford to buy that car.
b. I wish I could afford to buy such a car.
(204) a. I'd love to have those colleagues.
b. I'd love to have such colleagues.

The demonstratives that and those in (203a) and (204a) are indefinite, at least on a certain reading. They refer to a class of entities not to specific members of that class. We adopt for this use the term of indefinite demonstratives.

The Nuosu indefinite demonstrative xip is not marked for distance. It co-occurs with classifiers like the other demonstratives in construction (195). The variety interpretation of xip is illustrated in the following example.

syt xip zha mix ne cyx mu ap- dop.
affair DEM.INDEF CL even 2P.SG 3P.SG do NEG- MOD.can
'You are not even capable of doing a small thing like this.'
The demonstrative xip is often used after nominalized clauses to make up a variety of situations that match the description of the nominalization.

lat ti wa yot vi shep su ddop ma xip go
male name behind mistake look for NOM word DEM.INDEF CL
lat hxa hxip shu la.
male name say cause come
'Lati spoke such an accusation against Laha.'

lu po li syt he vat xip jiit mu nzox ox. male name TOP affair good good DEM.INDEF CL do EXP DP 'Lupo did such a good thing.'

Nuosu speakers also employ xip when the identity of a referent is known to them but unknown to the addressee. It is glossed then as 'a certain'.

nga la six lur kur bi ji hmi xip ma go xi ox. 1P.SG come RES city place name name DEM.INDEF CL LOC arrive DP 'They arrived in a certain city called Beijing.'

The indefinite demonstrative is also used for cataphora, the reference to an entity whose identity is established in subsequent discourse. In texts, the indefinite demonstrative xip is employed cataphorically more often than the demonstrative cyx (section A).
（209）of Hジスタำ네：（…）
vo mu ne vup zzyp xip ji jjo：（．．．）
king TOP custom DEM．INDEF CL have
＇The king had a custom like this．．．＇
In（210），xip co－occurs with the collective classifier gge．The referent is estab－ lished through comparison with a contextually salient participant．

hot put kep nyix xip gge jjy gex op rro da ddur la． people QUANT．several DEM CL together Xichang COV．put exit come ＇A group of several people like this moved out of Xichang．＇

## C．The demonstratives cyp xip，a zzyx xip and xip mu

Two pronominal demonstratives express the concept of discourse deixis：cyp xip and a zzyx xip which are complex demonstratives consisting of cyp＇this＇or a zzyx＇that＇ and the indefinite demonstrative xip＇such as＇．

A form has discourse deictic reference if it is coreferential not with a noun phrase but with an abstract entity evolving from discourse：a thought，an event，a proposition or an illocution．The English pronominal demonstratives this and that （not these and those）can express discourse deixis．Discourse deictic elements aim to stratify the flow of information．They draw the addressee＇s attention to speech－ related entities which do not have any existence in the outside world or even in subsequent discourse．The following example illustrates a discourse deictic use of that（Himmelmann 1996：224－229）：
（211）Teams have been working together since August to get here and we want them to have a good time．That＇s why Pop Warner moved to the Disney complex three years ago．（USA Today，12th December 1997）

The demonstratives cyp xip and a zzyx xip exclusively serve the function of dis－ course deixis：cyp xip represents the abstract entity as something close to the deictic center，a zzyx xip as something remote from the deictic center．


mu nyox：＂co ddip go ap hxiet ddip kut sut male name people say COMP last year other people yox ma ne ku six bbo＂ddix． sheep CL 2P．SG steal RES go QUOT
lat hxa：＂cyp xip／a zzyx xip mux ke dop su ap map！＂ddix． male name DEM．DD DEM．DD nonsense NOM EXCL QUOT
＇Munyo：＂Some people say that you stole a sheep last year．＂
Laha：＂This（＝proposition）／that（＝past situation）is nonsense！＂，

In (213), cyp xip and a zzyx xip refer to a past event not the proposition previously uttered. They indicate different degrees of remoteness of the event.


| sut | co | nop wox | ssot | six | vat | jiy | vat. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| other | people | 2P.PL | entertain | RES | good | very | good |

cyp xip / a zzyx xip nga wep mo ox.
DEM.DD DEM.DD 1P.SG get see DP
'You treat other people very well. I saw this (recent) / that (remote).'

Sometimes cyp xip and a zzyx xip are reduced to xip, especially when occurring in sentence-initial topic position. The demonstrative xip may co-occur with the topic marker li.


| co | cyx | gge | turx jo! | xip | li | cop wox | mu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| people | DEM.PROX | CL | beware | DEM.DD | TOP | 3P.PL | do |

jox dop su zzip ngop bbop.
intend NOM pay attention
'Beware of these people! This is what they do, pay attention.'

The demonstrative adverb xip mu 'in this/that way' consists of xip and the adverbializer $m и$ (section 5.3.2.J). It is used for discourse deixis, oriented toward past discourse, as in (215)-(216), or future discourse, as in (217).

lu ti apsi mu op rro bbo ji ngox. cy xip mu male name secretely ADVL Xichang go intend 3P.SG DEM.DD ngop te go ne cox ma cyp jox hxip... think time LOC TOP person CL 3P.SG to say
'Luti intended to go to Xichang on his own. While he was thinking over this (lit. in this way), someone told him...'

ssox sse nop mox gex nep gox jio ox
student 2P.PL before only then PRO.LOC have DP
ggex su, lat mop nyi xip mu cop wox hxop hmat.
ART=CL-DET male name also DEM.DD 3P.PL teach
'Lamo also taught the students who were here before you in that way.'
(217) Chén \& Wū (1998: 230)

cyp ggup jjux ne bbap ga co ggex su
3P.SG afterwards TOP village people ART=CL-DET
xip mu hxip: "jjix mu vyt hop lot ji jjuo su li (...) DEM.DD say name hand CL cut off NOM TOP
'Afterwards, the village people spoke like this: "Jjimu Vuho's hand was cut off because...'

The expression xip mu da 'therefore' is composed of xip $m u$ and $d a$ and is a metasequential marker indicating a conclusion of some preceding reasoning.

nop wox kax ddi hxo lo da syt mu su nge? -
2P.PL INT.who depend STP affair do NOM COP
xip mu da, mu ga ssot six vat-jiy-vat tat xi.
therefore name treat RES good-very-good should
'On whom do you depend to solve difficult situations? - For this reason, you should treat Muga very well.'

## D. The demonstratives tit and addit

The term demonstrative adverb is reserved for the locative deictic pronouns here and there. They indicate the location of an event in respect to the deictic center.

In Nuosu, tit 'here' and a ddit 'there' are demonstrative adverbs. They occur before the verb phrase. Both demonstratives must take the locative particle go or coverb $d a$. The bare demonstratives can be used with locative verbs (sit, stand, lie) and basic directional verbs (go, come).


| ne | xix mu | bur | six | tit | ngat | ddip | la? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P.SG | INT.why | return | RES | here | 1P.SG | LOC.at | come |
| 'Why are you coming back here (where I am)?' |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |


ne xix mu bur six addit ngat ddip la? 2P.SG INT.why return RES there 1P.SG LOC.at come 'Why will you be coming back there (where I will be)?'

muga tit da mu rryr jop ddop hxip. male name here COV.put male name to word speak 'Muga is talking here with Mudge.'

cy a ddit go da qie ot yy.
3P.SG there LOC COV.put spring low go down 'He can jump down from there.'

mu ga a ddit nyi ggup jjux ne, tep yy bi. male name there sit afterwards book read 'After Muga sat there, he read a book.'

Sentences in (219a-e) have SV or AOV order in which the demonstratives tit and a ddit occur after the S/A- and before the 0 -argument (if there is any). When the clause has an obligatory OAV order, the adverbs occur after the O - and A-arguments, as in $(220 a+b)$.

vit gga ax mo tit da cy six tu mu tux zyr zyr.
clothes mother here COV wash RES snow-white
'Mom washed here the clothes as white as snow.'

co dur co hxa cyx gge mu ga a ddit go people thousand people hundred DEM CL name there LOC wep mo ox.
see DP
'Muga saw thousands of people there.'

The demonstrative adverb tit has been grammaticalized into a contrastive conjunction with the sense but (section 13.1.3.A). This development is comparable to the English time deictic now which has non-deictic discourse-marking functions in sentences like now that was a good objection. When tit is employed as conjunction, it must occur in sentence-initial position.

muga lu po jox ddop hxip, tit lu po ne it nyi gu ox. male name male name to word say but male name TOP sleep DP 'Muga said something to Lupo, but Lupo was sleeping.'

vit gga li bbox sho su nge, tit jjy gex bbox sho sat
clothes TOP clean NOM COP but all clean EXH
su ap- nge.
NOM NEG- COP
'The clothes are clean, but not all of them.'

## 5．4．4 Bare common nouns

Nuosu allows bare common nouns to have generic，specific indefinite and specific definite reference．We understand specificity as the existence of the referent in the physical world（for discussion，see Farcas 2002）．Definiteness，by contrast，refers to the guarantee of identifiability of the referent（section 5．4．5）．

In Nuosu，bare common nouns in topical position are either generic or definite specific．Example（222）expresses a general truth and has the bare common noun co ＇person＇in sentence－initial position．The bare common noun is marked by a topic morpheme．

cox li nge get jiy－ap lop sup．
man TOP QUANT．all RECL－roughly resemble ＇All people are roughly the same．＇

The bare noun bi mop＇priest＇in（223）is more natural with a specific definite reading．（Usually，there is only one priest per village）．

bi mop li nyop mu co mgep da zzax zze． priest TOP peasant together food eat ＇The priest is eating together with the peasants．＇

The second mention of nzy mop＇governor＇in（224）is a bare noun which is inter－ preted as specific and definite．


| mu jie | nzy mop | cyx | ma | jox | ddop | hxip． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name | governor | DEM．PROX | CL | to | word | speak |

nzy mop cy shu hxie qyt la sha．
governor 3P．SG CAUS greatly worried
＇Mujie spoke to the governor and made the governor greatly worried．＇

Nominal predicates that are bare nouns generally have a generic meaning．
（225）NスN覑。
nga mop su ox．
1P．SG old man DP
＇I am an old man now．＇

Bare common nouns that are direct objects of monotransitive verbs can have generic，specific－definite and specific－indefinite reference．The bare noun vot bbu sse ＇piglet＇in（226a）has a generic and specific－indefinite reading；the bare noun ma gop ＇lamp＇in（226b）is specific－indefinite，and vo mu＇king＇in（226c）is specific－definite．

mu ga vot bbu sse vup．
name piglet sell
（i）＇Muga sells piglets（now：specific－indefinite）．＇
（ii）＇Muga sells piglets（it is his job：generic）．＇

ngop wox jjyx rex dde go ma gop ddie go dut da． 1P．PL meeting point LOC lamp COV PRO．LOC lighten put ＇At our meeting point there were lamps lit with fire．＇
c．よ
cyp syt jjit su cop wox hxip vo mu ge． 3P．SG．POSS matter ART＝CL－DET 3P．PL say king tell ＇They told the king about his problem．＇

When bare common nouns are direct objects of monotransitive verbs that are negated or modified by modal verbs，they are typically interpreted as generic （unspecific and indefinite）．
（227）a．WH小代向。

| nga | nry | ap－ | ndo | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG | wine | NEG－ | drink | DP |

（i）＇I did not drink the wine（specific and definite）．＇
（ii）＇I did not drink wine（generic）．＇

cy nry ndo mo ddix．
3P．SG wine drink MOD．committed
（i）＇He wants to drink the wine（specific and definite）．＇
（ii）＇He wants to drink wine（generic）．＇

## 5．4．5 Indefinite and definite articles

Cheng \＆Sybesma（1999）argue for Chinese that classifiers are the counterpart of the definite article the in English，while Wu \＆Bodomo（2009）disagree．In Nuosu，defi－ niteness and indefiniteness are marked in the noun phrase．The classifier contributes to the formation of indefinite and definite articles．There are two semi－open classes of articles indexed by the set of classifiers．
（228）In／definite article constructions：（i） $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{CL}$ ；（indefinite）
（ii） $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{CL}^{\star}+s u$ ．（definite）
The asterisk indicates tone sandhi changes of the classifiers（section 3．2．2）．If the classifier in isolation has the midtone［33］as most classifiers do，then it switches to the tone sandhi［44］．If the classifier is in the low tone［ ${ }^{21]}$ or has the high tone［55］， then the tone does not change．The particle $s u$ contributes to the formation of the definite article（Chén 1989）．The view that su functions as determiner（Hú 2002：140； 2004）is not correct as it does not directly modify bare nouns．
（229）
a．$\quad * \cdot 11 / \frac{1}{4}$
$\begin{array}{ll}\text {＊co } & \text { su } \\ \text { person } & \text { DET }\end{array}$
Intended meanings：＇the man＇
b．＊쇠N．
＊le su
ox DET
＇the ox＇

Sortal and mensural classifiers can both form indefinite and definite articles． Consider the following examples：
a．$ル$ 雨
bbu shy ji
snake CL
＇a snake＇
c．व我
yyx hmo
water CL
＇a river＇
e．手 1 品
yiex syr $\quad \mathbf{z i}$
broom CL
＇a broom＇
g．不肌解
hnap chot zzyr
gun CL
‘a gun’

a ji bbut
sieve CL
＇a sieve＇
b．गic空去
bbu shy jix su
snake ART＝CL－DET
＇the snake＇
d．व事片
yy hmox su
water ART＝CL－DET
＇the river＇
f．手 1 忽片
yiex syr zix su
broom ART＝CL－DET
＇the broom＇
h．不的解片
hnap chot zzyrx su
gun ART＝CL－DET
＇the gun＇
j．训乐张版
a ji bbut su
sieve ART＝CL－DET
＇the sieve＇
k．§ $\ddagger$ ll
ie qyt gge
water CL
＇（some）water＇
m．N $\because \exists$
bbur ma rre
chracter CL
＇a row of written characters＇
0．凶以
da yi bbop
storehouse CL
＇a room in the storehouse＇

ie qyt ggex su
water ART＝CL－DET
＇the water＇
n．N $\because \exists \sqrt{1}$
bbur ma rrex su
chracter ART＝CL－DET
＇the row of written characters＇

da yi bbop su
storehouse ART＝CL－DET
＇the room in the storehouse＇

One view of definiteness is known as the familiarity hypothesis．On this view， definite noun phrases signal that the referent is familiar to both the speaker and hearer．Indefinite noun phrases do not indicate such shared familiarity．The fami－ liarity hypothesis was originally formulated by Christophersen（1939）．Hawkins （1978）is one modern work within this tradition．

Some scholars proposed to replace familiarity by identifiability as in certain sentences definite articles cannot be understood to indicate familiarity but rather a guarantee of identifiability．The identifiability hypothesis was put forward by Lyons （1999：6－7）who provided the following English example in which Ann is trying to put up a picture on the wall．Without turning round，she says to Joe who just entered：
（231）Pass me the hammer，will you？

Joe looks around and sees a hammer on a chair．The definite article in（231）tells the addressee that he can identify the hammer Ann is talking about．Familiarity would not be an appropriate characterization for this use of the．

The Nuosu definite articles provide a guarantee of identifiability but exhibit differences with their English counterpart．Firstly，like Ancient Greek and Modern German but unlike English，Nuosu can use definite articles for proper names and clan names．Indefinite articles can specify clan names but not proper names．

## Proper names

a．${ }^{*} H$ 西 $\theta$
＊mu jie ma
male name CL
＇a Mujie’
b．$H{ }^{\mu}{ }^{\prime \prime} \hat{\theta} \sqrt{\frac{1}{5}}$
mu jie max su
male name $A R T=C L-D E T$
＇the Mujie＇

## Clan names

（233）
a． H 井 $\theta$
sha mat ma
clan name
CL
＇a member of the Shama clan＇
sha mat max su
clan name ART＝CL－DET
＇the member of the Shama clan＇

For entities with a unique referent in the real world，identifiability is derived from general world knowledge．In（234），the sun or other unique celestial bodies have definite reference．The use of the definite article is grammatical，the indefinite article is ungrammatical．

Referents whose uniqueness is derived from world knowledge

mu ti hxo bbu（＊ma／max su）ddur la te go，cy zzax zze ox． morning sun CL／ART＝CL－DET exit come when 3P．SG food eat DP ＇When the sun rose in the morning，he ate some food．＇

The noun zzyt mu＇physical world＇often co－occurs with the demonstrative deter－ miner cyx＇this＇but is compatible with the definite article as well，see（235a＋b）． The function of the demonstrative is to contrast this world with the afterworld．The indefinite article cannot be used，as in（235c）．
a．谷H $\bar{X}_{\theta} \theta \mathrm{X}_{1} \Subset$ 。

| zzyt mu | cyx | ma | mu | cy | ju． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

world DEM．PROX CL QUANT．whole 3P．SG rule
＇He rules this whole world．＇

b．谷H | $\boldsymbol{\theta}$ |
| ---: | :--- |
| $\sqrt{2} H X_{1} \Subset$ |

| zzyt mu | max su | mu | cy | ju． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| world | ART＝CL－DET | QUANT．whole | 3P．SG | rule |

＇He rules the whole world．＇
c．谷H（＊$\theta$ ）HX
zzyt mu（＊ma）mu cy ju．
world CL QUANT．whole 3P．SG rule
Intended meaning：＇He rules a whole world．＇

The noun vo mu＇emperor，king＇is taken to be the supreme ruler of a given area． It can be used as bare noun or with the definite article but not with the indefinite article as it would imply that there is more than one supreme leader．

cy ddop shep hnox vo mu ddix xi bbo.
3P.SG appeal EXT.until king LOC.at arrive go
'He is appealing to the king.'

*cy ddop shep hnox vo mu ma ddix xi bbo. 3P.SG appeal EXT.until king CL LOC.at arrive go 'He is appealing to a king.'

cy ddop shep hnox vo mu max su ddix xi bbo.
3P.SG appeal EXT.until king ART=CL-DET LOC.at arrive go
'He is appealing to the king.'
Nuosu definite articles have exophoric and anaphoric uses which are also the functions of demonstratives. Articles express a guarantee of identifiability, whereas demonstratives incorporate deictic meaning.
(237) Exophoric uses

ne vit gga ggux su ddie cyx gat.
2P.SG clothes ART=CL-DET COV.prepare 3P.SG put on
'Please dress him with the clothes (here).'


| ne | vit gga | cyx | ggu | ddie | cyx | gat. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P.SG | clothes | DEM.PROX | CL | COV.prepare | 3P.SG | put on |

'Please dress him with these clothes (finger pointing).'
Demonstratives and definite articles differ in that definite articles can but demonstratives cannot express associated anaphora (Hawkins 1978: 150-151; Himmelmann 1996: 210-211). For associated anaphora, the referent is associated with an entity previously mentioned. In (238), the definite article is used for associated anaphora and cannot be substituted by a demonstrative. ${ }^{11}$
(238) Associated anaphora

tit cyp xyp mop max su (/*cyx ma) ssa hxuo ggup jjux,
but 3P.SG.POSS wife ART=CL-DET DEM CL capable afterwards
ddop hxip get xip ma.
word speak can DEM.INDEF CL
'But his wife was capable and wise in speech.'

11 Quoted from the folk story "The earnest man" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 221).

Definite articles also track anaphoric noun phrases，typically third and sub－ sequent mentions of referents，as in（239）－（240）．${ }^{12}$
（239）于ゆ桜白旬版平非问
tit da vyt vu max su gox hna lax sy
then elder brother ART＝CL－DET PRO．PAT ask come still ＇The elder brother still came and asked him．＇


| bbox zze | nyop bbop | ap－ | qi | ly | yuo | xyp mop | nyi | jy． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man | work | NEG－ | want | NUM．4 | CL | wife | also | fear |


| cyp | nyip | ne | xyp mop | ggex su | ga chap | la． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG．POSS | also | TOP | wife | ART＝CL－DET | go to market | come |

＇There were four lazy men who feared their wives．On one day the wives went to the street market．＇

## 5．4．6 Interrogative／indefinite pronouns

Nuosu exhibits seven basic interrogative pronouns．Most of them are built on the stem $k a / k e$ or modifications thereof．

Table 5．15：Interrogative pronouns

| kax ddi（ma） | ＇who＇ | kep te go | ＇when＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| xix（ $+C L$ ） | ＇what／which＇ | kep mu | ＇how＇ |
| kep nyix（＋CL） | ＇how much／many＇ | xix jjip hnex | ＇why＇ |
| kat（go） | ＇where＇ |  |  |

These interrogative pronouns，also called wh－elements，are formal marks of inter－ rogative sentences．While English moves interrogative noun phrases into sentence－ initial position，Nuosu is an in－situ language．Like Chinese or Japanese，it keeps wh－ elements in the original syntactic slot without moving them（see Chomsky 1986； Cheng 1997）．

In Nuosu，there are no existential indefinite pronouns．Existential meanings are conveyed by common nouns predicated in one of the existential constructions （section 12．1）．The above interrogative pronouns can be transformed into universal indefinite pronouns by means of the adverb nyi＇also＇．Only kep nyix＇how much＇ and xix jjip hnex＇why＇cannot be used as indefinite pronoun．

[^9]Table 5．16：Indefinite pronouns

| kax ddi（ma）．．．nyi | ＇whoever＇ | kep te nyi | ＇whenever＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| xix（＋CL）．．．nyi | ＇whatever＇ | kep mu nyi | ＇whatever way＇ |
| kat go nyi | ＇wherever＇ |  |  |

## A．The pronoun kax ddi＇who＇

The interrogative pronoun kax ddi ‘who’ refers to people．If a classifier is employed， it must be the human classifier ma．The classifier is understood as marker of spe－ cificity with some exceptions．Classifiers tend to be more frequent as subject of a sentence，as in（241a＋b），because subjects are more often specific．The classifier is more likely omitted when it is direct object，as in（241c），or when it occurs in an equative copular clause，as in（241d＋e）．
（241）a．サत为活 $\theta$ 雨？
ip nyip kax ddi ma nga shex？
today INT．who CL 1P．SG look for ＇Who was looking for me today？＇

cop wox ggu dut go kax ddi ma sse jjo？
2P．PL among LOC INT．who CL son have
＇Who among them has a son？＇

ne kax ddi bbyx gox zy shux，
2P．SG INT．who CAUS 3P．SG receive CAUS
kax ddi ax di gox zy su nge．
INT．who only 3P．SG receive NOM COP
＇Whoever you are giving it will receive it．＇

ssox sse ddip go cy kax ddi nge？
student say COMP 3P．SG INT．who COP
＇Whom do the students say that he is？＇
e．$\quad \underline{w}$
ngop bbap ga da ax yy－jjy－ax yy max su kax ddi nge？
1P．SG village COV．put great－very－great ART INT．who COP ＇Who is the most important in my village？＇

The indefinite pronoun kax ddi can act as subject or object．No classifier should be used with the indefinite pronoun kax ddi．
a．为汇丰井舞。
kax ddi nyi nry ndo qi．
IND．everyone also，all wine drink want
＇Everyone wants to drink wine．＇

ka ddi nyi mu gox gep gur shu bbo ox． IND．everyone also，all male name COV frighten CAUS leave，go DP ＇Everyone is annoyed by Mugo and leaves．＇

The indefinite pronoun kax ddi is similar to the quantifier zzix ap zzi＇every＇ （section 5．3．2．B），but does not quantify over definite referent sets as zzix ap zzi does．

## B．The pronoun xix＇what／which＇

The pronoun xix＇what／which＇is oriented towards animate or inanimate entities．It co－occurs with or without classifiers；it depends on a head noun or stands alone． If used，the classifier emphasizes the specificity of the referent．Xix is more often incorporated in object than in subject noun phrases．In（243a＋b），xix is associated with the S－role，in（ $244 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{c}$ ）with the O－role，and in（245）with the locative role．
a．

| nga | la | su | si nip | ap－ | la | su | xix | yiet |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG | come | NOM | and | NEG－ | come | NOM | INT．what | CL |
| dax | zhet | su | nge？ |  |  |  |  |  |
| COV．put | good | NOM | COP |  |  |  |  |  |

＇Which is better：that I come or not？＇

ggap mop xix ji nge su nga dde－ap－ji．
road INT．what CL COP NOM 1P．SG know＜NEG＞
＇I do not know what the way is．＇
（244）

ngax li xix hxip ddie ddur yip sy？

1P．SG TOP INT．what say need still
＇What else do I need to say？＇

nop ka bba wep jjux xix wep mix？
2P．PL present thing to get INT．what get SOL
＇What reward will we get？＇

ne vit gga xix ggu cy qi?
2P.SG clothes INT.what CL wash want
'What clothes do you want to wash?'


| cyp | sse | li | xix | ggat | da | yur | su? |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P.SG.POSS son | TOP | INT.what | CL | COV.put | bear | NOM |  |
| 'Where was her son born?' |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

The pronoun xix is universal indefinite pronoun when the adverb nyi 'also' is added. Other elements may intervene in between xix (+CL)...nyi. The inde-finite pronoun can have the S/A-role, as in (246a), or the O-role, as in (246b+c).

ku jox xix nyi ap- rrur.
LOC.inside to INT.what also, all NEG- lie
'There is nothing inside.'

zza xix zha nyi cy zze sat ox.
food IND.whatever CL also, all 3P.SG eat EXH DP
'He has consumed whatever small amount of food he could find.'


| cy | bbyx | syt | xix | mu | nyi | go mox | max su |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P.SG | COV.give | issue | IND.whatever | do | also | first | ART |

jjip shux.
become CAUS
'Let him be the first for whatever issue.'

## C. The pronoun kep nyix 'how much/many'

The pronoun kep nyix 'how much/many' acts as interrogative pronoun and requires a classifier.
(247) Construction of kep nyix: (N)+kep nyix+CL.

The interrogative pronoun kep nyix is derived from the non-interrogative quantifier kep nyix 'several' (section 5.3.2.C). The pronoun kep nyix does not give rise to a universal indefinite pronoun.

It refers to quantities of noun phrases that occur in every syntactic position of the sentence．In（248a－c），kep nyix occupies the S－role，in（249a＋b）the A－role，and in $(250 \mathrm{a}+\mathrm{b})$ in the 0 －role．In $(251 \mathrm{a}+\mathrm{b})$ ，kep nyix is part of the predicate．
a．$\epsilon$ 品 $\theta \underline{\underline{*}}$ 米向？

| yo | kep nyix | ma | po | bbo | ox？ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sheep | INT．how many | CL | run | go | DP |
| ＇How many sheep escaped？＇ |  |  |  |  |  |


bbu xot lot kep nyix zha qie bbo ox？
grasshopper INT．how many CL bounce go DP
＇How many grasshoppers went bouncing along？＇

yy go syr ddip kep nyix ji bbu njuo？
water LOC piece of wood INT．how many CL float PROG
＇How many pieces of wood are floating in the water？＇

syt cy jjit co kep nyix ma wep mo ox？
subject DEM．PROX CL people INT．how many CL get see DP ＇How many people saw this event？＇

co kep nyix ma nit jop ddop hxip？
people INT．how many CL 2P．SG to words speak
＇How many people are talking to you？＇

nop wox bbap ga go co kep nyix yuop jo？
2P．PL village LOC people INT．how many CL have
＇How many people do you have in the village？＇
b．©
mge fu kep nyix ma mu jie zze gox sha ox？
wheat cake INT．how many CL male name eat SEND DP ＇How many wheat cakes did Mujie consume？＇


| mux dde | cy | jot | kep nyix | mo | nge？ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| field | DEM．PROX | CL | INT．how many | CL．acre | COP |

＇How many acres does this piece of land have？＇

zyt mop cy qit kep nyix mu？
hoe DEM．PROX CL INT．how much make ＇What does this hoe cost？＇

## D．The pronoun kat go＇where＇

The locative interrogative pronoun kat go is oriented toward places and co－occurs with motion and non－motion verbs．The locative coverb da is often attached to kat go to make up a locative phrase．The following three sentences exhibit non－motion verbs：an intransitive verb in（252a），a clause with obligatory AOV order in（252b）， and a clause with obligatory OAV order in（252c）．
（252）a．$\because$ 行片忚斗も？
ke maxsu kat go it？
dog ART＝CL－DET INT．where lie
＇Where is the dog lying？＇
b．X炬头め时可时后？
cy kat go da co hxox co hmat？
3P．SG INT．where COV．put people teach people teach ＇Where is he teaching others？＇

nry cop kat go da ndo sat ox？
wine 3P．PL INT．where COV drink EXH DP
＇Where did they finish drinking all the wine？＇
With verbs of motion，the interrogative pronoun kat go represents either the destination of the motion or its origin．For verbs of motion，the coverb da marks the origin of movement，as in（253a－c）．

cop wox li co kat go da lax gge nge su 3P．SG TOP person INT．where COV．put come CL COP NOM nga gox dde－ap－jji．
1P．SG PRO．PAT know＜NEG＞
＇I do not know where they are from．＇
b．
vy cyx gge kat go ddur la su nge？
weeds DEM．PROX CL INT．where exit come NOM COP ＇Where do these weeds come from？＇

ddox mu jix su kat go da vy six la su nge？ knife CL NOM INT．where COV．put buy RES come NOM COP ＇Where did you buy the knife from？＇

The locative particle go in kat go is generally required．With certain verbs like $b b o$＇go＇and rrur＇lie＇，it can be omitted，especially in conventionalized expressions like greetings．
a．可世娄向？
ne kat bbo ox？
2P．SG INT．where go DP
＇Where are you going？＇
b．ヨ习化（覑サ？
rre mop kat rrur su nge？
money INT．where lie NOM COP
＇Where is the money？＇

The universal indefinite pronoun kat go nyi＇everywhere＇functions as indepen－ dent locative phrase．No other element can intervene between kat go and nyi which is one lexicalized unit．

lat ti bbap ga kat go nyi cy jo mga．
male name village IND．wherever 3P．SG pass through
＇Lati passed through all the villages（lit．the village wherever）．＇

kat go nyi vop ngo ddi si sat．
IND．wherever famine EXP
＇There is a famine everywhere．＇

ne kat go nyi co gep sip zhot cur ddi dit．
2P．SG IND．wherever person COV COV．take offend
＇Everywhere people have said something offensive about you．＇

## E．The pronoun kep te go＇when＇

The interrogative pronoun kep te go consists of kep te and the locative particle go． It refers to the event time．The string kep te go is one unit and go should not be dropped．The pronoun kep te go occurs either in sentence－initial position，as in （256a），or after the S／A argument，as in（256b－d）．

kep te go ne nax mgo nzox？
INT．when 2P．SG ill EXP
＇When have you been ill？＇
b．议伐：
syt cyx gge kep te go ddur？
affair DEM．PROX CL INT．when exit
＇When will these things happen？＇

ne kep te go xyp mop xyp？
2P．SG INT．when wife marry
＇When will you have your wedding？＇

shu kut ngop wox kep te go pup bbo hlo bbo？
this year 1P．PL INT．when tomb pay visit go
＇This year，when will we go to the cemetery？＇
The pronoun kep te together with the sentence adverb nyi can be used as univer－ sal indefinite pronoun：kep te nyi＇whenever，always＇．No element intervenes between kep te and nyi which functions as one lexical unit．

cyp te kop li kep te nyi zox nze go shex．
3P．SG time TOP IND．whenever available HAB
＇He is always available（lit．his time is always available）．＇

kep te nyi syt cyx gge cop gox jjiex mguo ap－dop．
IND．whenever affair DEM．PROX CL 3P．PL PRO．PAT understand NEG－can
＇They are never able to understand these things．＇
c．ㅡ⿻丷木大丰出H $H(1) N$ 。
kep te nyi nbop mu nrat qip tat xi．
IND．whenever do good deeds should
＇One should always do good．＇

## F．The pronoun kep mu＇how＇

The interrogative pronoun of manner kep mu＇how＇consists of kep and the adver－ bializer $m u$ ．It is an interrogative pronoun for manner．A derived meaning is inter－ rogative for reason and motif．In some sentences both meanings appear，in others only one meaning is present．
（258）
a．HA쌥手fH出爻？
pat mop kep mu cop wox sse mu hnie mgu？
（manner）
parents INT．how 3P．PL children love
＇How do parents love their children？＇

hxa bit cy yiet kep mu hlu？（manner）
vegetable DEM．PROX CL INT．how cook
＇How should the vegetables be cooked？＇

ne kep mu tep yy sso ap－bbo？（reason）
2P．SG INT．how book study NEG－go
＇Why don＇t you take on your studies

zyt jie bur zyt jie jox da su nge ox，（manner）
REFL return REFL be against STP NOM COP DP
guop jiet kep mu da at mgut la mix？
country INT．how STP prosper come SOL
＇If it is divided，how can the country prosper？＇

ne kep mu co zyt？（reason）
2P．SG INT．how person blame
＇Why do you blame people？＇

nop wox hxep jjux kep mu jjix？（manner）
2P．PL view INT．how become
＇What is your view on this？＇
g．Y娄品H开覑要井向。
syr bbo kep mu jjix su nga dde jji ox．（manner）
tree INT．how become NOM 1P．SG know DP
＇I know what type of species the tree is．＇

Together with the sentence adverb nyi＇also，all＇，kep mu forms an indefinite pronoun with the sense＇whatever way＇．The string kep mu nyi forms a close unit and no other element may be intercalated．
a．式品以丰斗小孚止雨。
ne kep mu nyi go ap－njyp go shex．
2P．SG IND．however PRO．PAT NEG－believe HAB
＇You never believe anything．＇
b．品H丰水必！
kep mu nyi ap－zhet！
IND．however NEG－good
＇You can never do it！＇

The indefinite pronoun sometimes conveys the meaning of deontic or epistemic necessity（＇whatsoever＇）for which Nuosu lacks special auxiliary verbs．

cop wox kax mu kax yot su，kep mu nyi bie jjuo su nge． 3P．PL CLF do CLF make NOM IND．however destroy NOM COP ＇What they are doing must be destroyed．＇

## G．The pronoun xix jjip hnex＇why＇

The interrogative pronoun xix jjip hnex＇why＇is composed of xix＇what＇and the con－ junction jjip hnex＇because＇．This interrogative pronoun is placed at the beginning of the sentence or after the subject of the sentence．The adverbializer $m u$ links the inter－ rogative pronoun to the verb phrase．In（260a），$m u$ is omitted because the discourse deictic demonstrative xip $m u$ already incorporates $m u$ ．

cy xix jjip hnex xip mu guo luo mut？
3P．SG INT．why DEM．DD angry
＇Why is he angry like this？＇

yo xix jjip hnex mu po bbo sat？
sheep INT．why ADVL run go EXP
＇Why have all the sheep run away？＇

ne xix jjip hnex mu yi ngox su nge？
2P．SG INT．why ADVL cry NOM COP
＇Why are you crying？＇

ap ndop hxot it kie go xix jjip hnex mu yix qy ndit？ yesterday evening village LOC INT．why ADVL house catch fire ＇Why did the village catch fire yesterday evening？＇

Unlike for the other pronouns，we cannot derive an indefinite pronoun from the interrogative pronoun xix jjip hnex＇why＇by means of the adverb nyi．

## Chapter 6

## The verb phrase

The Nuosu verb phrase exhibits several special features such as a large set of simplex／ complex verb pairs（section 6．1．4．E），about 20 coverbs some of which are polysemous （section 6．2）and a set of compositional direction verbs（section 6．4．1）．This chapter contains four sections：predicative constructions（section 6．1），coverbs（section 6．2）， locational phrases（section 6．3）and directional phrases（section 6．4）．

## 6．1 Predicative constructions

Four lexical categories may function as predicates：nouns（section 6．1．1），copular （section 6．1．2），adjectives（section 6．1．3）and verbs（section 6．1．4）．

## 6．1．1 Nominal predicates

Bare nominal predicates consist of a common noun．The nominal predicate has unspecific reference．Nominal predicates are intransitive．Their sole argument is specific，definite and often presented with a topic particle（section 14．1．1．）．
（1） $\mathrm{NP}+\mathrm{TOP}+$ Nominal predicate
（2）a．刘に入。
cyx li nzy mop．
3P．SG TOP Tŭsī（土司）
＇He is Tŭsì（governor installed by the imperial government）．＇

ngax li hxie die co．
1P．SG TOP foreigner
＇I am a foreigner．＇

Nominal predicates tend to have support from the copular verb，but in two con－ texts bare nominal predicates are used frequently：in contrastive pairs of nominal predicates，as in（3），and temporal nominal predicates，as in（4）．

mu hlie li yix cur lut gur，lu ti li syr zyt lut gur．
male name TOP architect male name TOP carpenter
＇Muhlie is an architect，Luti is a carpenter．＇


| cyx | li | qu sse， | ngax | li | nuo sse． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | TOP | White Yi | 1P．SG | TOP | Black Yi |

＇He is a White Yi，I am a Black Yi．＇
（4）か「リ和坐觅。
ip nyip li xyx ne ddip hxix．
today TOP resting day
＇Today is resting day．＇
The nominal predicate must consist of a bare noun．When the predicate is modified by a classifier，it must be supported by the copular．
（5）a．H平りに社。
mu gox li hmat mop．
male name TOP teacher
＇Mugo is a teacher．＇

mu gox li hmat mop ma nge．
male name TOP teacher CL COP
＇Mugo is a teacher．＇

## 6．1．2 Copular predicate

The Nuosu copular predicate is nge．As in other languages（Higgins 1979），it assumes three basic functions（equative，predicational，specificational）and a contextually derived meaning of focus element．

The copular verb is incompatible with most aspect，tense and modal markers．It can co－occur with modal elements that mark speaker attitudes such as the matrix adjective jox jjip＇possible＇，the adverb ap nryr mu＇really＇or the modal auxiliary tat $x i$＇should＇，as in（6）．It is incompatible with most other modal auxiliary verbs，as illustrated in（7），and rejects aspect and tense particles，as shown in（8）．

cyx li nuo su nge jox jjip．
3P．SG TOP Nuosu COP possible
＇He might be a Nuosu．＇
b．Xis 片 thx
cy nuo su nge tat xi．
3P．SG Nuosu COP should
＇He should be a Nuosu．＇

cyx li ap nryr mu syr zyt lut gur ma nge．
3P．SG TOP really carpenter CL COP
＇He must really be a carpenter．＇

＊mu rryr li nyop mu co nge but． male name TOP peasant COP dare Intended meaning：＇Mudge dares to be a peasant．＇

＊mu jy li cyp qop bop nge qi． male name TOP 3P．SG．POSS friend COP want Intended meaning：＇Mudje is in the process of being his friend．＇

$\begin{array}{llllll}\text {＊cyx } & \text { li } & \text { ngat } & \text { ddip vip } & \text { nge } & \text { njuo．} \\ \text { 3P．SG } & \text { TOP } & \text { 1P．SG．POSS } & \text { peasant } & \text { COP } & \text { PROG }\end{array}$
Intended meaning：＇He is in the process of being a peasant．＇

＊mu ga li hmat mop nge nzox．
male name TOP teacher COP EXP
Intended meaning：＇He was once a teacher．＇
c．＊N゙リヒル $\because \pm \mathbb{R}$
＊ngax li bi mop ma nge mix．
1P．SG TOP priest CL COP FUT
Intended meaning：＇I will be a priest．＇

Nuosu copular clauses tend to mark the first NP by a topic particle，either by ne（maintaining topic）or by li（contrastive topic）．Both particles are not required though．We discuss the three basic functions of the copular verb nge in subsection A and its contextually derived focus meaning in subsection $B$ ．

## A．Basic functions

Cross－linguistically，copular verbs assume three functions（Akmajian 1979；Higgins 1979；Mikkelsen 2005）；they serve to equate two noun referents，to predicate a noun referent and to specify a noun referent．

## （i）Equative function

The first function of the copular verb nge is to equate the referents of two expres－ sions，either single individuals or groups of individuals．

ngax li lu pox nge．
3P．SG TOP male name COP ＇I am Lupo．＇
b．よ米りH是慁\＆H憼さ。
cyp nyit li muga si nip mu rryr nge．
3P．DL TOP male name and male name COP
＇These two are Muga and Mudge．＇

muti te go mu jy max su li ket mop te go mu jy max su nge． morning at time of star ART TOP evening at time of star ART COP ＇The morning star is the evening star．＇

cyx li ngat ax da nge．
3P．SG TOP 1P．SG．POSS father COP
＇He is my father．＇

Sometimes，a copular construction is compatible with an equative and a predi－ cational reading．The intended interpretation depends on background knowledge and speaker intention．
（10）刘びH気さ。
cyx li ngat pat vu nge．

3P．SG TOP 1P．SG．POSS uncle COP
＇He is my uncle／He is one of my uncles．＇

## （ii）Predicational function

Predicational copular clauses tell us something about the referent of the sentence－ initial subject（Mikkelsen 2005：1）．A predicational copular clause like Susan is a doctor is similar to a non－copular clause like Susan runs the marathon by virtue of the fact that both express a property of the subject referent．
（11）a．刘邸非 $\theta \pm$ 。

| cyx li shyrx rruo | ma | nge． |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG TOP thief | CL | COP |  |
| ＇He is a thief．＇ |  |  |  |

b．列小門 $\theta$ さ。
cyx li sse ge ma nge．

3P．SG TOP fool CL COP
＇He is a fool．＇
c．10日リ※さ®类 $\theta \pm 。 ~$
op rro li lur kur nrat vie ma nge．
Xichang TOP city beautiful CL COP ＇Xichang is a beautiful city．＇

There is thus no fundamental difference between copular clauses in which the second argument contains a nominal predicate，as in（11），and those in which the second argument is a nominalized verb phrase，as in（12）．

vut sa li ap ndi hxix la su nge．
name TOP yesterday come NOM COP
＇Vusa is the one who came yesterday．＇

ngax li la ap－qi su ap－nge．
1P．SG TOP come NEG－want NOM NEG－COP
＇It is not the case that I do not want to come．＇

Predicational copular clauses sometimes contain temporal or locative nouns as the first NP．
（13）a．かたびきなさ。
ip nyip ngat yur nyip nge．
today 1P．SG．POSS birthday COP
＇Today is my birthday．＇

mup shy dex li cy go mox vit su gga sho mu bbo su nge．
tomorrow TOP 3P．SG first ART journey go NOM COP
＇Tomorrow is the first time he embarks on a journey．＇

a ddit bbop jox li ssox dde ma nge．
there CL at，to TOP school CL COP
＇Ahead there is a school．＇

## （iii）Specificational function

Specificational predicate clauses differ from predicational copular clauses by the inversed order of the two arguments．Specificational predicate clauses introduce a referent into discourse defined through a property and tell us who or what the referent is（Akmajian 1979：162－165）．Predicational copular clauses，by contrast，state something about the referent of the first NP．
(14)

nry ndo ap- qi max su li cy nge.
wine drink NEG- want ART TOP 3P.SG COP
'The one who does not want to drink is he.'

ssox sse he-jjy-he max su li mugox nge.
student good-very-good ART TOP male name COP
'The best student is Mugo.'

a ddit go da yiet hxop yiet max su li nga nge.
there LOC at song sing ART TOP 1P.SG COP
'The one who is singing songs is I.'
d. :
nit jop yyp ddu bit su li vut sa nge.
2P.SG toward joke open NOM TOP name COP
'The one who is joking with you is Vusa.'

## B. Derived functions

In Sino-Tibetan languages, nominalization particles like su often generate focus meaning (Bickel 1999; Paul \& Whitman 2008). This focus meaning is contextually derived as opposed to encoded. The copular verb supports the nominalization particle in expressing focus meaning.

In Chinese, for example, the shì..de-construction (shì is the copular verb and de the nominalization particle) focuses on the constituent immediately following the copular shì (Paul \& Whitman 2008: 415).

## (15) Mandarin Chinese

a. tā shì zài běi jīng xué yǔ yán xué de. 3P.SG COP at Beijing learn linguistics NOM 'It is in Beijing that he studied linguistics.'

There is a second focus construction in Chinese with the copular verb shi only, called the bare shi-construction. In contrast to the shi...de-construction, the bare shi-construction is an association-with-focus pattern (Jackendoff 1972; Rooth 1985) in which any constituent following the copular can be focused by assigning it intonational prominence.
b. tā shì zài běi jīng xué yǔ yán xué.

3P.SG COP at Beijing learn linguistics
'It is in Beijing that he studied linguistics.'

In Nuosu，the bare copular nge（without $s u$ ）is ungrammatical after other verbs． The su nge－construction has developed focus meaning．The su nge－construction is an association－with－focus pattern in which every constituent can be focused by assign－ ing it intonational prominence，as in（16）．


| ne | syt | xip | mu | da，．．． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P．SG | matter | DEM．DD | do | STP |

＇If you proceed in this way，．．．＇


| cy | nex | mo | go | hxie mat | ci | su | nge， |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | 2P．SG | toward | PRO．PAT | heart | fall | NOM | COP |

＇he will be disappointed about you．．．＇
が気事小进小さ覑さ，
nga nex mo go hxie mat ap－ci su nge，
1P．SG 2P．SG toward PRO．PAT heart NEG－fall NOM COP ＇but I won＇t．＇

cy nex mo go hxie mat ci su nge， 3P．SG 2P．SG toward PRO．PAT heart fall NOM COP ＇he will be disappointed about you．．．＇

cy ngax mo go hxie mat ap－ci su nge， 3P．SG 1P．SG toward PRO．PAT heart NEG－fall NOM COP ＇not about me．＇

cy nex mo go a hnat mu hxie mat ci su nge， 3P．SG 2P．SG toward PRO．PAT especially heart fall NOM COP ＇he will be especially disappointed about you．．．＇

cuop luo ax di ci su ap－nge， a little bit only fall NOM NEG－COP ＇not only slightly．＇

cy nex mo go hxie mat ci su nge， 3P．SG 2P．SG toward PRO．PAT heart fall NOM COP ＇he will be disappointed about you．．．＇


| nex | mo | go | hxie we | nyi | su | ap－ | nge， |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P．SG toward | PRO．PAT | faith | sit | NOM | NEG－ | COP |  |
| ＇not being confident about you．＇ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## 6．1．3 Adjectival predicates

As in other languages，Nuosu adjectives fall into two groups，gradable and ungrad－ able adjectives．Both share morphosyntactic properties with verbs and also differ from verbs．For four features，ungradable adjectives contrast with gradable adjec－ tives and align with activity verbs．

Table 6．1：Morphosyntactic properties of adjectives

|  | Gradable adjectives | Ungradable adjectives | Verbs |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Sole predicate | yes | yes | yes |
| Negation | yes | yes | yes |
| Reduplication | yes | yes | yes |
| Progressive njuo | no | no | yes／no |
| Dynamic perfect ox | most | most | yes |
| Stative perfect $d a$ | yes | nos | yes |
| Experiential nzox | few | no | yes／no |
| Comparative construction | yes | no | yes／no |
| Intensifier－jjy－ | yes | no | yes／no |
| Exhaustion particle sat | yes | no | yes／no |
| Superlative－lop－ | yes |  | no |

Most adjectives act as the sole predicate of an intransitive clause without support of other elements．The copular verb is never used to prop up adjectives．
a． $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{j} \\ & \mathrm{H} \\ & \text {（1）}\end{aligned}$
mo mu ca．
weather hot
＇The weather is hot．＇
a． $\bar{\theta} 5$ 间片匈丰。
ssox sse ggex su ax nyi．
pupil ART many
＇The pupils are many．＇

nit vit gga nrat．
2P．SG．POSS clothes beautiful
＇Your clothes are beautiful．＇
b．＊
＊mo mu ca nge．
weather hot COP
Intended meaning：＇The weather is hot．＇
b．水入忒気旬け。
ggap mop cyx ji ix fi．
road DEM CL narrow
＇This road is narrow．＇
d．※田包片式。
lur mat max su ax ly．
stone ART heavy
＇The stone is heavy．＇

vot max su cu．
pig ART fat
＇The pig is fat．＇

le she cyx wo ax vu．
beef DEM．PROX CL dry
＇This piece of beef is dry．＇
g． $\bar{X} 川$ 目析亲 $\Psi$ 。
cyx li o bbu hne nji．
3P．SG TOP intelligent
＇He is intelligent．＇
i．H禹番开。
mu nyox li bbox sha． male name TOP stupid ＇Munyo is stupid．＇
h．P1 N1 原 $\theta$ 岕。
co a zzyx ma nbop．
man DEM．DIST CL kind ＇That man is kind．＇
j．时乳雨形。
cop wox li surx sha．
3P．PL TOP poor
＇They are poor．＇

Gradable adjectives are often intensified．The infix－jjy－＇very＇is inserted in between the adjective and a copy of it．

hxi jox mgo－jiy－mgo． outside cold－very－cold ＇It is very cold outside．＇

cyx ma hxep sa－jjy－hxep sa．
DEM．PROX CL nice－very－cold
＇This one is very nice．＇

Some ungradable adjectives are nominalized by $s u$ or complemented by the perfect particle ox as the predicate of the sentence．Examples（20a）and（20c）with bare predicates are dispreferred，but（20b）and（20d）are preferred．
（20）
a． 5 志 $\theta$ 事
cyp ddop ma vu jji． 3P．SG．POSS word true
＇His words are true．＇
b．ك寍 $\theta$ 百\＃片。
cyp ddop ma vu jji su． 3P．SG．POSS word true NOM ＇His words are true．＇
c． $\mathrm{Q}_{\boldsymbol{*}} \boldsymbol{\psi} \boldsymbol{y}(\mathrm{B}$ 。
zze ddu li lut．
food TOP enough ＇（I＇ve got）enough food．＇

zze ddu li lut ox． food TOP enough enough ＇（I＇ve got）enough food．＇

Ungradable adjectives can be formed from gradable adjectives by suffixing ideo－ phones to the root．


| zza | cyx | gge | chyp | nix ni． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| food | DEM．PROX | CL | smelling | IDE～EXPR |

＇The food smells bad．＇
b．吹包头。
vo qux go go．
snow white IDE～EXPR
＇The snow is very white．＇

Adjectives can be negated like verbs by inserting the particle ap－before the last syllable of the adjective．Adjective－ideophone compounds are negated by nominaliz－ ing or adverbializing the compound and negating the predicate．
（22）a．多州第断火呆。
ie qyt a zzyx zhep ap－mgo．
water DEM．DIST cup NEG－cold
＇The water in that cup is not cold．＇
b．末व小采水気－小－\＃。
tep yy a zzyx bbut vu－ap－jji．
letter DEM．DIST CL true＜NEG＞
＇That letter is not true．＇
c．MrNべ
cit la ggop ga ga su ap－nge．
basket empty IDE～EXPR NOM NEG－COP
＇The basket is not（completely）empty．＇

syr bbo a zzyx bbo vut lox lo mu ap－jiip．
tree DEM．DIST CL green IDE～EXPR NOM NEG－become ＇That tree is not sap－green．＇

As for verbs，adjectives can be partially reduplicated（their last syllable）to express the concept of alternative question．


| mux dde | cy | jot | go | zap bbyp | ax guo guo？ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| field | DEM．PROX | CL | LOC | earth | hard～ALT |

＇Is the earth of this field hard？＇
b．思HX目自？
ddox mu cy pit tuox tuo？
knife DEM．PROX CL sharp～ALT
＇Is this knife sharp？＇
Even if they designate dynamic properties，adjectives cannot co－occur with the progressive marker njuo．
（24）

＊syr zza lur ma ggex su hmip njuo． fruit ART ripe PROG Intended meaning：＇The fruits are becoming ripe．＇
b．＊xか入団手（2）
＊cy ip mop mit－jjy－mit njuo
3P．SG belly hungry very hungry PROG
Intended meaning：＇He is becoming hungry．＇
Gradable and ungradable adjectives are generally compatible with the perfect particles ox（dynamic）and da（stative）．The particle ox conveys inchoative meaning， whereas da emphasizes stative meaning（it is the case that）．Adjectives not com－ patible with inchoative meaning reject $o x$ ，as in（25b）．
a．如要事向。
cyx li vux mo ox．
3P．SG TOP crazy DP
＇He is crazy now（before he wasn＇t）．＇
b．烟白片州而。
＊hxo pu max su a hmu ox．
mountain ART high DP
Intended meaning：＇The mountain is high now（before it wasn＇t）．＇
（26）a．䧽 $\hat{\theta}$
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { bbox zze } & \text { max su } & \text { ax yy } & \text { da．} \\ \text { man } & \text { ART } & \text { tall } & \text { STP }\end{array}$
＇It is the case that the man is tall．＇
b．禾坐用片䒹丰め。
viex vie ggex su a hni da．
flower ART red STP
＇It is the case that the flowers are red．＇

Adjectives can co－occur with the experiential aspect marker nzox，only if they denote states that can be repeated within a given timeframe．Generally，this is only possible for certain gradable stage－level adjectives．
（27）a．＊電坐列小惨合。
＊viex vie cyx bu a vu nzox．
flower DEM．PROX CL dry EXP
Intended meaning：＇This flower was once dry．＇
b．H以リ夺品
muga li nax mgo nzox．
name TOP ill EXP
＇Muga has been ill once．＇

Superlative meaning can be formed in two ways in Nuosu：with the exhaustion particle sat（see section 7．5．1）and with the superlative infix－lop－inserted in between the adjective and a copy of itself（section 11．4．2．B）．Ungradable adjectives are incompat－ ible with the exhaustion particle and with the superlative infix，as in（28b）and（29b）．


| vit gga | cyx | ggu | a du | sat． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| clothes | DEM．PROX | CL | thick | EXH |

＇This garment is the thickest．＇

$\begin{array}{lllll}\text {＊vit gga } & \text { cyx } & \text { ggu } & \text { qux zyr zyr } & \text { sat．} \\ \text { clothes } & \text { DEM．PROX } & \text { CL } & \text { very white } & \text { EXH } \\ \text { Intended meaning：＇This garment is completely very white．＇}\end{array}$


| sha zzix | cyx | ggex | nzyr | sat． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| chilli | DEM．PROX | CL | spicy | EXH |
| ＇The chili is extremely | spicy．＇ |  |  |  |


at nyop li iet zyr－lop－iet zyr max su．
female name TOP small－SUP－small ART
＇Anyo is the smallest．＇

＊ip nyip zzax zze go li lut－lop－lut． today food eat SENT．TOP TOP enough－SUP－enough Intended meaning：＇The food that we eat today is（lit．most）sufficient．＇

In the same vein，gradable adjectives can be modified by the intensifying infix －jjy－，whereas ungradable adjectives cannot．${ }^{1}$

ne ssax kuo－jjy－ssax kuo．
2P．SG bold－very－bold
＇You are very bold．＇

1 Example（30）is quoted from the folk story＂The forest meeting＂（Chén \＆Wū 1998：261）．

＊cyp ddop ma vu jiji－jiy－vu jji．
3P．SG word true－very－true
Intended meaning：＇His words are very true．＇

Finally，gradable adjectives can be used in comparative constructions（section 11．4．1．A），whereas ungradable adjectives cannot．
（31）a．$\quad x_{1}$ すねか

| cy | ne | $y y x$ | ap cy． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | 2P．SG | tall | more |

＇He is taller than you．＇

＊at nyop luti jox ap cy mu gex zhy．
female name male name toward more true
＇Anyo is more real than Luti．＇

## 6．1．4 Verbal predicates

Verbal predicates differ from adjectival predicates with respect to a number of tests （table 6．1）．Four types of verbs are scrutinized below，intransitive verbs（section A）， monotransitive verbs（section B），ambitransitive verbs（section C）and ditransitive verbs（section D）．Furthermore，there are verb pairs，called simplex／complex verbs， which differ through a change of valency and devoicing of the initial consonant （section E）．

## A．Intransitive verbs

Except for pro－drop contexts，${ }^{2}$ intransitive verbs require exactly one NP argument． Intransitive verbs can take control and noncontrol arguments．

Table 6．2：Intransitive verbs

| Control argument | Noncontrol argument |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bbo＇go＇ | jji＇fall down，collapse＇ | ddur＇exit，happen＇ |
| li＇go up＇ | jjip＇fall＇（rain） | rryrx jjuo＇collapse＇ |
| jji＇fly＇ | hlix ndo＇go astray＇ | lat jjip＇bust＇ |
| vot＇bark＇ | jjip qot＇change＇ | wop＇swell＇ |
| qi＇jump＇ | ggit＇sink＇ | mop jjip＇pass away＇ |
| it＇lie＇ | sy＇die＇ | vi＇blossom＇ |
| nyi＇sit＇ | mop jjip＇pass away＇ | nyop＇sink＇ |
| （．．．） | yit jjuo＇in disharmony＇ | $(\ldots)$ |

2 Pro－drop or zero－anaphora contexts are contexts in which an argument that is required by a predicational frame can be omitted if it can be inferred by the context（Fillmore 1986；Rizzi 1986）．

Many intransitive verbs allow optional adjunct elements such as locational phrases．

hxie zyr wo mu vut go jji njuo．
bird CL．group sky LOC fly PROG
＇A flock of birds is flying in the sky．＇
b．
kex ma njie ggup go da vot．
dog CL courtyard LOC COV bark ＇A dog is barking in the courtyard．＇

Positional intransitive verbs require a locational phrase or pronoun．These elements cannot be omitted．Positional verbs are therefore not intransitive verbs．
a． $\mathrm{H} \subset \mathrm{C}$ 来。
mu ga gox nyi．
male name PRO．LOC sit
＇Muga sits here．＇
b．灼
${ }^{*}$ mu ga nyi． male name sit
Intended meaning：＇Muga sits．＇

nit nrur pop hox ho sse go it．
2P．SG．POSS key small box LOC lie
＇Your keys are in the small box．＇

Intransitive verbs of motion require noun phrases indicating the destination．The directional NP is inserted between the verb of motion and a directional verb．

lo gux su nyop yy go vur bbo ox． ship ART＝CL－DET sink water LOC enter go DP ＇The ship was sinking in the water．＇

Many intransitive verbs are unvolitional and take NP arguments that undergo the effects of some change．
a．Є采们向。
yo hlix ndo ox． sheep get lost DP ＇The sheep went astray．＇
b．时师采 $\theta$ 而。
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { co } & \text { a zzyx } & \text { ma } & \text { ggit } & \text { ox．} \\ \text { person } & \text { DEM．DIST } & \text { CL } & \text { sink } & \text { DP } \\ \text {＇The man sank to the bottom．＇} & \end{array}$
c．$\quad+\mathbb{U}$ 回。
syt ddur ox．
event happen DP
＇An event happened．＇
d．बही\＃同。
za pux jji ox．
wall collapse DP
＇The wall collapsed．＇

cyp ax pu mop jjip ox．
3P．SG．POSS grandfather pass away DP
＇His grandfather passed away．＇

cyp bbo lo wop ox．
3P．SG face swell DP
＇His face became swollen．＇
g．$\quad$ OIX
co cyx yie yit jjuop ox．
person DEM．PROX family in disharmony DP
＇This family in not united．＇

## B．Monotransitive verbs

Monotransitive verbs require two arguments except for pro－drop contexts．They refer to events in which one participant is doing something to or directing some behavior at the other one．Table 6.3 provides a non－exhaustive list．

Table 6．3：Monotransitive verbs

| mgu＇love＇ | bit＇take out＇ | hlut＇lead to pasture＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| zyt＇plane off＇ | jyt＇beat（with stick）＇ | zie＇match＇ |
| yiet＇sing＇ | nrur＇lock＇ | zhe＇cut＇ |
| zze＇eat＇ | shut＇remember＇ | mge＇chew＇ |
| ndo＇drink，smoke＇ | bbur＇write＇ | sit＇kill＇ |
| ndup＇beat＇ | kie＇fell＇ | yot＇lick＇ |
| nyiet＇fish＇ | ku＇steal＇ | bie＇kick＇ |
| ssyr＇press＇ | nzyt＇bite＇ | tu＇perforate＇ |
| chyp＇weave＇ | jot＇cook＇ | hlu＇cook＇ |
| wep＇get，obtain＇ | la hxex＇wait＇ | bi＇read＇ |
| mgur＇pick up＇ | hxo lo＇depend＇ | ngo＇touch＇ |
| yu＇take＇ | zhyp＇throw＇ | yyt＇saw＇ |
| sso＇study＇ | mgot＇chase＇ | jyt＇breathe＇ |
| nyie＇cut＇ | yrot＇weave＇ |  |
| hlit＇dry in the sun＇ | kie＇fell＇ |  |
| cur＇build＇ | ga＇shake，make＇ | nbot＇hide＇ |
| ggit cyr＇cause to perish＇ | nyot＇seal＇ | qup＇keep watch＇ |
| syp＇know＇ | jip ndip＇protect＇ | mgup ddie＇heal＇（．．．） |

In pro－drop contexts，an omitted participant is inferred from the context but can always be specified if needed．
a．$X$ 米何。

| cy | shut | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | remember | DP |

＇She remembered．＇
b．NX：
nga cy shut ox． 1P．SG 3P．SG remember DP ＇She remembered me．＇

All of the verbs in Table 6.3 license control agents，as illustrated in（37），and sometimes they also admit noncontrol agents，as shown in（38）．

nga ce te sox ji hlu．at nyop nex mgu．
1P．SG dish NUM． 3 CL cook ＇I cooked three dishes．＇
c．$\theta$ 爭速 $\triangle$ 述。
cop wox yiet hxop yiet．
3P．PL song sing
＇They sing songs．＇

cy ka bba wep nzox． 3P．SG present get EXP ＇He got a prize．＇
b． ravix 晨。
female name 2P．SG love
＇Anyo loves you．＇
d． H 〇ゆか。
muga yi ndo． male name tobacco smoke ＇Muga smokes tobacco．＇

ip mi ne ip ko qup． tonight 2P．SG door watch ＇You should watch the door tonight．＇
（38）よ志 $\theta$ 甘゙当果（尔）坚。

| cyp | ddop ma | ngat | ngop jjux | （go） | zie． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG．POSS | word | 1P．SG．POSS | idea | PRO．PAT | match |
| ＇His words match my ideas．＇ |  |  |  |  |  |

Simple monotransitive clauses do not use case－marking coverbs except those described in section 6．2．1 and section 6．2．2．More examples are provided in（39）．

$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { cyp } & \text { jiet } & \text { yi } & \text { a shyt } & \text { ma } & \text { cur } & \text { mo ddix．} \\ \text { 3P．SG．POSS } & \text { family } & \text { house } & \text { new } & \text { CL } & \text { build } & \text { MOD．committed }\end{array}$ ＇His family is committed to build a new house．＇

lu po cyp qop bop jip ndip． male name 3P．SG．POSS friend protect ＇Lupo protected his friend．＇

bbu jji ggex su cop ggit cyr gox sha sat ox．
enemy ART 3P．PL annihilate SEND EXH DP
＇They caused all the enemies to perish．＇
d．オウゆ
ax da mup xyx hnie rrot yix syp．
father flax shoe weave still
＇My father still weaves flax shoes．＇

ne hxit jjo mu cy mgot bbo．
2P．SG quick ADVL 3P．SG chase go
＇Chase him quickly．＇
f．X 番よ水思。
cy bbox sse yip bbur njuo．
3P．SG mountain paint PROG
＇He is painting a mountain．＇

ne xip mu nga dit lyp ap－hxit．
2P．SG DEM．DD 1P．SG force NEG－can
＇You can＇t put me under pressure like this．＇

ax yi cyx ma jip xi hxo lo．
child DEM．PROX CL relatives depend
＇The child depends on his relatives．＇
i．XiY和类品。
cy syr ggut zyt njuo．
3P．SG plough plough，dig PROG
＇He is ploughing（the ground）．＇

ax mo ma jie sip ax yi jyt．
mother little stick COV．take child beat
＇Mother beat her child with a stick．＇
k．オौ回かにもま（米）

| ax pu | ip nyip | yo | hlut | （bbo）． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| grandfather | today | sheep | lead to pasture | go |

＇My grandfather led the sheep to pasture today．＇

Serial verb constructions of the form $N_{1} V_{1} N P_{2} V_{2}$ with $\mathrm{NP}_{2}$ denoting a subpart （body parts and so forth）of $\mathrm{NP}_{1}$ are reminiscent of possessor ascension in other lan－ guages although the possessor is not raised in Nuosu．This construction is contrasted with the monotransitive construction in（40）－（41）．

ax yi ngat bbo lo nzyt．
child 1P．SG．POSS face bite
＇The child bit my face．＇

ax yi nzyt ngat bbo lo dit．
child bite 1P．SG．POSS face put
＇The child bit me on the face．＇
（41）
a．HVJ甘必串。
mu ga cyp iqi ndup．
male name 3P．SG．POSS head hit
＇Muga hit his head．＇


| mu ga ndup cyp | i qi | dit． |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name hit | 3P．SG．POSS | head | put |
| ＇Muga him him on the head．＇ |  |  |  |

## C．Ambitransitive verbs

Ambitransitive verbs are verbs which have intransitive and monotransitive uses． Their intransitive use cannot be interpreted as pro－drop．Most authors distinguish two types of ambitransitive verbs，unergative and unaccusative verbs．${ }^{3}$ Unergative verbs align the intransitive $S$－and monotransitive A－argument，whereas unaccusative verbs group the intransitive $S$ and the monotransitive $O$ together．

Table 6．4：Ambitransitive verbs

| Unergative | Unaccusative |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| gu＇crow，call＇ | gat qip＇hamper＇ | sot＇count＇ | jjie shyr＇tear＇ |
| ra＇scold＇ | lyrx nyie＇move＇ | jjiex mguo＇clear＇ | pop＇open＇ |
| bot＇run＇ | ggot＇close＇ | lix qy＇break＇ |  |
| dde jji＇know＇ mge＇boil，broil＇ | lyt＇peel off＇ |  |  |
| yy＇laugh＇ yyx zyr＇steep，soak＇ <br> ddiex bur＇change＇ xyp＇marry＇ | yyr＇be born，bear＇ <br> njie＇broke，break＇ |  |  |

[^10]Unaccusative verbs are more numerous than unergative verbs．Both types are illustrated below，starting with unergative verbs．
（42）
a．$\alpha \operatorname{lig}_{1} \boldsymbol{\theta}$ 。
va bu gu ox．
rooster crow DP
＇The rooster crowed．＇
（43）
a．$X_{1}(*$ 类H） $0 *$ 。
cy（zyt bbo mu）ra．
3P．SG by himself scold
＇He is scolding by himself．＇
（44）
a． 81 孚手向。
cop wox bot ox．
3P．PL run DP
＇They ran．＇
b．叔平日可。 nga mu gox gu ox． 1P．SG male name call DP ＇I called Mugo．＇
b．$x$ 雨 $0 *$ 向。

| cy | ngax | ra | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | 1P．SG | blame | DP |

＇He blamed me．＇
b．人
cy ip nyip op rro bot． 3P．SG today Xichang run ＇He he running the Xichang route．＇

ax yi cyx ma dde jji．
child DEM．PROX CL mature
＇This child is mature．＇
b．$\quad$ Y X M
syt cy jjit hmat mop dde jji ox．
matter DEM．PROX CL teacher know DP
＇The teacher got knowledge of this matter．＇
（46）
a． $\mathrm{H} \subset 区$ 向。
muga yyp ox．
male name laugh DP
＇Muga laughed．＇
b．日乎が向。
cop wox nga yyx ox．
3P．PL 1P．SG laugh DP
＇They laughed at me．＇
（47）a．X里も可。
cy ddiex bur ox．
3P．SG change DP
＇He has changed（physically or mentally）．＇

tep yy cy ddiex bur six a hnat mu vat ox．
book 3P．SG change RES especially ADVL good DP
＇He has very much improved the book．＇

Unaccusative verbs are reminiscent of simplex／complex verb pairs scrutinized in （section E）below．
a．$\quad 千 \mathrm{Xi}$
syt cy jjit jjiex mguo ox．
matter DEM．PROX CL clear DP
＇This matter becomes clear．＇
b．Xi我版乎串向。
cy hxip su nga jjiex mguo ox．
3P．SG say NOM 1P．SG understand DP
＇I understand what he is saying．＇

zhep sse njie ox． bowl broken DP
＇The bowl is broken．＇

zzi lix qy ox．
bridge break DP
＇The bridge is broken．＇
（51）a．甘゙ざす§！
ngat ddop hxip sot．
1P．SG word speak count
＇My word counts．＇
（52）
a．素ゆ甲向。
ax yi yur ox．
child be born DP
＇The child was born．＇
a．
vit gga jjie shyr ox．
clothes tear DP
＇The garment tore．＇
（54）a．Y米S気向。
syr bbo lyrx nyie ox．
wood CL move DP
＇The tree moved．＇

zhep sse cy njie gox sha． bowl 3P．SG break SEND ＇The bowl was broken by him．＇
b．EX可隹平。
bip cy lix qy gox sha． pen 3P．SG break SEND ＇The pen was broken by him．＇
b．Ө手㔛ヨ习路。
cop wox jjy gex re mop sot．
3P．PL together money
＇They counted the money together．＇
b．可点H中料可电。
ax mo muti te go nex yur．
mother morning time 2P．SG bear
＇Mother gave birth to you in the morning．＇

tep yy cy jjie shyr gox sha．
book 3P．SG tear SEND
＇He tore the book apart．＇

ne ax yi lyrx－tat－nyie！
2P．SG child move＜NEG．IMP＞
＇Don＇t move the child！＇

syp hmi njy lyt ox．
walnut shell，skin peel off DP
＇The walnut peeled off its skin．＇

ne xyx hnie tat－lyt．
2P．SG shoe NEG．IMP－take off
＇Don＇t take your shoes off！＇

syt cy jjit a hxox mu gat qip ox．
matter DEM．PROX CL long time ADVL delay DP
＇This matter was delayed for a longer time．＇

nop wox syt cy jjit gat－tat－qip！
2P．PL matter DEM．PROX CL delay＜NEG．IMP＞
＇Don＇t delay this matter any further！＇

a yit ap mu shu kut $\quad \mathbf{x y}$.
female name this year marry
＇Ayi gets married this year（woman＇s perspective）．＇

muga nyiet hxie ddip kut xy mop xyp．
male name next year wife marry
＇Muga gets married next year（man＇s perspective）．＇
（58）

ip ko ggot da ox．
door close DP
＇The door closed．＇

ip ko cy ggot da ox． door 3P．SG close DP ＇He closed the door．＇
（59）a．狇江类州星可。
b．寸が本星。
ip ko zyt jie pop ox．
door REFL open DP
＇The door opens by itself．＇
ne ip ko pop！
2P．SG door open
＇Open the door！＇
（60）a．w乌でik向。
vit gga yyx zyr ox．
clothes soak DP
＇The clothes soaked with water．＇


| ne | vit gga | cyx | ggu | yyx zyr |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| da． |  |  |  |  |
| 2P．SG | clothes | DEM．PROX | CL | soak |
| ＇Please | soak this garment．＇ |  |  |  |


| a．वध्दीव． |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| yy | mge | ox． |
| water | boil | DP |

＇The water is boiling．＇

cy yyx mge ox． 3P．SG water boil DP ＇He is boiling water．＇

There are two pseudo－ambitransitive examples，verbs for which the intransitive and monotransitive verbs differ phonologically．In（62），the intransitive verb is dis－ syllabic and the monotransitive verb monosyllabic．In（63），the low tone［ ${ }^{[1]}$ is asso－ ciated with the intransitive verb，and the sandhi tone［44］with the monotransitive verb．

cy jy jie ox．
3P．SG be afraid DP
＇He was afraid．＇

ax yi cop wox jie．
child 3P．PL frighten
＇The children frighten others．＇
（63）
a．$X$ 隹兆的。
b．猊包飛。
cy ngop die ox．
3P．SG doubt DP
＇He doubted．＇
cy nga ngox die．
3P．SG 1P．SG doubt
＇He doubted me．＇

## D．Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs must specify three arguments．These arguments are semantically encoded as A，O and B（Dixon 1994）．In Nuosu，there is a set of ditransitive verbs including several simplex／complex verbs which we analyze in section E．They are indicated in Table 6.5 in bold font．

Table 6．5：Ditransitive verbs

| hmat＇teach＇ | bbyp＇give＇ | box＇show＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sur＇return＇（borrowed item） | sha＇sprinkle＇ | dit＇dress＇（hat） |
| hxe＇borrow，lend＇ | gup＇throw＇ | dox＇make drink＇ |
| vup＇sell＇ | nbi＇distribute＇ | zha＇feed＇ |
| rrep＇move＇ | bbur＇write＇ | gat＇dress＇（shirt） |
| nyop＇bequeath＇ | gep＇add＇ | ge＇tell＇ |
| zi＇keep for＇ | hna＇ask＇ |  |

Nuosu ditransitive clauses always mark either O or B by a coverb（postpositi－ tion）： O by the coverb ddie（section 6．2．2．A）or B by the coverb bbyp（section 6．2．4． A）．Ditransitive clauses that do not mark semantic roles with coverbs are almost inexistent in Nuosu．In（64a），the verb hna＇ask＇does not use syntactic marking on its arguments．In（64b），the 0 argument $y y x$＇water＇is partly lexicalized with the verb sha＇sprinkle＇with which it forms a monotransitive verb．

nga syt kep nyix jjit cyx hna ox．
1P．SG matter several CL 3P．SG ask DP
＇I asked him about several things．＇

cy bbut vie yyx sha．
3P．SG flower water sprinkle
＇He watered the flowers．＇

Ditransitive verbs close to the idea of physical transfer tend to use the preverbal coverb ddie on the O－argument as，for example，the verb bbyp＇give＇．
（65）a．N゙禾尘自はが。
nga hxe ddie luti bbyp．
1P．SG fish COV male name give
＇I gave Luti a fish．＇
b．Х
cy re mop ddie ngax sur．
3P．SG money COV 1P．SG return
＇He returned me the money．＇

nga ce bop ddie cyx hxe．

1P．SG salt CL COV．prepare 3P．SG lend
＇I lent him a packet of salt．＇

vit gga a shyt ggux su ddie cyx box．
clothes new ART COV．prepare 3P．SG show
＇I showed him the new clothes．＇

Ditransitive verbs for which the idea of transfer is more indirect and abstract prefer the postverbal coverb bbyp on the B－argument（see section 6．2．4．A）．

ax da qy ly bip nyop sse bbyp ox.
father heritage CL bequeath son COV.give DP
'The father bequeathed his son.'
b. NGX $\theta$ dx $\mathrm{N}^{\mathrm{N}}$ 。
nga zhuop zyx ma nrep cy bbyx.
1P.SG table CL move 3P.SG COV.give
'I moved a table for/to him.'

mugox hxa bit vup nga bbyx.
male name vegetable sell 1P.SG COV.give
'Mugo sells vegetables to me.'

Speech-related verbs mark the addressee of a speech event with the preverbal coverb jox (section 6.2.4.B).

lat mop ssox sse jox bbur ma hmat.
male name pupil toward written language teach
'Lamo teaches the written language to his pupils.'

cy ngap jox hxie mgat hxop hxip.
3P.SG 1P.SG toward Han spoken language speak
'He is speaking to me in Chinese.'

Ditransitive verbs indicating physical transfer must specify all three arguments, as for example the verb bbyp 'give'.

nga tep yy cyp zzit ddie muga bbyp.
1P.SG book NUM. 1 CL COV male name give
'I gave one book to Muga.'

*nga tep yy cyp zzit bbyp.
1P.SG book NUM. 1 CL give
'I gave one book.'
Ditransitive verbs with an abstract idea of transfer can omit arguments as pro-drop.
（70）

lat hxa ssox sse jox hmat．
male name pupil toward teach
＇Laha teaches his pupils．＇

mu rryr ssox sse hmat．
male name pupil teach
＇Mudge teaches his pupils．＇

mu rryr nuosu bbur ma hmat．
male name Nuosu written language teach
＇Mudge teaches the written Nuosu language．＇

## E．Simplex／complex verb pairs

A remarkable process of lexicalization occurred in Nuosu and other Yi languages （Gerner 2007b）．For about 20 mainly monosyllabic verbs，it is possible to devoice the initial consonant and to derive verbs with causative meaning．For example，the verb ggat＇wear＇in Mary wears a red shirt has a devoiced counterpart gat＇dress＝ cause to wear＇which is used in clauses like Mary dressed her daughter with a red shirt．The voiced component is called the simplex and the devoiced member the complex of the pair．
（71）


| cy | i di | nrat | ggu | ggat． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | clothes | beautiful | CL | wear |

＇He wears a beautiful clothing．＇
b．武事式尘入突。
ax mo idi ddie cy gat．
mother clothes COV．prepare 3P．SG dress
＇Mom dressed him．＇

Simplex／complex pairs are ordered in Table 6.6 by the point of articulation （bilabial，alveolar，velar）．

Other phonological phenomena such as aspiration，as in（76），or vowel change， as in（80），might join the devoicing process．

cy ngax mox da bbit bbo ox．
3P．SG 1P．SG in front of appear，exit go DP
＇He appeared in front of me．＇

Table 6．6：Simplex／complex verb pairs

| Simplex intransitive <br> verb | Complex monotransitive <br> verb | Simplex monotransitive <br> verb | Complex ditransitive <br> verb |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bbit＇appear＇ <br> nbo＇roll＇（intr．） <br> bbup＇loose＇ | bit＇take out＇ <br> bop＇roll＇（tr．） <br> pup＇loosen＇（tr．） | ndit＇wear＇（hat） | dit＇put on＇（hat） <br> ndo＇drink＇ |
|  |  | dop／x＇make drink＇ <br> zze＇eat＇ | zha＇feed＇ |

b．牙川开\＃か。
ax yi shax jji bit．
child candy take out
＇The child took out the candy．＇
a．$\theta(\underset{)}{\Psi}$ 米的。
hle bo nbo bbo ox．
ball roll go DP
＇The ball is rolling．＇

xyx hnie sy jip bbup ox． shoe lace loosen DP ＇The shoelace is loosening．＇

zza zzi ox．
food leave over DP
＇Food was left over．＇
 nga vo lip bop． 1P．SG snow ball roll ＇I am rolling a snow ball．＇
b．出出个是目雨井。 xyx hnie sy jip pu gox sha． shoe lace loosen SEND ＇Untie the shoelaces！＇
b．NX＂品氠义。
nga zza zi nex da．

1P．SG food leave 2P．SG STP ＇I leave the food for you．＇
（76）a．与目斗化水田。
hxo pu go syr go ap－zzur．
mountain LOC tree PRO．LOC NEG－be，stand
＇There are no trees on the mountain．＇
b．水爭丰乐 $\theta 0$ 。
ngop wox yie mox ma cur．
1P．PL big house CL build
＇We built a large house．＇
（77）

vit gga zyt jie rry ox clothes REFL rip DP
＇The garment tore by itself．＇
（78）
a．कध手向。
mup dut jjie ox．
fire burn DP
＇The fire burnt．＇
（79）
a．㸷出妾向。
she ddu jiy ox．
steel melt DP
＇The steel melted．＇
b．
vit gga nga chy gox sha clothes 1P．SG tear SEND ＇I tore the clothes．＇
b．寸
ne mup dut jie da ox． 2P．SG fire burn STP DP ＇You have to kindle the fire．＇

cop wox shex jy． 3P．PL steel melt ＇They melted the steel．＇
（80）a．利番目斗井坐向。
le bbox pu go jio bbo ox．
ox mountain LOC pasture go DP
＇The ox was pasturing on the mountain．＇

rre cy ddie ndip shy go juo da．
cattle 3P．SG COV．prepare greenland LOC pasture STP
＇He led the cattle to pasture．＇
（81）
a．氏率品向。
za pux jjuo ox．
wall collapse DP
＇The wall has collapsed．＇
b．X氏国目。
cy za pux quo． 3P．SG wall make collapse
＇He made the wall collapse．＇

jjut zzur ax li cyx ma bie jjuo．
society old DEM．PROX CL rotten
＇The society is rotten．＇

co cyx gge jjut zzur bie quo njuo．
person DEM．PROX CL society corrupt PROG
＇These people are corrupting society．＇
a．扑来。
ne miep nyi．
2P．SG in front sit
＇Sit in front！＇

ax yi ax mo ddie it ggo go hnip da．
child mother COV．prepare bed LOC make sit STP
＇The mother made her child sit on the bed．＇
a．N8． $\mathrm{m}^{\circ}$
nga ggur ox．
1P．SG fear DP
＇I am afraid．＇
b．N义。
nga cyx gur．
1P．SG 3P．SG frighten
＇I frighten him．＇
（85）

b．ザ蚝不生
nga she xi kut．
1P．SG iron thread bend
＇The iron thread bent（by itself）．＇

All examples listed above have a valency increase from one－place to two－place predicates．For five pairs below，the simplex predicate is a two－place predicate and the complex member a ditransitive predicate．
a．Nọ ※完。
nga uop lur ndit．
1P．SG hat wear
＇I wear a hat．＇


| nga | uop lur | ddie | nex | dit． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG | hat | COV | 2P．SG | put on | ＇I put your hat on you．＇


bbox zze max su nry ap－ndo．
man ART wine NEG－drink
＇This person doesn＇t drink wine．＇
b．Nが性さま。
nga ie qyt ddie ne dox．
1P．SG water COV 2P．SG make drink
＇I gave you water to drink．＇
a．孜叔是。
cy le she zze．
3P．SG ox meat eat
＇He is eating ox meat．＇


$$
\text { ne } \quad \text { zzax } \text { ddie ax yi } \quad \text { zha. }
$$

2P.SG food COV child feed
'Feed the child!'

nit ddop ma nga gge ox．
2P．SG．POSS word CL 1P．SG hear DP
＇I heard your word．＇

nga bbux dde syp cyx ge．
1P．SG story converse 3P．SG tell
＇I tell him a story．＇

There is one pair of verbs，one having a voiced，the other a voiceless consonant． However，both are montransitive verbs with similar meanings．
（90）a．オー゙雨出れた。

| ne | ngat | xyx hnie | ssip | da． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P．SG | 1P．SG | shoe | use | STP |

＇You use my shoes．＇

jjot bbip nga sip mo！
bag 1P．SG take IMP
＇I＇ll take the bag，ok？＇

## 6．2 Coverbs

The term coverb has different meanings．For linguists of Australian and South American languages（McGregor 2002；Dickinson 2002），coverbs are uninflected verbs that form an open class and co－occur with a small set of inflected classificatory verbs．For linguists of Asian languages，coverbs are verbs which grammaticalized as pre－or postpositions．

It is not possible to reconstruct a verbal meaning for all postpositions in Nuosu． There are three verb－like properties of coverbs：the possibility of reduplication，the possibility of negation and the possibility of appending aspect，tense or modality particles．Moreover，some coverbs must be adjacent to the NPs they mark，while others can be variably attached to the subject or to another noun phrase．Some coverbs are polysemous serving multiple grammatical functions．

Coverbs in this section are arranged in the following order：agent coverbs（section 6．2．1），goal coverbs（section 6．2．2），recipient coverbs（section 6．2．3），locative coverbs （section 6．2．4），directional coverbs（section 6．2．5）and other oblique coverbs（section 6．2．6）．

Table 6.7: List of coverbs and their morphosyntactic properties

| Coverbs | Sole <br> Predicate | Alternative <br> Question | Negation | Coverb-TAM <br> compound | Adjacent <br> to NP |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| gep 'add' | Yes | No | No | No | Yes |
| sip 'take' | Yes | No | No | sip-da | Yes |
| gep sip 'add-take' | Yes | No | No | No | Yes |
| ddie 'prepare' | Yes | No | No | No | Yes/No |
| bbyp/bbyx 'give' | Yes | Yes/No | Yes/No | Yes/No | Yes |
| ga 'drop' | Yes | No | No | No | Yes/No |
| shu 'make' | Yes | No | No | No | Yes/No |
| jox '-', | No | No | No | jox-da | Yes |
| da 'put' | Yes | No | No | No | Yes |
| ddip/ddix 'say' | Yes | No | No | ddip/ddix-da | Yes |
| zyp/zyx 'lean' | Yes | No | No | zyp/zyx-da | Yes |
| mo 'watch' | No | No | No | mox-da | Yes |
| xi 'arrive' | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| hxep/hxex 'see' | Yes | No | No | hxep/hxex-da | Yes |
| chop 'along' | Yes | No | No | chop-da | Yes |
| six 'take' | Yes | No | No | six-da | Yes |
| sat 'point to' | Yes | No | No | sat-da | Yes |
| mga 'pass' | Yes | No | No | mga-da | Yes |
| mgep/mgex 'mix' | No | No | No | mgep/mgex-da | Yes |
| rrox mu '-' | No | No | No | rrox mu-da | Yes |
| qo 'follow' | Yes | No | No | qo-da | Yes |
| wa mgot 'pursue' | Yes | No | No | wa mgot-da | Yes |

### 6.2.1 Agent coverbs

Three agentive coverbs with semantic nuances exist in Nuosu: gep 'add’ (section A), sip 'take' (section B) and the compound gep sip (section C). They are the formal mark of passive constructions.

## A. The coverb gep 'add'

The agentive postposition gep has a verbal origin ('add') and is still used with this meaning today.

cy zzax gge ddie ngat zhep sse gep ox. 3P.SG rice CL COV 1P.SG.POSS bowl add DP 'She added more rice to my bowl.'

The morpheme gep developed into an agentive postposition ('by') and can be viewed as a mark of passive (section 11.1). As postposition, gep always marks the second NP in the clause as the agent.

Table 6.8: Polysemous coverbs

| Coverb | Grammatical functions | Sections |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sip/six 'take' | - Agent coverb, | section 6.2.1.B |
|  | - Instrumental coverb, | section 6.2.7.A |
| bbyp 'give' | - Resultative conjunction | section 13.3 |
|  | - Causee coverb, | section 6.2.3.A |
| ddie 'prepare' | - Recipient coverb | section 6.2.4.A |
|  | - Goal coverb, | section 6.2.2.A |
| shu 'make' | - Causee coverb | section 6.2.3.B |
|  | - Causee coverb, | section 6.2.1.D |
| da 'put' | - Valence particle | section 12.2 |
|  | - Locative coverb, | section 6.2.5.A |
| ddix 'say' | - Stative perfect | section 7.7.1 |
|  | - Locative coverb | section 6.2.5.B |
|  | - Quotative particle | section 8.3.1.A |
| sat 'point out' | - Complementizer | section 8.3.1.B |
|  | - Reference coverb | section 6.2.7.B |


syr bbo bbox su cy gep kie jji ox.
tree ART 3P.SG COV.add fell fall DP
'The tree was felled by him.'

It must appear with monotransitive or ditransitive predicates for which gep expresses that the direct object is affected physically or in another intended way.


| vap la | suox | ggu | cy | gep | chyp | da | ox. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| cloak | NUM. | CL | 3PSG | COV add | weave | STP | DP |

cloak NUM. 3 CL 3P.SG COV.add weave STP DP
'Three cloaks were weaved by her.'

syt cy jjit cy gep hxip ngax ge.
matter DEM.PROX CL 3P.SG COV.add say 1P.SG tell
'This matter was told me by him.'

jix po ji nga gep ngop ddur la ox. method CL 1P.SG COV.add think exit come DP 'A method was conceived by me.'

tep yy bbut su cy gep bi ngax ge． book，letter ART 3P．SG COV．add read 1P．SG tell ＇The letter was read to me by him．＇


| ka bba | yiet su | cy | gep | ddie | nga | bbyx | su | nge． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| gift | ART | 3P．SG | COV．add | COV | 1P．SG | give | NOM | COP |
| ＇The gift was given by him to me．＇ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

The concept of affectedness is crucial．The same verb may be compatible or incompatible with gep depending on the expression of affectedness．
a．$\quad$ NNHVNま雨。
＊nga lat hxo gep syp ox．
1P．SG male name COV．add know DP
Intended meaning：‘I am known by Laho．＇
b．WHンなます。

| nga | lat hxo | gep | syp | ndox | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

＇I am recognized by Laho．＇
（95）
a．＊たのNはN雨。
＊tep yy nga gep hxep ox． book 1P．SG COV．add see（read）DP Intended meaning：＇The book was seen by me．＇

tep yy nga gep hxep jjie mguo ox．
book 1P．SG COV．add see（read）fall apart DP
＇The book was read by me（and as a result）fell apart．＇

In（96a），the bare verb wep＇receive＇does not convey affectedness．In（96b－c）， the post－predicate elements imply a resultative reading．
a．＊ヨコ尔が向。
＊rre mop nga gep wep ox． money 1P．SG COV．add get DP
Intended meaning：＇The money was received by me．＇
b．隹㛏X
get lu yiet cy gep sso da ox．
skill CL 3P．SG COV．add study STP DP
＇A skill was acquired by him．＇

rre mop kep nyix nge su cy gep sot shu la ox． money how much COP NOM 3P．SG COV count make come DP ＇The money was counted by him．＇

## B．The coverb sip＇take＇

The coverb sip／six is a plain verb and belongs to the category of monosyllabic verbs with grammatical tone（section 10．2．3．B）．In simple clauses，only the low tone verb sip can be used．It is associated with both orders：AOV and OAV．
（97）a．ヨ入勾㓞：
rre mop ax nyi gge cy sip．
money much CL 3P．SG take
＇He took a lot of money．＇
b．X $\operatorname{yan}$ 牙 H Ir。
cy rre mop ax nyi mu sip．
3P．SG money much take
＇He took a lot of money．＇
The two allomorphs sip／six give rise to two postpositions：the agentive coverb sip and the instrumental coverb six（section 6．2．7．A）．The agentive coverb sip is appended to the agent，the second noun phrase in the sentence，and emphasizes that the agent manipulates the patient in a physical way．Its function is close to gep but it contributes more directly the meaning of handling．
（98）a．：

| nit | uop lur | cy | sip | ndit． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P．SG | hat | 3P．SG | COV．take | put on |

＇He put on your hat．＇
b．牙わ牙事作牛。
ax yi ax mo sip jyt．
child mother COV．take beat
＇The child is beaten by her mother．＇

jie bop nga sip zhe．
rope 1P．SG COV．take cut
＇The rope was cut by me．＇
d．$\Phi$ すよんにかけや。
mup njit sse lat mop sip zzy．
colt male name COV．take ride
＇Lamo is riding on a colt．＇

Sometimes，the concept of disposal is more indirect or abstract as illustrated in the following examples．

yiet hxop max su cy sip yiet．
song ART 3P．SG COV．take sing
＇He sings a song（by holding a song book）．＇

ssox sse suo yuo at nyop sip hmat．
pupil NUM． 3 CL name COV．take teach
＇Anyo teaches three pupils．＇

The agentive coverb sip is banned if the main predicate does not communicate the idea of（physical）disposal，as in（100）．
a．＊NXI「パロ。
${ }^{*}$ nga cy sip gat qip． 1P．SG 3P．SG COV．take delay，hinder Intended meaning：＇I was delayed by him．＇
b．＊ivNoirin．
＊zzi at nyop sip mga ox． bridge name COV．take cross DP Intended meaning：＇The bridge was crossed by Anyo．＇

＊ngat ix yi nga sip ngop ddie ox． 1P．SG．POSS brother 1P．SG COV．take doubt DP Intended meaning：‘I mistrust my younger brother．’

As coverb，sip cannot be negated or reduplicated，but can co－occur with the perfect particle $d a$ which illustrates that its verbal meaning is still alive．


| rre mop | cyx | gge | sip | da | vit gga | vy | yy． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| money | DEM．PROX | CL | COV．take | STP | clothes | buy | go |
| ＇Take this money and buy some clothes．＇ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## C．The complex coverb gep sip

The complex coverb gep sip combines the agent coverbs gep＇add＇and sip＇take＇．Its meaning expresses the agentive concept of disposal，similar to sip．

yi cy gep sip ndo hxex．
tobacco 3P．SG COV drink，inhale LOOK
＇He is trying to smoke tobacco．＇

syr pip cyx gge cy gep sip get zyt． wooden beam DEM．PROX CL 3P．SG COV cupboard polish，cut ＇He is taking this wooden beam to make a cupboard．＇

vit gga cy gep sip ix go da． clothes 3P．SG COV home put ＇He put the clothes at home．＇

## D．Appendix：The particles sip／six

The morphemes sip／six cover several functions，one lexical and three grammatical functions．

Meanings Section of grammar
（i）Main verb sip＇take＇
（ii）Agentive postposition sip section 6．2．1．B
（iii）Instrumental postposition six section 6．2．7．A
（iv）Resultative conjunction six section 12.2

Below，I briefly illustrate these uses and reconstruct the historical origin and development of sip／six．

## （i）As main verb sip＇take＇

The verb sip＇take＇in simple clauses has the low tone and allows both orders：AOV and OAV．

vot she gge mu hlie sip．
pork CL male name take ＇Muhlie took the pork．＇
b．H喿必和们们。
mu hlie vot she gge sip． male name pork a little bit take ＇Muhlie took the pork．＇

## （ii）As agentive postposition sip

As agentive postposition，sip marks the agent，which is the second NP in the clause， and conveys the meaning that the patient is handled in a certain way．

nga ax da sip zyt．
1P．SG father take scold
＇I am scolded by my father．＇

## （iii）As instrumental postposition six

As instrumental postposition，six marks the instrument by means of which the agent affects the patient．The instrumental NP occurs before the patient NP．
（105）水乎就夏め小。
ngop wox zza six va hxo．
1P．PL corn take hen feed
＇We fed the hens with corn．＇

## （iv）As resultative conjunction six

After main verbs，the morpheme sip／six developed into a resultative conjunction， reminiscent of so that，which encodes the state resulting from an activity．

vit gga cy ddiex bur six iet zyr ox．
clothes 3P．SG change RES small DP
＇She downsized the clothes．＇


| cyp | jy xy | cy | tit | six | wop | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG．POSS | foot | 3P．SG | stamp | RES | swollen | DP |
| ＇She stamped with her foot so much that it got swollen．＇ |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## （v）Historical development

The different meanings of sip／six developed through syntactic reanalysis in serial verb constructions：the postpositional meanings（agentive，instrumental）from pre－ verbal rebracketing and the resultative meaning from postverbal rebracketing．

Preverbal Reanalysis：
$\mathrm{NP}_{1}\left[\mathrm{NP}_{2} \operatorname{sip}\right]\left[\mathrm{NP}_{3} \mathrm{~V}\right] \quad \rightarrow \quad \mathrm{NP}_{1}\left[\mathrm{NP}_{2} \operatorname{sip} \mathrm{NP}_{3} \mathrm{~V}\right]$
$\mathrm{NP}_{1}\left[\mathrm{NP}_{2} \operatorname{six}\right]\left[\mathrm{NP}_{3} \mathrm{~V}\right] \rightarrow \quad \mathrm{NP}_{1}\left[\mathrm{NP}_{2} \operatorname{six} \mathrm{NP}_{3} \mathrm{~V}\right]$

Postverbal Reanalysis:
$\mathrm{NP}_{1}\left[\mathrm{NP}_{2} \mathrm{~V}\right]\left[\mathrm{NP}_{3} \operatorname{six}\right]\left[\mathrm{NP}_{4} \mathrm{~V}\right] \rightarrow \quad \mathrm{NP}_{1}\left[\mathrm{NP}_{2} \mathrm{~V}\right]\left[\mathrm{NP}_{3} \operatorname{six} \mathrm{NP}_{4} \mathrm{~V}\right]$
Both reanalyses occurred only when two of the arguments $\mathrm{NP}_{1}, \mathrm{NP}_{2}$ or $\mathrm{NP}_{3}$ were co-referential and the second co-referential arguments was deleted. The meanings of agentive coverb, instrumental coverb and resultative particle surfaced in three kinds of co-referential patterns.

- Agentive coverb (Preverbal Reanalysis, coreferential $\mathrm{NP}_{2}$ and $\mathrm{NP}_{3}$ )

The meaning of agentive coverb developed through preverbal reanalysis in which $\mathrm{NP}_{3}$ is deleted since it is coreferential to $\mathrm{NP}_{2}$.


| yi | max su | cy | sip | $\emptyset$ | syr. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| house | ART | 3P.SG | COV.take |  | sweep |

'He swept the house.'

- Instrumental coverb (Preverbal Reanalysis, different $\mathrm{NP}_{2}$ and $\mathrm{NP}_{3}$ )

The instrumental coverb is the result of reanalysis of the meaning of take as an instrumental postposition. No coreferential deletion occurs.

cy yiet hxie six yiep but chyp.
3P.SG loom COV.take cloth weave
'He is weaving cloth with a loom.'

- Resultative marker (Postverbal Reanalysis, coreferential $\mathrm{NP}_{1}$ and $\mathrm{NP}_{3}$ )

Postverbal reanalysis of six occurred when $\mathrm{NP}_{3}$ was coreferential to $\mathrm{NP}_{1}$. It was reinterpreted first as purposive and then as resultative marker.

$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { cy } & \text { rre mop } & \text { hxe } & \emptyset & \text { six } & \text { nre } & \text { sur. } \\ \text { 3P.SG } & \text { money } & \text { borrow } & & \text { RES } & \text { debt } & \text { pay back }\end{array}$
'He borrowed money so that he can pay back his debts.'

### 6.2.2 Patient coverbs

There is one patient coverb which is obligatory in most ditransitive constructions, ddie 'prepare'.

## A．The coverb ddie＇prepare＇

As main verb，ddie conveys a general meaning of making or preparing．Depending on the type of object，it can express a wide range of meanings．
（110）a．HCNスよざ生向。
mu ga hmat mop cyp vit ddie ox．
name teacher NUM． 1 time do，function as DP ＇Muga was working as teacher for some time．＇
b．$x$ 包片里向。
cy yi max su ddie ox． 3P．SG house ART make，repair DP
＇He has fixed the（problems of the）house．＇

ax mo hxi jox da vit gga ddie．
mother outside COV．put clothes clean，purge
＇Mom is cleaning the clothes．＇

Furthermore，ddie is the obligatory postposition of ditransitive verbs for the semantic role of patient．It marks the patient that is transferred to someone or placed into a specific position．


| nit | vit gga | ddie | ix ggo | go | da | da． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P．SG．POSS | clothes | COV．prepare | bed | LOC | put | STP |
| ＇Put your clothes on your bed．＇ |  |  |  |  |  |  |

b．以 $x$ 出于 0 。
yi cy ddie tit cur． house 3P．SG COV．prepare here build ＇He built the house here．＇

With ditransitive verbs，ddie does not need to be adjacent to the goal NP but can occur after the agent NP as well．The non－adjacency property of ddie is a residual feature of its verbhood and of the basic word order instability（section 10．2．3）．

cy rre mop cyp hxa vat ddie ngat lot go zip． 3P．SG money NUM． 100 Yuan COV 1P．SG．POSS hand LOC put ＇He put 100 Yuan into my hand．＇

rre mop cyp hxa vat cy ddie ngat lot go zip. money NUM. 100 Yuan 3P.SG COV 1P.SG.POSS hand LOC put '100 Yuan was put by him into my hand.'

The coverb ddie is also obligatory with ditransitive complex verbs (see section 6.1.4.E) or with verbs for which the idea of transfer in only indirect.


| i dix | cyx | ggu | nga | ddie | lu po | gat. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| coat | DEM.PROX | CL | 1P.SG | COV.prepare | male name | dress |
| 'I dressed Lupo with this coat.' |  |  |  |  |  |  |


ne nry zhep ddie ddip vip dop.
2P.SG wine CL COV.prepare guest give to drink
'Give the guests a bowl of wine.'

nit tep yy ddie nga box.
2P.SG book COV.prepare 1P.SG reveal, let see
'Show me your book.'

As postposition, ddie has lost most other verbal properties. It cannot be negated, reduplicated or suffixed by a TAM particle.

### 6.2.3 Causee coverbs

Four coverbs mark the causee noun phrase with different semantic nuances: bbyp/ bbyx 'give' (section A), ddie 'prepare' (section B), ga 'drop' (section C), shu 'make' (section D).

## A. The coverb bbyp/bbyx 'give'

The verb bbyp/bbyx 'give' evolved before other predicates into a causee postposition, after other predicates into a recipient postposition (section 6.2.4.A). The tone alternation is driven by a process of tone dissimilation. If the immediately preceding tone is [44] or [55], then bbyp takes the low tone, whereas if the midtone [33] or low tone [ ${ }^{21}$ ] precedes it, then bbyx takes the higher sandhi tone.

cy ap mut shu kut zza ma ax nyi gge ddie ngop bbyx ox. 3P.SG this year crops much CL COV 1P.PL give DP 'He provided us with abundant crops.'


| cop | jiet | le | ji | ddie | ngop | jiet | bbyp | ox. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P.PL.POSS | family | ox | CL | COV | 1P.PL.POSS | family | give | DP |
| 'Their family | gave our family an ox.' |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

The coverb bbyp/bbyx together with the causative particle shux (section 6.2.3.D) frame the causative verb phrase. The coverb bbyp/bbyx marks the causee.
 ax da ax mo li ap my bbyx bbox zze cyx ma jjip father mother TOP daughter COV.give man DEM.PROX CL make shux ap- qi.
CAUS NEG- want
'The parents don't want to let their daughter marry this man.'

mge fu cop ddie nga bbyx zze shux.
buckwheat bread 3P.PL COV 1P.SG COV eat CAUS
'They fed me with buckwheat bread.'

mop mgep te go, co bbyx ra ap- shup hxit. meeting when people COV make noise NEG- CAUS can 'It is forbidden to make noise during the meeting.'

cy ngop bbyx syt cy jjit dde jji ap- shup. 3P.SG 1P.PL COV matter DEM.PROX CL know NEG- CAUS 'He doesn't let us know about this matter.'

ngop ip nyip ax mo bbyx hxie mat kat shux.
1P.PL today mother COV heart CAUS
'We made Mom happy today.'

With ditransitive verb phrases, the coverb bbyp/bbyx may be used twice, the first as causative coverb, the second as recipient coverb.

nga hmat mop bbyx tep yy bbut bbur ngat ix go
1P.SG teacher COV.give book CL write 1P.SG.POSS home
bbyp shux.
COV.give CAUS
'I made the teacher write a letter to my family.'

As causative coverb，bbyp／bbyx must be adjacent to the causee NP，cannot be negated or reduplicated and cannot be directly followed by a TAM particle．

## B．The coverb ddie＇prepare＇

Besides ditransitive clauses（section 6．2．2．A），ddie functions as causative post－ position．It must co－occur with the valence particle shux（section 11．3．2）in one of the following constructions．
（117）a．Causee＋Causer＋ddie＋VP＋shux
b．Causer $+\mathrm{O}+d d i e+$ Causee $+b b y x+\mathrm{V}+$ shux
in－／monotransitive VP
monotransitive VP

The next three examples illustrate the pattern（117a）．The first two examples in （118）use an intransitive verb，（119）uses a monotransitive verb．
（118）a．牙かき生雨 $\in \mathscr{H}$ 。

| ax yi | ne | ddie | gox | shyr | shux． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| cat | 2P．SG | COV．prepare | LOC | cry | CAUS |

＇Let the child cry．＇


| nga | cop | ddie | it nyi gu | shux． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG | 3P．PL | COV．prepare | sleep | CAUS |

＇They let me sleep．＇

cop cy ddie le sit shux．
3P．PL 3P．SG COV．prepare ox kill CAUS
＇He let them kill the ox．＇

The use of the two causative postposition，ddie and bbyx，implies the sense that the causer hands the patient over to the causee for further processing．
（120）a．X Y 出出队呆可。

| cy | syr | ddie | nga | bbyx | mgo | shux． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | wood | COV．prepare | 1P．SG | COV．give | pull，move | CAUS |

＇He made me move the firewood．＇

cop ce ddie ax lyr bbyx yot shux．
3P．PL salt COV．prepare goat COV．give lick CAUS
＇They let the goat lick the salt．＇

## C．The coverb ga＇drop＇

The coverb $g a$ is another causative postposition which conveys a permissive sense to the clause．As verb，it has the meaning＇drop＇or＇shake off＇．

xyx hnie go syx jo cop ga gox sha．
shoe LOC mud 3P．PL drop SEND
＇They shook the mud off their shoes．＇

As causee coverb，ga can occur in two causative constructions either alone，with shux or with bbyx and shux．
（122）a．Causee + Causer $+g a+\mathrm{VP}+($ shux $)$
b．Causer $+\mathrm{O}+g a+$ Causee $+b b y x+\mathrm{V}+$ shux
in－／monotransitive VP monotransitive VP

The valency particle shux tends to be present if the causee is human or animate， as in（123），and absent if it is inanimate，as in（124）．

hxie zyr cy ga jji bbo shux ox．
bird 3P．SG COV．drop fly go CAUS DP
＇He let the bird fly away．＇

ne cyx ga bur bbo shux．
2P．SG 3P．SG COV．drop return go CAUS
＇He let you go back．＇
c．可ゆ
ax yi ga xip mu shyr tat－shup ox．
child COV．drop DEM．DD scream NEG．IMP－CAUS DP
＇Don＇t allow the child to scream like this．＇
d．以小吹手 $\forall \bar{H}$ 。
va bu ga gox gu shux．
rooster COV．drop LOC crow，call CAUS
＇Let the rooster crow．＇
（124）a．ヨスベゆบ采利井。
rre mop ax yi ga hlix ndo mat．
money child COV．drop lose FEAR
＇I am afraid of letting the child waste the money．＇

zhep sse ga kat qyp da?
bowl COV.drop where put STP
'Where did you put the bowl?'

yix bo cy ga nga dox.
tobacco CL 3P.SG COV.drop 1P.SG smoke
'He let me smoke a packet of cigarettes.'
d. : $\mathbb{C}_{1}$
nit uop lur cyx ma ga nga dit go zhet zhet?
2P.SG hat DEM.PROX CL COV.drop 1P.SG put on COMP good~ALT 'Would it be ok for me to put on your hat?'

Furthermore, ga also co-occurs with the causee postposition bbyx and the valence particle shux. The coverb ga marks the patient, bbyx marks the causee.


| xyp mop | ga | mu jie | bbyx | yu | shux. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| wife, bride | COV.drop | male name | COV.give | marry | CAUS |

'Let Mujie choose his wife.'

bbu dde cyx ma ga mu hlie bbyx hxip shux. story DEM.PROX CL COV.drop male name COV say CAUS 'Let Muhlie tell the story.'

Finally, as a postposition, ga cannot be negated, reduplicated and compounded by TAM.

## D. The coverb shu 'make'

The coverb shu is derived from a dummy verb that can be glossed by 'make' or 'get'. It belongs to a stylistically low register and is identified by native speakers as careless talk similar to English I made three glasses of beer in lieu of I drank three glasses of beer. As verb, shu subcategorizes a wide range of nouns.
(126) a. $\quad 寸 \boldsymbol{H} \mathbb{I} \Psi$ ?
ne nry shux shu?
2P.SG wine make~ALT
'Did you drink wine?’
b．脬手永山。
cop wox syt ap－shu．
3P．PL thing NEG－do
＇They did nothing．＇

ngop wox zzax shu ox．
1P．PL food make DP
＇We have already eaten．＇

hxie zyr cy shu ssop ox．
bird 3P．SG make END DP
＇He shot the bird down．＇

Furthermore，shu functions as causative postposition．The word order of causer and causee is variable．It is regulated by the same principles as the order of subject and object in simple clauses（section 10．2）．
a．Causee＋Causer＋shu＋VP
b．Causer＋Causee＋shu＋VP

In（128a），shu is attached to the causer（first person pronoun with midtone）．In （128b）it is postposed to the causee（first person pronoun with sandhi tone）．

ap ndi hxix cop wox nga shu rre hlut bbo．
yesterday 3P．PL 1P．SG COV．make pasture livestock go ＇Yesterday I caused them to pasture the livestock．＇

ap ndi hxix cop wox ngax shu re hlut bbo．
yesterday 3P．PL 1P．SG COV．make pasture livestock go
＇Yesterday they caused me to pasture the livestock．＇

If the third person pronoun $c y$（midtone）occurs directly before shu，it is often understood non－deictically as an impersonal causee，as in（129a－b）．Depending on the context，cy may also be interpreted deictically，as in（129c－d）．

syt cy jjit ggup jjux ne，ngop cy shu ngop die ox． matter DEM．PROX CL after TOP 1P．SG 3P．SG COV．make doubt DP ＇After this matter，it left us in doubt．＇

nga cy shu jy jie sy dax qi. 1P.SG 3P.SG COV.make fear die almost 'It scared me almost to death.'

ngop cy shu ddur bbo.
1P.SG 3P.SG COV.make exit go
'He made us go out.'

ngop wox cy shu hxie njuo da yiet ox. 1P.PL 3P.SG COV.make move heart STP sing DP 'We were moved by his song.'

As a postposition, shu cannot be negated, reduplicated or suffixed by TAM particles. It functions also as valence particle at the end of the clause to indicate an increase of valence of the clause. Most causative clauses require the presence of shu (section 11.3.2). The valence particle shu (with allotones shup and shux) has preserved the verb property of negation.


| ne | ddie | cy | bbyx | cyp | nyip | ngop | shux. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P.SG | COV | 3P.SG | COV | NUM. 1 | day | think | CAUS |
| 'Let him think (about it) for one day,' |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |


na mgup co co na bbyx lyrx nyie ap- shup.
doctor ill person COV.give move NEG- CAUS
'The doctor didn't allow the sick person to move.'

### 6.2.4 Recipient coverbs

Two coverbs are reseved for marking the recipient noun phrase of a ditransitive clause, bbyp/bbyx 'give' (section A) and jox (section B).

## A. The coverb bbyp/bbyx 'give'

Besides the function of preverbal causative coverb (section 6.2.3.A), bbyp/bbyx also acts as postverbal coverb for recipient noun phrases in ditransitive clauses. The coverb bbyp/bbyx divides ditransitive verbs up into three groups, those that require marking by bbyp/bbyx, those that tolerate but do not require its marking and those that ban its presence.

Table 6．9：Verbs that are in／compatible with bbyp／bbyx

| bbyp obligatory | bbyp optional | bbyp forbidden |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sha＇send，sprinkle＇ | sur＇return＇ | bbyp＇sive＇ |
| nbi＇distribute＇ | hxe＇borrow，lend＇ | hmat＇teach＇ |
| bbur＇write＇ |  | hna＇ask＇ |
| zi＇keep for＇ | lup＇rob＇ |  |
| sip＇take，bring＇ | ku＇steal＇ |  |
| jo＇hand in＇ | sso＇study＇ |  |
| gup＇throw＇ | zha＇feed＇ |  |
| vup＇sell＇ | gat＇dress＇ |  |
| nyop＇bequeath＇ | ge＇tell＇ |  |
| bur＇return＇ |  | dox＇make drink＇ |
| gup＇throw＇ |  |  |

Firstly，examples in（131）require the marking of the recipient by bbyp／bbyx at the end of the sentence．
a．ヨ习メルキが。
rre mop cy gep bur nga bbyx．
money 3P．SG COV．add return 1P．SG COV．give
＇The money was returned by him to me．＇

nga tep yy bbut bbur cy bbyx．
1P．SG letter CL write 3P．SG COV．give
＇I write him a letter．＇

nga she a zzyx ma gup ke bbyx．
1P．SG meat DEM．DIST CL throw dog COV．give ＇I tossed that piece of meat to the dog．＇

cy sha jii map tap nbi ax yi bbyx．
3P．SG sweets distribute child COV．give
＇He distributed sweets to the children．＇

Secondly，the main verbs in the following examples necessitate either marking by the preverbal coverb ddie or by the postverbal coverb bbyp．
（132）a．N $X_{i n} \theta$ 出可折。

| nga | zza ma | ddie | nex | sur． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG | crops | COV | 2P．SG | return |

＇I return to you the crops．＇

nga zza ma sur ne bbyx．
1P．SG crops return 2P．SG lend
＇I return to you the crops．＇
（133）
a．メヨコス坐気单。
cy rre mop ddie nex hxe．
3P．SG money COV 2P．SG lend
＇He lends you money．＇
b．メヨコ米さら。
cy rre mop hxe ne bbyx．
3P．SG money lend 2P．SG lend
＇He lends you money．＇

Thirdly，several ditransitive verbs cannot take bbyx to mark recipient NPs．The verb bbyp＇give’ itself cannot mark its recipient by bbyx．Ditransitive verbs that forbid the use of bbyp involve other coverbs．
（134）

＊nga ddop ma cyp go hna nex bbyp．
1P．SG word NUM． 1 CL ask 2P．SG COV
＇I ask you one word．＇

nga ddop ma cyp go six nex hna．
1P．SG word NUM． 1 CL COV 2P．SG ask
＇I ask you one word．＇
（135）
a．＊$X_{1}$ Hチから。
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text {＊Cy } & \text { nry } & \text { dox } & \text { nga } & \text { bbyx．} \\ \text { 3P．SG } & \text { wine } & \text { make drink } & \text { 1P．SG } & \text { COV }\end{array}$
＇He gave me wine to drink．＇

cy nry ddie nga dox．
3P．SG wine COV 1P．SG make drink
＇He gave me wine to drink．＇
（136）

＊lu po hxie mgat sso nga bbyx qi． male name Chinese study 1P．SG COV want ＇Lupo wants to learn Chinese from me．＇

luti nga qo da hxie mgat sso qi． male name 1P．SG COV STP Chinese study want ＇Luti wants to learn Chinese from me．＇

The postverbal postposition bbyp／bbyx cannot be negated or reduplicated but can attach TAM particles．It must be adjacent to the NP it marks．

## B．The coverb jox

The coverb cannot be used as verb and its original verbal meaning，if any，is uncer－ tain．For motion verbs，it marks the direction towards which an entity moves．For a few non－motion verbs，jox codes the recipient of a directed activity．

ngop juo jjop jox li．
1P．PL Zhaojue County toward go up
＇Let us go up to Zhaojue．＇
b．Jek
hxie zyr jji yyx hmy jox bbo．
bird fly south toward go
＇The bird flies towards the south．＇

muga ngat jox hxep da lur mat gup．
name 1P．SG toward in direction of stone throw
＇Muga throws a stone in my direction．＇
（138）a．Xi甘声当凶。
cy ngat jox lot hxi．
3P．SG 1P．SG toward hand wave
＇He is waving his hand toward me．＇

syt cy jjit nga shu cyp jox hxip．
matter DEM．PROX CL 1P．SG COV．make 3P．SG toward speak
＇He spoke to me about this matter．＇
c．武気可出。
ax mo ax yi jox zyt．
mother child toward scold
＇The mother is scolding the child．＇
d． H 水出 0 ＊。
mu ga ngop jox ra．
name 1P．SG toward scream
＇He is screaming at me．＇

ne op bbop jox（da）hxep ap－hxit．
2P．SG front toward STP look NEG－MOD ＇You can＇t look ahead．＇

For gradable adjectives or verbs，the postposition jox encodes the NP that is understood as the standard of comparison against which another NP is evaluated． Comparative constructions are scrutinized in section 11．4．1．


| nga | cy | jox | ap cy mu | ax yy． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG | 3P．SG | toward | more | big |

＇I am bigger than he．＇

cy ngat jop ap cy mu zzax zze nyiet．
3P．SG 1P．SG toward more meal eat late
＇He is eating later than I am．＇

The postposition jox cannot be negated or reduplicated，but can be suffixed by the perfect particle $d a$ as jox $d a$ ，as in（138e）．

## 6．2．5 Locative coverbs

Four coverbs mark the location at which an event happens：$d a$＇put＇（section A）， ddip／ddix＇say＇（section B），zyp／zyx＇lean＇（section C）and mo（section D）．

## A．The coverb da＇put＇

The morpheme $d a$ is a predicate（ $p u t$ ），a locative coverb before and a perfect particle after other predicates（section 7．7．3）．The following two examples illustrate $d a$ as predicate．
（140）a．Н世゙尘なかわ。
nry zhep ddie hxat da da．
wine CL COV upside put STP
＇Put the bowl of wine on top of it（＝the ancestral altar）．＇

co cyx ma kep nyix nyip da? person DEM.PROX CL how many day put 'How many days will the body be put on display?'

As postposition, $d a$ is the principle marker of locative phrases. Locative phrases have the following structure.
(141) NP+locative particle $+d a$

Locative phrases marked by $d a$ are illustrated below. With non-motion verbs, $d a$ marks a non-dynamic location. With motion-verbs, $d a$ indicates the origin of motion.

cop wox yi wax nuo jox da nyop mu ge.
3P.PL house behind LOC COV work PROG
'They are working behind the house.'

cy hxie mat go da ngop die ox.
3P.SG heart LOC COV doubt DP
'He is doubting in his heart.'

hxie zyr ma momu go da vo njuo.
bird CL sky LOC COV fly PROG
' A bird is flying in the sky.'

at nyop ku jox da ip ko ggot.
female name inside LOC COV door close
'Anyo closes the door from the inside.'

mu nyox syr bbo go da qie la.
male name tree LOC COV jump come
'Munyo is jumping down from the tree.'
The contrast between the locative coverb $d a$ and the source coverb $d a$ is illustrated for the following minimal pair of examples.

nga bboxsse tot jop da hxep.
1P.SG mountain upside LOC COV see
'I am watching something on top of the mountain.'

nga bbox sse go da hxep．
1P．SG mountain LOC COV see
＇I am watching something from（i．e．standing on）the mountain．＇
Place names are directly followed by the postposition $d a$ without an intervening locative particle．

ngop wox op rro da cyp nyip gat qip．
1P．PL Xichang COV NUM． 1 day delay
＇We were delayed in Xichang for one day．＇

As postposition，da cannot be negated，reduplicated or followed by a TAM particle．Example（145）shows the impossibility of negation．

＊cop wox ggap mop ap－da bur bbo．
3P．PL road NEG－COV return go
＇They did not return when they were on the road．＇

## B．The coverb ddip／ddix＇say＇

The verb ddip／ddix＇say＇acquired multiple grammatical functions（section 8．3．1）． After other main predicates，it surfaced as quotative particle，complementizer and before the predicate as locative postposition of human nouns．This function is reminiscent of the French preposition chez＇at the place of＇．

The morpheme ddip／ddix is the formerly productive verb for say now supplanted by hxip（section 8．3．1．A）．It still functions marginally as the main predicate be named．

NH品实。
nga mu hlie ddix．
1P．SG male name be named
＇My name is Muhlie．＇
As postposition，ddip／ddix must be adjacent to a human noun．It indicates the association of the subject referent with the location of someone．This sense is reanalyzed from the verbal meaning of ddip／ddix（someone is associated with a name）．The postposition ddix marks the location of a human referent as the place of an activity or as the origin／destination of a motion．


| syt | cy | jiit | cop | ddix | ddur su | ox． | Location |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| matter | DEM．PROX | CL | 3P．PL | COV | happen | DP |  |
| ＇This matter happened at their house．＇ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |


ne ngop ddix bbo la，bbo dde jjip．Location 2P．SG 1P．PL COV run come run－SUFF become ＇Come to our place for running a race，there is enough space．＇
c．島的来毛牙门。
ix yi vyt vu ddix la．Origin younger brother elder brother COV come
＇The younger brother comes from his brother＇s home．＇
d．ザきX汇水守里も。
vit gga cy sip ngop ddix ddiex bur．Destination
clothes 3P．SG COV．take 1P．PL COV alter
＇He took the garment to have it altered at our house．＇
The following use of the postposition ddip／ddix is metaphorical in that causees are viewed as sources．

nit rre cop ddix sot．
2P．SG．POSS money，account 3P．PL COV calculate
＇Let them settle your account（＝Your account is settled at their place）．＇

The tone of $d d i^{*}$ switches to the low tone ${ }^{[21]}$ if the preceding syllable has a high tone．It adopts the sandhi tone［44］if the preceding tone is a low or midtone．

$\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { nit } & \text { hmi } & \text { ngat } & \text { ddip } & \text { da } & \text { cy } & \text { jji } & \text { su．} \\ \text { 2P．SG．POSS } & \text { name } & \text { 1P．SG．POSS } & \text { COV } & \text { STP } & \text { 3P．SG } & \text { know } & \text { NOM }\end{array}$ ＇He got to know your name from me．＇

lat rep ngop ddix ku ap－la．
thief 1P．PL COV steal NEG－come
＇Thieves don＇t come to our house to steal．＇

The postposition ddip／ddix cannot co－occur with TAM particles except for the perfect particle $d a$ ．The string $d d i x d a$ emphasizes the stative aspect of the locative relation．

tep yy cy zzit cyp ddix da nga sip la． book DEM．PROX CL CL COV STP 1P．SG take come ＇I took this book away from him．＇


| nga | cop | ddix | da | yix | ga | ndo | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG | 3P．PL | COV | STP | tobacco | CL | smoke | DP | ＇I smoked a cigarette at their place．＇

The postposition ddip／ddix rejects any other aspect particle．The morpheme njuo in（151b）is used as verb not in the function of progressive aspect（section 7．4．1）．

＊nry cyp ddix nzox vy dax pu ggap jjyx． wine 3P．SG COV EXP buy price light ＇The wine that can be bought at his place is rather cheap．＇
b．$\quad \chi_{\text {も车用片可虫。 }}$
cy yo hlut ggex su ddix njuo．

3P．SG sheep pasture ART COV move
＇He is out with the shepherds．＇

In section 5．4．3．D，we scrutinized the locative demonstrative a ddit＇there＇which is lexicalized from the verb ddip／ddix＇say＇by introducing a tone change for $d d i^{*}$ ．

lur mat gge cy gep bbo a ddit da．
stone CL 3P．SG COV．add push there put
＇Stones were moved by him here．＇

Finally，the postposition ddip／ddix cannot be negated or reduplicated and must be adjacent to the NP it marks．

## C．The coverb zyp／zyx＇lean＇

The morpheme $z y p / z y x$ functions as independent verb（＇lean＇）and also as weakly grammaticalized postposition（＇close to＇）．

get ddie za pux zyp da．
cupboard COV wall lean STP
＇Let the cupboard stand close to the wall．＇
As a postposition，zyp／zyx modifies the subject noun phrase before the main predicate，as in（154a）．After the main predicate，zyp／zyx modifies the direct object which，as result of the activity，is moved to a certain place，as in（154b）．

co nyip ma bbop zyx da jjy－ndux．
person NUM． 2 CL ahead COV．lean STP RECL－hit
＇Two people leaned forward to beat each other．＇

syr pip ggex su ssyr jjy－zyx da．
beam ART press RECL－COV．lean STP
＇Press the beams closely together．＇

The tone of $z y^{*}$ is conditioned by a process of tonal dissimilation．If the pre－ ceding tone is a high tone or midtone，then $z y p$ takes the low tone；if the preceding syllable has the low tone，then $z y x$ has the elevated sandhi tone．If it has the mid－ tone，then native speakers accept both tone variants $z y p / z y x$ ．
（155）a．HI区区G：

| mu jy | zax pu | zyp | da | tep yy | hxep． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name | wall | COV．lean | STP | book | read |
| ＇Mudje leans on a wall reading a book．＇ |  |  |  |  |  |


$\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { lat rep } & \text { suo } & \text { yuox su } & \text { jjy－} & \text { zyx } & \text { da } & \text { cox } & \text { ku．} \\ \text { thief } & \text { NUM．} 3 & \text { ART } & \text { RECL－} & \text { COV．lean } & \text { STP } & \text { person } & \text { steal }\end{array}$
＇The three thieves rob others as a team．＇

The postposition $z y p / z y x$ is obligatorily followed by the stative perfect particle $d a$ ．It cannot be negated or reduplicated and must be adjacent to the locative noun it marks．

## D．The coverb mo＇see＇

The postposition mox＇in front of＇is probably derived from the verb mo＇see＇．The verb mo is not productive anymore．It does not function as sole predicate anymore but is lexicalized with wep＇get＇into the telic verb wep mo＇perceive＇．
（156）$H C$ 事雨束向。

| mu ga | vut gop | wep | mo | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name | female name | GET | see | DP |
| ＇Muga has seen Vugo．＇ |  |  |  |  |

As verb，mo＇see＇assumes the midtone，whereas as locative postposition，mox＇in front of＇exhibits the sandhi tone．

ax mo ne cy mox da ax yi a zzyx ma ka ap－hna． mother TOP 3P．SG in front STP child DEM CL want NEG－willing ＇The mother refused to acknowledge the child in his presence （his＝someone given by context）．＇

nit shax jji sip ax yi mox da tat－zze．
2P．SG sweets COV child COV．see STP NEG．IMP－eat
＇Don＇t eat sweets before the children．＇

ne sut co mox da ngat hmi tat gu．
2P．SG others person COV STP 1P．SG．POSS name NEG．IMP－call ＇Don＇t pronounce my name in front of others．＇

The postposition mox often co－occurs with the stative perfect particle da but cannot append any other aspect particle．It cannot be reduplicated or negated．

ddip vip mox da yix syr ap－hxit．with da guest COV STP house sweep NEG－can ＇One cannot sweep the house in the presence of guests．＇
b．如雨系和。
cy nga mox nry ndo．without $d a$ 3P．SG 1P．SG COV wine drink
＇He drank wine in front of me．＇

## 6．2．6 Directional coverbs

Three directional coverbs exists that mark the destination of a motion event：xi ＇arrive＇（section A），hxep／hxex＇see’（section B）and chop＇along＇（section C）．

## A．The coverb $x i$＇arrive＇

The coverb $x i$＇arrive＇cannot be used as sole predicate of a clause but occurs after other predicates to mark a physical destination or temporal endpoint．

The concept of arrive is represented by a directional verb，la＇come＇or bbo＇go＇， one of the two conjunctions six（section 6．2．1．D）or hnox（section 13．1．2．C），and xi ＇arrive＇．The expressions six．．．xi and hnox．．．xi function as circumpositions．

mu hlie la six lat mop jiet ddu xi．
male name come DIR male name home COV．arrive
＇Muhlie arrives at Lamo＇s home．＇

cy bbo hnox njit la bux te xi.
3P.SG go EXT.until Butuo County COV.arrive
'He is going straight to Butuo County.'

The circumposition six...xi should only mark the directional component not the temporal endpoint. The circumposition hnox...xi emphasizes the lack of interruption in the reaching of the physical or temporal endpoint.

hxie zyr ggex su jji six op rro xi.
bird ART fly DIR Xichang COV.arrive
'The birds flew to Xichang.'

*ax nyie sse shyr six muti xi. little cat meow DIR morning COV.arrive
'The little cat meowed until in the morning.'

cop wox jie o da mga six / hnox jie hmy xi.
3P.PL start of street COV pass DIR EXT.until end of street COV.arrive 'They went straight from the beginning of the street to the end.'

With temporal nouns, xi marks the endpoint of event. The coverb xi cannot directly precede verb phrases but is nominalized by means of the noun te 'time'.

syt cy jijit nga shut hnox ap hxiet ddip ku xi.
matter DEM CL 1P.SG remember EXT.until last year COV 'I remembered this matter right up to last year.'
b. N
nga syt cy jjit ngop die hnox cyx te go xi.
1P.SG matter DEM.PROX CL doubt EXT.until 3P.SG time LOC COV
'I will doubt this matter until I see (proof of) it.'

sux yy a zzyx ma mu ddix cy ggat ju hnox syx te go xi.
leader DEM CL place DEM CL rule EXT.until die time LOC COV 'That leader ruled over this place until his death.'

The postposition xix is placed at the end of the clause．It has preserved most verb properties such as reduplication，negation and suffixation of TAM particles （especially $d a$ and $o x$ ）．

nop wox ndo hnox mu ti te go xix xix？
2P．PL drink EXT morning time LOC COV～ALT
＇Have you been drinking until the dawn？＇

ip nyip cy sso hnox tit ap－xi．
today 3P．SG study EXT here NEG－COV
＇He hasn＇t studied up to this point today．＇

## B．The coverb hxep／hxex＇see＇

The verb hxep／hxex＇see＇developed into a directional and reference postposition （according to）．It functions as sole predicate of a clause，as in（164），and may co－ occur with the postposition hxep／hxex，as in（165）．

ne ngat vit gga cyx ggu hxep．

2P．SG 1P．SG．POSS clothes DEM．PROX CL see
＇Look at my clothes．＇

nga sut co hxex da hxep．
1P．SG other person COV．see STP see
＇I am looking towards others．＇

The tone of $h x e^{*}$ is not syntactically conditioned but depends on the tone of the preceding syllable．As a result of tonal dissimilation，it assumes the low tone［ ${ }^{21}$ ］when preceded by a high tone．It has the sandhi tone［44］when preceded by a low tone．It takes either low $\left[{ }^{[21]}\right.$ or high tone［44］，when preceded by a midtone．

get sse get mop hxep da syr zyt．
apprentice master joiner COV．see STP wood shape
＇The apprentice is shaping wood according to the master joiner．＇
b．河采扔出采以汉田。
ne a zzyx pot jop hxex da cyx gu． 2P．SG DEM．DIST side LOC see STP 3P．SG call ＇Look into that direction when you call him．＇

With motion verbs，hxep／hxex encodes the direction in which an entity moves， as in（167）．With non－motion verbs，hxep／hxex functions as a reference coverb mark－ ing noun phrases as abstract reference points，as in（168）．


| yo | ggex su | hxo pu | hxep | da | bot． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sheep | ART | mountain | COV．see | STP | run |

＇The sheep ran towards the mountain．＇

ne sut co hxex da vy． 2P．SG others person COV．see STP buy ＇Purchase according to（what）others（purchase）．＇

ne tit cyx gge hxex da sot．
2P．SG here DEM．PROX CL COV．see STP calculate ＇Calculate according to this here．＇
c．X呈愛产涩》水。
cy gga sho jox hxep da ngop． 3P．SG distant LOC COV．see STP think ＇He has a broad perspective on things．＇

As postposition，hxep／hxex cannot be negated or reduplicated．It is always followed by the stative perfect particle $d a$ with which it forms a close unit．

$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { lat rep } & \text { co } & \text { hxex } & \text { da } & \text { cox } & \text { ku．} \\ \text { thief } & \text { person } & \text { COV．see } & \text { STP } & \text { person } & \text { steal }\end{array}$
＇The thief is selective in his targets．＇

## C．The coverb chop＇along＇

The coverb chop＇go along＇can be employed as monotransitive verb with the role of path as argument．The morpheme chop always occurs in low tone．As verb，it is com－ patible with the progress marker njuo．

nop wox ggap mop ax yy jix su chop．
2P．PL road big ART go along
＇Move forward along the big road．＇

$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { lex } & \text { ji } & \text { ggap mop } & \text { chop } & \text { njuo．} \\ \text { ox } & \text { CL } & \text { road } & \text { go along } & \text { PROG }\end{array}$
＇An ox is moving along the road．＇

As postposition，chop occurs with motion verbs or with those non－motion verbs that can show progression along a path．It must be followed by the stative perfect particle da．

ne sat ma cyx ji chop da zyt．
2P．SG check mark DEM．PROX CL COV．along STP dig
＇Dig along this check mark．＇

cy zzi jibbu chop da mga．
3P．SG bridge beside COV STP cross
＇He is crossing along the edges of the bridge．＇
c．W小的的义
va bu za pux chop da gu．
rooster wall COV．along STP call
＇The rooster crows while moving along the wall．＇
The coverb chop is often used as reference coverb with metaphorical meaning． The marked noun phrase is viewed as model or standard to follow．

ne cyp ddop chop da vit gga ddie a ddit qyp da．
2P．SG 3P．SG．POSS word COV STP clothes COV there put STP
＇According to his advice，put the clothes there．＇

kax ddi nyi cyp pu jiet jix su chop da sot．
whoever also 3P．SG．POSS price ART COV STP calculate
＇All want to adapt calculations according to his price（standard）．＇

Like many other postpositions，chop cannot be negated or reduplicated but it must be followed by the stative particle $d a$ ．

## 6．2．7 Oblique coverbs

Seven oblique coverbs mark secondary semantic roles not required by the argument structure of the main predicate：six＇take＇（section A），sat＇point to＇（section B），mga
'pass' (section C), mgep/mgex 'mix' (section D), rrox mu (section E), qo 'follow' (section F) and wa mgot 'pursue' (section G).

## A. The coverb six 'take'

Besides the agent coverb sip 'take' (section 6.2.1), six 'take' surfaced as instrumental postposition and is appended to the second NP of the sentence. It may or may not be followed by the stative perfect particle $d a$, as in (173b).


| mu ga | yy mge | six | vot | nyie | lo. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name | boiling water | COV.take | pig | skin | scald |
| 'Muga is scalding the pig's | skin with boiling | water.' |  |  |  |


cy cax po ddu six da po njuo.
3P.SG fan COV.take STP fan PROG
'He is fanning with a fan.'

nga bbur ddu a zzyx ji six tep yy bbur.
1P.SG pencil DEM.DIST CL COV.take book write
'I am writing a book with that pencil.'

The coverb six can also be used with NPs that express instrumentality in a more indirect and abstract way.

cy yiet hxop sho six xyp hlie max su hxie jjuo.
3P.SG song CL COV.take girl ART move
'He moved the girl's heart with a song.'

As postposition, six cannot be negated or reduplicated and must be adjacent to the NP it marks.


| rre mop | cyx | gge | sip | da | vit gga | vy | yy. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| money | DEM.PROX | CL | COV.take | STP | clothes | buy | go |
| 'Take this money and buy some clothes.' |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |



| ne | syr ggut | cyx | gur | six | da | mux | mo. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P.SG | plough | DEM.PROX | CL | COV.take | STP | ground | plough | 'Plough the earth with this plough.'

## B. The coverb sat 'point to'

The coverb sat 'point to' acquired the function of reference postposition ('about') and also of aspect particle (section 7.5.1). It can occur as sole predicate of a sentence and be preceded by the morpheme $d o p$.

kat bbo su cy sat da. where go NOM 3P.SG point out STP 'He pointed out where to go.'

mux dde xix ggat nge su cop sat da ox. area INT.what CL COP NOM 3P.PL point out STP DP 'They have put up a sign that explains what place this is.'

In serial verb constructions, sat developed two functions. First, it surfaced as speech verb ('point out', 'emphasize'). In this role, sat is compatible with other verbs if it is amenable to an interpretation of contrastive focus. Examples in (177) consist of two events, the event of emphasizing and the event of the second VP.
(177)

cop wox sat da vot she ax di zze.
3P.PL point out, emphasize STP pig meat only eat
'They emphasized that they would only eat pig meat.'


| co | cy | bbot | sat | da | op rro | bbo. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| people | DEM.PROX | CL | emphasize | STP | Xichang | go |
| 'This group emphasized that they would (only) | travel to Xichang.' |  |  |  |  |  |

Second, verbs that can be understood as directed activities incorporate sat as directional postposition. These activities denote single events.

$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { nit } & \text { hot } & \text { sat } & \text { da } & \text { nbie. } \\ \text { 2P.SG.POSS } & \text { target } & \text { COV.point out } & \text { STP } & \text { shoot }\end{array}$
'Shoot at the target.'

cy syr bbo a fu bbox su sat da kie.
3P.SG tree thick ART COV STP fell
'He is aiming at the tree (with an axe).'

With speech and attitudinal verbs, sat functions as reference postposition ('about') and marks the topic of a speech or attitude. Speech events or attitude expressions can be understood as directed abstract activities.

ddop ma cyx go li lat sse jox sat da hxip su nge. word DEM.PROX CL TOP male name toward COV STP say NOM COP 'This word was said with respect to Laze.'

mu jie cyp jox sat da xip mu hxip (...)
male name 3P.SG toward COV.point out STP DEM.DD say
'Mujie is saying the following about him.'

cy co nop zi nop hnat ggex su jox sat da hxip. 3P.SG person 2P.PL cheat 2P.PL cheat ART toward COV STP say 'He is talking about those that cheat you.'

ngop jjy gex cyp jox sat da ngox die sat.
1P.PL together 3P.SG toward COV STP doubt EXH
'We have doubts about him.'

As postposition, sat is always followed by the stative perfect particle $d a$, cannot be negated and should not be reduplicated.

The morpheme sat evolved as aspect particle after other predicates. The functions of postposition and aspect particle (section 7.5.1) surfaced in preverbal and postverbal slots of serial verb constructions. The exact process of semantic reanalysis for the aspectual meaning is not known at this point.

## C. The coverb mga 'pass'

The coverb mga 'pass' functions as sole predicate and as postposition with directional ('through') and abstract ('according to') meanings. The meaning of the verb is illustrated in (180), and of the postposition in (181) and (182).


| at nyop | gga mop | cyx | ji | mga. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| name | road | DEM.PROX | CL | pass |
| 'Anyo is going through this path.' |  |  |  |  |


nop wox zzi mga yy.
2P.PL bridge pass go down
'Go down over the bridge.'

cop wox yyx ga mga da bur bbo.
3P.PL river, water CL COV STP return go
'They went back along the riverside.'

bbox zze max su ji bbu jox mga da ix go vur li. man ART side LOC COV STP house enter go up 'The man entered from the side of the house.'
c. :
nit syr cyx bbo lax yi jox mga da kie dax zhet. 2P.SG.POSS tree DEM CL left LOC COV STP fell more good 'It is better to fell the tree from the left side.'

at gop ax mo ngop jjux mga da xi bup.
female name mother idea COV STP weave
'Ago is weaving according to her mother's ideas.'

ix yi vyt vu hxip ddop mga da nyiet.
younger brother elder brother say word COV STP fish 'The younger brother is fishing according to his brother's advice.'

Like many other postpositions, mga must co-occur with the stative aspect particle $d a$, cannot be negated or reduplicated.

A special multi-morpheme postposition contains the coverb mga, the postposition lot tuo mga 'with the help of'. In this expression, lot means 'hand' and tuo 'rely'. This expression functions as sole predicate, as in (183), or as postposition, as in (184). It marks human nouns. As postposition it is always followed by the perfect particle da. In contrast to bare mga, lot tuo mga can be negated. The particle $d a$ must be changed to $m u$, see (185).


| syt | Cy | jiit | ngat | lot tuo mga | tat xi. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| matter | DEM.PROX | CL | 1P.SG.POSS | pass through hand | should |
| 'This matter should be in my hands.' |  |  |  |  |  |

 ngop wox sux yy ma lot tuo mga da ix go zzax zze li. 1P.PL leader CL COV STP house food eat go 'We went in for lunch with the help of a village elder.'

nga cyp lot tuo mga da co hmi ndit a zzyx ma
1P．SG 3P．SG．POSS COV STP famous person DEM．DIST CL
syp ox．
know DP
＇I got to know that famous person through his help．＇

cyp ddop ma lot tuo－ap－mga mu da，syt cy jjit nga
3P．SG．POSS word COV＜NEG＞ADVL STP matter DEM CL 1P．SG
shut ox．
remember DP
＇I remember this event（even）without his reminder．＇

## D．The coverb mgep／mgex＇mix＇

The comitative coverb mgep functions as predicate with the meaning＇mix，join together＇．It also lexicalized in the compound mop mgep＇hold meeting＇．
（186）a．H果よNKほ．

| mu hlie | cyp | cyt vi | mgep． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name | 3P．SG．POSS | clan | mix，join |
| ＇Muhlie associates with his clan．＇ |  |  |  |


ngop wox mop mgep ap－sat sy．
1P．PL hold meeting NEG－EXH still
＇We have not finished the meeting．＇

As postposition，mge＊exhibits a dissimilative tone which depends on the pitch level of the preceding syllable．If the preceding noun is monosyllabic with high tone， then mge assumes a low tone［ ${ }^{21}$ ］；if the preceding noun is monosyllabic with low tone［ ${ }^{21}$ ］or midtone，then mge takes the sandhi tone［44］．

ax da ax mo nga mgex jjo．
father mother 1P．SG COV．mix be at，have
＇The parents are together with me．＇

cyx li cop wox mgep da jie bop zhe．
3P．SG TOP 3P．PL COV STP rope cut
＇He cut the rope together with them．＇

The postposition mgep／mgex cannot be negated or reduplicated．It is often but not always followed by the stative perfect particle $d a$ ．

nga cop mgex da jjiex mguo ox． 1P．SG 3P．PL COV．mix STP understand DP ＇I have progressed in my understanding together with them．＇

ax mo ax yi mgex da shax jji mge． mother child COV．mix STP candy chew ＇The mother is eating candies with her child．＇

ax yi ax mo mgex da ngo．
child mother COV．mix STP weep
＇The child is weeping together with her mother．＇

ngax nyi nzip ap－dop mu cop mgex da yy． 1P．SG also bear NEG－can ADVL 3P．PL COV STP laugh ＇I also can＇t bear that they are laughing together．＇

The coverb does not necessarily require control verbs but many noncontrol verbs are incompatible with mgep／mgex as for the attitude verbs in（189）．

\＃nga cop wox mgep da jy jie．
1P．SG 3P．PL COV．mix STP fear
＇I am afraid of them．＇
b．\＃Nは乎首》ま。
\＃nga cop wox mgep da syp．
1P．SG 3P．PL COV．mix STP know
＇I am knowing together with them．＇

## E．The coverb rrox mu

The postposition rrox mu is composed of the first syllable of the verb rrop zip＇replace＇ and the adverbializer $m u$（section 5．3．2．J）．The verb rrop zip occurs as independent predicate，as in（190a），and in serial verb constructions，as in（190b）．

nga ap lit da，cy la ngat rrop zip．
1P．SG busy 3P．SG come 1P．SG replace
＇I am busy，so he replaces me．＇

cop wox ngop wox rrop zip da lur ma lyrx nyie．
3P．PL 1P．PL replace STP stone move
＇They replaced us to move the stones．＇
The postposition rrox mu cannot function as predicate but marks the semantic role of beneficiary，substitute or cause．It is often but not always followed by the perfect particle $d a$ ．
（191）a．Nidî̄H內我。

| nga | nit | rrox mu | da | hxip． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG | 2P．SG．POSS | COV | STP | speak |

＇I am speaking for（replacing／in favor of）you．＇
b．牙末牙币白H元。
ax mo ax yi rrox mu zze．
mother child COV eat
＇The mother helps the child to eat the meal．＇
c．牙戠的H 8 。
ax mo sse rrox mu ngo．
mother son COV cry
＇The mother cries for（＝because of）her son．＇

pat mop sse rrox mu xyp mop xyp．
parents son COV bride，woman marry
＇The parents help their son find a bride．＇

hmat mop ssox sse rrox mu bip mgur．
teacher student COV pen pick up
＇The teacher picks up the pen for（replacing／in favor of）the student．＇

cop wox cyp rrox mu lat rep mgot．
3P．PL 3P．SG COV thief chase
＇They were chasing the thief for（＝replacing／in favor of）him．＇
The use of the postposition is almost unrestricted，but for some mental verbs the concept of beneficiary，substitute or cause is incompatible．


| ${ }^{\text {ngga }}$ | syt | cy | jijit | nit | rrox mu | syp． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG | matter | 3P．SG | CL | 2P．SG | COV | know |

＇I know about this matter for you．＇

The postposition rrox mu cannot append aspect particles other than da. Moreover, rrox $m и$ may not be negated or reduplicated.

## F. The coverb qo 'follow'

The coverb qo 'follow' functions as independent predicate and as comitative postposition ('with'). As postposition, qo marks a noun phrase as the secondary co-agent. It differs from the other comitative postposition mgep/mgex (section D ) which marks a noun phrase as co-agent of equal rank. As main verb, qo means follow and contain, an existential meaning presented in section 12.1.2.E.

mu ryr qop bop ap- qo.
male name friend NEG- follow
'Mudge follows no friend.'
b. $X_{n} \boldsymbol{H}^{*}$ ※井 00 。
(Walters \& Ndaxit 2006: 140)

| zza | go | lur mat | qo. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| rice, food | LOC | stone | contain |

'There are stones in the rice.'

As postposition, qo marks a noun phrase for being associated with a primary agent of an activity.

vut sa cop qo da la nyiet ox.
name 3P.PL COV.follow STP come late DP
'Vusa was delayed together with them.'

lu po vyt vu ggex su qo da yi ndo.
name elder brother ART COV.follow STP tobacco smoke
'Lupo is smoking together with his older brothers.'

le nyi vot qo da lop tup yot.
ox also pig COV.follow STP container lick
'The ox together with the pig are licking the container.'

ne cyx qo da la hxex.
2P.SG 3P.SG COV.follow STP wait
'Wait together with him.'
e．さゆがGOロウヨき米。
ly yi ax pu qo da rre hlut bbo．
grandson grandfather COV．follow STP pasture go
＇The grandson goes to pasture with his grandfather．＇

nga qop bop qo cyp xyp mop yu bbo．
1P．SG friend COV．follow 3P．SG．POSS bride take go
＇Together with my friend，I go to welcome his bride．＇
（195）

nga nex qo da na ox．low－control event
1P．SG 2P．SG follow STP ill DP
＇I am ill together with you．＇

nga sut co qo hxa cie mu ox．low－control event
1P．SG others follow sneeze DP
＇I am sneezing together with others．＇
The postposition qo cannot be employed with noncontrol verbs as in（196）．

$\begin{array}{llllll}\text {＊nit } & \text { ddop ma } & \text { cyp } & \text { ddop ma } & \text { qo } & \text { zie．} \\ \text { 2P．SG．POSS } & \text { word } & \text { 3P．SG．POSS } & \text { word } & \text { COV．follow } & \text { match }\end{array}$ ＇Your words match with his words．＇

The postposition qo cannot be negated or reduplicated．However，qo can be negated in a construction by using the adverbializer－mu（see section 5．3．2．J）．

cy ngop ap－qo mu bbo．
3P．SG 1P．PL NEG－follow ADVL go
＇He did not go together with us．＇

As shown in the above examples，the postposition qo is typically followed by the stative aspect particle $d a$ ．It cannot be followed by other TAM particles．

## G．The coverb wa mgot＇pursue＇

The expression wa mgot is composed of the locative particle wa＇behind＇and the predicate mgot＇pursue＇．It functions as independent predicate．
（198）\＄よ母NN果。
mup sse mup mop wa mgot．
colt mare pursue
＇The colt follows the mare．＇
As postposition，wa mgot＇after＇conveys temporal sucession．It co－occurs with a large range of volitional verbs which are compatible with this concept．
a．列丰丰N
cyx nyi ngat wa mgot da jy jie ox．
3P．SG also 1P．SG COV．after STP fear DP
＇He was afraid after I was．＇
b．列丰丰N果刃汇出向。
ngax nyi cyp wa mgot da ndup ssop ox．
1P．SG also 3P．SG COV．after STP beat END DP ＇I also got a beating after he did．＇

nga cop wa mgot da shut la ox．
1P．SG 3P．PL COV．after STP remember come DP ＇I remembered it after they did．＇

muga mugox wa mgot da ka bba wep ox． male name male name COV．after STP prizet receive DP ＇Muga received a prize after Mugo did．＇

ne ngat wa mgot da bi． 2P．SG 1P．SG COV．after STP read ＇Read after me．＇

The coverb wa mgot is often followed by the stative perfect particle da but cannot be negated or reduplicated．

## 6．3 Locative phrases

Locative phrases have an elaborate internal structure（section 6．3．1）；their position in the clause is always before the predicate（section 6．3．2）．

## 6．3．1 The structure of locative phrases

Locative phrases indicate the immovable place at which an event happens or a posi－ tion is held．Locative phrases use common nouns or place names，a locative particle and the coverb da（section 6．2．5．A）．
（200） $\mathrm{NP}+$ Locative Particle $+d a$

The following example illustrates a locative phrase marked by underlining．


| cop wox | mux dde | nzix | da | xyx ne． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．PL | field | edge of | COV | rest |

＇They rest at the edge of the field．＇

The purpose of locative particles is to specify the activity at the mentioned loca－ tion with greater precision．Omitting the locative particle would render the locative phrases too underspecified and thus ungrammatical．


| ＊ax yi | max su | syr bbo | da | ngo． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| child | ART | tree | COV | cry | Intended meaning：＇The child cries at the tree．＇

b．＊HUX』円

| ＊mu ga | lur kur da | syt |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| name of man | city COV | business |  | Intended meaning：＇Muga is doing business（in）the city．＇

There are restrictions on the use of the locative particle．No locative particle，only the coverb $d a$ ，can be used after place names．


```
    mu ga op rro (*go) da hxie mgat hmat.
    name Xichang LOC COV Chinese teach
    Intended meaning: 'Muga is teaching Chinese in Xichang.'
```

The coverb $d a$ is ungrammatical if the main predicate is not a control verb as in （204），if it is a motion verb as in（205），or if it contains $d a$ as lexicalized component as in（206）．

## a．ゆ凶巛（＊內）$\theta$ けき。

| yi | hxi jox | （＊da） | ma hxa | jjip． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| house | outside | COV | rain | become |

＇It is raining outside the house．＇

cop wox yi ssox dde lax vy jox（＊da）jjip．
3P．PL house school left of COV become ＇Their house is on the left side of a school．＇

cy ap ndi hxix ngop ji bbu（＊da）njuo．
3P．SG yesterday 1P．PL beside COV move，go
＇Yesterday，he went along at our side．＇

cy ap ndi hxix ngop ji bbu da yi ngox．
3P．SG yesterday 1P．PL beside COV cry
＇Yesterday，he wept at our side．＇

xyx hnie get sse lap vut（＊da）qyp da．
shoe cupboard LOC．under COV put
＇Put the shoes under the cupboard．＇
b．す和ゆサ川


Locative particles exist in bare form，with da，with jop／jox，with jop／jox and $d a$ ．The bound morpheme jop／jox also functions as recipient postposition jox＇to＇ （section 6．2．4．B）．

The bare particles are locational pronouns，they can replace other nouns．
（207）
a．XF日。
b．Ne ${ }^{\prime} \forall$ 。
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { cy } & \text { tot } & \text { it．} \\ \text { 3P．SG } & \text { above } & \text { live }\end{array}$
＇He lives above．＇
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { nga } & \text { ot } & \text { it．} \\ & \text { 1P．SG } & \text { below } \\ \text { live }\end{array}$
＇I live below．＇
c．$X$ 必。
d．寸筸隹米。

| cy | hxi | hxep． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | outside | look |

＇He looks outside．＇

2P．SG behind cross go
＇You pass behind．＇

Table 6.10: Locative particles

| Bare | with da | with jop/jox | with jop/jox and da | Gloss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| tot | tot da | tot jop | tot jop da | 'above' |
| ot | ot da | ot jop | ot jop da | 'below' |
| lap vut | lap vut da | lap vut jop | lap vut jop da | 'under' |
| ku | ku da | ku jox | ku jox da | 'inside' |
| gat zyr | gat zyr da | gat zyr jox | gat zyr jox da | 'middle of' |
| hxi | hxi da | hxi jox | hxi jox da | 'outside' |
| miep | miep da | miep jox | miep jox da | 'in front' |
| op bbop | op bbop da | op bbop jox | op bbop jox da | 'in front' |
| ji bbu | ji bbu da | ji bbu jop | ji bbu jop da | 'beside' |
| a ggux a lex | a ggux a lex da | a ggux a lex jop | a ggux a lex jop da | 'around' |
| wa | wa da | wa jox | wa jox da | 'behind' |
| wa nuo |  | wa nuo jox |  | 'in back of' |
|  |  | lax vy jox | lax vy jox da | 'left of' |
|  |  | lax yi jox | lax yi jox da | 'right of' |
| bbux ddur |  | bbux ddur jox | bbux ddur jox da | 'east of' |
| bbux jij |  | bbux jij jox | bbux jij jox da | 'west of' |
| yyx hmy |  | yyx hmy jox | yyx hmy jox da | 'south of' |
| yyx o |  | yyx o jox | yyx o jox da | 'north of' |
| i qix | i qix da |  |  | 'on top of' |
| nzix | nzix da |  |  | 'at edge of' |
| go | go da |  |  | 'in, at, on' |

Bare particles must be used pronominally. Nonbare particles are used adnominally after nouns to specify a position at or on the noun referent.

*syt a zzyx jjit bbox sse wax ddur su.
matter DEM.DIST CL hill behind happen NOM 'This story happened over the hill.'

syt a zzyx jjit bbox sse wax jop ddur su.
matter DEM.DIST CL hill behind happen NOM
'This story happened over the hill.'
(209)
a. *x ※ ※田。

| *cy | lur kur | hxi | it. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P.SG | city | outside | live |

'He lives outside the city.'
b．XXき必匈も。
cy lur kur hxi jox it．
3P．SG city outside live
＇He lives outside the city．＇


| cop | mu ddix | bbux ddur jox | da | ne | la hxex． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．PL | field，land | east | COV | 2P．SG | wait |

＇They wait for you at the eastside of the field．＇


| mu ga | cop wox | gat zyr | jox | da | ddop | hxip |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | name | $3 P . P L$ | in middle of | LOC | STP | word |

＇Muga is standing in their midst．＇


| cop wox | yix kie bbap ga | a ggux a lex | jox | da | vot | sit． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．PL | village and township | around | LOC | COV | pig | kill | ＇They killed pigs around the villages and townships．＇

## 6．3．2 The position of locative phrases

The position of the locative phrase is always before the predicate．In dynamic events，the locative phrase is also placed after the subject NP．


| vyt vu | ot jop | da | tep yy | sso． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| elder brother | downstairs |  | book | study |
| The brother | tudying do | nnst |  |  |



| cy | ma wa | i qix | bbut cy | hxot． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | wound | LOC．on top | ointment | apply |

＇He applied some ointment to the wound．＇
In presentative constructions（section 12．1），the locative phrase is found in sentence－initial position．The coverb $d a$ is omitted in this construction．

get sse go（＊da）burx yyr ax nyi mu it．
little box LOC COV photo many ADVL lie
＇In the little box，there are many photos．＇

yi hxi jox（＊da）cox ma ip ko ndup njuo． house outside COV person CL door knock PROG ＇There is someone outside knocking at the door．＇

## 6．4 Directional phrases

A special feature are the four cardinal directional verbs（see section 6．4．1）．The direc－ tional coverbs introduced in the previous section help to distinguish three types of directional phrases（section 6．4．2）．

## 6．4．1 Directional particles and verbs

Four directional particles are used with motion verbs to indicate the direction．These particles are used adnominally or pronominally．They differ from other locative particles（table 6．9）in that they are restricted to motion verbs．

Table 6．11：Directional particles

| uo mgut＇upwards＇ | hxat＇upwards＇（only pronominally） <br> ix cy ‘downwards＇ |
| :--- | :--- |

The particles are generally used with a physical interpretation as in the follow－ ing examples．

cy hxo pu uo mgut li da mup zzy bbo．
3P．SG mountain upside go up STP horse ride go
＇He is riding a horse up the mountain．＇

ssox sse uo mgut li da tep yy sso．
student upside go up STP book study
＇The student is going up reading a book．＇
c．寸小局みなり。
ne ap nryr mu hxat li．
2P．SG really，definitely LOC．up to go up
＇You must go up．＇

mu rryr hxo pu go da ix cy la．
male name mountain LOC COV．put down come ＇Mudge is coming down from the top of the mountain．＇
b．き入断「め。
syp mop jjyp la da．
scholar down come STP
＇The scholar comes down．＇
Besides particles，there are four primary and five secondary directional verbs． They generate twenty compound verbs with compositional meanings．

Table 6．12：Directional verbs

| Secondary $\downarrow /$ Primary $\rightarrow$ | la＇come＇ | bbo＇go＇ | li＇go up＇ | yy＇go down＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| vur＇enter＇ | vur la | vur bbo | vur li | vur yy |
| ddur＇exit＇ | ddur la | ddur bbo | ddur li | ddur yy |
| bur＇return＇ | bur la | bur bbo | bur li | bur yy |
| dep＇rise＇ | dep la | dep bbo | dep li | dep yy |
| mga＇cross＇ | mga la | mga bbo | mga li | mga yy |

The four primary verbs can function as independent predicates．One indicates movement towards the speaker（la＇come＇），the other three encode movement away from the speaker（bbo＇go＇；li＇go up＇；yy＇go down＇）．
a．甘采门背向。
cop wox la sat ox．
3P．PL come EXH DP
＇They have all come．＇
b．$X \oplus H \&$ 気坐。
cy lip mu mo ggux bbo．
3P．SG Meigu County go
＇He went to Meigu．＇

ngop wox hxo pu go da ix cy yy．
1P．PL mountain LOC COV downwards go down
＇We went down the mountain．＇
d．X以比り。
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { cy } & \text { uo mgut } & \text { li．} \\ \text { 3P．SG } & \text { upward } & \text { go up }\end{array}$
＇I am going up into the house．＇
Among the secondary predicates，bur＇return＇，dep＇rise＇and mga＇cross＇can be used as sole predicates，but vur＇enter＇and ddur＇exit＇are not productive independent predicates anymore and must be used with other directional verbs．The verb bur ＇return＇posed after other verbs means＇again＇．
（216）

＊nga ix go da ddur ox． 1P．SG house COV exit DP ＇I return from here．＇

＊nga ix go go vur ox． 1P．SG house LOC enter DP ＇I rise from here．＇
c．N于以皮向。
nga tit da dep ox．
1P．SG here COV rise DP
＇I rise from here．＇
（217）a．Nチゆぽ。
nga tit da bur ox．
1P．SG here COV return DP
＇I return from here．＇

muga rruo nuo bur la ox．
male name Mianning County return come DP
＇Muga came back from Mianning County．＇
c．囟ほ
bburx bur
write return
＇write again＇
e．すぜさすほ。
ne ngat ddop tat bur．
2P．SG 1P．SG word NEG．IMP－return
＇Don’t answer me．＇

Examples in（218）illustrate the status of directional compounds as independent predicates．
（218）a．NWHポ．
hxit jo mu dep la．
quick ADVL stand up come
＇Stand up quickly．＇

nga wax bbu hlep bur bbo．
1P．SG next month return come
＇I go back next month．＇
c．存的平形小向。
hxie zyr gox mga li ox．
bird DIR cross go DP
＇The bird went across to the higher side．＇

cop bbap ga a zzyx ma gox da ddur yy．
3P．PL village DEM．DIST CL LOC COV exit go down
＇They went out of the village to the lower side．＇

All primary and compound directional verbs of Table 6.11 can be suffixed to other motion verbs．
（219）$\quad \mathrm{NP}+\mathrm{V}_{\text {MOtion }}+\mathrm{NP}+\mathrm{V}_{\text {DIR－1 }} \mathrm{V}_{\text {DIR－2 }}$

If a source or destination is specified，it is placed between the motion verb and the direction verb complex，generally according to the structure in（219）．
（220）a．水けに丰所が納向。
ngop fi jy nyi sha he xi la ox．
1P．PL airplance sit Shanghai arrive come DP
＇We flew to Shanghai．＇

bbu shy nju mu jjur go vur yy ox． snake crawl earth hole LOC enter go down DP ＇The snake is crawling into the earth hole．＇


| cox | gge | bbap ga | go | vur | li | da． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| people | CL | village | LOC | enter | go up | STP |
| ＇He |  |  |  |  |  |  |

＇He ran up into the village．＇

mu nyox it dde go da dep li ox．
male name residence place LOC COV rise go up DP
＇Munyo rose up from where he was．＇

## 6．4．2 Types of directional phrases

Directional phrases incorporate one of the three directional coverbs，xi（section 6．2．6． A），hxep／hxex（section 6．2．6．B）and chop（section 6．2．6．C）．Directional phrases contain a motion verb and／or one of the directional coverbs．
（221）a．H乘夏与目出奴。
mu nyox li six hxo pu tot jop xi．
male name go up DIR mountain up COV．arrive
＇Munyo is climbing up to the peak．＇

cy le mgot six lur kur hxi jox xi．
3P．SG ox drive DIR city outside COV
＇He drives the oxen out of the city．＇

cop wox lur mat ax yy max su hxep da lyrx nyie．
3P．PL stone big ART COV．see STP move
＇They moved in the direction of the big stone．＇
b．Xi丁平出刃ウ：
cy la dda jox hxep da shyr．
3P．SG valley COV COV STP shout，yell
＇He yelled toward the valley．＇

ax yi tep yy sip ggap mop chop da bi．
child book COV road COV STP read
＇The child is reading a book along his path．＇

ax nyie yix qi chop da shyr．
cat roof COV STP meow
＇The cat meowed while walking on the roof．＇

## Chapter 7

## Tense and aspect

The Nuosu aspectual apparatus is sophisticated with rare features. The chapter contains eight sections: an introduction (section 7.1), a section on phasal auxiliaries (section 7.2), resultative auxiliaries (section 7.3), progressive aspect (section 7.4), perfective aspect (section 7.5), quantitative aspect (section 7.6), perfect (section 7.7), and tense (section 7.8).

### 7.1 Introduction

In this section, we choose a theory of situation types (section 7.1.1), a theory of tense (section 7.1.2) and overview aspect and tense categories in Nuosu (section 7.1.3).

### 7.1.1 The theory of situation types

We briefly survey theories of event and argument structure: the classical Vendlerian Aktionsarten (section A), and mereological approaches (section B). This survey draws on a more extensive elaboration by Gerner (2007a).

## A. The four Vendlerian situation types

Vendler (1967) classified situations as achievements, accomplishments, activities and states based on their compatibility with in-, at- and for-adverbials.

Table 7.1: The four Vendlerian situation types in English

|  | in | for | at | Verb+ing |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Achievement | + | - | + | - |
| Accomplishment | + | - | - | + |
| Activity | - | + | - | + |
| State | - | + | + | - |

Contrary to Vendler's characterization, scholars noted that the progressive can be used in achievements (Leech 1971: 1-27; Comrie 1976: 43):
(1) He is dying slowly.
(2) He is reaching the station.
(3) He is winning the match.

Scholars also questioned the genuine punctual character of achievements and their modifiability of achievements by at-adverbials (Verkuyl 1993: 46-50):
(4) He typed the letter $p$ at noon sharp.
(5) He typed a business letter *at noon sharp.

Because of these difficulties, achievements and accomplishments should be defined differently, that is as quantized and bounded events (see section 7.1.2).

## B. Object, event and state structure

The mereological approach (Link 1983; Bach 1986; Krifka 1989, 1992, 1998) builds on the parallels that exist between the ontological structure of objects, temporal structure of events and degree stucture of states. We distinguish four types of objects, events and states: (i) Singular; (ii) Homogenous; (iii) Quantized; (iv) Bounded.

## (i) Singular objects, events and states

Nominal count expressions of the following kind denote singular objects:

- singular count expressions (one potato)
- singular proper names (John, Mary)
- singular pronouns (I, you, he/she/it)
- singular definite expressions (this bed, the pen)
- singular possessive expressions (John's nose).

Clauses with punctual verbs of the following type denote singular events:
(6) $\mathrm{S} /$ he typed the letter $p$ in an instant/*in one hour.
(7) $\mathrm{S} /$ he touched the dog in an instant/*in an hour.

Stative clauses with ungradable predicates of the following type denote singular states:

- positional states (sit on chair, pregnant, dead)
- other ungradable states (brandnew)


## (ii) Homogenous objects, events and states

The homogenous reference type is the conjunction of two properties: Cumulativity (Quine 1960: 91, "any sum of parts which are water is water") and Divisibility (Cheng 1973, "any part of something that is water is water").

In Nuosu, every common noun (person, water) is cumulative; not every common noun is divisible. Items left to 'sand' in the following list use a sortal classifier, items right to it use a mensural classifier. In Nuosu, items with minimal parts are like 'sand', items without minimal parts are like 'powder'.'

[^11](8) Apple-tangerine-raspberry-rice-sand-powder-air.

There are three types of verbs that refer to homogenous events:

- incremental verbs with homogenous patient noun phrase (eat cake, breathe air, walk distances, waste time);
- non-incremental verbs (laugh, cry, snore, push a cart).

For gradable predicates ('tall'), a class of comparison is a group of objecs against which a vague statement ('Bill is tall') is evaluated. A class of comparison is contextually conditioned. A state is homogenous if its comparison class is homogenous as an object.

## (iii) Quantized objects, events and states

Objects or events of a given denotation are quantized if no proper part is again of the same denotation (Krifka 1992, 1998). Objects like five people or events like drink four litres of water do not admit any proper part that again matches the same denotation five people or drink four litres of water. The following nominal expressions denote quantized objects:

- count expressions (three apples, five liters of water, 2 kg of tomatoes)
- proper names (John, Peter and Mary)
- pronouns (I, you, they)
- definite expressions (the women, this/that blueberry, these houses)
- possessive expressions (John's books, his tea)

In quantized events, something must be gradually processed. Dowty (1991) used the term "Incremental Theme" which can be a physical patient, a spatial entity, or a temporal entity.

- incremental verb with quantized physical entity as patient (eat two sandwiches, waste $100 ¥$, breathe three cubic meter of air, type 100 letters);
- incremental verb with quantized spatial entity as patient (walk two kilometers, push a cart two kilometers);
- incremental verb with quantized temporal entity as patient (serve two years, waste two hours).

A state is quantized if its comparison class is quantized as an object.

## (iv) Bounded events

Bounded events are characterized by the property of closure under final segment (Naumann 2001: 30). For the bound event of walking to the station every final segment is again an event of the type walking to the station.

- Boundary through a resultative state (work to exhaustion, eat to fullness);
- Boundary as the destination of motion verb (walk to station, swim to coast);
- Boundary in the lexical structure of the verb (die, close the door, win a match, reach the summit).

States also exhibit a temporal structure. A state is individual-level if an entity is in that state for the entire lapse of its existence. The state is stage-level if the entity is in that state for a limited period of time (Carlson 1977; Kratzer 1995). For example, the predicate be father of is individual-level, the predicate be ill is stage-level. These two notions play an important role in the characterization of selectional restrictions of quantificational aspect particles (section 7.6).

### 7.1.2 The theory of tense

Tense is important for an account of the quantitative aspect particles (section 7.6), of the perfect particles (section 7.7) and of the future tense particle (section 7.8).

There is a linguistic tradition that distinguishes three time concepts in communication (Klein 1992, 1994; Reichenbach 1948). We use Klein's labels.

## Definition

Time of situation TS time referred to by non-finite component of the clause Time of topic TT time for which, on some occasion, a claim is made Time of utterance TU time of making an utterance

In the example that Klein provides,
(9) a. What did you notice when you checked the cellar?
b. Chris left his house.
c. The door was open.
d. The door was wooden.
the discourse topic in (9) is the witness's checking of the cellar and TT the time of checking the cellar. The event of leaving the house in (9b) is short and TS is before TT or included in TT. In (9c), the TS likely includes TT. In (9d), the TS is permanent and includes TT. From this picture, Klein (1992: 536) defines tense as a relation between TT and TU not between TT and TS:
$T T$ and $T U$
Past tense $\quad \mathrm{TT}<\mathrm{TU}$ (TT before TU)
Present tense $\mathrm{TU} \subseteq \mathrm{TT}$ (TU included in TT)
Future tense $\quad \mathrm{TT}>\mathrm{TU}$ (TT after TU)

Klein (1992: 537) defines aspect as a relationship between TS and TT not as a relationship between TT and TU.

|  | $T T$ and TS |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Perfective | $\mathrm{TS}_{\text {END }} \subseteq \mathrm{TT}$ | (TT including end of TS) |
| Imperfective | $\mathrm{TT} \subsetneq \mathrm{TS}$ | (TT properly in TS) |
| Prospective | $\mathrm{TT}<\mathrm{TS}$ | (TT in the pretime of TS) |

The perfective is part of the exhaustion (section 7.5.1) and dynamic perfect particles (section 7.7.2); the imperfective is part of the progressive particles (section 7.4).

### 7.1.3 Aspect and tense categories in Nuosu

The following table provides an overview of the aspect and tense categories that are expressed in the grammatical systems of languages of the world and of Nuosu (Bybee 1994; Dahl 1985: chap 3 \& 4; Dik 1997: 217-243).

Table 7.2: Aspect and tense categories in Nuosu

| Aspect/tense subareas | Aspect/tense categories | Subsection in grammar <br> of attested Nuosu category |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| phasal aspect | ingressive |  |
|  | continuous |  |
|  | egressive | section 7.2 |
|  | resultative | section 7.2 |
| perfectivity/imperfectivity | progressive aspect | section 7.2 |
|  | perfective aspect | section 7.3 |
| quantitative aspect | experiential | section 7.4 |
|  | periodical | section 7.5 |
|  | habitual | section 7.6 .1 |
| perspectival aspect | perfect | section 7.6 .2 |
| absolute tense | pust | section 7.6 .3 |
|  |  | section 7.7 |
|  |  | - |

### 7.2 Phasal auxiliaries

In Nuosu, two specialized expressions (section 7.2.1) and three grammaticalized verbs (section 7.2.2) mark the individual phases of events.

### 7.2.1 Specialized expressions

There are no phasal verbs corresponding to 'start' and 'finish', but there is one expression close to the idea of starting phase: go mox 'beginning' (section A). Furthermore, there is the verb jjup zot da 'continue' (section B).

## A．go mox＇beginning＇

The expression go mox（section 9．1．3．B）is an adverb composed of the pronoun go（section 5．4．1．F）and the conjunction mox＇before’（section 13．1．2．C）．Its syntactic position is before the verb．It means＇in the beginning＇and has two interpretations． In one reading，go mox scopes over the situation referring to the beginning of the situation and being close to the idea of a inchoative auxiliary．In the second reading， go mox has scope over some larger set of situations in which the event described is the starting point．


| syr ma | max su | go mox | hmip | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| fruit | ART＝CL－DET | beginning | ripe | DP |

（i）＇The fruit started to ripen．＇
（ii）＇The fruit was the first to be ripe．＇


| nga | go mox | ax yi | hmat | da． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG | beginning | child | teach | STP |

（i）＇I started to teach children．＇
（ii）＇In the beginning，I was teaching children．＇

Furthermore，there are several lexicalized expressions which employ go mox to indicate the first in a series．
（11）小心家里生謧
xy jy go mox ddip hxix
week beginning day
＇The first day of the week＇

## B．jjup zot da＇continue＇

The phasal verb jjup zot（often complemented by the stative perfect particle da） expresses continuative meaning．Its syntactic position is before the verb phrase．

cy jjup zot da mux mo．
3P．SG continue soil plough
＇He continued to plough the earth．＇

mu hlie jjup zot da hxie mgat hxop sso．
male name continue Chinese language study
＇Muhlie continued to study Chinese．＇

ngop wox jjup zot da diep yyr hxep.
1P.PL continue film watch
'Let's continue to watch the film.'

kep mu jjup zot da it nyi gu?
INT.how continue sleep
'Why do you continue to sleep?'

After temporal noun phrases, jjup zot da conveys the meaning of an English foradverbial. The morpheme jjup is then generally dropped and the phasal verb reduced to $z o t d a$.

mu qu cyp kut zot da ma hxa ap- jjip.
period NUM. 1 year continue rain NEG- become
'It did not rain for one year.'
b. X
cy te kop nyip ma zot da shyr.
3P.SG hour NUM. 2 CL continue shout
'He shouted for two hours.'

### 7.2.2 Grammaticalized verbs

Four grammaticalized verbs emphasize different phasal aspects of an event: the delimitative auxiliary hxep 'look' (section 7.2.2.A), the inchoative auxiliary la 'come' (section 7.2.2.B), the continuative auxiliary go zix 'insert' (section 7.2.2.C) and the completive auxiliary ddur 'exit' (section 7.2.2.D). They all originate from verbs and still function as predicates (Gerner 2002a).

## A. hxep 'look'

The verb hxep 'look' was grammaticalized as postverbal auxiliary try (Gerner 2002a: 57-60). The grammatical function surfaced through the metaphor that looking into an activity is the same as trying to perform it. Example (14) illustrates hxep as full verb, (15) shows hxep in a few lexicalized compound verbs, and (16) its postverbal auxiliary meaning of try.


| go | hxex! | cy | syt | mu | ap- | hxit | su | mu | ox. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| PRO.PAT | see | 3PSG | matter | do | NEG- | can | NOM | do | DP |

'Look here! He has done some forbidden things.'
a．N牙川采。
nga nex la hxex．
1P．SG 2P．SG wait＝come＋look
＇I wait for you．＇
b．H习沚采。 pat mop ngax hxo hxex． parents 1P．SG look after＝feed look ＇My parents look after me．＇
a．㔛 $\theta$ 我斗不毛采？
ddop ma cyx go xix hxip hxex？
word DEM．PROX CL INT．what say LOOK
＇What does this word try to say？＇

nop wox zyt jie cuop luo ngop mge hxex．
2P．PL REFL a little bit judge LOOK
＇Try to judge it on your own．＇

lat mop nry cuop luo ndo hxex lox ndo hna． male name wine a little bit drink LOOK CONJ．and drink want ＇Lamo tried some of the wine and liked it．＇

nga xix sip syt cy jjit sup hxex mix？
1P．SG INT．what take matter DEM．PROX CL resemble LOOK SOL
＇With what should I compare this．＇

cy zyp hmyp kep mu jiix su ne shut hxex．
3P．SG result INT．how become NOM 2P．SG remember LOOK
＇Try to remember how it ended．＇

## B．la＇come＇

After adjectives，the directional verb la＇come＇developed the grammatical function of inchoative auxiliary reminiscent of the Chinese qŭ lái＇rise’（Gerner 2002a：64－66）． As main predicate，la can stand alone or occur after other verbs of motion，see（17）．

mu rryr dde dde mu la go shex da ngat hxie ndot． male name often come HAB STP 1P．SG．POSS heart bother ＇Mudge often comes to bother me．＇
b．HCNTMrim。
muga a ddit mga la ox．
male name there pass come DP
＇Muga came through that place．＇
c．THHNNXX。
ngax sha mu hxit la xi mgu．
1P．SG be compassionate come hope
＇I hope that you come and sympathize with me．＇
As auxiliary，la occurs after adjectives with a potential dynamic onset，such as emotional states or states resulting from natural processes．The auxiliary is often accompanied by the dynamic perfect particle ox．

ax yi max su nrat la ox．
child ART＝CL－DET beautiful COME DP
＇The child is becoming beautiful．＇
b．H CJ
mu ga hxie qyt la sha la．
male name worried COME worried COME
＇Muga becomes very worried．＇
c．桽坐问片りま门向。
viex vie ggex su a hni la ox．
flower ART＝CL－DET red COME DP
＇The flowers reddened．＇
d．\＃of（a）门向。
syp vo hmip la ox．
peach ripe COME DP
＇The peaches ripened．＇

## C．go zix＇insert＇

The auxiliary go zix＇in process of＇is composed of the indefinite pronoun go（section 5．4．1．F）and the verb zip＇insert＇．As main verb，zip is illustrated in（19）．

nrur pop kat zip da su cy bbyx shut hxex shux．
key where insert STP COMP 3P．SG COV remember LOOK CAUS
＇Let him try to remember where he put the key．＇

vit gga ddie pip nzy zip da yyx zyr．
clothes COV bassin insert STP dye
＇Put the clothes into the basin and dye them．＇

vot njyx gur cy shu kap pit zip da mge. pig skin 3P.SG CAUS mouth insert STP chew 'He put a piece of pig skin in his mouth and chewed it.'

mu rryr co gep ndup bbur lie go zip. male name people COV.add hit thigh LOC insert, put 'Mudge wat beaten on his thigh.'

The verb zip is also part of several lexicalized expressions, as shown in the following table.

Table 7.3: Lexicalized expressions with zip

| rrop zip 'replace' | lur ddip zip 'stairs' | ddop ggut zip 'exhort' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| xyp mop zip 'divorce' | nrur zip 'enchain' |  |

As auxiliary, the verb together with the pronoun go was grammaticalized as progressive phase auxiliary go zix. It occurs before the main predicate.

at nyop go zix ddop hxip (ge).
female name INSERT word speak PROG
'Anyo is in the process of saying something.'

nga go zix rre mop vup te go, nga mu hlie wep mo. 1P.SG INSERT money count when 1P.SG male name GET see 'When I was counting the money, Muhlie saw me.'

fu zzi go zix shyr su jjo.
voice INSERT shout, cry NOM have
'There is a voice shouting.'

## D. ddur 'exit'

The directional verb ddur 'exit' developed into the completive phase auxiliary ddur 'finish’ (Gerner 2002a: 69). The grammatical function was established through metaphorical reanalysis. For native speakers, completing an activity is similar to leaving a physical container. Examples in (21)-(23) illustrate ddur, as independent verb and after other directional or cognitive verbs.

ngop wox jjy gex ku vur hxi ddur．
1P．PL together inside enter outside exit
＇We enter and go out together．＇
（22） 5 米ひ米向。
cyp nyit ddur bbo ox．
3P．DL exit go DP
＇They both went out．＇


| nga | syt | cy | jiit | hxep | ddur | la | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG | matter | DEM．PROX | CL | see | exit | come | DP | ＇I recognized this matter．＇（lit．recognize $=$ see－exit－come）



| cy | kap pit | go | xix | hxip | ddur | la | ox？ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | mouth | LOC | INT．what | speak | exit | come | DP | ＇What did he speak of？＇

As transitive verb，ddur predicates body substances such as sweat，blood or ulcers．
A special lexicalized form is the verb gox ddur＇happen＇（section 5．4．1．F）．
（24）a．N®日武丰期向。
nga gup ma ax nyi gge ddur ox．
1P．SG sweat QUANT．much CL exit DP
＇I am sweating a lot．＇

nit lot jy sy ddur．
2P．SG．POSS finger blood exit
＇Your finger is bleeding．＇

cyp ip mop ma wa ddur．
3P．SG．POSS stomach ulcer exit
＇He has ulcers in his stomach．＇

syt cy jjit gox ddur ox．
thing DEM．PROX CL happen DP
＇This thing has happened．＇

nuo su kut shyr ddur ox.
Nuosu New Year appear DP
'The Nuosu New Year has arrived.'

After non-motion activity verbs (other than cognitive verbs), ddur developed into the phsasal auxiliary 'finish', as shown in the following examples.

nga zzax zze ddur ox.
1P.SG food eat EXIT DP
'I finished eating.'

lat sse ax yi hmat ddur ox.
male name child teach EXIT DP
'Laze finshed teaching the children.'
c. $\AA \subset \widehat{\oplus} ய \sqrt{0}$ 。
tep yy ssox ddur ox.
book study EXIT DP
'(He) finished studing.'

### 7.3 Resultative auxiliaries

Resultative auxiliaries reveal something about the state that is the outcome of the event. Resultative auxiliaries mark an event for being bound with the resultative state being the boundary. We investigate one periphrastic expression (section 7.3.1) and four grammaticalized verbs that indicate resultative states (section 7.3.2).

### 7.3.1 Specialized expressions

The serial verb construction qot...jjip indicates that something is transformed into a resultative state. The construction contains qot 'change' and the existential verb jjip 'become’ (section 12.1.2.C).


| nit | uo nyie | qot | a qu | jjip | ox. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P.SG.POSS | hair change | white | become | DP |  |
| 'Your hair became white.' |  |  |  |  |  |

b．व本dilovNj？
yy jjur yy qot ndo ap－hxit su jiip． spring water change drink NEG－can NOM become ＇The spring water became undrinkable．＇

## 7．3．2 Grammaticalized verbs

Four productive resultative auxiliaries exist in Nuosu：wex＇get＇（section 7．3．2．A）， sha＇send＇（section 7．3．2．B），ssop＇shine＇（section 7．3．2．C），ndox＇put＇（section 7．3．2．D）． Their presence imposes an invariable OAV order on the clause（section 10．2．2．A）．The resultative auxiliaries in this section have been analyzed in Gerner（2002a：91－121）．

## A．wex＇get＇

The verb wex＇get＇（with allotones wep and wex）evolved into the preverbal modal auxiliary wep＇get the chance＇and into the postverbal resultative auxiliary wex ＇succeed＇．In（27），its function as sole predicate is illustrated．

cy sha vi ndur vi wep ox．
3P．SG hardship get DP
＇He had endured some hardship．＇
Before other main predicates，wep（with low or midtone）functions as a modal auxiliary with the meaning＇get the chance＇．

tep yy ne bbur da bbut su nga wep hxep ox．
book 2P．SG write STP ART 1P．SG get chance see DP
＇I got the chance to see the book you have written．＇

The resultative auxiliary wex（with tone sandhi）is compatible with verbs of acquisition either physical，abstract or metaphorical．

mux dde mu gox si nip lat sse nyix nbi wex su nge． earth male name and male name NUM． 2 distribute GET FOC COP ＇The land will be distributed to both，Mugo and Laze．＇
b．\＃or $乡$ 策向。
syp vo xie wex ox．
peach pick GET DP
＇（We）have collected the peaches．＇
c．H H 爻平雨句。
mu ga ggup cyr wex ox．
male name save，preserve GET DP
＇Muga was preserved（from danger）．＇

le cyx ji mu rryr si wex ox．
ox DEM．PROX CL male name choose GET DP ＇Mudge chose this ox．＇
e．ヨコ」キӨが製自。
rre mop cyp dur vat nga shep wex ox． money NUM． 1000 dollar 1P．SG search GET DP ＇I found 1000 dollars．＇

ax yi max su ap my sse mgur wex ox．
child ART＝CL－DET young woman take up GET DP
＇The woman took the child up（in her arms）．＇

muga hxie mgat hxop sso wex ox．
male name Chinese language learn，acquire GET DP ＇Muga has learnt Chinese．＇

For the sight and audition verbs mo＇see＇and gge＇hear＇，the auxiliary must be preposed rather than postposed：we mo＇see－get＇and we gge＇hear－get＇（not：＊mo wex or＊gge wex）．（30）shows two verbs that are incompatible with wex．
（30）
a．＊®（平
＊gup wex
throw GET
＇throw on target＇
b．＊后解
＊hmat wex
teach GET
＇teach sucessfully＇

## B．sha＇send＇

The Nuosu verb sha＇send＇with cognates in other Yi languages（Gerner 2002a：91－101） developed into a resultative auxiliary with the sense＇away＇．As main predicate，sha appears as sole predicate or in serial verb constructions．


| lat mop | xy | byp | mux dde | go | sha | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name | fertilizer | carry | soil | PRO．PAT | spill | DP |
| ＇Lamo sprinkled the fertilizer on the soil．＇ |  |  |  |  |  |  |


ie qyt ggex su li muga gep fur hxi jox sha da． water ART TOP male name COV spill outside send STP ＇The water was spilled outside by Muga．＇


| co | ggex su | go | mgot | hxi jox | sha | da | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| person | ART | PRO．PAT | chase | outside | disperse | STP | DP | ＇Chase the crowd out and disperse them．＇

The verb sha has merged with the indefinite pronoun gox（section 5．4．1．F）into the resultative auxiliary gox sha＇away＇which cannot occur after intransitive verbs． The use of gox sha imposes the order OAV．

lyp dde cyx ji cy ap－shut gox sha．
idea DEM．PROX CL 3P．SG NEG－remember SEND
＇He discarded the idea．＇

hxie zyr ggex su cy tip gox sha．
bird ART＝CL－DET 3P．SG set free SEND
＇He set the birds free．＇
c．H平似比平丮向。
sha hlox cy zhyr gox sha ox．
wheat 3P．SG uproot SEND DP
＇He uprooted the wheat．＇
The resultative auxiliary gox sha is used after activity verbs for which the patient can be easily removed from the site of activity．
a．实牙可州
b． H 于平
qyr dix gox sha
bury SEND
＇bury’
sit gox sha
kill SEND
＇massacre＇
c．果可师
mgot gox sha
drive SEND
＇drive out；drive away’
d．$\theta X_{1} \mp \boldsymbol{F}_{\boldsymbol{H}}$
bie cy gox sha
remove SEND
＇remove＇
e．乎可川
pop gox sha
open SEND
＇open up＇
（35）
f．不可师
vup gox sha
sell SEND
＇sell out＇
a．＊き击平所
＊hlut gox sha
pasture SEND
＇finish pasturing＇
b．＊后雨 $\boldsymbol{H}$
＊hmat gox sha
teach SEND
＇finish teaching＇

## C．ssop＇shine＇

The resultative auxiliary ssop＇endure＇is derived from the verb ssop＇shine，affect＇． The use of sole predicate is illustrated in the two following examples．

hxo bby xy ddur six cop wox ssop ox．
sunlight exit RES 3P．PL shine DP
＇The light shines on them．＇

syt cyx gge kep mu nyi la nit iqi ap－ssop． matter DEM．PROX CL INT．how also come 2P．SG．POSS head NEG－affect ＇This matter will not affect you（lit．your head）．＇

As auxiliary，ssop conveys two meanings which depend on the word order of the clause．If the word order is AOV，then ssox（tone sandhi）is a deontic auxiliary with the sense must．This meaning surfaced through metaphorical reanalysis．If someone is obliged to do something，then he is affected by the activity．The deontic meaning of ssox is illustrated in（37a－d）．

ne bur ix go bbo ssox．
2P．SG return home go MOD．must
＇He must go back home．＇

cyx li shyrx rruo zzip ngop bbop ssox．
3P．SG TOP robber beware MOD．must
＇He must beware of robbers．＇

lat sse li nop wox gox jie ssox．
male name TOP 2P．PL PRO．PAT fear MOD．must
＇You should be afraid of Laze．＇
d．刘きます。
cyx li jjip yur ssox．
3P．SG TOP perfect MOD．must
＇He must be perfect．＇
If the word order is OAV，then ssop＇endure＇（low tone）is a resultative auxiliary． The construction must be matched with an idea of affectedness．
（38）a．Н槑 $\mathrm{H}_{\mathrm{N} \text { 呈の。 }}$
mu hlie li muga ndup ssop．
male name TOP male name hit END
＇Muhlie endured Muga＇s beating．＇

cy gop bo go na ssop．
3P．SG body LOC ill END
＇He is ailing in his body．＇

le jix su muga gep sit ssop．
ox ART＝CL－DET male name PASS kill END
＇The ox was killed by Muga．＇

There is a related auxiliary，si ssop＇need＇，which is derived from the verb si ＇choose＇and ssop＇shine＇．


| cox | li | vit gga | nrat | su | ggat | si ssop． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| people | TOP | clothes | nice | NOM | wear | need |
| ＇People need to wear nice clothes．＇ |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## D．ndox＇put＇

The resultative auxiliary ndox is derived from the main verb ndop＇put＇（low tone）， but this morpheme has almost lost its function of independent predicate．It only occurs in serial verb constructions to indicate the destination of a movement．

mu rryr vix bbo cy ddie ngat liex bba
male name burden 3P．SG COV．prepare 1P．SG．POSS shoulder
go ndop．
PRO．LOC put
＇Mudge put a burden on my shoulders．＇
b．利业果水习头利。
le nga mgot ggap mop go ndop．
ox 1P．SG draw road LOC put
＇I drew the ox onto the road．＇
As a resultative auxiliary，ndox（sandhi tone）co－occurs with a large range of activity verbs and indicates a resultative positional state（＇placed＇，＇secured＇）．

rre mop cyp dur vat cox ma wep ndox ox． money NUM． 1000 dollar person CL get PUT DP ＇Someone got the 1000 dollars．＇

le jix su ci shur go vur lox yy ndox sy ox．
ox ART fall lake LOC enter and descend PUT die DP
＇The ox fell into the lake and drowned．＇
c．$\times$ 水水出可。
cy ngop gep yu ndox．
3P．SG 1P．PL COV arrest PUT
＇He was arrested by us．＇

mu ga nge dur vat zhot ndox ox．
male name NUM． 5000 dollar earn PUT DP
＇Muga earned 5000 dollars．＇

xyp mop vu－ap－jji ma mu rryr zi hnat ndox ox．
bride，wife true＜NEG＞CL male name deceive PUT DP ＇A false bride deceived Mudge．＇

The resultative auxiliary ndox requires verbs referring to activities that have a potentially successful outcome．
a． 4 임
vy ndox
buy PUT
＇buy successfully’
c． 1 ！ $\mathfrak{0}$
gge ndox
hear PUT
＇tune in one＇s ears＇
b．ஈๆ
sip ndox
take PUT
＇take on＇
d． $8_{9}^{9}$
si ndox
guess，slect PUT
＇guess right，make a valid choice＇
e．ま〇్ㅁ
syp ndox
know PUT
＇know accurately＇
f． $\bar{チ}$ 串可
jjiex mguo ndox
understand PUT
＇understand correctly＇

## 7．4 Progressive aspect

In Nuosu，there are two progressive aspect particles placed after the main predicate， njuo and ge．Both have overlapping uses，though njuo manifests more selectional restrictions than ge on the situation type of the lower clause．

## 7．4．1 The progressive particle njuo

The particle njuo is a grammaticalized verb and still has limited use as main verb．It means move or float around as shown in（43a－c）．It cannot specify destinations，see （43b），only surface areas that contain the movement，see（43c）．
（43）a．H：寸の遄品。
lat ti shur nzix njuo．
male name sea on surface of float，move
＇Lati is floating around on the surface of the sea．＇

＊lat hxa pu jjit hxep da njuo． male name Puge county COV．watch move ＇Laha is moving towards Puge County．＇

vut jy a ddit njuo．
female name there move
＇Vudje is moving around there．＇
Unlike the English progressive，njuo imposes many selectional restrictions and is only fully compatible with homogenous events and positional states．

## A．Punctual events

The progressive aspect marker njuo is incompatible with punctual events since these events do not allow a view from within．

＊cop wox lu po si nip jjyx－zzi njuo．
3P．PL male name and RECL－meet PROG ＇They were meeting with Lupo．＇

＊shax tur cyp ji cy ndup njuo．
bullet NUM． 1 CL 3P．SG shoot PROG
＇He is shooting one bullet．＇

＊mu zzyr la syr a zzyx bbo ssop njuo．
lightning come tree DEM．DIST go END PROG
＇The lightning is striking the tree．＇
The property of punctual event is not a clear－cut property but can have ambiguous readings．In（45），the use of njuo imposes an extended event time，although jumping over a door step is normally conceptualized as punctual．

cy ip ko mop tup qie njuo．
3P．SG door sill jump PROG
＇He is jumping over the door step．＇

The use of plural or mass nouns sometimes transforms punctual events into multi－occurrence events that allow a view from within．
（46）a．事H栄思。
mo mu mu hlit njuo．
sky flash PROG
＇The sky is flashing（many times）．＇

shax tur ax nyi gge cy sip ndup njuo．
bullet many many 3P．SG COV．take shoot PROG
＇He is shooting many bullets．＇
c．叫》间片头舜昆忠。
zhap dap ggex su go zix bbit njuo．
bomb ART＝CL－DET INSERT explode PROG
＇The bombs are exploding．＇

## B．Homogenous events

Homogenous events are extended in time and do not incorporate an endpoint or a holistic measure function．They are fully compatible with njuo except for a few cases discussed below．
(47)

hxi jox cox ma ip ko ndup njuo.
LOC.outside person CL door knock PROG
'There is someone knocking at the door outside.'

ax va nzup hxie zyr ma syr bbo go bbup ddi tur njuo.
woodpecker bird CL tree LOC beak knock PROG
'A woodpecker is pecking with its beak at a tree.'

ip mop mit sip guplulup mu mo njuo.
belly hungry RES IDE ADVL growl PROG
'His belly is growling with hunger.'
d. 时爭
cop wox syr juo go da yo hlix ndo max su shep njuo.
3P.PL forest LOC COV.put sheep lose ART seek PROG
'They were seeking for the lost sheep in the forest.'

cyp xip li xix ti su nge mu ngop die njuo.
DEM.DD TOP INT.what mean NOM COP ADVL puzzle PROG
'[They] were puzzling about what the meaning of this would be.'
As njuo is grammaticalized from a verb of undirected movement, it does not allow the specification of a destination or origin of movement.

*hxie zyr wo jji yyx hmy jox hxep da bbo njuo. bird CL.group fly south to COV.watch go PROG 'A flock of birds is flying south.'
b. *
*vip si bur la njuo.
houselord return come PROG
'The houselord is returning.'

*cy yi cyx bbop go da bbit bbo njuo.
3P.SG house DEM.PROX CL LOC COV.put exit go PROG 'He is coming out of the house.'

## C．Quantized events

Quantized events typically involve an incremental verb and a quantified patient noun phrase．When the patient noun phrase has the singular reference type，the use of njuo is grammatical，but the sentence exhibits the so－called imperfective paradox （Landman 1992；Portner 1998）．${ }^{2}$

cy yiet hxop cyp sho yiet njuo．

3P．SG song NUM． 1 CL sing PROG
＇He is singing one song．＇
b．XisdJ＇月＇I思。
cy tep yy cyp zzit sip njuo．
3P．SG book NUM． 1 CL hold PROG
＇He is holding one book．＇

When the patient noun phrase is quantified by numerals greater than one，then njuo implies that the patient referents are processed simultaneously leading some－ times to ungrammatical sentences．


| cy | va qip | suo | ma | zze | njuo． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | egg | NUM．3 | CL | eat | PROG |

＇He is eating three eggs（at the same time）．＇
b．＊

| ＊lu ti | yi | nge | ga | ndo | njuo． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

＇Luti is smoking five cigarettes（at the same time）．＇

＊mu ga tep yy ci zzit bi njuo．
male name book NUM． 10 CL read PROG
＇Muga is reading ten books（at the same time）．＇

[^12]It is possible to coerce a homogenous event denotation to imply a quantized reading through addition of elements like once or twice（On aspectual type coercion， see Moens \＆Steedman 1988．）The progressive particle is incompatible with forced quantized structures．

＊at zop cyp vit mu rryr ndup njuo．
female name NUM． 1 time male name beat PROG
＇Adzo is beating Mudge once．＇

## D．Bounded events

The progressive marker njuo is always ungrammatical with bounded events．Examples illustrate verbs with an inherent endpoint，as in（52a），with a resultative auxiliary，as in $(52 b+c)$ ，or with a directional element，as in（52d＋e）．
（52）a．＊$X_{1}$ 打断形入
＊cy ngiep zhep wep da sy njuo． 3P．SG cancer get STP die PROG
＇Having got cancer，he is dying．＇

$\begin{array}{clllll}\text {＊mu ga } & \text { rre zip ddu } & \text { cy } & \text { shep } & \text { we } & \text { njuo．} \\ \text { male name } & \text { purse } & \text { 3P．SG } & \text { seek } & \text { GET } & \text { PROG }\end{array}$
＇Muga was finding his purse．＇

＊tep yy a zzyx zzit cy qy dit gox sha njuo． book DEM．DIST CL 3P．SG burn SEND PROG ＇He is burning that book．＇

＊cy dduo hxo pu xi njuo．
3P．SG climb mountain arrive PROG
＇He is climbing on the mountain．＇


| ＊zhep sse | cy | gep | njie | mux dde | go | tit | njuo． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bowl | 3P．SG | COV | throw | soil | LOC | put | PROG | ＇The bowl was thrown by him onto the soil．＇

Example（52a）has a similar syntactic structure as（53）which is grammatical． Example（53）allows the reading of homogenous event and is compatible with the progressive marker．

le co mgot le ho go zip njuo．
ox people chase stable LOC put into PROG
＇The oxen are being chased into the stable．＇

## E．States

The progressive marker njuo is compatible with controlling positional states but does not match with any other state．

## （i）Positional states

As njuo is grammaticalized from the sense of undirected motion（＇wander＇，＇float＇），it can co－occur with verbs of posture like stand，sit，live．

zza hmot co ip ko bbux xy hxit njuo．
beggar door next to stand PROG
＇A beggar is standing at the door outside．＇
b．NX析F三思。
nga lur mat tot nyi njuo．
1P．SG rock LOC．on top of sit PROG
＇I am sitting on a rock．＇

cop wox hxo pu go it njuo．
3P．PL mountain LOC live PROG
＇They are living in the mountains．＇

cy bbo xy go da it nyi gu njuo．
3P．SG grassland LOC COV．put sleep PROG
＇He is sleeping on the grass．＇

The semantics of la hxex＇wait＇also matches the sense of undirected movement． The particle njuo can act as progressive marker．
a．OHPOH $\theta$ G $\begin{gathered}\text { 片门采思。 }\end{gathered}$
nyop mu co ma hxa jjip su la hxex njuo．
peasant rain become COMP wait for PROG
＇The peasants are waiting for rain．＇

Positional states in which the subject does not exert control over the situation cannot be marked by the progressive marker．
（56）

＊hxo pu go syr go zzur njuo． mountain LOC tree PRO．LOC stand PROG ＇There are trees on the mountain．＇

＊yy hnot pop hxo pu ma jjip njuo．
river LOC．opposite mountain CL exist PROG
＇There is a mountain on the other side of the river．＇

## （ii）Non－positional states

The progressive marker cannot be used in sentences that denote states other than positional states．

＊syp vo hmip njuo． peach ripe PROG ＇The peaches are getting ripe．＇
b．＊N゙サf思。
＊nga jjix do njuo．
1P．SG tired
PROG
＇I am getting tired．＇

Auxiliary verbs express different modal meanings none of which is compatible with the progressive marker．

＊cop wox nuo su hxop hxip get njuo．
3P．PL Nuosu language speak can PROG
＇They are able to speak the Nuosu language．＇

＊cop wox qie njot yy go vur but njuo．
3P．PL jump icy water LOC enter dare PROG
＇They are daring to jump into the icy water．＇

Stable relations such as kinship or nationality cannot be provided with a view from within．They are incompatible with the progressive marker njuo．
（59）＊
＊cyx li hxie mgat nge njuo．
3P．SG TOP Chinese COP PROG
＇He is Chinese．＇

Finally，the verb hxie vur＇like＝enter the heart＇can be coerced to match with njuo．The mental state is understood to be temporary and dynamic．
（60）Nが武 $\theta$ 小代思。

| nga | hmat mop | cyx | ma | hxie vur | njuo． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG | teacher | DEM．PROX | CL | like | PROG |
| ＇I like this teacher．＇ |  |  |  |  |  |

## 7．4．2 The progressive particle ge

The progressive particle ge overlaps with the marker njuo．Its etymology is unclear （certainly unrelated to the verb ge＇tell＇）．It does not manifest the same selectional restrictions as njuo and is sensible to the distinction of dynamized／stable states．${ }^{3}$ The bigger picture of ge is similar to njuo：ge is compatible with homogenous events， incompatible with punctual and bounded events and partially compatible with quantized events．The particles ge and njuo differ in that njuo expresses a more colour－ ful lexical meaning．While njuo conveys the view that the subject of the sentence moves through the activity expressed，ge only provides a general view from within．

## A．Punctual events

The progressive ge is banned from sentences in which the event running time is reduced to a point．
a．＊わがわらいい。

| ＊yi | zhap dap | gep | hmur | ge． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| house | bomb | COV．add | blow up | PROG |
| ＇The house is blown up by a bomb．＇ |  |  |  |  |



| ＊cy | bot | ddat hmyp sat xi | mguo | ge． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | run | finishing line | run through | PROG |

＇He is running through the finishing line．＇


| ＊le | jix su | diep | nyut | ge． |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ox | ART＝CL－DET | electricity | strike | PROG |

＇The ox was struck by electric current．＇
The verb＇sneeze＇is ambiguous for the reading of unique／multiple occurrence． The particle ge selects the multiple－occurrence reading which corresponds to a homogenous event．
（62）「けばチい「。
la hxa hxa tie mu ge．
male name sneeze PROG
＇Laha is sneezing．＇

3 A dynamized state has a temporal structure and is a homogenous event（section 7．1．1．B）．

## B．Homogenous events

The progressive marker ge is compatible with homogenous event denotations as illustrated in the following three examples．
 syr bbo go syr qi muhly gep pur ci bbo ge． tree LOC leaf wind COV blow fall go PROG ＇The tree leaves are being blown away．＇

ap ndip hxix mat hlop ngop wox shyx rruo mgot ge．
yesterday noon 1P．PL roober chase PROG
＇Yesterday at noon we were chasing the robber．＇

ngat vyt vu hxa bit zy ge．
1P．SG．POSS elder brother vegetables plant PROG
＇My brother is planting vegetables．＇

The verb $z o$＇run into＇is punctual with human patient noun phrases，but extended in time with abstract noun phrases like we zze ddu＇difficulty＇．The abstract event denotation is compatible with ge but not with njuo．

nga we zze ddu zox ge．
1P．SG difficulty run into PROG
＇I am running into difficulties．＇

＊nga we zze ddu zox njuo．
1P．SG difficulty run into PROG
Intended meaning：＇I am running into difficulties．＇

## C．Quantized events

Similar to njuo（section 7．4．1．C），the progressive marker ge can be used with an incremental verb and a noun phrase of the quantized reference type．${ }^{4}$
（65）$\theta$ けよ ザきね。

| ma hxa | cyp | vit jiip | ge． |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| rain | NUM． 1 | time | become | PROG |
| ＇A rain shower is pouring down．＇ |  |  |  |  |

4 The sentence（65）exhibits again the imperfective paradaox（Landman 1992，Portner 1998）．

When the patient noun phrase is quantified by numerals greater than one, the processing of the patient referents must represent an incremental unique event, as in $(66 a+b)$. If this interpretation is not available, as in (67), then ge should not be used.

muga vit gga suo ggu yyx cy ge.
male name clothes NUM. 3 CL wash PROG
'Muga is washing three clothes.'

cy yyp ddu ly go hxip ge.
3P.SG joke NUM. 4 CL say PROG
'He is telling four jokes.'

$\begin{array}{cllll}\text { \#ma hxa } & \text { nyip } & \text { vit } & \text { jjip } & \text { ge. } \\ \text { rain } & \text { NUM. } 2 & \text { time } & \text { become } & \text { PROG }\end{array}$
'Two rain showers are pouring down.'

## D. Bounded events

The progressive marker ge is not compatible with bounded events. In (68a), the boundary is given by the resultative auxiliary gox sha 'away'. For (68b), the boundary is the destination of the movement, the hands of the subject referent.


| *cop wox | yy hxox | ax yy | bbox su | kie | gox sha | ge. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P.PL | pine tree | great | ART=CL-DET | fell | SEND | PROG |
| 'They are cutting down the great pine tree.' |  |  |  |  |  |  |


*tep yy zzit cy six la ge. book CL 3P.SG RES come PROG 'He is taking a book into his hands.'

For motion events that do not imply that a destination is reached, the use of ge is possible. Such events are homogenous, not bounded.

nga rruo nuo jox hxep da bbo ge.
1P.SG Mianning county to COV.watch go PROG
'I am going in the direction of Mianning county.'

vut jie dduo hxo pu li ge．
female name climb mountain go up PROG ＇Vujie is climbing the mountain．＇

## E．States

The progressive ge divides states up according to the dynamized／stable distinction． Unstable states that can undergo changes are compatible with the progressive ge．

## （i）Dynamized states

The following examples represent unstable physical states that can take the progres－ sive marker ge．
（70）a．巫坐此版方わぁ小。
viex vie a vu su ie qyt kop ge．
flower dry NOM water need PROG
＇The flower is needing water．＇
b．Y $\quad X^{\prime \prime} X \theta$＠$\sqrt{\prime}$
syr zza lur ma hmip ge．
fruit ripe PROG
＇The fruit is becoming ripe．＇

bbut juop go bbut vut lo lo ge．
grassland LOC grass green IDE～EXPR PROG
＇The grasslands are becoming very green．＇

Sleeping and waiting are unstable states that match the meaning of the progres－ sive particle $g e$ ．

at nyop yi go da it nyi gu ge
female name house LOC COV．put sleep PROG
＇Anyo is sleeping at home．＇

vut rryr ssox dde go da nex la hxex ge．
female name school LOC COV．put 2P．SG wait PROG
＇Vudge is waiting for you at school．＇

Abstract mental states are unstable but not conceivable as dynamic situations in Nuosu．They are incompatible with ge．
a．＊N゙开さり。
＊nga jjix do ge．
1P．SG tired PROG
Intended meaning：＇I am tired．＇

＊ax yi ggex su hxie mat kat ge．
child ART happy PROG
Intended meaning：＇The children are happy．＇

＊nga sha zzit gat ge．
1P．SG spice like PROG
Intended meaning：＇I like spice．＇

## （ii）Stable states

Most so－called individual－level states and many stage－level states（Carlson 1977； Kratzer 1995）are stable states that cannot be conceptualized with a dynamized initial phase．They are incompatible with ge．
a．＊ H 可り可d
＊lat hxa li ax yy ge．
male name TOP big PROG
Intended meaning：＇Laha is big．＇

＊vot a zzyx ma ngop－vi nge ge． pig DEM．DIST CL 1P．PL－POSS COP PROG Intended meaning：＇That pig belongs to us．＇

The Nuosu language treats positional states as non－dynamic．Verbs of posture are ungrammatical with ge．
（74）a．＊⿹勹⿰丿丿
$\begin{array}{rlllll}\text {＊ax yi } & \text { max su } & \text { it ggo } & \text { tot } & \text { hxit } & \text { ge．} \\ \text { child } & \text { ART＝CL－DET } & \text { bed } & \text { LOC．on } & \text { stand } & \text { PROG }\end{array}$
Intended meaning：＇The child is standing on the bed．＇

＊vu nyop vit gga a hni su ggat ge． female name clothes red NOM wear PROG Intended meaning：‘Vunyo is wearing red clothes．＇

### 7.5 Perfective aspect

Perfective aspect is one of the meanings of a verb particle, called exhaustion particle. This particle also functions as universal quantifier and superlative particle.

### 7.5.1 The exhaustion particle sat

The exhaustion particle sat (Gerner 2007a) ${ }^{5}$ is a cross-categorial modifier acting on noun phrases (as non-distributive universal quantifier), on verb phrases (as completive particle), and on adjectival phrases (as superlative particle). Its selectional restrictions are shown below (using labels introduced in section 7.1.1.B).

Table 7.4: Input structures of the exhaustion particle

|  | Objects | Events | States | EXH |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Singular | individual | punctual | ungradable | $*$ |
| Quantized | quantized | quantized | quantized comparison class | V |
| Homogenous | homogenous | homogenous | homogenous comparison class | \# |
| Bounded | - | bounded | - | $*$ |

The exhaustion particle directly occurs after the predicate (SOV+EXH) and shares its position with a host of other verb particles. The exhaustion particle contributes up to three different meanings to the clause of which one or all may be cancelled because of its selectional restrictions (table 7.4):
(i) EXH acts as universal quantifier of the sentence-initial noun phrase;
(ii) EXH acts as completive particle for dynamic events;
(iii) EXH acts as superlative particle for gradable states;
(iv) combination of (i) and (ii), or of (i) and (iii).

These meanings are processed in parallel. One or several meanings may be cancelled due to the selectional restrictions of the exhaustion particle on the lower clause. If all meanings are cancelled, then the sentence is ungrammatical. If none is deleted, the sentence is ambiguous. This rare pattern of quantification is unfamiliar in European languages, but is attested cross-linguistically. Straits Salish, a native North American language, has a morpheme that covers the functions (i) and (ii) above (Jelinek 1995). ${ }^{6}$

[^13]
## A．Objects

The exhaustion particle sat quantifies over the clause－initial noun phrase，which may be an agent or patient noun phrase．

## （i）Singular and dual objects

The exhaustion particle sat is incompatible with noun phrases that denote an indi－ vidual or a pair of individuals．When，in addition，sat is incompatible with the verb phrase，as in（75a）and（75b），then the whole sentence is ungrammatical．
a．＊ H 东坐雨。
＊mu ga bbo sat ox．
male name go EXH DP
‘＊Muga went all．＇
b．＊H
＊mu ga si nip vut nyop（nyix）bbo sat ox．
male name and female name NUM． 2 go EXH DP ＇Muga and Vunyo went both．＇
c．$\theta$ 爭坐飛向。
cop wox bbo sat ox．
3P．PL go EXH DP
＇They all went．＇

Example（76a）is ungrammatical，but if it was uttered in the Chinese prehistorical myth of a world with exactly 10 suns，the sentence would be acceptable and trans－ late as＇The suns have all risen．＇
（76）a．灯祀U以发。
＊hxo bbu ddur la sat．
sun exit come EXH
Intended meaning：＇All the sun has risen．＇
b．
gge fut hlep shyp jjox te go，hxo bbu ddur la sat． day NUM． 6 month NUM． 7 have time sun exit come EXH ＇In prehistorical times，all the suns arose．＇

Numerals with value above two are compatible，and those below two are incom－ patible with sat．$(77 \mathrm{a}+\mathrm{b})$ both show that sat targets patient noun prases in sentence－ initial position．

*tep yy a zzyx nyip bbut nga sip bbo sat.
book DEM.DIST NUM. 2 CL 1P.SG take go EXH
'I took both books away.'

tep yy a zzyx suo bbut nga sip bbo sat.
book DEM.DIST NUM. 3 CL 1P.SG take go EXH
'I took all three books away.'
Example (78a) exhibits a sentence-initial argument with vague number value. The exhaustion particle sat selects a plural interpretation that represents a culturally rare situation: Almost no individual has all the houses at the river side.

\#cyp yi yy nzix jjip sat.
3P.SG.POSS house river side be at EXH
'His/her house is at the river side.'

cop yi yy nzix jjip sat.
3P.PL.POSS house river side be at EXH
'Their houses are all at the river side.'

## (ii) Quantized objects

Noun phrases with the quantized reference property are compatible with sat. The exhaustion particle acts as a universal non-distributive quantifier. Example (79) denotes a homogenous event with a quantizied noun phrase in initial position.


| co | hxit | yuop su | tep yy | hxep | sat. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| people | NUM. 8 | ART=CL-DET | book | see, read | EXH |

'The eight people are all reading books.'
Example (80) is a quantized event involving the gradual verb 'drink'. Its quantized incremental theme is in clause-initial position. This setting creates two readings, which turn out to be equivalent in meaning.


| ie qyt | nyip | ji | nga | gax | ndo | sat | ox. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| water | NUM.2 | CL.bottle | 1P.SG | COV.drop | drink | EXH | DP |

(i) 'Both bottles of water were drunk by me.'
(ii) 'Two bottles of water were completely drunk by me.'

The exhaustion particle is grammatical in (81a) and (81b) which exhibit two quantized NPs modified by the plural demonstrative and definite article; (81c), (81d), and (81e) use vague noun quantifiers that are incompatible with sat.

ke a zzyx gge ip ko hxi jox jjo sat.
dog DEM.DIST CL door LOC.outside have EXH
'Those dogs are all outside the door.'

ke ggex su ip ko hxi jox jjo sat.
dog ART=CL-DET door LOC.outside have EXH
'The dogs are all all outside the door.'

*ke a zzyx ma ip ko hxi jox jjo sat. dog DEM.DIST CL door LOC.outside have EXH Intended meaning: ‘That dogs are all outside the door.'

*ke gge ip ko hxi jox jjo sat. dog CL door LOC.outside have EXH Intended meaning: 'Some dogs are all outside the door.'

*ke ax nyi gge ip ko hxi jox jjo sat. dog many CL door LOC.outside have EXH Intended meaning: 'Many dogs are all outside the door.'

## (iii) Homogenous objects

The exhaustion particle cannot quantify mass bare nouns in sentence-initial position, unless the speaker wants to refer to the totality of this mass in the world. Example (82) has a noun phrase in initial position that refers to all trees and stones in the world. ${ }^{7}$


| syr bbo | lur ma | qot | qu | shy | jjip | sat | ox. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tree | stone | change | silver | gold | become | EXH | DP |

(i) 'All the wood and stones were changed into silver and gold.'
(ii) 'The wood and stones were changed completely into silver and gold.'

[^14]Example (83) refers to a gradable state and exhibits a mass bare noun in clauseinitial position. The exhaustion particle acts as superlative marker and as universal quantifier on the mass bare noun.

shur fur yy mgo guo guo sat.
lake; sea water cold too much too much EXH
(i) 'All the water in the sea is extremely cold.'
(ii) 'The water in the sea is the coldest.'

## B. Events

There are four event types that interact with the exhaustion particle: punctual events, quantized events, bounded events and homogenous events. The exhaustion particle is fully compatible only with quantized events.

## (i) Punctual events

The exhaustion particle cannot be used with punctual events denotations. The verb zo 'run into' is punctual and compatible with sat only when the clause-initial argument is not singular.

cop wox mu hlie zo sat ox.
3P.PL male name meet, run into EXH DP
'They all ran into Muhlie.'

*lat mop cop wox zo sat ox. male name 3P.PL meet, run into EXH DP Intended meaning: 'Lamo all ran into them.'

*mu ga at nyop zo sat ox.
male name female name meet, run into EXH DP
Intended meaning: 'Muga all ran into Anyo.'
Examples $(85 a+b)$ uses the intransitive verb 'sneeze', and $(86 a+b)$ the transitive verb 'electrify’.

*cy ax cie mu sat ox.
3P.SG sneeze EXH DP
Intended meaning: 'S/he sneezed completely.'
b．水爭可 0 H兆向。
ngop wox ax cie mu sat ox．
1P．PL sneeze EXH DP
＇We all sneezed．＇
a．＊
$\begin{array}{cllllll}* & \text { a zyr } & \text { a zzyx } & \text { bbo } & \text { die } & \text { nyut } & \text { sat } \\ \text { tree } & \text { DEM．DIST } & \text { CL } & \text { electricity } & \text { touch } & \text { EXH } & \text { DP }\end{array}$
Intended meaning：＇That tree completely received an electric shock．＇


| syr | a zzyx | gge | die | nyut | sat | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tree | DEM．DIST | CL | electricity | touch | EXH | DP |

＇All the trees got an electric shock．＇

## （ii）Quantized events

Quantized events stop when the patient entity is completely processed．The exhaus－ tion particle contributes two distinct senses to quantized clauses that may collapse． It quantifies the sentence－initial argument，both agent and patient，and acts as com－ pletive particle．These two interpretations are equivalent if the sentence－initial noun phrase is the patient noun phrase．

$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { cop wox } & \text { syp hmi } & \text { ci } & \text { ma } & \text { zze } & \text { sat } & \text { ox．} \\ \text { 3P．PL } & \text { nut } & \text { NUM．} 10 & \text { CL } & \text { eat } & \text { EXH } & \text { DP }\end{array}$
（i）＇They all ate ten nuts．＇
（ii）＇They completely ate up ten nuts．＇
（iii）＇They all ate up ten nuts．＇

$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { cy } & \text { syp hmi } & \text { ci } & \text { ma } & \text { zze } & \text { sat } & \text { ox．}\end{array}$
3P．SG nut NUM． 10 CL eat EXH DP
＇S／he completely ate up ten nuts．＇

syp hmi ci ma cy zze sat ox．
nut NUM． 10 CL 3P．SG eat EXH DP
（i）＇All of the ten nuts were eaten by him／her．＇
（ii）＇Ten nuts were completely eaten by him／her．＇
The idea in（88）is that of a fierce battle where Redisofu successively uses up nine loads of bamboo rods．${ }^{8}$

8 Quoted from the folk story＂Redisofu overcomes the sorceress＂（Chén \＆Wū 1998：237－252）．
 ma dda ggu vi jyt sat．
bamboo rod NUM． 9 CL．load whip EXH
（i）＇（Redisofu）used up all nine loads of bamboo rods in beating（her）．＇
（ii）＇（Redisofu）completed all the beating that involved nine loads of bamboo rods．＇

In the wash－face event in（89），the face is a quantized expression．The event stops when the washing of all parts of the face is completed．${ }^{9}$


| nga | ka nyuo | cy | sat | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG | face | wash | EXH | DP |

＇I have completed washing my face．＇

ngop wox ka nyuo cy sat ox．
1P．PL face wash EXH DP
（i）＇We have all washed our faces．＇
（ii）＇We have completely washed our faces．＇
（iii）＇We have all washed our faces completely．＇

When the initial argument is singular as in（89a），then sat acts as a completive particle．When it is plural，as in（89b），three readings are implied．

## （iii）Homogenous events

The exhaustion particle sat is incompatible with homogenous events，or pragmatically odd at best：＇\＃Peter ran completely＇．There are two types of homogenous events： events with nonincremental arguments，as in（90），or events with homogenous argu－ ments，as in（91）－（92）．
（90）a．＊$x_{1}$ 采列背。

| ＊Cy | bbox | dduo | li | sat． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | mountain（ous area） | climb | go up | EXH |

Inteded meaning：＇ $\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{he}$ walks completely in the mountains．＇
b．甠爭爯列非。

| cop wox | bbox | dduo | li | sat． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | mountain（ous area） | climb | go up | EXH |

＇They all walk in the mountains．＇

[^15]Without temporal measure，rainfall cannot be by modified by the exhaustion particle；with a temporal frame it can．
a．\＃$\theta$ ¢ ㅋ․

| \＃ma hxa | jjip | sat | ox． |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| rain | become | EXH | DP |

＇It has stopped raining．＇


| mu | ti | te go，ma hxa | jjip | sat | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sky | dawn | when | rain | become | EXH |
| DP |  |  |  |  |  |,

The verb $t i$＇dawn＇is a gradual intransitive verb．Its argument $m u$＇sky＇is homog－ enous and refers to sky layers．It cannot be quantified by sat．
a．H\＆向。
mu ti ox．
sky dawn DP
＇It became dawn．＇
b．\＃H中我向。
\＃mu ti sat ox．
sky dawn EXH DP
Intended meaning：＇It completely became dawn．＇

## （iv）Bounded events

The exhaustion particle is incompatible with bounded events because in contrast to quantized events，no measure of the entire event is given，only an endpoint． The directional verb la＇come＇is a bounded event with an encoded endpoint．${ }^{10}$（The counterpart bbo＇go＇is homogenous．）
（93）a．旷门歨兆可？
co la sat sat ox？
person come EXH～ALT DP
＇Did all the people come？＇

${ }^{*} \mathrm{cy}$ la sat sat ox？
3P．SG come EXH～ALT DP
Intended meaning：＇Has he all come？＇

10 （93a）is quoted from Lǐ \＆Mă＇s conversational textbook（1981：5）where the leader of an agricul－ tural commune wonders whether all co－workers showed up for the daily work．

Every directional verb with an explicit destination represents a bounded event， as in（94）．

$\begin{array}{cllll}\text {＊nga } & \text { rruo nuo } & \text { yy } & \text { sat } & \text { ox } \\ \text { 1P．SG } & \text { Mianning } & \text { go down } & \text { EXH } & \text { DP }\end{array}$
Intended meaning：＇I have completely gone down to Mianning．＇
Other verbs that encode a lexical endpoint are verbs such as sy＇die’ or ggot da ＇close＇．

ip ko mu hly gep ggot da sat ox．
door wind COV close EXH DP
＇All the doors were closed by the wind．＇
Other bounded events are formed by compound verbs $V_{1} V_{2}$ with a main verb $V_{1}$ and a grammaticalized resultative verb $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ which expresses a boundary of the whole event．The particle sat is ungrammatical with these events and shrinks to a universal quantifier．

mu ga ngop wox muga shep wex sat ox．
male name 1P．PL male name seek GET EXH DP
＇Muga found us all．＇

## C．States

Ungradable states exhibit a singular comparison class，gradable states a comparison class that is quantized or homogenous（section 7．1．1．B）．

## （i）Ungradable states

The exhaustion particle is incompatible with ungradable states whose comparison class is singular such as positional states（sit，live）and intensified adjectives （brandnew）．
（97）a．＊NX析F丰乐。
＊nga lur mat tot nyi sat． 1P．SG stone LOC．on sit EXH Intended meaning：＇I all sit on the rock．＇

ngop lur mat tot nyi sat．
1P．PL stone LOC．on sit EXH
＇We all sit on the rock．＇

In (98), the existential verb ndit 'have' (section 12.1.2.D) is ungradable. The exhaustion particle requires the clause-initial argument to be plural.

cop wox uo jyt cyp ji ndit sat.
3P.PL braidle NUM. 1 CL have (body parts) EXH
'Each of them has one braidle.'

*cy uo jyt cyp ji ndit sat.
3P.SG braidle NUM. 1 CL have (body parts) EXH Intended meaning: ‘She has all one braidle.'

cyp uo jyt ndit sat yip sy.

3P.SG.POSS braidle have (body parts) EXH still 'She still has all her braidles.'

Ungradable states can also be formed by gradable adjectives modified by ideophones. Ideophones form a distinct part-of-speech in Sino-Tibetan languages adding a descriptive value to the adjective (see section 4.3.6). ${ }^{11}$


| syr bbo | ggex su | vut mu vut lo lo | (mu | jiix) | sat. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tree | ART=CL-DET | sap-green | ADVL | become | EXH |

'All the trees are sap-green.'
b. *

| $\star$ *syr bbo | cyx | bbo | vut mu vut lo lo | (mu | jjix) | sat. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tree | DEM.PROX | CL | sap-green | ADVL | become | EXH | Intended meaning: 'This tree is extremely sap-green.'

Example (99c) with sat but without the ideophonic element has the interpretation of superlative as the adjective $a$ vut 'green' is gradable (as sole predicate without the ideophone, vut must carry the prefix $a$ ).


| syr bbo | cyx | bbo | a vut | sat. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tree | DEM.PROX | CL | green | EXH |
| 'This tree is extremely green.' |  |  |  |  |

[^16]The following two examples use adjectives with their ideophone．The resulting complex predicates are ungradable．
（100）a．水坐手 $\Phi \Phi$（H开）飛。 bbut vie hnix lo lo（mu jjix）sat． flower very red ADVL become EXH ＇The flowers are all very red．＇


| co | ggex su | nuo pup pup | （mu | jjix） | sat． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| people | ART＝CL－DET | very black | ADVL | become | EXH |

＇（The square）is black of people．＇

## （ii）Gradable states

Gradable states such as Bill is tall are compared to the size of other individuals．Each gradable state exhibits a class of objects，a comparison class．Every gradable state can be embedded into a context with a quantized or homogenous comparison class． The particle sat is compatible with the reading of quantized but incompatible with that of homogenous comparison class．

In（101a－i），the comparison class is a class of garments that is definite and quan－ tized in the mind of the speaker．On a second reading，glossed in（101a－ii），the com－ parison class is cumulative／homogenous．


| i dix | a zzyx | ggux | nrat | sat． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| garment | DEM．DIST | CL | beautiful | EXH |

（i）＇That garment is the most beautiful．＇
（ii）＇That garment is the most beautiful in the world．＇

When the argument is marked as a definite plural，two readings are imposed by sat：universal quantification on the first noun phrase and superlative marking．


| i dix | ggex su | nrat | sat． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| garment | ART＝CL－DET | beautiful | EXH |

（i）＇All the garments are beautiful．＇
（ii）＇The garments are most beautiful．＇
（iii）＇All the garments are most beautiful．＇

The comparison class in（102）consists of two groups：the guests and others． There are again three meanings：universal quantification，superlative and a com－ bination of both．


| ddip vip | ggex su | ip mop | mit | sat. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| guest | ART=CL-DET | belly | hungry | EXH |

(i) 'All the guests are hungry.'
(ii) 'The guests are extremely hungry.'
(iii) 'All the guests are extremely hungry.'

The first and the third meaning are cancelled if the argument is changed into a singular noun phrase.

co ggex su go, cy ip mop mit sat. people ART LOC 3P.SG belly hungry EXH 'Among the people present, he is the most hungry.'

The class of those who admire Anyo is potentially definite and quantized. The exhaustion particle contributes the meaning of superlative.
(103) $\mathrm{r}^{\prime}$ Q

| at nyop | dax | mu ga | hxie vur | sat | mu | jjix. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| female name | COV.put | male name | love | EXH | ADVL | become |
| 'Muga perhaps loves Anyo the most.' |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## D. Synthesis

The exhaustion particle has scope over both noun phrases in sentence-initial position and verb phrases. It occurs immediately after the predicate, but before other aspect and modality particles.

There are restrictions on the noun and verb phrases that serve as input of the exhaustion particle. Either noun or verb phrase must have the quantized reference property.

Only quantized domains are fully compatible with sat. The operation of EXH can be decribed as a second-order universal quantifier whose cumulative input is NPs and VPs (Gerner 2007a). Its operation on NPs can be described as universal noun quantifier (all), and its operation on VPs either as completive (completely) or as superlative (most).

Table 7.5: The quantificational meaning of the exhaustion particle

| VP: Event Denotation | First NP: Object Denotation |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Singular |  | Quantized |  | Homogenous |  |
|  | EXH | Example | EXH | Example | EXH | Example |
| Singular | * | (84c) | $(\forall,-)$ | (85b) | \# |  |
| Quantized | $(-, \forall)$ | (87b) | $(\forall, \forall)$ | (87a) | $(-, \forall)$ | (82) |
| Homogenous | *(\#) | (90a) | $(\forall,-)$ | (90b) | \# | (92b) |
| Bounded | * | (94) | $(\forall,-)$ | (95) | \# | (91b) |
| VP: State Denotation |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Singular | * | (97a) | $(\forall,-)$ | (98a) | \# | (100a) |
| Quantized | $(-, \forall)$ | (101a-i) | $(\forall, \forall)$ | (100b) | $(-, \forall)$ | (102a-ii) |
| Homogenous | \# | (101a-ii) | $(\forall,-)$ | (83-i) | \# | (83-ii) |
|  | $(\forall, \forall)$ : universal (i) object, (ii) event/state quantification, (iii) (i) + (ii) $(\forall,-)$ : universal object but (no universal event/state) quantification $(-, \forall)$ : universal event/state (and no universal object) quantification |  |  |  |  |  |

### 7.6 Quantitative aspect

Nuosu has a rich grammatical system of quantificational aspect with three aspect markers, experiential (section 7.6.1), periodical (section 7.6.2) and habitual aspect (section 7.6.3). In this subsection, I am using material published in Gerner (2004b).

Cross-linguistically, the habitual is widely attested. In the 94-language GRAMCATS sample (Bybee, Perkins \& Pagliuca 1994), the habitual (without tense restrictions) is a grammatical category in 26 languages representing most of the major language families in the world. The experiential is restricted to two regions of the world: Africa and East Asia (Dahl 1985: 140). Languages with experiential aspect include Korean (Kim 1998), Japanese (Inoue 1975) and Chinese (Pān \& Lee 2004). The experiential aspect is also standard in a wide range of Tibeto-Burman, Kadai and Miao languages. The periodical is a rare category and seems to exist only in Nuosu (Gerner 2004b).

Table 7.6: Three quantificational aspects in Nuosu

|  | Nuosu particle | Gloss |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Experiential | nzop | 'it happened once that' |
| Periodical | ndit | 'once in a while' |
| Habitual | go shex | 'often, be used to' |

The resultative auxiliaries (section 7.3), the progressive (section 7.4) and exhaustion particles (section 7.5) are all aspects of the first kind. They interact with the situation type of the clause. The experiential, periodical and habitual are aspects of the second kind for which the situation type is not a revealing tool. These aspects are
sensible to a modal parameter and to the notion of repeatability which is defined in terms of the topic time (TT) and situation time (TS), see section 7.1.2.

Table 7.7: The modal parameter

| impossible | The situation cannot be realized in $\Pi$ (e.g. sunrise tonight). |
| :--- | :--- |
| possible | The situation can but need not be realized in T (e.g. eat). |
| necessary | The situation must be realized in $\Pi$ (e.g. sunrise today). |

Table 7.8: The parameter of repeatability

| unrepeatable | If the situation is realized once, then the situation cannot be realized <br> another time afterwards (e.g. die). |
| :--- | :--- |
| weak-repeatable | If the situation is realized once, then the situation can but need not be <br> realized afterwards (e.g. wash a car). |
| strong-repeatable | If the situation is realized once, then the situation must be realized at any <br> later time (e.g. mountain is high). |

The Nuosu experiential, periodical and habitual aspects require situations whose occurrence is possible within the topic time. The experiential and periodical aspects are only compatible with weak-repeatable events not with unrepeatable and strongrepeatable events. The habitual aspect is incompatible with unrepeatable, but compatible with weak- and strong-repeatable situations.

### 7.6.1 The experiental particle nzox

The experiential particle nzox can co-occur with specific and unspecific events, the two other particles only with unspecific events.

## A. Unrepeatable situations

The experiential marker is incompatible with unrepeatable situations, such as birth-, death-related events or unique events in the life span of a creature.
a. *
*bbup ddi sse qot bbup hlup jiip nzox.
caterpillar change butterfly become EXP
Intended meaning: ‘The caterpillar has already changed into a butterfly.'

*va zyt sse va qip bburx gur go da ddur la nzox.
chicken egg shell LOC COV exit come EXP
Intended meaning: 'The chicken has hatched out.'
c．夫必出 $\}$ ふ。
＊vot na sy nzox．
pig ill die EXP
Intended meaning：＇The pig was ill and died．＇
d．＊ザさ颣平凩坐ふ。
＊ngat a hxo te jjyp go mga bbo nzox．
1P．SG youth PRO．DIR pass go EXP
Intended meaning：＇My youth has already passed．＇

## B．Weak－repeatable situations

The experiential marker $n z o x$ is compatible with weak－repeatable situations that are possible within the topic time（TT）．The event of drinking water is possible within the time interval of today（TT）．Within one year，however，the event of drinking water is necessary．
a．サतNな和ふ。
ip nyip nga yy ndo nzox．
today 1P．SG water drink EXP
＇Today I have drunken water．＇

＊ap hxiet ddip kut nga yy ndo nzox． last year 1P．SG water drink EXP Intended meaning：＇Last year I drank water．＇

In（106），sunset at a specific time point of the evening is a possible event， whereas it is a necessary event within the time span of one day．

ap ndi hxix hxo bbu ket mop shyp die te go got nuo yesterday sun evening NUM． 7 hour time LOC close black
vur nzox．
enter EXP
＇The sun set yesterday at seven o＇clock．＇

＊ap ndi hxix hxo bbu ggot nuo vur nzox．
yesterday sun close black enter EXP
＇The sun already set once yesterday．＇

The following three examples are weak－repeatable and possible to occur within the implied time frame（TT）．
(107)

sho mo cyp kur hxo bbu ke zze su nga mo nzox. year before last sun dog eat NOM 1P.SG see EXP 'In the year before last I witnessed once a solar eclipse.'

cyp uo nyie ax nyi mu ndit nzox.
3P.SG hair much ADVL exist EXP
'His hair was once abundant.'

muga rry ni nzox.
male name tooth grow EXP
'Muga already grew teeth.'
Unrepetable situations can be transformed into weak-repeatable if we allow the arguments to have unspecific reference.

shu kut zza ma ax hxie gep gax zze nzox ox.
this year crops mouse PASS COV eat EXP DP 'This year's crops were already eaten by mice.'

mu vut go mu di jjit ap gge nzox.
sky LOC cloud perceive-not-perceive EXP
'Clouds in the sky already disappeared once.'

The experiential marker can be negated with the sense of never. The negation particle is placed between the main verb and the experiential marker.

mu rryr yi cyx bbop go da bbit bbo ap- nzox. male name house DEM.PROX CL LOC COV leave NEG- EXP 'Mudge has never left that house.'
b. $\quad 巛 \underline{U}$
lu po si nip cop wox jjyx zzi ap- nzox.
male name and 3P.PL meet NEG- EXP
'Lupo never met them.'

## C. Strong-repeatable situations

Strong-repeatable situations are "eternal situations" or individual-level (Kratzer 1995). Strong-repeatable are incompatible with the experiental marker nzox.

*bbo a zzyx ma a hmu-jjy-a hmu nzox. mountain DEM.DIST CL high-very-high EXP Intended meaning: 'The mountain was once high.'

*cyp kur ne kop nge ci nyix ma jjo nzox. 3P.SG year week NUM. 52 CL have EXP Intended meaning: 'One year once had 52 weeks.'

*ngop jip xi nge get got bu liet tuo nge ddix xip ggat go
1P.PL ancestor all Gobulietuo COP LOC DEM place LOC
jjo nzox.
have EXP
Intended meaning: 'All our ancestors were once at a place called Gobulietuo.'

## D. Synthesis

The experiential marker nzox exhibits complex selectional restrictions with aspectual, temporal, modal and quantificational components.

Table 7.9: Profile of the experiential marker

| Constraints on underlying clause | Aspect-Tense | Quantification |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| unrepeatable |  | $*$ (ungrammatical) |  |
| weak-repeatable | impossible | ${ }^{*}$ (ungrammatical) |  |
|  | possible | TS $<$ TT | 'at least once' |
| strong-repeatable | necessary | $*($ ungrammatical) |  |

For clauses that are compatible with nzox, the experiential marker expresses that the situation occurred at least once before the topic time.

### 7.6.2 The periodical particle ndit

The aspect particle ndit marks low frequency events (once in a while). The marker ndit is only associated with unspecific events. It is only compatible with weakrepeatable situations that are possible within a given time frame (TT).

## A. Unrepeatable situations

Similar to other quantificational aspects, the periodical marker is incompatible with unrepeatable situations. The following examples illustrate this point.

*viex vie cyx bu a vu ndit. flower DEM.PROX DEM.PROX dry PER Intended meaning: 'The flower has been dry once in a while.'

*cyp ax pu ggit na yiet wep ndit. 3P.SG grandfather incurable disease CL get PER Intended meaning: 'His grandfather had an incurable disease once in a while.'

*ax yi cyx ma hmi cur ndit.
child DEM.PROX CL name register PER
Intended meaning: 'This child has been registered once in a while (at the Public Security Bureau in China; in Chinese: shàng hùkoŭ).,

*cyp a mat ap hxiet ddip kut mop jii ndit. 3P.SG mother last year decease PER Intended meaning: 'His mother died last year.'

*vo ap ndi hxix jjip su jjy ndit.
snow yesterday become NOM melt PER
Intended meaning: 'The snow that fell yesterday melted once in a while.'

## B. Weak-repeatable situations

Weak-repeatable events with possible implementation are compatible. The particle ndit may be negated with the sense of rarely, almost never.

fut hlep shyp hlep ngop mu ddix ma hxa jiip ndit.
June July 1P.PL area rain become PER 'In June and July, it rained in our area every now and then.'
b.
fut hlep shyp hlep ngop mu ddix ma hxa jjip ap- ndit.
June July 1P.PL area rain become NEG- PER
'In June and July, it almost never rained in our area.'

nga biex qie ndit.
1P.SG dance PER
'I dance sometimes.'

nga biex qie ap- ndit. 1P.SG dance NEG- PER 'I almost never dance.'
a．水H雨HS离。
ngop mu ddix mulyr ndit．
1P．PL area shake PER
＇Our area has had earthquakes once in a while．＇
b．水H牙HS水耑。
ngop mu ddix mu lyr ap－ndit．
1P．PL area ground shake NEG－PER
＇Our area almost never had an earthquake．＇
The negative particle must be placed after the verb and before ndit．Most examples below have positive and negative versions．

mu ga pu jjit la ndit．
male name Puge County come PER
＇Muga comes to Puge County once in a while．＇

muga pu jjit la ap－ndit．
male name Puge County come NEG－PER
＇Muga almost never comes to Puge County．＇

\＃ddip vip ggex su ip mop mit ndit． guest ART＝CL－DET belly hungry PER Odd：＇The guests are hungry once in a while．＇

\＃ddip vip ggex su ip mop mit ap－ndit． guest ART＝CL－DET belly hungry NEG－PER Odd：＇The guests are rarely hungry．＇
a．N开f出。
b．\＃N开f水穹。
nga jjix do ndit．
1P．SG tired PER
$\begin{array}{clll}\text { \＃nga } & \text { jjix do } & \text { ap－} & \text { ndit } \\ \text { 1P．SG } & \text { tired } & \text { NEG－} & \text { PER }\end{array}$
＇I am tired once in a while．＇ Odd：‘I am almost never tired．＇

a ddit go hlyx guo pur ndit．
there LOC storm blow PER
＇It is storming once in a while．＇

a ddit go hlyx guo pur ap－ndit．
there LOC storm blow NEG－PER
＇There is rarely a storm．＇

$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { cop } & \text { jiet } & \text { co } & \text { gox } & \text { ku } & \text { la } & \text { ndit．} \\ \text { 3P．PL．POSS } & \text { home } & \text { person } & \text { LOC } & \text { steal } & \text { come } & \text { PER }\end{array}$
＇Their home is broken into once in a while．＇

cop jiet co gox ku la ap－ndit．
3P．PL．POSS home person LOC steal come NEG－PER
＇Their home is rarely broken into．＇
（120）a． $5 \frac{11}{1}(1) \theta$ 亩。
cyp gop bo vat ndit．
3P．SG body good PER
＇His／her health is good occasionally．＇

cyp gop bo vat ap－ndit．
3P．SG body good NEG－PER
＇His／her health is rarely good．＇

vut jy hxie mat kat ndit．
female name heart happy PER
＇Vudje is happy once in a while．＇
b．水的用忱小湈。
vut jy hxie mat kat ap－ndit．
female name heart happy NEG－PER
＇Vudje is almost never happy．＇

A portion of the above examples are odd because they are close to impossible or necessary situations．

ax mo vit gga yyx cy ndit．
mother clothes wash PER
＇Mother washes clothes once in a while．＇

ax mo vit gga yyx cy ap－ndit．
mother clothes wash NEG－PER
＇Mother almost never washes clothes．＇
（123）
a．犯す事必耑。
cy ip mo ggot ndit．
3P．SG belly ache PER
＇His belly aches from time to time．＇
b．和才事が出。
cy ip mo ggot ap－ndit．
3P．SG belly ache NEG－PER
＇His belly almost never aches．＇
（124）a．$\quad \stackrel{1}{1} \theta \in$ 果出。
ke cyx ma yo mgot ndit．
dog DEM．PROX CL sheep chase PER
＇This dog chases sheep once in a while．＇
b．$\quad \because \bar{x} \theta \in$ 果出。
ke cyx ma yo mgot ap－ndit．
dog DEM．PROX CL sheep chase NEG－PER
＇This dog almost never chases sheep．＇

hxo bbu dix nuo gep nba da ndit．
sun cloud black PASS cover PER
＇The sun is covered by black clouds once in a while．＇

hxo bbu dix nuo gep nba da ap－ndit．
sun cloud black COV cover NEG－PER
＇The sun is almost never covered by black clouds．＇

## C．Strong－repeatable situations

The periodical particle ndit is incompatible with strong－repeatable，so－called eternal， situations．

＊ndap ssyp bbo op rro jjip ndit．
Ndase mountain Xichang be at PER
＇Ndase mountain is in the Xichang area（＊once in a while）．＇

＊nuo su co ax nyi ggux pa su sip chuo it ndit． Nuosu person many CL．part NOM Sìchuān live PER ＇Most Nuosu lived in Sìchuān（＊once in a while）．＇

＊ngat vyt vu yur nyip li ly hlep te go nge ndit． 1P．SG elder brother birthday TOP April time COP PER ＇My brother＇s birthday is in April（＊once in a while）．＇

## D．The verbal meaning of ndit

The periodical aspect marker is historically derived from the existential verb ndit with the sense have，wear（section 12．1．2．D）．It subcategorizes entities such as body parts attached to the body（hand），clothing items worn on the extremeties of the body（gloves），plants（leaves）and a few abstract items（name，letter）．
a．X1成的耍。
cy uo nyie ndit．
3P．SG hair have
＇He has hair．＇
c．X 学出。
cy lot ndit．
3P．SG hand have
＇He has hands．＇
e．Y米 佖出。
syr bbo syr qi ndit．
tree leaves have
＇The tree has leaves．＇
g．$\kappa$ 的 $\theta$ 出。
tep yy bbur ma ndit．
book letter write
＇It is written in the book．＇
b．X＇岗。
cy hnap bo ndit． 3P．SG ear have ＇He has ears．＇
d．X是为出。
cy nyuo zzy ndit． 3P．SG eye have ＇He has eyes．＇
f．Y米旬出。
syr bbo max ma ndit．
tree fruit bear
＇The tree bears fruit．＇
h．X1米完。
cy hmi ndit．
3P．SG name have
＇He has a name．＇

The verb ndit and the periodical aspect marker ndit can co－occur in one clause exactly if the possessee is alienable．The aspect particle ndit has preserved verb properties such as the possibility of negation and reduplication．If the aspect particle is reduplicated，the second copy has its tone lowered．

cyx li hlu njy jjut va ndit ndi．
3P．SG TOP leather belt wear PER
＇He wore a leather belt occasionally．＇（Other meaning：Did he wear a leather belt？）
（129）Ө爭守
cop wox jjyx－ga ndit ndi？
3P．PL RECL－beat PER～ALT
＇Did they have a fight once in a while？＇

## E．Synthesis

The periodical marker ndit does not exhibit temporal meaning only aspectual mean－ ing．Sentences with ndit express unspecific existential meanings and have a topic time with wide scope．The topic time contains the situation time．

Table 7．10：Profile of the periodical marker

| Constraints on underlying clause | Aspect－Tense | Quantification |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| unrepeatable |  | ＊（ungrammatical） |  |
| weak－repeatable | impossible | \＃（pragmatically odd） |  |
|  | possible | TS $\subsetneq$ TT | ＇once in a while＇ |
| necessary |  | \＃（pragmatically odd） |  |
| strong－repeatable |  | ＊（ungrammatical） |  |

Clauses that have impossible or necessary implementation in the time frame （TT）are pragmatically odd with the periodical marker ndit．

## 7．6．3 The habitual particle go shex

The habitual marker go shex is grammaticalized from the verb shep／shex＇seek＇ and the versatile pronoun go（section 5．4．1．F）．In the typological literature，various lexical sources for the habitual aspect were proposed such as sit，live，know，see but not seek（Bybee et al．1994：154－155）．From early on，the Nuosu verb seek might have developed into the sense of try several times．

I sought to come to Xichang＝I tried（several times）to come to Xichang．

This construction was used with human subjects and appeared in present and past tense．Later，it occurred with inanimate subjects as well．

## A．Unrepeatable situations

The habitual particle go shex cannot mark events that are unrepeatable．The follow－ ing four unrepeatable situations show this point．
a．＊ま
＊syp nju hmip go shex．
tangerine ripe HAB
Intended meaning：＇The tangerine used to be ripe．＇

＊mu ga yur ax yy go shex．
male name grow up great HAB
Intended meaning：＇Muga has often grown up．＇
c．＊X以斤
＊cy ip nyip syr bbo cyx bbo kie go shex．
3P．SG today tree DEM．PROX CL fell HAB
Intended meaning：＇He used to fell this tree．＇
d．＊悉旦白片S内头需。
＊bbox zze max su sot ggiep go shex．
man $\quad$ ART $=$ CL＋NOM breath disrupt HAB
Intended meaning：‘The man’s breath stopped（＝died）often．＇

## B．Weak－repeatable situations

Weak－repeatable situations are compatible with the habitual marker go shex．Events tagged by the habitual particle have unspecific and generic reference．
（131）a．武ゆ开\＃＊头雨。
ax yi shax jji bit go shex．
child candy take HAB
＇The child used to take candies．＇
b．N单紫斗雨。
nga hxe nyiet go shex．
1P．SG fish go fishing HAB
＇I used to go fishing．＇
c．牙回も击雨雨。

| ax pu | yo | hlut | go shex． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| grandfather | sheep | pasture | HAB |
| ＇Grandfather | used to pasture the sheep．＇ |  |  |

It is possible to transform unrepeatable into weak－repeatable events．This read－ ing is selected by the habitual marker．

za pux go yiep sep ci bbo go shex．
wall LOC color fall go HAB
＇Some of the wall＇s paint used to fall off．＇
b．$\forall$ 事料斗雨。
it mup chyp jjip go shex．
corn decay HAB
＇Some of the corn used to decay．＇

In (133), the event of losing the purse within 24 hours is repeatable but not an indefinite number of times. In a similar way, divorce in (134) is repeatable but not too many times. The use of go shex is odd in both constructions.

*sho mo cyp nyip cy re zip jjot bbip hlix ndo go shex. two days ago 3P.SG purse CL lose lose HAB Intended meaning: 'Two days ago he used to lose the purse.'


| \#cyp | pat vu | xyp mop | xyp | go shex. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P.SG uncle | wife | marry | HAB |  |
| 'His uncle used to be married.' |  |  |  |  |

The habitual particle go shex can occur with events that must happen within the time frame of the clause. For example, the events of sunrise and sunset are known to happen regularly. The habitual particle is grammatical, whereas the experiential and periodical particles are ungrammatical.
(135)

$\begin{array}{lllllllll}* \text { *hxop bbu } & \text { bbux ddur } & \text { jox } & \text { da } & \text { ddur } & \text { la, } & \text { bbu jji } & \text { jox } & \text { da } \\ \text { sun } & \text { east } & \text { LOC } & \text { COV } & \text { exit } & \text { come } & \text { west } & \text { LOC } & \text { COV }\end{array}$ ggot nuo vur nzox / ndit. close black enter EXP PER 'The sun (*once) rose in the east and rose set in the west. / The sun rises in the east and sets in the west (*once in a while).'

hxop bbu bbux ddur jox da ddur la, bbu jji jox da
sun east LOC COV exit come west LOC COV
ggot nuo vur go shex.
close black enter HAB
'The sun always rises in the east and sets in the west.'
(136)

cix zy hlep go nuo su kut shyr go shex.
November LOC Nuosu New Year HAB
'The Nuosu always celebrate the New Year in November.'

mu hlie zzax zze go shex.
male name food eat HAB
'Muhlie always eats (he is a glutton).'

at nyop yur nyip li suo hlep te go nge go shex． female name birthday TOP March time LOC COP HAB ＇Anyo＇s birthday is always in March．＇

For states of alienable possession，go shex does not express a recurrent but a continuous uninterrupted pattern．The periodical marker ndit cannot be used in these clauses．

$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { cyp } & \text { uo nyie } & \text { ax nyi mu go shex．}\end{array}$
3P．SG hair much ADVL attached to HAB
＇His hair is always abundant．＇

cy lot jy ci ji ndit go shex．
3P．SG finger NUM． 10 CL attached to HAB
＇He has ten fingers during all this time．＇
The habitual marker go shex has preserved the verbal properties of negation and reduplication．
（138）a．如外钅卌雨。
cy yi ndo go－ap－shex．
3P．SG tobacco smoke $\mathrm{HAB}<\mathrm{NEG}>$
＇He does not smoke often．＇

cy yi ndo go shex she？
3P．SG tobacco smoke HAB～ALT
＇Does he often smoke？＇

## C．Strong－repeatable situations

The habitual marker go shex cannot be used with strong－repeatable or so－called eternal situations．

＊ndap ssyp bbo a hmu－jjy－a hmu go shex．
Ndase mountain high－very－high HAB
Intended meaning：＇The Ndase mountain is always very high．＇

＊op rro lip mu mo ggux si nip a sho mu gat go shex．
Xichang Meigu County with distant ADVL distant HAB Intended meaning：＇Xichang used to be at a very long distance from Meigu．＇

*mu ga li cyp sse nge go shex.
male name TOP 3P.SG.POSS son COP HAB
Intended meaning: 'Muga is always his son.'

## D. Synthesis

The habitual marker is incompatible with unrepeatable and strong-repeatable situations. It can also occur with situations that happen necessarily within a time frame. It then expresses always. Sentences with go shex are unspecific and generic. The habitual marker is associated with topic times that contain the situation time (TSit $\subsetneq \mathrm{TT}$ ).

Table 7.11: Profile of the habitual marker

| Constraints on underlying clause | Aspect-Tense | Quantification |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| unrepeatable |  | *(ungrammatical) |  |
| weak-repeatable | impossible | *(ungrammatical) |  |
|  | possible | TS $\subsetneq T$ | 'often, used to' |
| necessary | TS $\subsetneq T$ | 'always' |  |
| strong-repeatable |  | *(ungrammatical) |  |

### 7.6.4 Verb classifiers

While the experiential, periodical and habitual aspects convey vague quantifica-tional values, verb classifiers provide precise frequency measures.

## A. Terminology

Classifiers are morphemes with selectional restrictions in morphosyntactic constructions. Noun classifiers subcategorize nouns in numeral, quantifier, demonstrative pronoun and sometimes possessive constructions.
(140) $101110 \sqrt[6]{6}$

| co | suo | yuo |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| person | NUM 3 | CL |

'three people'

The classifier yuo requires human nouns and partitions nouns into human and nonhuman nouns. As a system, the set of classifiers categorize nouns into partially overlapping classes.

For verb phrases there is a frequency construction in which the verb is modified by a VP-adjunct, a numeral with an instrumental noun. The term verb classifiers for instrumental nouns is adopted.
（141）N゙斤来娄。
nga nyip cha zyt．

1P．SG NUM． 2 VCL．pickaxe dig
＇I dug with a pickaxe twice＇（lit．I dug two pickaxes）＇
Only a small range of verbs with the thematic role of instrument can be used in this frequency construction．Verb classifiers may be divided into sortal versus mensural verb classifiers．Sortal classifiers are verb classifiers proper derived from instrumental nouns．They exhibit proportional relations between the sets of classifiers and classi－ fieds．The small Nuosu system of sortal verb classifiers is classificatory in this sense．

By contrast，mensural verb classifiers manifest no selectional restrictions and are not classificatory in a strict sense．They convey a temporal concept and are classificatory only in the sense that they occupy the same syntactic position as sortal verb classifiers．
（142）N
nga hxe cyp nyip mgot．
1P．SG fish NUM． 1 day catch
＇I have been fishing a whole day．＇
The mensural verb classifier nyip＇day＇imposes a temporal measure on the event．

## B．Sortal verb classifiers

The Nuosu sortal verb classifiers occur in two types of constructions：one with a bare instrument noun，the other with an instrumental noun together with the general verb classifier luo．
（143）
$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { a．} & N_{\mathrm{O}} & & \text { NUM } & \text { VCL } & \text { V } \\ \text { b．} & N_{\mathrm{O}} & \text { INSTR N } & \text { NUM } & \text { VCL：luo } & \mathrm{V}\end{array}$

The first construction uses one of the Nuosu VCL listed in Table 7.12 below．These morphemes are historically derived from instrumental nouns which in some cases were replaced by new forms，as in（144b）．
a．N斤束㓤。

| nga | nyip | cha | njyr． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG | NUM． 2 | VCL．pickaxe | dig |

＇I dug with a pickaxe twice（lit．I dug two pickaxes）．＇

nga zyt mop six njyr．
1P．SG pickaxe COV dig
＇I dug with a pickaxe．＇

Table 7．12：Sortal verb clasifiers

| Sortal Verb Classifier | Instrumental Noun | Nuosu VCL | Mandarin VCL |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ＇hand＇ | lot | － | shǒu 手 |
| ＇fist＇ | gup zyp © ® $_{\text {¢ }}$ | － | quán 拳 |
| ＇palm＇ |  | － | bāzhăng 巴掌 |
| ＇foot＇ | jy xy 『ّ | － | jiǎo 脚 |
| ＇mouth＇ | bba hluop wor | bba hluop wor | kǒu 口 |
| ＇eye’ | nyuo zzyp \％${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ | － | yǎn 眼 |
| ＇knife＇ | ddox mu 馬H | － | dāo 刀 |
| ＇gun＇ | hnap chot x 持 | － | qiāng 枪 |
| ＇hammer＇ | la tur［］5 $\sqrt{\text { m }}$ | － | chuí 锤 |
| ＇pickaxe＇ | zyt mop＊＊ | cha ${ }_{\text {¢ }}$ | chútou 锄头 |
| ＇axe＇ | vi mop $\times$ K | － | fǔtóu 斧头 |
| ＇scissors＇ | nyie da ${ }^{\text {Hn}}$ ¢ | － | jiǎnzi 剪子 |
| ＇needle＇ | yit U＇$^{\prime}$ | kip \＆ | zhēn 针 |
| ＇pen＇ | bip $\vec{E}$ | － | bǐ 笔 |


cy nyip bba hluop ngax nzyt．
3P．SG NUM． 2 VCL．mouth 1P．SG bite
＇He bit me twice（lit．He bit me two mouths）．＇

The second construction employs a general VCL，the classifier luo，and an instru－ mental noun．It is also possible to omit the instrumental noun．

cy tep bbup nyip luo ngax jyt．
3P．SG baton NUM． 2 VCL．time 1P．SG beat
＇He beat me twice with a baton．＇

cy vi mop cyp luo syr kie．
3P．SG axe NUM． 1 VCL．time wood cut
＇He cut once with the axe．＇

In Nuosu，there are only 3－4 sortal verb classifiers that categorize about 12 activity verbs（see table 7．12）．With this low number of VCLs and classified verbs，it is difficult to justify them as classifiers since there must be a basic statistical ratio between the set of classifiers and classifieds．We continue to call them verb classifiers because they occur in the same position as sortal VCLs in Mandarin which number about 50 members and categorize 70－80 activity verbs（Gerner，forthcoming）．

## C. Mensural verb classifiers

Sortal VCLs actualize minimal temporal or phasal parts which are intrinsic to the verb concept, whereas mensural VCLs create or impose temporal boundaries which are not inherent to the verb (Matthews \& Yip 1999).

The prototypical example of a verb concept with minimal parts is beat. Its phasal boundaries are given by the idea of punctual collision. Sortal VCLs such as rod or fist actualize the idea of collision. Verbs such as wait do not display any smallest phase. Mensural VCLs like day impose artificial temporal boundaries that are alien to the verb concept.

For mensural classifiers, another distinction can be recycled from the nominal domain. Some scholars divide mensural NCLs further into collective NCLs and measure NCLs (Bisang 1999: 122; Rijkhoff 1991). Collective NCLs erase the minimal part structure of an object and impose a different collective structure (a group of students, a collection of stamps, a flock of sheep). Entities without minimal parts do not permit collective classifiers: *a group of wine, *a collection of air. Measure NCLs modify nouns without inert minimal parts like a cup of water, a cubic meter of air. They can modify objects with minimal parts, but are pragmatically marked like in \#a container of people, \#a box of mice.

Table 7.13: Collective and measure noun classifiers

|  | Collective NCLs | Measure NCLs |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Objects with minimal parts | group of students | \#container of people |
| Objects without minimal parts | *group of wine | cup of water |

Collective VCLs modify verbs that have individuable phases, and set up a new grouping of these parts. The noun round is a prototypical collective VCL. Temporal nouns like hour, day or year are measure VCLs. They impose standard time measures onto events. They naturally co-occur with verbs without minimal parts such as wait or love. However, many mensural VCLs have not a clear-cut behaviour for the collective vs. measure distinction. The generic VCL time, for instance, can modify verbs with and without individuable phases, although it is used more naturally with verbs with individuable phases.

Table 7.14: Collective and measure verb classifiers

|  | Collective VCLs | Measure VCLs |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Events with minimal parts | box one round | (\#)box for an hour |
| Events without minimal parts | \#wait one round | wait for an hour |

## （i）Collective verb classifiers

There are five collective VCLs in Nuosu．Some of them manifest almost no selectional restriction and can be used with a wide range of verbs（for example the VCL vit）． Some are restricted to a few verbs（for instance the VCL jji）．

Table 7．15：Collective verb clasifiers

| Collective Verb Classifier | Nuosu | Mandarin |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ＇time＇ | vit $\Psi$ | cì 次 |
| ＇quick time＇ | luo $\Phi$ | xià 下 |
| ＇round＇ | jji $\#$ | dùn 顿 |
| ＇round＇（mainly motions） | jo $\Psi$ | tàng 趟 |
| ＇round＇ | ggup $\ngtr$ | huí 回 |
| ＇process＇ | - | biàn 遍 |

The classifier luo means quick time．In Nuosu，luo is selective though there is no straightforward semantic principle．The Chinese counterpart is xià which is compatible with a wide range of verbs．

## Mandarin

（148）tā kū le yī xià． 3P．SG cry DP NUM． 1 VCL．time
＇He cried once（briefly）．＇

Nuosu

cy jy xy nyip luo dut．
3P．SG foot NUM． 2 VCL．time stamp on
＇He stamped with his foot twice．＇
b．$\quad \mathrm{X} \boldsymbol{1} \boldsymbol{1} \Phi \mathrm{S}$ 。
cy nyip luo sot．
3P．SG NUM． 2 VCL．time calculate
＇He quickly calculated twice．＇


| cy | suo | luo | ssyr． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | NUM．3 | VCL．time | press on |

＇He quickly pressed three times．＇
d．Nち $\ddagger$ व
nga cyp luo hxip．
1P．SG NUM． 1 VCL．time speak
＇I speak on a short occasion．＇
e．＊＊小这
＊ngop cyp luo vu． 1P．PL NUM． 1 VCL．time buy ＇We bought（it）in one go．＇

Three verb classifiers that can be translated by round with different ranges of compatible verbs each time．The VCL jji＇round＇categorizes verbs of consumption such as eat，drink．Out of a sample of 122 basic verbs， 15 verbs are compatible and 107 verbs incompatible with jji．
（150）a．$X_{1} X_{i n} 币 \#$ 向。
cy zza nyip jji zze ox．
3P．SG food NUM． 2 VCL．round eat DP
＇He ate two meals．＇
b．N世扱片向应\＃井利。
nga sha mut suox jii ndo ox．
1P．SG noodles NUM． 3 VCL．round drink DP
＇I drank three cups of noodles．＇
c．生分 5 \＃$\downarrow$ 。
ddip vip cyp jji hxo lo．
guest NUM． 1 VCL．round depend
＇The guests participated in one（meal）．＇

Another collective classifier is the morpheme jo＇round，section＇．Out of a sample of 122 basic verbs， 33 verbs appeared compatible and 89 verbs incompatible with this VCL．
a．NHW米再。
nga mu suo jo zzy ox．
1P．SG horse NUM． 3 VCL．round ride DP
＇I rode a horse in three rounds．＇

nga ip ko nyip jo ggot ox．
1P．SG door NUM． 2 VCL．round close DP
＇I closed the door on two occasions．＇

lat sse gga cyp jo shyp ox．
male name road NUM． 1 VCL．round lead DP
＇Laze led（people）along a path on one occasions．＇

mu jie suo jo bot ox．
male name NUM． 3 VCL．round run DP
＇Mujie ran on three occasions．＇


| cy | suo | jo | ku | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | NUM． 3 | VCL．round | steal | DP |

＇He engaged in two robberies．＇

The VCL ggup＇round＇can be traced back to the Proto－Yi directional verb for go back（Gerner 2002a：29）．The Mandarin VCL huí is also derived from go back．The selectional restrictions of ggup and hui are very different though．The Nuosu VCL ggup categorizes a large range of verbs but is incompatible with mental verbs like think and know．
（152）a．オよ爻里も。
ne cyp ggup ddiex bur．
2P．SG NUM． 1 VCL．time correct，change
＇Change it once．＇

$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { cy } & \text { xix mu } & \text { zzi } & \text { cyp } & \text { ggup } & \text { mga？} \\ \text { 3P．SG } & \text { INT．why } & \text { bridge } & \text { NUM．} 1 & \text { VCL．time } & \text { cross }\end{array}$
＇Why did he cross the bridge once？＇
c．$X 15 \times \mathbb{1}$ 师？
cy cyp ggup jy jie？
3P．SG NUM． 1 VCL．time fear
＇He was afraid once．＇
d．＊Nよ甬臬\＃。
＊nga cyp ggup dde jji．
1P．SG NUM． 1 VCL．time know
＇I knew（it）once．＇

In Nuosu，there is no VCL that is equivalent to the Mandarin biàn as in the following example．

Mandarin
（153）tā zhī le yī biàn．
3P．SG weave DP NUM． 1 VCL．process
＇He engaged in one process of weaving（lit．he weaved once）．＇

## （ii）Measure verb classifiers

Measure VCLs are time－units，natural or man－made，and indicate the duration of an event or state．They typically modify verbs that do not incorporate minimal phases，although in practice they are also compatible with verbs with minimal phases．Measure VCLs select compatible verbs if the duration fits in the verb＇s time frame．Mandarin Chinese serves again as point of comparison．

Table 7．16：Measure verb classifiers

| Measure Verb Classifier | Nuosu | Mandarin |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ＇while／hour＇ | tu 0 （short）／put $\check{4}$（ long） | kè 刻 |
| ＇two hours＇ | te＊ | shí 时 |
| ＇evening \＆night＇ | hxuo C | wǎn 晚 |
| ＇day＇ | nyip ${ }_{1}$ | tiān 天 |
| ＇month＇ | bbu hlep Ni $\theta$ | yuè 月 |
| ＇year＇ | kur $\ddagger$ | nián 年 |
| ＇lifespan＇ | jjo ssy \＃\＃ | bèi 辈 |

Measure VCL－phrases can be viewed as East Asian equivalents of FOR－adverbials in English（for two hours）．They co－occur with homogenous events（Vendler 1967； section 7．1．1．A）．

nga cyp jjo ssy mu nex mgu．

1P．SG NUM． 1 VCL．lifespan ADVL 2P．SG love
＇I love you for all of my life．＇

cy mux dde cyp bbu hlep mo．
3P．SG soil NUM． 1 month plough
＇He ploughed the earth for one month．＇

VCLs are incompatible with quantized events but acceptable with bounded events．Example（155a）without the VCL－phrase would be a quantized event．If the VCL was changed into a sort of in－adverbial，as in（155b），the sentence would be grammatical．Example（156）is a bounded event．
a．＊$x_{1}$ Нに
＊cy nry nyip zhep cyp put ndo．

3P．SG wine NUM． 2 CL．cup NUM． 1 VCL．vague hour drink
＇He drank two cups of wine in about an hour．＇

cy cyp put ax di mu nry nyip zhep ndo． 3P．SG NUM． 1 VCL．vague hour only ADVL wine NUM． 2 CL．cup drink ＇He drank two cups of wine in an hour．＇

cy cyp hxuo ax di mu ggax shu yy nzix xi． 3P．SG NUM． 1 VCL．evening only ADVL road make river along arrive ＇He walked to the river in one evening．＇

The VCL tu＇while＇manifests selection restrictions．It sometimes means crisis time and should co－occur with verbs compatible with this concept，as in（157）．The VCL put＇vague hour＇in（158）has almost no selectional restriction．

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    弐ゆ50®。
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    ax yi cyp tu ngo.
    child NUM. 1 VCL.while cry
    'The child cries for a while.'
    (158) Nrらば。
nga nyip put ne.
1P.SG NUM. 2 VCL.vague hour rest
'I have rested for two hours.'

## D．Double classifiers of nouns and verbs

In Chinese，certain morphemes function as mensural VCLs and sortal／mensural NCLs （Paris 1989：4－5；Matthews \＆Yip 1999：11－12；Matthews \＆Leung 2001；Yang 2001： 129－137）．The same type of overlap can also be observed in Nuosu．

## （i）Certain mensural verb classifiers do function as noun classifiers

No sortal VCL in Nuosu can function as classifier of nouns．Certain mensural VCLs， however，also assume the function of NCL．Yang（2001：129－137）described the Chinese generic cì＇time＇as NCL and VCL．

The Nuosu generic VCL vit＇time＇also has a double function of NCL and VCL．The generic VCL vit divides the class of nouns up into three subclasses， class $_{1}$ ，class ${ }_{2}$ and class $_{3}$ ，defined by the grammaticality pattern（ ${ }^{*}=$ ungrammatical）that matches that of $c i$ in Chinese（Yang 2001：129－137），see table 7．17．

Semantically， class $_{1}$ nouns denote physical entities such as table，book；class ${ }_{2}$ nouns denote physical entities that can be understood as events such as film，rainfall； class $_{3}$ nouns denote events or states such as work，attack，see table 7．18．

Class $_{1}$ nouns comprise most common and mass nouns．Class ${ }_{1}$ nouns cannot be categorized by vit as agent or intransitive subject，as in（159c）．

Table 7．17：Constructions with NCLs and the generic VCL

|  | S／A－slot |  |  | O－slot |  |  | Verb－slot |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a． | Class $_{1}$－ | NUM | NCL | （NP） |  |  | V |
|  | $\mathrm{Class}_{2}-\mathrm{N}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | ${ }^{*} \mathrm{Class}_{3}-\mathrm{N}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| b． | NP |  |  | $\mathrm{Class}_{1}-\mathrm{N}$ | NUM | NCL | V |
|  |  |  |  | $\mathrm{Class}_{2}-\mathrm{N}$ |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | ${ }^{+\mathrm{Class}_{3}-\mathrm{N}}$ |  |  |  |
| c． | ${ }^{*}$ Class $_{1}-\mathrm{N}$ | NUM | vit | （NP） |  |  | v |
|  | $\mathrm{Class}_{2}$－${ }^{\text {N }}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | $\mathrm{Class}_{3}-\mathrm{N}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| d． | NP |  |  | Class $_{1}-\mathrm{N}$ | NUM | vit | v |
|  |  |  |  | Class $^{2}-\mathrm{N}$ |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | $\mathrm{Class}_{3}$－${ }^{\text {N }}$ |  |  |  |

Table 7．18： Class $_{1}$ nouns

| Class ${ }_{1}$ Nouns | Nuosu | Mandarin |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ＇food＇ | zza $X_{i}$ | fàn 饭 |
| ＇wine＇ | nry H | jiǔ 酒 |
| ＇water＇ | yy d | shǔi 水 |
| ＇person＇ | co P1 | rén 人 |
| ＇ox＇ | le ${ }^{\text {N }}$ | niú 牛 |
| ＇clothes＇ | vit gga ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ | yīfú 衣服 |
| ＇road＇ | gga S | lư 路 |

（159）

| a． Class $_{1}$ NCL in S／A－slot | 呈列事出点米。 <br> gga cyx ji xiet ddop road DEM．PROX NCL Xide Count ＇This road leads to Xide county．＇ | bbo． <br> go |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| b． Class $_{1}$ NCL in O－slot |  <br> cy vit gga nge ggu vy． <br> 3P．SG clothes NUM． 5 NCL buy <br> ＇He bought five sets of clothes．＇ |  |
| c． Class $_{1}$ VCL in S／A－slot |  <br> ＊vit gga ly vit ap－ <br> clothes NUM． 4 VCL．time NEG－ <br> ＇Four sets of clothes were not good．＇ | he． good |
| d． Class $_{1}$ VCL in O－slot |  <br> nga ap ndi hxix gga nyip <br> 1P．SG yesterday road NUM． 2 <br> ＇Yesterday I twice repaired the road．＇ | vit VCL．time |

Semantically， class $_{2}$ nouns refer to weather phenomena as well as to entities that also represent events．The nouns refer to the physical entity or to the motion itself．

Table 7．19： Class $_{2}$ nouns

| Class $_{2}$ Nouns | Nuosu | Mandarin |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ＇snow＇ | vo of | xǔe 雪 |
| ＇rain＇ | ma hxa $\theta$ ণ | yǔ 雨 |
| ＇hail＇ | zzi sy $夭 Y$ | báozi 電子 |
| ＇air，steam＇ | sot $\mathcal{S}$ | qì 气 |

Class $_{2}$ nouns can be modified by an NCL and by vit in every position of the sentence．
a． $\mathrm{Class}_{2}$
NCL in S／A－slot ma hxa cyp tot ci ngat ka nyuo
rain NUM． 1 NCL．drop fall 1P．SG．POSS face
go ssop．
LOC endure
＇One raindrop fell on my face．＇

NCL in O－slot nga ma hxa suo pip nzy ddat da ox． 1P．SG rain NUM． 3 NCL．basin fill STP DP ＇I have collected three basins of rainwater．＇
c． Class $_{2} \quad \theta$ 世F F Fin
VCL in S／A－slot ma hxa cyp vit jjip ox．
rain NUM． 1 VCL．time fall DP
＇There was a rain shower．＇
d．

Class $_{2}$ nga ma hxa cyp vit gge ox．
VCL in O－slot 1P．SG rain NUM． 1 VCL．time hear DP
＇I heard a rain shower．＇
$\mathrm{Class}_{3}$ nouns refer to abstract states or relational events but not to physical objects or masses．

Table 7．20： Class $_{3}$ nouns

| Class $_{3}$ Nouns | Nuosu | Mandarin |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ＇catastrophe＇ | hit vi $q \mathcal{N}$ | zāinàn 灾难 |
| ＇activity＇ | ggep ddu of $\Psi$ | huódòng 活动 |
| ＇deal，business＇ | vy lot Yw | shēngyì 生意 |

$\mathrm{Class}_{3}$ nouns cannot be categorized by a noun classifier in either syntactic position, though it can be modified by vit as agent and as intransitive subject.

| a. $\mathrm{Class}_{3}$ NCL in S/A-slot |  <br> *vy lot suo ma ap mu business NUM. 3 NCL now 'Three business deals were lost.' | $\begin{array}{ll} \text { hlix ndo } & \text { ox. }  \tag{161}\\ \text { lose } & \text { DP } \end{array}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| b. $\mathrm{Class}_{3}$ NCL in O-slot |  <br> *nga ip nyip vy lot ly <br> 1P.SG today business NUM. 4 <br> 'Today I engaged in four types of bu | ma mu ox NCL do DP ness.' |

c. $\mathrm{Class}_{3} \quad 4 \mathrm{~F} 5$

VCL in S/A-slot vy lot cyp vit bbax yuo mu ap- jiip. business 3P.SG VCL.time smoothly NEG- get 'The business did not run smoothly on three occasions.'

VCL in O-slot cy vyt lot nyip vit mu jjip ox. 3P.SG business NUM. 2 VCL.time do get DP 'He did business on two occasions.'

## (ii) Postverbal noun classifiers do not function as verb classifiers

Container nouns are used as measure NCLs to gauge an amount of mass. Certain container nouns can be viewed as instruments of a weighing activity.
(162) a. $X_{1}\left(X_{i}\right) \Gamma$ 时
cy (zza) nyip bba hluop zze.
3P.SG food NUM. 2 NCL.mouth eat
'He ate two mouthfuls of food.'
b. N( §
nga (ie qyt) cyp pip nzy fur.
1P.SG water NUM. 1 NCL.basin pour
'I poured a basin of water.'

It is not appropriate to analyze container nouns as sortal VCLs because its relationship with the verb is not instrumental. The container noun can always be complemented by the head noun, as indicated in (162) by the nouns in brackets.

## E. Synthesis

The verb classifiers are incompatible with unrepeatable and strong-repeatable events, but can be used in weak-repeatable situations. Sentences with verb classifiers tend to
be unspecific. Similar to the habitual and periodical markers, the verb classifiers are associated with topic times that contain the situation times (TSit $\subsetneq \mathrm{TT}$ ).

Table 7.21: Profile of the verb classifiers

| Constraints on underlying clause | Aspect-Tense | Quantification |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| unrepeatable | $*$ (ungrammatical) |  |
| weak-repeatable | TS $\subsetneq T$ | 'n-times, $n$-time units' |
| strong-repeatable | $*($ ungrammatical $)$ |  |

### 7.7 Perfect

The Nuosu particles $d a$ and ox both convey current relevance, the definitional property of perfect. They represent two types of perfect, an English-style (present perfect) and a Chinese-style perfect (the particle le). Both perfects relate the utterance situation to the discourse topic: $\mathrm{TU} \subseteq \mathrm{TT}$ (Klein 1992; section 7.1.2).

A controversial point in the literature on the English present perfect and of other languages (Mandarin's $l e$ ) is whether current relevance is encoded in the perfect construction or contextually derived from its aspect-tense meaning. Those who think that current relevance is encoded propose distinctions like the following (Comrie 1976; Huddlestone 1969; Li \& Thompson 1981):
(163) Perfect of result/Stative perfect ('John has arrived')
(164) Experiential perfect ('Mary has been in Moscow')
(165) Perfect of persistent situation/ Inclusive perfect ('He/she has studied Chinese for ten years')
(166) Perfect of recent past ('Who has left his/her socks here?')
(167) 'Hot news' perfect ('The president has been assassinated')
(168) Change of state (Li \& Thompson 1981: 249)
tiān hēi le.
(Chinese)
sky dark DP
'It's dark (now).' Or: 'It has become dark (before it wasn't).'
(169) Correct a wrong assumption (Li \& Thompson 1981: 263)
wŏ yào hē le. (Chinese)

1P.SG want drink DP
'I want to drink it (contrary to what you might think).'
(170) Progress so far (Li \& Thompson 1981: 271)
fēijī chū le máobìng le.
(Chinese) airplane exit DP trouble DP 'The airplane has developed some trouble.'
(171) What happens next (Li \& Thompson 1981: 281)
kuài xiăng le.
(Chinese)
fast sound DP
'It's (i.e. the alarm-clock) about to ring (so let's get up).'
(172) Closing a statement (Li \& Thompson 1981: 284)
xuéfèi tài guì le!
tuition too expensive DP
'(I tell you,) the tuition is too high! (This is what I think about it).'

Other authors think that current relevance is a consequence of a past event viewed from a present point of view (Declerck 1991; Depraetere 1998; Klein 1992; Michaelis 1994). These scholars derive current relevance from the interaction between the present perfect and the situation type of a construction. We adopt this view in our analysis of $d a$ and ox. This section uses material published in Gerner (2002b).

### 7.7.1 The stative perfect particle da

The particle $d a$ has a wide range of meanings of which stative perfect is one (section 7.7.1.A). The particle da combines with other grammatical particles to form the circumstantial conjunctions mu da and nyi mu da (section 7.7.1.B).

## A. Basic analysis

The particle $d a$ conveys the view of a clause as stative situation with relevance for the ongoing discourse. It can be glossed by the English construction it is the case that. It is used at the end of a single / complex clause, or at the end of the first component clause of a complex clause. Current relevance (it is the case that) is only conveyed when $d a$ occurs at the end of clauses used in dialogue. If $d a$ is used at the end of a sentence in a narrative, it expresses that the propositional content is relevant for points mentioned in the narrative.

|  | Tense: TT and TU | Aspect: TT and TS |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Final position of clause | $\mathrm{TU} \subseteq \mathrm{TT}$ | $\mathrm{TS} \subseteq \mathrm{TT}$ |
| Non-final position of clause | - | $\mathrm{TS} \subseteq \mathrm{TT}$ |

The particle da does not manifest any restriction on the use of deictic time adverbials such as last year or next year. The so-called present perfect puzzle (Klein 1992) has thus no relevance for the particle da.

## （i）Punctual events

At the end of clauses used in dialogue，the particle da expresses that the event is relevant to the current time of speaking（TU）．Punctual events are presented with a perfective perspective．
（173）牙に时め。
ax jy vat jjip da．
female name fall STP
＇It is the case that Adje stumbled．＇
（174）事み头み夈め。
mo mu go mu hlit da．
sky LOC lightening STP
＇It is the case that there was lightening in the sky．＇

## （ii）Homogenous events

For homogenous events，$d a$ indicates the relevance of an ongoing event for the time of utterance．
（175）XV述可わ。
cy ciep yiet hxip da．
3P．SG something say STP
＇It is the case that he is saying something．＇
The perfect particle $d a$ is often used in imperative clauses．This use of $d a$ is expected，since commands have immediate relevance for the ongoing discourse．
（176）かにもき米め！
ip nyip yo hlut bbo da！
today sheep pasture go STP
＇Today go and pasture the sheep！＇

The next example consists of a complement clause marked by $d a$ inside a main clause marked by ox．${ }^{12}$ The perfect particle $d a$ does not convey the meaning of current relevance but only relative relevance：the embedded event（agreement of not exaggerating）is relevant to the situation in the main clause．

ngap nyit ap－mgie－ap－shy jjyx－mu da su ne ap－shut ox． 1P．DL NEG－cheat＜NEG＞RECL－do STP COMP 2P．SG NEG－remember DP ＇Have you already forgotten that we agreed not to exaggerate？＇

[^17]
## （iii）Quantized events

For quantized events，the use of $d a$ expresses that the event as a whole has current relevance．The event itself can be in the past，present or future．The particle da thus corresponds to the English past，present and future perfect．
（178）a．H：生かたいかわ。

| lat ti | yi | suo | ga | ndo | da． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name | tobacco | NUM． 3 | CL | smoke | STP |

＇It is the case that Lati smoked（smokes／will smoke）three cigarettes．＇


| lat ti | ap ndop hxot | yi | suo | ga | ndo | da． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name | yesterday evening | tobacco | NUM．3 | CL | smoke | STP | ＇It is the case that Lati smoked three cigarettes last night．＇



| lat ti | mup shy dex | yi | suo | ga | ndo | mix | da． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name | tomorrow | tobacco | NUM． | CL | smoke | FUT | STP | ＇It is the case that Lati will smoke three cigarettes tomorrow．＇

## （iv）Bounded events

Example（179）illustrates an imperative clause whose aspectual structure is bounded． The perfect particle $d a$ adds a note of urgency to the command．
（179）旬头坐义！
ix go bbo da！
home go STP
＇Go back home（I tell you）！＇
The particle $d a$ in（180）is used to indicate that the clause is a relevant reply to a previous question．${ }^{13}$


```
"ke i ndup six a ddit mux dde go zip da" ddix.
dog LG.SG dig RES there soil LOC bury STP QUOT
'(The elder brother:) "I have buried the dog in the ground over there".'
```


## （v）States

The perfect particle da may freely co－occur with stage－level and individual－level predicates．The first two examples exhibit stage－level states that apply for a limited period of time．

[^18]
co cyx gge nry yit da.
person DEM.PROX CL wine drunk STP
'These people are drunk' (i.e. difficult to deal with them now).

cyx li rre gat zza gat su nge da.
3P.SG TOP money-greed-food-greed NOM COP STP
'He is very greedy.'
The English present perfect cannot be employed in individual-level states, whereas the particle $d a$ can be used if current relevance can be implicated.

cop wox li vyt vu ix yi nge da.
3P.PL TOP brother COP STP
'They are brothers (you know).'

nuo su co si nip hxie mgat co jjyx- ap- sup da.
Nuosu people and Chinese people RECL- NEG- resemble STP 'The Nuosu and the Han are different.'
(vi) Co-occurrence with time deictic adverbials

The perfect particle $d a$ is compatible with time deitic adverbials. It differs from the English present perfect which cannot be used in this context.
(185)

nop wox li ap hxiet ddip kut syt cy jjit mu da.
2P.PL TOP last year thing DEM.PROX CL do STP
'You did this (same) thing last year.'

nop wox li ap mu syt cy jjit mu da.
2P.PL TOP now thing DEM.PROX CL do STP
'You have done this thing now.'

nop wox li nyiet hxie ddip kut syt cy jiit mu da. 2P.PL TOP next year thing DEM.PROX CL do STP 'You will do this thing next year.'

## B. The conjunctions mu da and nyi mu da

The particle $d a$ can mark the first clause of a complex clause as being relevant for the second clause. The sense of relative relevance is roughly equivalent to the meaning of a circumstantial and temporal conjunction. With the verbs mu 'do' (section 5.3.2.J) and nyi 'sit' (section 12.1.2.H), da has formed circumstantial and temporal conjunctions: mu da and nyi mu da. They may also be used as periphrastic progressive markers in simple clauses.

## (i) In simple clauses

The marker $m u d a$ is used in simple clauses after certain adjectives to emphasize the idea that the subject is positioned in the state. This use is derived from the main verb meaning of $m u$ 'make' which is to indicate that the subject occupies an office or social position ('he is teacher', 'he is king', 'he is peasant').

cy hxie mat syr shox jjix sho
mu da.
3P.SG heart clean in the state of
'He has a clear conscience.'

lat hxa at nyop la hxex ma sup mu da.
male name female name wait for CL resemble in the state of
'Laha resembles someone who is waiting for Anyo.'
The expression nyi mu da includes the positional verb nyi 'sit' and functions as periphrastic progressive marker. It is compatible with unbounded motion events, quantized and unbounded activities, and certain states.

hxie zyr wo jji yyx hmy jox hxep da bbo nyi mu da. bird CL fly south toward COV.watch go in process of 'A flock of birds is flying southward.'

lur mat mo mu go da ci la nyi mu da.
stone sky LOC COV.put fall come in process of 'A meteroit was falling from the sky.'

bi mox tep yy nyip zzit bi nyi mu da.
priest book NUM. 2 CL read in process of 'The priest is reading two books.'
（189）X X © U 丰 $H$ ゆ。
cy gup ddur nyi mu da．
3P．SG sweat exit in process of
＇He is sweating．＇
（190）素ゆぁd
ax yi tep yy sso da，rre mop kop nyi mu da．
child book study STP money need in process of
＇The child attends school and needs money．＇
The marker nyi mu da exhibits selectional restrictions．It is incompatible with bounded events，as in（191），and individual－level states，as in（192）．

＊cyp rre zip ddu cy shep wex nyi muda． 3P．SG．POSS purse 3P．SG search GET in process of ＇He was finding his purse．＇

＊shyp lyt hxa ma yi cy shyt gox sha nyi mu da． storm house 3P．SG blow SEND in process of ＇The storm is destroying the house．＇

＊bbu nyip mop jy xy hxit pot ndit nyi mu da． spider leg NUM． 8 CL have in process of ＇The spider has eight legs．＇

The marker nyi mu da is ungrammatical with positional verbs such as hxit ＇stand＇or it＇lie＇and even nyi＇sit＇which is a component of nyi mu da．


| ${ }^{*}$ cy | lur mat | tot | nyi | nyi mu da． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | rock | LOC．on top of | sit | STP |

＇He is sitting on a rock．＇


| $\star$＊y | hxi | jox | da | hxit | nyi mu da． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | outside | LOC | COV．put | stand | STP |

＇He is standing outside．＇

*hxi jox kex ma go it nyi mu da.
outside LOC dog CL LOC lie STP
'There is a dog lying outside.'

## (ii) In complex clauses

The marker mu da appends a stative, as in (194a), or negated clause, as in (194b), to the main clause.

lat ti zyt jie jjip hnex mu da rruo nuo bbo ap- qi. male name REFL because of CONJ Mianning County go NEG- want 'Lati does not want to go to Mianning for private reasons.'

mu rryr ap- lut mu ddie ne ap- bbyp mu da, male name NEG- enough ADVL COV 2P.SG NEG- give CONJ nep nyit jjy- hxix ap- da ddap?
2P.DL RECL- speak NEG- STP INT
'It is not the case that Mudge did not give you enough; didn't you both agree on it?'

The main function of nyi mu da is to mark one event as synchronic to another event. The expression nyi mu da is often complemented by the conjunction go ne 'when', as in (195b). Bounded events that as simple clauses cannot use nyi mu da, may append this marker when embedded in a complex clause, see (195c).

ip ko wa nuo jox bbut su ggot nyi mu da cy a ddit mga la. door back ART close CONJ 3P.SG there pass come 'He came through the back door which had been closed.'

mu rryr ddop hxip nyi mu da go ne, nga ip go vur male name word speak CONJ SENT.TOP TOP 1P.SG door enter la ox.
come DP
'Just when Mudge was speaking, I entered the house.'

ryrx rruo ku nyi mu da cop yu ndox.
robber steal CONJ 3P.PL arrest PUT
'Just when the robber was stealing, he was arrested.'

hxie zyr nyip ma cy ndup shu la nyi mu da, vip si
bird NUM. 2 CL 3P.SG hit cause come CONJ houselord
bur la.
return come
'While he shot down two birds, the houselord returned.'

### 7.7.2 The dynamic perfect particle ox

The perfect particle ox expresses current relevance derived from a complex aspecttense meaning. It emphasizes the time interval that lies after the rightmost time point encoded in the clause. When the clause is unbounded, the rightmost point is the beginning point $\mathrm{TS}_{\text {BEG }}$ and ox is inchoative. When the clause is bounded, the rightmost point is the endpoint $\mathrm{TS}_{\text {END }}$ and ox is perfective.

When ox occurs in non-final position of the clause, the sense of current relevance is deleted. The tense and aspect parts of the perfect particle ox can be sketched in the following way:

|  | Tense: TT and TU Aspect: $T T$ and $T S$ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Final position of clause | $\mathrm{TU} \subseteq \mathrm{TT}$ | $\mathrm{TT}>\mathrm{TS}_{\mathrm{BEG}}$ (S homogenous) |
|  | $\mathrm{TU} \subseteq \mathrm{TT}$ | $\mathrm{TT}>\mathrm{TSit}_{\text {END }}$ (S quantized, bounded) |
| Non-final position of clause | - | $\mathrm{TT}>\mathrm{TS}_{\mathrm{BEG}}$ (S homogenous) |
|  | - | $\mathrm{TT}>\mathrm{TSit}_{\text {END }}$ (S quantized, bounded) |

## A. Basic analysis

The study of ox is structured by the situation type of the example sentences: (i) punctual events, (ii) homogenous events, (iii) quantized events, (iv) bounded events and (v) states.

## (i) Punctual events

The particle $o x$ in punctual events places an emphasis on the aftermath of the event. The clause is perfective and relevant for the ongoing discourse.

hxie zyr jot sip bbo ox.
bird eagle take go DP
'A bird was caught by an eagle.'

## (ii) Homogenous events

Homogenous events have no internal endpoint. The dynamic perfect particle ox expresses current relevance and an inchoative meaning.

cop wox lur kur go da zze ddu vy ox．
3P．PL city LOC COV．put eat NOM buy DP
＇They have been buying food in the city．＇

ap ndip hxix nga huo se zze ox．
yesterday 1P．SG peanut eat DP
＇Yesterday，I ate some peanuts．＇
c．永解 $5 \theta$ 果向。
ngop shyrx rruo cyp ma mgot ox．
1P．PL robber NUM． 1 CL chase DP
＇We have chased a robber．＇
d．$x$ बिすよ $\theta$ ๔向。
cy ssox dde cyp ma ju ox．
3P．SG school NUM． 1 CL run DP
＇He is running a school．＇
（iii）Quantized events
For quantized events，the particle ox functions as perfective marker and conveys current relevance．

at nyop ce te sox ji hlu ox．
female name dish NUM． 3 CL cook DP
＇Anyo has cooked three dishes．＇
b．水爭ヨスNキ $\because$ S向。
ngop wox re mop hxit dur vat sot ox．
1P．PL money NUM． 8000 dollar count DP
＇We have counted 8，000 dollars．＇
c． H 必さ $\theta$ 寻向。
pat chap nge ma bbit ox．
firecracker NUM． 5 CL explode DP
＇Five firecrackers have exploded．＇
d． H 乐于覑 $\theta+\theta$ 向。
mu hlie nuo su bbur ma ci ma bbur ox．
male name Nuosu character NUM． 10 CL write DP
＇Muhlie has written ten Nuosu characters．＇

## (iv) Bounded events

In bounded events, the dynamic perfect particle ox conveys perfective meaning and current relevance. In (199), the first occurrence of $o x$ is in a bounded event. ${ }^{14}$

$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { bba ma } & \text { ji } & \text { jjox } & \text { nyi } & \text { vyt vu } & \text { sip } & \text { qyr } & \text { gox sha } & \text { ox. } \\ \text { bamboo } & \text { CL } & \text { have } & \text { also } & \text { elder brother } & \text { COV } & \text { burn } & \text { SEND } & \text { DP }\end{array}$ nyop bbop zze ap- dop ox.
labor eat NEG- can DP
'"My brother has burnt the bamboo shoot and [now I] have no way to earn a living."'

The following two examples describe movement with an explicit destination.
(200) a. Xiбfax向。
cy dduo hxo pu xi ox.
3P.SG climb mountain arrive DP
'He climbed up a mountain.'

syr zhep cy zhyp mux dde go njie ox.
wodden bowl 3P.SG bash soil LOC break DP 'He broke the cup on the ground.'

## (v) States

With adjectives or stative verbs, both stage-level and individual-level, the perfect particle ox indicates a change of state. In (201), both occurrences of ox modify stagelevel predicates. ${ }^{15}$

ddip vip curx su nyi jjy ox mgu, xyp mop max su qot ddop njyp ox. guest ART also true DP think wife ART nonsense believe DP
'The guests believed (= started to believe) that the nonsense his wife was telling was true.'

The following examples all illustrate changes of state: (202a) for a positional verb and (202b-d) for stage-level adjectives, (202e-f) for individual-level states.

[^19]
cop wox rre zza ax nyi mu jjo ox．
3P．PL wealth much ADVL have DP
＇They are wealthy now（before they weren＇t）．＇

co cyx gge nryp yit ox．
person DEM．PROX CL wine drunk DP
＇These people are drunk now．＇
c．\＃의（6）． 向。 $^{2}$
syp vo hmip ox．
peach ripe DP
＇The peaches are ripe now．＇
d．H只开向。
mu ga jjix do ox．
male name tired DP
＇Muga is tired now．＇

cop wox li hxie mgat nge ox．
3P．PL TOP Chinese COP DP
＇They are Han now．＇
f．よ $\boldsymbol{w}_{\boldsymbol{\prime}}$ 米白白ゆサ向。
cyp nyit li vyt vu ix yi nge ox．
3P．DL TOP elder \＆younger brother COP DP
＇They are brothers now．＇

## B．Co－occurrence of $o x$ and $d a$

The particles $d a$ and ox may co－occur in both orders，$d a$ ox and ox $d a$ ，but only the first is attested in text material，and this rather frequently．The combination $d a o x$ often occurs in commands or suggestions as a special mark of emphasis．${ }^{16}$


| hxit jjo | mu | dep | la， | zzax | zze | la | mix | da | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| quick | ADVL | get up | come | food | eat | come | FUT | STP | DP |
| ＇Get up immediately and have some food！$[$ Quickly！ | Don＇t be so lazy．］＇ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

The combination ox $d a$ appears to be used mainly in states．The particle ox marks a change of state and $d a$ expresses relevance for the time of speaking．

mu ket ox da, vip si bur la ox.
sky dark DP STP houselord return come DP 'As the sky darkened, the houselord returned.'

### 7.7.3 Appendix: The particle da

The particle $d a$ originates from the verb 'put'. It underwent polygrammaticalization and developed several grammatical functions.
(i) Main verb da 'put'
(ii) Conjunction $m u d a$
(section 7.7.1.B)
(iii) Stative perfective particle $d a$
(section 7.7.1.A)
(iv) Stative perfective particle $d a$ after coverbs
(section 6.2)
(v) Location coverb $d a$
(section 6.2.5.A)
(vi) Source coverb $d a$
(section 6.2.5.A)

Below, I briefly illustrate these six uses and will reconstruct the path of polygrammaticalization that $d a$ has taken.

## A. The main verb da 'put'

The particle $d a$ is derived from the verb 'put' still actively used in the language. ${ }^{17}$

... ie qyt ggu bu cyx gge shep yi mox mgap water NUM. 9 CL DEM.PROX CL search house facing eaves lap vut da yix ne ngap nyit le mgo six sit zze la mo. LOC.under put provided that 1P.DL ox pull RES kill eat come MOD ""[If you can help me] find [...] nine barrels of water and put them under the eaves, then we two can kill an ox and eat it.",

## B. The conjunction mu da

The use of $d a$ as a circumstantial conjunction is analyzed in section 7.7.1.B. The following example provides an additional illustration (Dài \& Hú 1998: 50).

cy ip ko ap- nrur mu da bbit bbo ox.
3P.SG door NEG- lock CONJ exit go DP
'He went out, not having locked the door.'

[^20]
## C．The perfect particle da

For a detailed analysis of $d a$ as a stative perfect particle，see section 7．7．1．A．The following example illustrates $d a$ as main verb and as stative perfect particle．


| vut nyop | vit gga | ddie | a ddit | da | da． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| female name | clothes | COV．prepare | there | put | STP |

＇It is the case that Vunyo put the clothes there．＇

## D．The perfect particle da with coverbs

The particle $d a$ has grammaticalized with a few verbs into complex coverbs or post－ positions．After the following three coverbs，$d a$ is obligatory（section 6．2）．

Table 7．22：Three complex coverbs with $d a$

| Verb | Complex coverb | Meaning |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mga＇pass，cross＇ | mga da | ＇according to＇ |
| mo＇watch＇ | mox da | ＇with regard to＇ |
| hxep＇see＇ | hxep da | ＇toward＇ |

Each of these complex coverbs is illustrated with an example．（208b）is quoted from Chén \＆Wū（1998：253）and（208c）from（1998：229）．
（208）
a．£出世出聞めから「。
kop ddie ddu ddie mga da nga ne bbyx．
need NOM COV．prepare COV 1P．SG 2P．SG give
＇According to your needs，I＇ll give．＇

nyit sse go zzi byp ma la six cyp mox da mga． priest sheep skin drum carry CL come RES 3P．SG COV pass
＇A priest carrying a drum made of sheep skin passed by in front of him．＇

cy（．．．）ip ko hxep da la lox ip ko go mga
3P．SG door COV come CON：and door DIR pass
la go ne，lot ji ggu bo da（．．．）
come SENT．TOP TOP finger hurt STP
＇He came toward the door and，as he passed through， he hurt his finger．＇

## E. The location coverb da

The particle $d a$ is also employed as coverb. In combination with non-motion verbs, it functions as location coverb. ${ }^{18}$

cyp nyip ne syr jo ggut lyp ma go da lat mop wa ba. NUM. 1 day TOP forest corner CL LOC COV tiger behind discuss 'One day, they met in a corner of the forest and spoke about the tiger.'

## F. The source coverb da

With verbs of movement, da functions as source coverb which marks the place from which an entity moves, as illustrated in the following example. ${ }^{19}$

'[The brother:] "When I slept in the pumpkin, a monkey lifted it up and took it home from where [the gold] was taken away."'

## G. Historical development

The two groups of grammatical meanings sketched above, coverb and perfect, originate from the main verb da 'put' through syntactic reanalysis in serial verb constructions.

Preverbal reanalysis: $\quad \mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{i}}+\left[\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{j}}+d a\right]+\left[\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{k}}+\mathrm{v}\right] \rightarrow \mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{i}}+\left[\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{j}}+d a+\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{k}}+\mathrm{v}\right]$
Postverbal reanalysis: $\quad \mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{i}}+\left[\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{k}}+\mathrm{V}\right]+\left[\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{j}}+d a\right] \rightarrow \mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{i}}+\left[\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{k}}+\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{j}}+d a\right]$
The meaning of coverb surfaced through preverbal reanalysis and the function of perfect particle through postverbal rebracketing. It is difficult to decide which type of reanalysis occurred first.

## Step 1 (preverbal syntactic reanalysis)

When $d a$ occurred before other verbs whose referring events have a fixed place, the scope of that verb extended to $d a$ and its complement $\mathrm{NP}_{j}$. Speakers started to view the complement $\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{j}}$ of $d a$ as a complement of the main verb. The verbal meaning of $d a$ was semantically reanalyzed as locative postposition.

18 Quoted from the folk story "The forest meeting" (Chén and Wū 1998: 260).
19 Quoted from the folk story "The elder and the younger brother" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 220).

Step 2 (postverbal syntactic reanalysis when $\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{k}}=\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{j}}$ coreferential)
When $d a$ occurred after other verbs, the complement $\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{j}}$ of $d a$ was deleted whenever it was coreferential with the complement $\mathrm{NP}_{\mathrm{k}}$ of the preceding verb. Native speakers started to understand $d a$ as a presentative particle of the whole sentence which then developed into a perfect particle.

Step 3 (complex coverbs and conjunctions)
When $d a$ was grammaticalized as perfect particle, it further underwent changes in the neighbourhood of a few verbs which were on a path of grammaticalization themselves. The verbs mga 'pass', mo 'watch' and hxep 'see' merged with da into complex coverbs.

### 7.8 Tense

Tense is defined as a relationship between the topic time and the utterance time of a sentence. In section 7.1.2, we defined three types of abstract tense.

TT and TU
Past tense $\quad$ TT < TU
Present tense $\mathrm{TU} \subseteq \mathrm{TT}$
Future tense $\quad \mathrm{TT}>\mathrm{TU}$

No particle in Nuosu exclusively marks the meaning of past tense or present tense, but the particle mix is reserved for future tense.

### 7.8.1 The future tense particle mix

The morpheme mix is a future tense particle with an evidential constraint (section 7.8.1.A) which requires that the speaker must be the controlling subject of the clause (section 7.8.1.B). The use of mix implies future time reference (section 7.8.1.C). It assumes a limited function of relative future tense (section 7.8.1.D). In combination with other aspect articles, the first person effect might be suspended (section 7.8.1.E). I incorporate materials published in Gerner (2013a).

## A. Introduction

Examples in (211) illustrate that the use of mix is a sufficient but not necessary condition for future time reference.

The morpheme mix encodes future tense and is incompatible with explicit non-future time reference, as shown in (211a+b). Future time reference can also be expressed without the particle, as illustrated in (211c).
（211）a．N品ス乐定。
nga xyp mop xyp mix．
1P．SG wife marry FUT
＇I will get married（in the future not now）．＇

nga ap mu syt cy jjit ngop（＊mix）．
1P．SG now affair DEM．PROX CL think FUT
＇I will look into this problem now．＇

nyiet hxie ddip kut nga la su nge．
next year 1P．SG come NOM COP
＇It is the case that I will come next year．＇
The particle mix is subject to a first person constraint．It is compatible with first person，and incompatible with second and third person subjects．

nyiet hxie ddip kut nga yiep yot zy mix．
next year 1P．SG potato plant FUT
＇I will plant potatoes next year．＇

nyiet hxie ddip kut ne yiep yot zy（＊mix）．
next year 2P．SG potato plant FUT
＇You will plant potatoes next year．＇

nyiet hxie ddip kut cy yiep yot zy（＊mix）．
next year 3P．SG potato plant FUT
＇He will plant potatoes next year．＇

## B．First person effect

A sentence denotes a situation controlled by the speaker if and only if a first person pronoun assumes the function of subject and the predicate allows the idea of control． The speaker makes an assertion whose outcome s／he garantees．This idea is present in the following examples．

nga nit hmi max su bbur ngat lot go
1P．SG 2P．SG．POSS name ART＝CL－DET write 1P．SG．POSS hand LOC
dit da mix．
attach put FUT
＇I will write your name on my hand．＇

ngop wox yiep yot cyx gge zze sat mix.
1P.PL potato DEM.PROX CL eat EXH FUT 'We will eat up these potatoes.'

nga re mop ci vat ddie ne bbyx mix.
1P.SG money NUM. 10 dollar COV 2P.SG give FUT 'I will give you 10 RMB.'

Examples in (214) exhibit second, third person subjects or impersonal subjects. They represent situations not controlled by the speaker.

*ne muga mgex da hxox ssex zha syp mgep mix. 2P.SG male name COV.mix STP while CL chat FUT
'You will chat with Muga for a while.'

*cy mat hlop zzax zze ggup jjux ne, yix ga ndo mix. 3P.SG noon food eat CONJ.after tobacco CL smoke FUT
'He will smoke a cigarette after lunch.'

*at zop nyiet hxie ddip kut ax yi suo yuo cyp zzip mu female name next year child NUM. 3 CL NUM. 1 CL ADVL yur la mix.
bear come FUT
'Adzo will bear triplets next year.'

*shyp hlep te go dut zie mix.
July time LOC Torch Festival FUT
'The Torch Festival will be in July.'

*ngat yur nyip li nyip hlep te go nge mix. 1P.SG.POSS birthday TOP February time LOC COP FUT 'My birthday will be in February.'
f. *
*hlyx guo pur la mix.
storm, hurricane blow come FUT
'A hurricane will be coming.'

＊mup shy dex mo mu gga mgop la mix． tomorrow sky，weather cold come FUT ＇Tomorrow the weather will get cold．＇
h．＊of きら気。
＊vo jjip la mix．
snow become come FUT
＇It will be snowing．＇
In（215），the speaker assumes the function of non－controlling subject．As the predicates convey a low degree of control，the sentences are ungrammatical．
a．$\quad$ NOQ
＊nga o qu mix．
1P．SG head white FUT
＇I will have grey hair．＇
b．＊N回必层。
${ }^{\star}$ nga i qi na mix．
1P．SG head ill FUT
＇I will have a headache．＇

Many languages with evidentials in the grammatical system exhibit＂first－person＂ effects（Aikhenvald 2004：219－233）．When the speaker talks about an event in which she or he participates，the evidence of this involvement will semantically react to the use of evidentials．Certain evidentials may acquire secondary meanings and over－ tones when a first person pronoun is employed．The range of secondary meanings attested in different languages is covered in the literature by the term＂first－person＂ effects．

The particle mix indicates the evidence that the speaker as controlling event par－ ticipant possesses．Situations in which this kind of control－evidence is not available are incompatible with mix．First－hand evidence is not a sense encoded in mix but arises from the elements mix co－occurs with．

The particle mix can be used in reported speech clauses，if the subject of the embedded clause is co－referential with the speaker whose speech is reported，as in $(216 a+b)$ ．If the subject of the embedded clause is not co－referential to the secondary or primary speaker，then the use of mix is ungrammatical，as in（217b）．

mu ga i tep yy cy $\quad$ zzit bbur mix mu hxip．
male name LOG．SG book
DEM．PROX
＇Muga said that he will write this book．＇

co ggex su hxip go op mu ddix a zzy ggat
person ART=CL-DET say LOC LOG.PL area DEM.DIST CL
ggax jjie mix mu hxip.
leave FUT ADVL say
'The people said that they will leave the area.'

lat sse i tep yy bbut bbur mix mu hxip. male name LOG.SG letter CL write FUT ADVL say
'Laze said that I will put the letter in the mailbox.'

*at nyop hxip go ma hxa jjip mix ddix. female name say SENT.TOP rain become FUT QUOT Intended meaning: ‘Anyo said that it will rain.'

## C. Sufficient condition of future tense

If mix is appended to a simple clause, the clause always refers to the future of the time of speaking (sufficient condition). The converse is not true. Future time reference does not necessarily trigger the use of mix (necessary condition). Most scholars view linguistic forms whose use is either sufficient or necessary for past/present/future time reference as encoding tense.

For simple clauses, the sufficient condition and failure of necessary condition was already illustrated in examples (211). In this section, we catalogue further examples in which mix is prohibited: clauses with past tense reference and generic clauses. Habitual clauses with speaker control are grammatical with mix.
(218) a. * 小
*ap ndi hxix nga che qu vy mix. yesterday 1P.SG rice buy FUT Intended meaning: 'I bought rice yesterday.'

*ngax li nuo su nge mix. (individual-level) 1P.SG TOP Nuosu COP FUT Intended meaning: ‘I will be a Nuosu.'

Habitual
nga ket mop cyp hxuo zzix ap zzi nry ndo
1P.SG evening NUM. 1 CL QUANT.every wine drink
go shex mix.
HAB FUT
'I will always drink wine every evening.'

The particle mix can only occur in declarative sentences but not in imperative or optative sentences. Imperative clauses refer to orders that are relevant at the time of speaking, not in the indefinite future to which mix points. Optative clauses prohibit mix because they refer to events that are not controlled by the speaker.

Imperative
*ne jjot bbip cyx ma sip bbo mix.
2P.SG bag DEM.PROX CL take go FUT
Intended meaning: ‘Take this bag away!’
b. *ポ인․
*ne xip mu tat- ge mix.
2P.SG DEM.DD NEG.IMP- stupid FUT
Intended meaning: ‘Don’t be stupid!’


Imperative

Optative
*nga xyp mop xyp ddep lox mix. 1P.SG wife, bride marry WISH FUT Intended meaning: ‘Hopefully, I will get married.'

## D. Relative future tense

For absolute tense, topic time and utterance time are identical. For relative tense, topic time and utterance time differ. Comrie (1985: 74-75) defines relative past tense and relative future tense as follows.

Relative past tense: situation time < topic time
Relative future tense: topic time < situation time
Relative past tense has two cross-linguistically attested exponents (Comrie 1985: 65-71): pluperfect and future perfect. Relative future tense also has two exponents, future in the future and future in the past, but these two concepts are not widely expressed in the world's languages. For future in the past, English employs the temporal would which must be distinguished from its modal use (Comrie 1985: 75), see table 7.23.

The particle mix conveys absolute future tense with one exception. In reported speech constructions, mix takes the deictic center of the embedded clause and expresses future in the past, as in (221a). In all other complex clauses, mix is prohibited, as in (221b), or encodes absolute future tense, as in (221c).

ap hxiet ddip kut cy hxip go i ba njie juo jjop it
last year 3P.SG say SENT.TOP LOG.SG move Zhaojue stay
bbo mix ddix.
go FUT QUOT
'Last year he said that he would move to Zhaojue to live there.'

zzip hxex te go nga we dox (*mix) su nga go njyp ox. compete when 1P.SG get able FUT COMP 1P.SG PAT believe DP 'I believe that I will win the competition.'

nit xyp mop xyp dde la mix su qop bop a zzyx
2P.SG.POSS bride marry NOM come FUT NOM friend DEM.DIST ma nga mo ox.
CL 1P.SG see DP
'I saw the friend who will attend your wedding.'

Table 7.23: Four relative tenses

| Types | Definition | English Examples |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pluperfect <br> Future perfect | $\mathrm{TS}<\mathrm{TT}<\mathrm{TU}$ | 'John had already left at 10pm.' |
|  |  | 'John will have left by tomorrow.' |
|  | Cases: (a) TS < TU < T | $\rightarrow$ He has already left. |
|  | (b) $\mathrm{TS}=\mathrm{TU}<\mathrm{TT}$ | $\rightarrow$ He is leaving now. |
|  | (c) $\mathrm{TU}<\mathrm{TS}<\mathrm{TT}$ | $\rightarrow$ He will leave before midnight. |
| Future in the future Future in the past | TU < TT < TS | 'John will be about to leave.' |
|  |  | 'John said that he would return.' |
|  | Cases: (a) TT < TS < TU | $\rightarrow$ John has already returned. |
|  | (b) $T<T S=T U$ | $\rightarrow$ John returns now. |
|  | (c) $\mathrm{TT}<\mathrm{TU}<\mathrm{TS}$ | $\rightarrow$ John has not returned yet. |

## E. When the first person effect is suspended

The particle mix has compounded with several other aspect particles to convey the meaning of definite and immediate future tense.

Table 7.24: Four compound particles for definite and immediate future

| Compound Particle | Type and Gloss | FUT | PROG | STP | DP |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mix da | DefFut: 'it is the case that...will' | mix |  | da |  |
| mix ox | ImFut: 'about to' | mix |  |  | ox |
| mix da ox | ImFut: 'definitely about to' | mix |  | da | ox |
| mix ge ox | ImFut: 'about to, very soon' | mix | ge |  | ox |

These compound particles are not subject to the type of person and control constraints described for bare mix. Among these four particles, mix da is a definite future particle.

mup shy dex ma hxa jijp la mix da．
tomorrow rain become come DEFFUT
＇Tomorrow it will rain．＇
b．कह乘出 $\theta$ 水 $\theta$ 欴。
mup shy dex bbur ma ap－sso mix da．
tomorrow written character NEG－study DEFFUT
＇No classes tomorrow．＇

lu po cy ax di vyt tuo lur kur bbo mix da，hxip kax ddi male name 3P．SG only Yuexi County go DEFFUT say INT．who nyi ap－ge．
also NEG－tell
＇Lupo will go to Yuexi County on his own，so he doesn＇t tell anyone．＇

The marker mix ox with the perfect particle ox adds urgency to the sentence．The underlying clause must be dynamic but no meaning of speaker control is required．
（223）a．A爭旬坐坐西向。
cop wox ix go bbo mix ox．
3P．PL home go IMFUT
＇They went home immediately．＇

ngop wox mu kut a shyt zzyx jie la mix ox．
1P．PL year new celebrate come IMFUT
＇We are about to celebrate the New Year．＇

The triple marker mix da ox combines the idea of definite and immediate future． It is frequently used and often occurs in imperative clauses，as in（224b）．
（224）a．$K J, \forall \Gamma$ 为为向。
va bu gu la mix da ox．
rooster cry come IMFUT
＇The rooster is about to cry．＇

rre mop ci vat ddie nga bbyx mix da ox！ money NUM． 10 dollar COV．prepare 1P．SG give IMFUT
＇Give me ten dollars now！＇

vo jjy bbo sat mix da ox.
snow melt go EXH IMFUT
'The snow is about to melt completely.'

The compound mix ge ox including the progressive marker ge. This complex particle has imminent future and progressive meanings.
a. N
nga syt cy jjit ngop mix ge ox.
1P.SG matter DEM.PROX CL think IMFUT
'I am thinking about this problem right now.'

hxo pu go zza bbo yyt zzy hxit mix ge ox.
mountain LOC crops harvest can IMFUT
'The crops on the mountain can be harvested soon.'

The idea of remote future can only be expressed by bare mix (by respecting the person and control constraint).

nga mop su te go ne hxo pu go yix ma vy mix.
1P.SG old man time SENT.TOP TOP mountain LOC house CL buy FUT 'When I am old I will buy a house in the mountains.'

### 7.8.2 Appendix: The particle mix

The morpheme mix functions as discourse particle soliciting feedback from the addressee. It also occurs in preverbal position as focus particle (even) of the noun phrase it follows.

## A. As solicitation particle

In wh-questions and alternative questions, the discourse marker mix emphasizes the speaker's wish for feedback, glossable as 'what do you think'.

co cyx yie ix go ap- jjo, kat bbo mix?
people DEM.PROX CL home NEG- have INT.where go SOL
'Nobody is at home, where have they gone?'

cyx li xix ma hxip ddie ddur yip sy mix?
3P.SG TOP INT.what CL say need still SOL
'Needless to say something about him! (lit. What needs to be said about him?)'

vit gga cyx ggu pu kep nyi bbyp mix?
clothes DEM.PROX CL price QUANT.how many give SOL
'How much is the price of this garment?'

ap ndi hxix hmat mop tit go lax la mix?
yesterday teacher here LOC come~ALT SOL
'Did the teacher come yesterday?'

## B. As focus adverb

The morpheme mix can occur before the verb in various positions and functions as a focus adverb ('even') of the NP it follows (section 9.1.3.B). It can scope over noun phrases in every syntactic position. In (228a), it focuses the initial S-argument; in (228b) the A-argument; in (228c) the benefactive NP; and in (228d) an oblique object.

muga mix la nyiet ox.
male name FOC.even come late DP
'Even Muga came late.'

ne mix gge syt cy jiit ne gge ox.
2P.SG FOC.even hear matter DEM.PROX CL 2P.SG hear DP
'Even you have heard about this matter.'

cy ka bba ddie nga mix bbyp ox.
3P.SG present COV.prepare 1P.SG FOC.even give DP
'He even gave a present to me.'

cy kut shyr te go mix go ap- la.
3P.SG new year time LOC FOC.even PRO.DIR NEG- come
'He does not come home even for the New Year.'

## Chapter 8

## Modality and evidentiality

After a brief introduction (section 8.1), we analyze the modal auxiliaries (section 8.2) and the evidential particles in Nuosu (section 8.3).

### 8.1 Introduction

Modality is the expression of attitudes ascribed to speech participants (Lyons 1977: 739; Palmer 1986: 16). Most scholars distinguish between epistemic modality and deontic modality. Epistemic modality describes the knowledge, belief or opinions of speech participants. Deontic modality captures the obligation, permission or prohibition for speech participants to perform acts. Evidentiality is defined as the linguistic encoding of information sources used for asserting a proposition.

The relationship between epistemic modality and evidentiality is not agreed upon (Dendale \& Tasmowski 2001: 342). Some scholars include evidentiality within epistemic modality (Palmer 1986: 51; Mithun 1999: 170; Willett 1988: 52), others establish epistemic modality under evidentiality (Chafe 1986: 271; Matlock 1989: 215). Still others identify an overlap (van der Auwera \& Plungian 1998: 86). A fourth group of scholars emancipates evidentiality and modality as two distinct categories (Lazard 1999, 2001: 360; Faller 2002: 8; Aikhenvald 2004: 7).

Epistemic modality and evidentiality are conceptually close. The source from which information is gained naturally impacts truth judgment. We can distinguish between encoding and conversationally implicating a linguistic concept. The critical test is the possibility of cancelling an interpretation in the Gricean sense of cancelling a conversational implicature (Grice 1975: 57-58). Encoded meaning can never be cancelled independently of the context considered, whereas implicated meaning can be cancelled.

A form encoding epistemic modality implicates an inferential process as the information source. A marker encoding the information source of inferential process implicates the sense of epistemic modality.

The Nuosu particles expressing modality are analyzed in this and other chapters (section 13, section 15). In this chapter, we decribe modal auxiliary verbs which are defined by morphosyntactic properties (section 8.2). Evidentiality is mainly encoded by matrix verbs (section 13.2). There is one evidential type that is grammaticalized in Nuosu, the quotative information source (section 8.3.1).

### 8.2 Modality

In section 8.2.1, we define modal auxiliaries by morphosyntactic properties. The class of modal auxiliaries is closed and has 15 members (section 8.2.2).

### 8.2.1 The morphosyntax of modal auxiliaries

Modal auxiliaries are defined as distribution classes based on language-specific morphosyntactic properties: ten criteria in Mandarin Chinese (Li \& Thompson 1981: 172-183), or seven criteria in English (Radford 1988: 149-154). Nuosu modals exhibit twelve properties separating them from matrix verbs and adverbs.

Table 8.1: Morphosyntactic properties of modal auxiliaries

|  | Modal auxiliaries | Matrix Verbs | Adverbs |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Sole predicate | no | yes (most) | no |
| NP-complement | no | yes (most) | no |
| VP-complement | yes | yes/no | no |
| Clause-complement | no | yes | no |
| With complementizer | no | yes (most) | no |
| Focus construction ...su nge | no | yes | no |
| Answer fragment | yes | yes | no |
| Position in sentence | end | end | variable |
| Negation | yes | yes | no |
| Reduplication (alt. question) | yes | yes | yes/no |
| TAM particles | with ox | yes | yes |
| Gradable | (generally) no | yes/no | no |

These tests are presented in two groups in which they help contrast modals with matrix verbs (section 8.2.1.A), and modals with adverbs (section 8.2.1.B).

## A. Modal auxiliary verbs versus matrix verbs

Modal auxiliaries are different from matrix verbs in six regards: (i) sole predicate; (ii) NP-complement; (iii) VP-complement; (iv) clause-complement; (v) presence of complementizer; (vi) focus construction with ...su nge.

## (i) Modal auxiliaries cannot occur as sole predicates

Modal auxiliaries cannot occur as the sole predicate of an independent sentence. They share this property with adverbs. Matrix verbs generally can stand alone.

Modal auxiliary verbs can be used as the sole predicate only in answer fragments to a question. In this case the eclipsed verb is understood. In (1)-(3), the (a) version is ungrammatical unless it assumes the function of answer fragment. The (b) version is grammatical as it incorporates a VP-complement.
(1) a. * $\mathrm{H} \cap \mathrm{DX}$ 。
*mu ga tat xi.
male name MOD.should
Intended meaning: ‘Muga should.’

mu rryr xyx ne tat xi ox．
male name rest MOD．should DP
＇Mudge should have a rest．＇
（2）a．${ }^{*} x_{1} x_{1}$
${ }^{\star}$ cy $\quad$ i．
3P．SG MOD．want
Intended meaning：＇He wants．＇
b．X罗定必。
cy vit gga vy qi ox．
3P．SG clothes buy MOD．want DP
＇He wants to buy clothes．＇

＊cy zyt jie ax di hna．
3P．SG REFL only MOD．be willing
Intended meaning：＇He is willing alone．＇


| cy | zyt jie | ax di | bbo | hna | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | REFL | only | go | MOD．be willing | DP |

Matrix verbs can occur as sole predicate independently of other predicates．This is even true for the matrix verbs which do not take NP－complements．When these verbs occur as sole predicate，the clause－complement is a pro－drop argument．
（4）a．जv手爪 $\Phi \underline{=}$ 。
nop wox cuop luo po shy．
2P．PL a little solve problem
＇You tried to solve the problem．＇

cy cop wox kep mu ix go bbo su po shy njuo．
3P．SG 3P．PL INT．how home go COMP solve problem PROG
＇He is solving the problem of how to get home．＇
（5）a．Hバサが
mu jy nge hna．
male name agree，promise
＇Mudje agrees．＇
b．NN $\theta$ 果米 $H$ Nさ小が
nga bbur ma sso bbo go pat mop nge－ap－hna．
1P．SG education study go COMP parents allow＜NEG＞
＇My parents do not agree that I should be a student．＇
The matrix adjective jox jjip＇possible＇is not an independent predicate．It only takes one obligatory argument which is a clause．One may want to classify jox jjip ＇possible＇as modal auxiliary but for two core properties it behaves like a matrix verb． It subcategorizes clause－complements and disallows VP－complements．（It disallows VP－complements by virtue of the fact that the subject of the embedded clause cannot control the predicate jox jjip＇possible＇．）

$\begin{array}{lllll}\text {＊syt } & \text { cy } & \text { jijit } & \text { jox jijip } & \text { ox．} \\ \text { matter } & \text { DEM．PROX } & \text { CL } & \text { possible } & \text { DP }\end{array}$ Intended meaning：＇This event is possible．＇

ip mi vo jjip la jox jjip ox．
this evening snow fall come possible DP ＇It may be snowing this evening．＇
（ii）Modal auxiliaries cannot take NP－complements
Modal auxiliaries do not subcategorize NP－complements，but most matrix verbs do． This property is illustrated in（7）－（9）for the modal auxiliaries but＇dare＇，dop＇can＇ and ssox＇should＇．
（7）a．＊点品向。
$\begin{array}{llll}* \text { ne } & \text { ddop } & \text { but } & \text { ox．} \\ \text { 2P．SG } & \text { word } & \text { MOD．dare } & \text { DP }\end{array}$
Intended meaning：＇You dare（to speak）words．＇
b．点面畆。

| ne | ddop | hxip | but | ox． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P．SG | word | speak | MOD．dare | DP |

＇You dare to talk．＇

＊bbox zze cyx ma mge fu suo ma dox． man DEM．PROX CL barley loaf NUM． 3 CL MOD．can Intended meaning：＇This guy can eat three barley loaves．＇
b．采是 $\theta$ 氏
bbox zze cyx ma mge fu suo ma zze dox．
man DEM．PROX CL barley loaf NUM． 3 CL eat MOD．can ＇This guy can eat three barley loaves．＇
（9）a．＊ホNかけ包向。
＊nga ip nyip ssox ox．
1P．SG today MOD．should DP
Intended meaning：‘I should today．’
b．Nサの弪米包向。
nga ip nyip nyop bbop bbo ssox ox．
1P．SG today work go MOD．should DP
＇I should go to work today．＇

Most matrix verbs take NP－and clause－complements，but disallow VP－comple－ ments．The matrix verb nzit＇appropriate＇is an exception．It subcategorizes NP－and VP－complements but cannot take clause－complements．

cy vit gga a vut xip ggu nzit．
3P．SG clothes blue DEM．INDEF CL appropriate
＇Blue clothes suit him．＇

lat hxa hmat mop mu nzit．
male name teacher do appropriate
＇It is appropriate for Laha to be a teacher．＇

＊cy ne bbut cy ndo nzit．
3P．SG 2P．SG medicine drink appropriate
Intended meaning：＇It is appropriate for you him to take some medicine．＇

## （iii）Modal auxiliaries should take VP－complements

Many matrix verbs can take clause－complements but not VP－complements．In（11a－d）， we illustrate matrix verbs that cannot take VP－complements．
（11）a．＊X和H䖥出。
＊cy nry ndo durx xie．
3P．SG wine drink block，resist
Intended meaning：＇He resisted drinking wine．＇

＊Cy bbur ma sso bbo su ngop die． 3P．SG written material study go COMP doubt Intended meaning：＇He doubts whether he himself went to school．＇

＊cy（zyt jie）hxie mat xix ngop su sip ngop njuo． 3P．SG REFL heart INT．what think COMP test PROG Intended meaning：＇He tested what he was thinking in his heart．＇

＊cop wox yix cur su ke bbo ox． 3P．PL house build COMP allow DP Intended meaning：＇They allowed themselves to build a house．＇

On the other hand，modal auxiliaries take VP－complements but no clause－ complements as illustrated in（12a－d）．
（12）a．NY＊＊＊
nga syr zyt lur zyt get．
1P．SG tree－work－stone－work MOD．can
＇I can move the tree．＇
b．未以必形是必。
vut ga vot she zze qi．
male name pig meat eat MOD．want ＇Vuga wants to eat pig meat．＇
c．$\epsilon \bar{\theta}$ 片旬斗所币゙き。
yo max su ix go la yix syp．
sheep ART＝CL－DET home come MOD．can
＇The sheep can find their way back home．＇

cop wox tit go nge nyip ggep jox dop．
3P．PL here LOC NUM． 5 day play MOD．prepare
＇They prepare to play here for five days．＇
（iv）Modal auxiliaries do not take clause－complements
For clause－complements，the situation is inversed．Matrix verbs subcategorize clauses， whereas modal auxiliaries never scope over clauses．In（13a－d），the subject of the matrix verb／auxiliary verb is different from the embedded subject．

ax mo li ax da yo vup su durx xie．
mother TOP father sheep buy COMP resist
＇Mom objected to Daddy＇s buying a sheep．＇

cy nit hxie mat xix ngop su sip ngop．
3P．SG 2P．SG heart INT．what think COMP test
＇He put to the test what you were thinking in your heart．＇

nga cy bbur ma sso bbo ddix su ngop die．
1P．SG 3P．SG written material study go QUOT COMP doubt
＇I doubt whether he（really）went to school．＇
d． 10 粦片 $\mathrm{X}^{1}{ }^{1}$ 米向。
nga op rro bbo su cy ke bbo ox．
1P．SG Xichang go COMP 3P．SG allow DP
＇He allowed me to go to Xichang．＇
（14）

＊cy nga yiet hxop yiet ggep get．
3P．SG 1P．SG song amuse MOD．can
Intended meaning：＇He can I sing songs and have fun．＇
b．＊Nッダ列必必必。
＊nga at zop li vot she zze qi． 1P．SG female name TOP pig meat eat MOD．want Intended meaning：‘I want Adzo to eat pig meat．＇

＊mu nyox li yo max su ix go la yix syp． male name TOP sheep ART＝CL－DET home come MOD．can Intended meaning：＇Munyo enables the sheep to find its way back home．＇

## （v）Modal auxiliaries do not co－occur with complementizers

Nuosu exhibits several complementizers（see section 13．2）．Matrix verbs take one of the complementizers（ $s u$ ，go，ddix）．Modal auxiliaries never mark VP－complements with a complementizer．

ax mo li ax yi ssa hxuo la su hxo lo．
mother TOP child capable COME COMP hope
＇Mother hopes that the child becomes capable of everything．＇

ddip vip ggex su ngap jiet la go cy ddie－ap－mga． guest ART＝CL－DET 1P．SG．POSS home come COMP 3P．SG please＜NEG＞ ＇He is not pleased that the guests come to my house．＇

lu dda li ax yi cyx ma co ap－ku ddix male name TOP child DEM．PROX CL people NEG－steal COMP
ddop zy ssi．
testimony use
＇Ludda testified that this child did not steal from others．＇

It is ungrammatical to use complementizers together with modal auxiliaries as demonstrated for the following three auxiliary verbs．

＊nop wox a hnat mu we ga su ddie ddur．
2P．PL especially make effort COMP MOD．need Intended meaning：＇You need to make a special effort．＇
b．＊$x_{1}$ 水出可》。
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text {＊Cy } & \text { bbu shy } & \text { yu } & \text { ddix } & \text { but．} \\ \text { 3P．SG } & \text { snake } & \text { snatch } & \text { COMP } & \text { MOD．dare }\end{array}$
Intended meaning：＇He dares to catch a snake．＇

＊cy xyx hnie cyp zzip vy go mo mgu． 3P．SG shoe NUM． 1 CL buy COMP MOD．intend Intended meaning：＇He intends to buy a pair of shoes．＇

## （vi）Modal auxiliaries do not occur in the focus construction ．．．su nge

Nuosu involves the nominalization particle $s u$ and the copular nge to emphasize certain elements of the sentence individually（section 14．2．2）．Modal auxiliaries cannot occur as the sole verbal element in this focus construction．The nominalized auxiliaries in（17）and（18）are therefore ungrammatical．


| co | cyx | ma | li | hxip guo guo， | ngop wox | li |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| person | DEM．PROX | CL | TOP | uncontrollable | 1P．PL | TOP |
| go | hxix | ap－ | dop． |  |  |  |
| PRO．PAT | say | NEG－ | MOD．can |  |  |  |

＇This man is uncontrollable．We cannot persuade him．＇

B：＊ज゙乎f片さ。
$\begin{array}{llll}{ }^{\star} \text { nop wox } & \text { dop } & \text { su } & \text { nge．} \\ \text { 2P．PL } & \text { MOD．can } & \text { FOC } & \text { COP }\end{array}$
Intended meaning：＇You can．＇


| cy nit jop yyp ddu | bit | tat－ap－xi． |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 3P．SG | 2P．SG to joke | make，open | MOD．should＜NEG＞ |
| ＇He shouldn＇t joke with you．＇ |  |  |  |

B：＊$x_{1}$ 可版 サ。
＊cy tat xi su nge．
3P．SG MOD．should FOC COP
Intended meaning：‘He should．’

By contrast，matrix verbs and ordinary verbs can be nominalized in the focus construction with su nge．This property is illustrated for the matrix verb hxie nep ndit ＇regret＇in a short piece of dialogue．


| syt | cy | jiit | mu | go | cy | hxie nep－ap－ndit． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| act | DEM．PROX | CL | do | COMP | 3P．SG | regret＜NEG＞ |
| ＇He doesn＇t regret having done it．＇ |  |  |  |  |  |  |

B：X小心デ覑さ。
cy hxie nep ndit su nge．
3P．SG regret FOC COP
＇He does．＇

## B．Modal auxiliaries verbs versus adverbs

Modal auxiliaries differ from adverbs for（i）answer fragments；（ii）sentence－end position；（iii）negation；（iv）reduplication；（v）TAM particles；（vi）gradability．

## （i）Modal auxiliaries occur in answer fragments

Modal auxiliaries cannot be nominalized in focus constructions，but can occur in minimal answer fragments by omitting the subject．Adverbs cannot be involved in either construction．
（20）A：Nyoygne rn？
nga syt xip jjit hxip hxit ddap ap－hxit？
1P．SG matter DEM．INDEF CL speak MOD．can or NEG－MOD．can
＇Can I say such a thing？＇

B：（＊y）N．
（＊ne）hxit．
2P．SG MOD．can
＇You can．＇

ne hxie mgat hxop hxip yix syp ddap ap－syp？
2P．SG Chinese language speak MOD．can or NEG－MOD．can
＇Can you speak Chinese？＇
B：鸟小ま。
yix－ap－syp．
MOD．can＜NEG＞
＇No，I can＇t．＇

ne ip nyip ciep yiet vy ddie ddur ddap ddie－ap－ddur？
2P．SG today things buy MOD．need or MOD．need＜NEG＞
＇Do you need to buy something today？＇
B：出U
ddie ddur．
MOD．need
＇I do．＇

Adverbs do not serve as the sole element in an answer fragment，as shown in （23）－（24）．An exception is the lexical adverb nyiet＇late＇，as illustrated in（25）．

ne ap nryr mu la ddap ap－la？
2P．SG definitely come or NEG－come
＇Will you definitely come？＇
B：＊js后 H 。
＊ap nryr mu．
definitely
Intended meaning：‘Definitely，＇

cy iet zyr ddap iet－ap－zyr yip sy ox？
3P．SG small or small＜NEG＞still DP
＇Is he still young？＇

B：＊＊ $\begin{gathered} \\ \text { 。 }\end{gathered}$
＊yip sy．
still
Intended meaning：‘Still．＇

bbup zzi cy zzax zze nyiet ddap ap－nyiet？
afternoon 3P．SG food eat late or NEG－late
Intended meaning：‘Did he eat late in the afternoon？＇
B：水然。
ap－nyiet．
NEG－late
＇Not late．＇

## （ii）The position of modal auxiliaries is at the end of the sentence

Modal auxiliary verbs are placed after the VP－complement at the end of the sentence． Most adverbs occur in the middle of the sentence，some after the verb．

ngop wox yiep yot zy mo ddix．
1P．PL potato plant MOD．committed
＇We are committed to growing potatoes．＇

Most adverbs occur in the middle of the sentence，as exemplified in（27a）．A small set of adverbs can also be posed after the main predicate（section 9．1．4）．


| po lix | at ggop ggop mu | gox | rur | sat． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bamboo basket | in vain，idle | PRO．LOC | stay | EXH |

＇The bamboo baskets are all staying here without any use．＇

niep sha mu ddix nop wox jo mga ap－sat sy．
Liángshān area 2P．PL pass through NEG－EXH still，yet ＇You have not yet passed through the whole Liángshān area．＇

## （iii）Modal auxiliaries can be negated

Modal auxiliaries can be negated like ordinary verbs，while adverbs cannot be negated．If the modal auxiliary is monosyllabic，then the negation particle $a p$ is prefixed；if it is polysyllabic，then $a p$ is infixed before the last syllable（for negation rules，see section 9．2）．The adverb nyiet＇late＇is an exception，see（29c）．

nga zyt jie ax di ix go bbo ap－but．
1P．SG REFL only home go NEG－MOD．dare ＇I do not dare to go home on my own．＇

ngop jiet ax yi zzyx ddie－ap－ddur．
1P．PL home child escort MOD．need＜NEG＞
＇It is not necessary to escort our children back home（from school）．＇

＊lat sse dde dde－ap－mu zzax mu．
male name often＜NEG＞food，dish make
Intended meaning：＇Laze does not often cook food．＇
b．＊㐅かされは承击向。
＊cy ip mop hxi－ap－yip na ox．
3P．SG belly again＜NEG＞ill DP
Intended meaning：＇His belly wasn’t again aching．＇

va bu gu ap－nyiet．
rooster crow NEG－late
＇The rooster has not crowed late．＇
（iv）Modal auxiliaries can be reduplicated in alternative questions
Modal auxiliaries can be reduplicated to express the sense of alternative question． Monosyllabic auxiliaries are wholly reduplicated．If it has a low or middle tone，then the first copy appears in the low tone［ ${ }^{21}$ ］．Dissyllabic modal auxiliaries have their second syllable reduplicated．
a．水爭 $\mathcal{C} \widehat{\theta}$ ？
ngop wox mop mgep ssox－sso？
1P．PL have meeting MOD．should～ALT
＇Should we have a meeting？＇
b．J．
sux yy mo nyop mup mit ju hmox tat xi－xi？
leader farming circumstance control MOD．should～ALT
＇Should the leader control the farming activities？＇

ax yi sse a ddit hxit dop dox？
infant there stand MOD．can～ALT
＇Can the infant stand on his feet？＇

at nyop xi zzy get－get？
female name thread weave MOD．can～ALT
＇Can Anyo weave？＇
e．ず小入れます？
ne le sit yip syp－syx？
2P．SG ox kill MOD．can～ALT
‘Can you kill an ox？＇

The reduplication of modal auxiliaries is a short version of a more elaborated construction which involves ddap（section 15．1．1）．The modal auxiliaries can also occur in this longer construction．

ax pu ip nyip yo hlut bbo qi ddap ap－qi？ grandpa today sheep pasture go MOD．want or NEG－MOD．want ＇Does grandpa want to pasture the sheep today？＇
b．N弐出式双重可秋？
nga nex shut tat xi ddap tat－ap－xi？
1P．SG 2P．SG remember MOD．should or MOD．should＜NEG＞ ＇Should I remember you？＇

Most manner adverbs are partially reduplicated with the sense of increased vividness．Syntactic adverbs cannot be reduplicated．（32a）shows a reduplicated and（33b）a non－reduplicatable manner adverb．（33a）exhibits one rare reduplicated syntactic adverb，ax di di mu＇only＇．The syntactic adverb jjy gex＇together＇in（33b） cannot be reduplicated．

cop wox hxix－hxi mu ggap mop bie quo．
3P．PL intentionally road destroy
＇They destroy the road on purpose．＇

cyp uo lur mu hly hxo ap lo tu－（＊tu）mu pur six bbo ox． 3P．SG．POSS hat wind suddenly－suddenly blow RES go DP ＇His hat was suddenly blown away by the wind．＇
（33）

xyp mop max su ax di－di mu gox ci lox ox．
wife ART＝CL－DET only－only PRO．LOC remain DP
＇His wife remained very much alone．＇

co cyx nyip bbup nyop -vi jiy gex (*-gex) bbop. person DEM.PROX NUM. 2 CL labor -POSS together~ALT do 'Both households are working very much together?'

## (v) Modal auxiliaries generally do not co-occur with TAM particles

Modal auxiliaries cannot co-occur with TAM particles except for the perfect particle ox. Adverbs can co-occur the perfect particle ox but with no other TAM.

cy ip nyip tit go la tat xi $\quad$ ox. 'He should come here today.'

cy nyop bbop hna -jjy- hna ox.
3P.SG work MOD.willing very MOD.willing DP
'He is very much willing to work.'

cy vot bbu sse vup mo mgu ox.
3P.SG piglet sell MOD.intend DP
'He intended to sell a piglet.'

Other TAM particles cannot be directly attached to modal auxiliaries with several exceptions. The auxiliary dop 'able' allows the experiential marker nzox and the auxiliary mo ddix 'committed' the progressive marker njuo.

nga a shyt te go nry nge jip ndo dox nzox. 1P.SG young time wine NUM. 5 pound, liter drink MOD.can EXP 'When I was young, I could drink five liters of wine.'

hmat mop ssox sse nge yuo zhux by mo ddix njuo.
teacher student NUM. 5 CL praise MOD.committed PROG
'The teacher commits himself to praising the students.'

Only sentence-end adverbs can be marked by TAM particles. Example (36a) illustrates an ungrammatical use of ox after a preverbal adverb. TAM particles can be placed after the postverbal adverb nyiet 'late’ in (36b).

＊cop wox ap mu ox pat vu ddu jjo． 3P．PL now DP uncle home have Intended meaning：＇They are now at their uncle’s home．＇
b． $\bar{\theta} \sqrt{\boldsymbol{\theta}} \boldsymbol{\theta}$
ssox sse max su nyip vit la nyiet nzox．
student ART NUM． 2 time come late EXP
＇The student was late twice．＇

## （vi）Modal auxiliaries are gradable

Most modal auxiliaries are gradable and can use the infix intensifier－jjy－，as shown in（37）．A few auxiliaries ban the infix－jjy－，as in（38）．
（37）

cy co ap－syp su jox bbur jjyt but－jiy－but． 3P．SG person NEG－know NOM to talk MOD．dare very dare ＇He very much dares to talk with unfamiliar people．＇

at zop njie ggup syr hna－jjy－hna．
female name courtyard sweep MOD．willing very willing
＇Adzo is very much willing to sweep the courtyard．＇
c．Ө手ヨ习S出யチ出ひ。
cop wox rre mop sot ddie ddur－jiy－ddie ddur．
3P．PL money count MOD．need very need
＇They definitely need to count their money．＇

＊mu rryr op rro la jox dop－jiy－jox dop． male name Xichang come MOD．prepare very prepare Intended meaning：＇Mudge is very prepared to come to Xichang．＇

＊nga zzax zze ssox－jiy－ssox． 1P．SG food eat MOD．should very should Intended meaning：＇I should absolutely eat something．＇

Manner adverbs can be intensified by the infix－jjy－as well，but adverb intensifi－ cation is available only if the adverb is derived from an adjective．

*cy (hxix) hxi -jiy- hxix mu nit jop kax sha sha la su nge. 3P.SG intentionally very intentionally 2P.SG to thank come FOC COP Intended meaning: 'He came with the strong intention of thanking you.'

cy ap nryr -jjy- ap nryr mu tep yy bbur nga bbyx.
3P.SG really very really letter write 1P.SG COV.give
'He really wrote me a letter.'
Syntactic adverbs may not be modified by the infix intensifier -jjy-. This impossibility is illustrated in (41) for the adverb hxi yip 'again'.

*cy hxi yip -jiy- hxi yip zze ap- nbur ox. 3P.SG again very again eat NEG- full DP Intended meaning: 'He didn’t eat his fill again.'

## C. List of modal auxiliaries

Modal auxiliary verbs are defined by twelve morphosyntactic properties that distinguish them from matrix verbs and adverbs. An overview of modal auxiliary verbs is provided in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2: Modal auxiliaries

| ddie ddur 'need' | hna 'be willing' | yix syp 'can, know' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tat xi 'should' | but 'dare' | hxi nyi 'intend' |
| ssox 'should' | get 'can, able' | mo mgu 'intend' |
| ddip ssox 'should' | hxit 'can' | mo ddix 'committed' |
| qi 'want' | dop 'can' | jox dop 'prepare to' |

Two expressions are not listed in this table but show affinities with modal auxiliary verbs. The optative sy jjo 'do only' only takes VP-complements (like modal auxiliaries) but cannot be negated or reduplicated (unlike modal auxiliaries). The string sy jjo is used in optative speech acts, whereas modal auxiliaries are employed in declarative sentences.


| ne | zzax | zze | sy $\mathbf{j j o !}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P.SG | food | eat | OPT.do only |

'Have some food!'

＊ne zzax zze sy－ap－jij！
2P．SG food eat OPT．do only＜NEG＞
Intended meaning：＇May you not have some food！＇
The lexicalized expression si ap ssop＇not need＇must occur in negative impera－ tive clauses，and cannot be negated．
 nop wox ddop ma hxip si ap ssop． 2P．PL word say IMP．need not ＇No need to say anything．＇

＊nop wox ddop ma hxip si ap－ap－ssop．
2P．PL word say IMP．need not＜NEG＞
Intended meaning：＇You need to say something．＇

## 8．2．2 The semantics of modal auxiliaries

In Nuosu，there is no modal of necessity corresponding to English must．There are two weaker forms（＇should＇）and four markers of possibility（＇can＇and＇may＇）．

## A．The modal ddie ddur＇need＇

The modal auxiliary ddie ddur＇need＇differs from the matrix verb kop＇need＇．Mor－ phosyntactically，kop takes NP－complements，whereas ddie ddur only subcategorizes VPs，as illustrated in（44）．
（44）a．梁年妥时雨。
nga na－mgux－co kox．
1P．SG ill－heal－person need
＇I need a doctor．＇

lat sse tep yy zzit su bi te go jjiex mguo ddie ddur．
male name book ART read when understand MOD．need ＇Laze needs to show understanding when reading the book．＇

Semantically，ddie ddur refers to a need that can be assessed in an objective manner．

mu jie mu ma ssi ddie ddur.
male name horse CL use MOD.need
'Mujie needs a horse (lit. Mujie needs to use a horse).'

cy syt xip lot buop ddie ddur.
3P.SG matter DEM.DD help MOD.need
'He needs help in this regard.'

cy ddop ma gge nit jop hxip ddie ddur.
3P.SG word CL 2P.SG to speak MOD.need
'He needs to tell you something.'

mu cyp ma nga vy da ox, nga go hxex bbo ddie ddur. horse NUM. 1 CL 1P.SG buy STP DP 1P.SG PRO.PAT see go MOD.need 'I have just bought a horse, I need to inspect it.'

## B. The modal tat $x i$ 'should'

In Nuosu, there is no strong deontic modal corresponding to 'must' but there are two weak deontic modals (Palmer 1986: 100): tat xi (section B) and ssox (section C). A strong deontic meaning can be expressed by combining the modal tat xi with the preverbal adverb ap nryr mu 'definitely'.


| nop wox | bbu dde | cyx | ma | hna | tat xi. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P.PL | story | DEM.PROX | CL | listen | MOD.should |

'You should listen to this story.'

lat ti ngop wox wa mgot la tat xi.
male name 1P.PL after follow come MOD.should
'Lati should follow us.'

cyx li ap nryr mu hnat gox sha tat xi.
3P.SG TOP definitely admonish SEND MOD.should
'He must be given a warning.'

nop wox nga yyx tat-ap-xi.
2P.PL 1P.SG laugh MOD.should<NEG>
'You shouldn't laugh at me.'

As other modal auxiliaires，tat xi cannot be nominalized in the focus construction with ．．．su nge．

＊we－mu－su zze ddu ndo yy wep su li tat xi su nge． worker food and drinks get NOM TOP MOD．should FOC COP ＇The peasants should receive their salary（＝food and drinks）．＇

## C．The modals ssox＇should＇and ddip ssox＇should＇

The modal auxiliaries ssox and ddip ssox＇should＇are derived from ssop／ssox＇shine＇ （section 7．3．2．C）which is associated with the alternation of OAV／AOV order（see section 10．2）．The morpheme ssop（associated with OAV）developed into a resultative auxiliary verb（section 7．3．2．C），whereas ssox（associated with AOV）evolved into a modal auxil－ iary verb．The obligation of doing something is metaphorically viewed as similar to the state of being affected by it．

While the auxiliary tat $x i$＇should＇（section 8．2．2．B）expresses a meaning of general obligation，ssox has a sense of involuntary obligation．
a．牙利里包！
nex li jjip yur ssox！
2P．SG TOP perfect MOD．should
＇You should be perfect！＇

co zzi ap－syp su nop wox gox jie ssox．
person meet NEG－know NOM 2P．PL PAT fear MOD．should ＇You should fear people you are not familiar with．＇

cy hnax nyi hna，jjiex nyi jjiex mguo ssox． 3P．SG hear also hear understand also understand MOD．should ＇He should listen and understand．＇

ne it jji nyuo tuo mu da ssox．
2P．SG guard，keep alert ADVL put MOD．should ＇You should keep alert．＇

cyx li：＂ne ssox！bbur－tat－jjyt！＂ddix．
3P．SG TOP stop MOD．should speak＜NEG．IMP＞QUOT
＇He said：＂You should stop．You should be silent．＂＇

The dissyllabic modal auxiliary ddip ssox 'should' is composed of the quotative particle ddip/ddix (section 8.3.1) and ssox. It represents the obligation as verbally expressed by the sentence.


| ne | ggap mox | ne kop | cix | ma | mga | ddip ssox. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P.SG | road | distance of 500m | NUM. 10 | CL | pass | MOD.should | 'You should walk five kilometers of road.'


nop wox li jo sa ddie sa ggep sa bie sa zze sa ndo sa mu
2P.PL TOP comfortable amusing delicious ADVL
jjo ddip ssox!
have MOD.should
'You should enjoy comfort, fun, delicious food!'

cyp nyit bbyp yix zzur gax di shux ddip ssox!
3P.DL give become a family CAUS MOD.should
'You should let them both marry.'

## D. The modal qi 'want'

The meaning of the two buletic modal auxiliaries $q i$ 'want' (section D) and hna 'willing’ (section E) differs. The modal auxiliary qi encodes a general buletic meaning, whereas hna encodes the consent of the subject. The non-volitional process of growing up is only compatible with $q i$ but not with hna.

mu hlie yur ax yy qi.
male name grow big MOD.want
'Muhlie wants to grow up.'
b. *H
*muga yur ax yy hna.
male name grow big MOD.willing
'Muga is willing to grow up.'

The morpheme $q i$ satisfies all the properties of modal auxiliaries (Table 8.1). Its use is illustrated below.

mu nyox tep yy cy nzit bi qi.
male name book DEM.PROX CL read MOD.want
'Munyo wants to read this book.'

nga cyx te kop la nyiet ap－qi．
1P．SG DEM．PROX time come late NEG－MOD．want
＇I do not want to upset this time schedule．＇

cy ip nyip syr kie qi－jiy－qi．
3P．SG today tree fell MOD．want very MOD．want
＇He wants to fell the tree today．＇

syt cy jjit nga dde jji qi．
matter DEM．PROX CL 1P．SG know MOD．want
＇I want to know about this situation．＇
The auxiliary qi must be distinguished from the main non－auxiliary verb ka ＇want＇which only takes NP－complements but no VP－or clause－complements．
（52）a．弐币 $\tilde{\theta}$ 片 of $\Psi \neq \nRightarrow$
ax yi max su ggep ddu ka．
child ART＝CL＋NOM toys want
＇The child wants toys．＇

＊cy sha zzit zze ap－ka．
3P．SG chilli eat NEG－want
Intended meaning：＇He does not like chili．＇

## E．The modal hna＇willing＇

The modal auxiliary hna＇willing＇satisfies all morphosyntactic conditions of modal auxiliaries but must be distinguished from related forms illustrated in（54）．
（53）

cyp yiet zha nyix ke bbo ap－hna．
3P．SG kind CL all promise NEG－MOD．willing
＇He is not willing to cooperate at all．＇

bbox zze max su rre mop sur hna－jjy－hna．
guy ART money return MOD．willing very MOD．willing
＇The guy is very willing to return the money．＇
c．H舟の笑必重小和？
mu nyox nyop bbop hna ddap ap－hna？
male name work MOD．willing or NEG－MOD．willing
＇Is Munyo willing to work or not？＇

ngax li zyt jie mu ddix co ngax zy ap－hna． 1P．SG TOP REFL area person 1P．SG accept NEG－MOD．willing ＇People of my area are not willing to accept me．＇

The modal auxiliary hna＇willing＇is related to the main verb nge hna which also means be willing．In contrast to hna，nge hna can be used as independent predicate and takes VP－complements with the complementizer go．
a．がさが水！
b．＊Nが皮！
nga nge hna yip！
1P．SG willing EXCL
＇I am willing！＂

| ＊nga | hna | yip！ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG | MOD．willing | EXCL |
| ＇I am willing！＇ |  |  |


nga ne mgex zzax zze go nge hna su nge．
1P．SG 2P．SG mix food eat COMP willing FOC COP ＇I am willing to eat with you．＇

Furthermore，the modal auxiliary hna is homophonous with two unrelated main verbs：hna＇ask＇and hna＇listen’．

nga ddop ma go nex hna．
1P．SG word LOC 2P．SG ask
＇I asked you something．＇

ddop ma cyx gge cy hna ox．
word DEM．PROX CL 3P．SG listen DP
＇He heard these words．＇

## F．The modal but＇dare’

As modal auxiliary verb，but＇dare＇only takes VP－complements，cannot occur as independent predicate，cannot be nominalized，but can be negated and reduplicated． Most of these properties are illustrated below．

＊cyx li ap mu but su nge． 3P．SG TOP now MOD．dare FOC COP
Intended meaning：＇He is daring now．＇
b．刑小儿も丰 $甘$ 品？
cyx li ap mu it nyi gu but but？
3P．SG TOP now sleep MOD．dare～ALT
＇Is he daring to sleep now？＇

ggap mox a ddit bbu jix su go co gox mga ap－but．
road there side ART LOC people PRO．LOC pass NEG－MOD．dare ＇People don＇t dare to pass on the side road．＇

mu gox jjie－ap－mgur su bur hxi yip nex hna but．
male name understand＜NEG＞COMP return again 2P．SG ask MOD．dare ＇Mugo isn＇t clear，so he dares to ask you again．＇

cyx li nyuo zzyp gex qyp tot hxep ap－but．
3P．SG TOP eye even raise up look NEG－MOD．dare
＇He does not dare to raise his eyes and look up．＇
f．时牙抹雨：
co ax pa ne ngax zyp fup la but su
person other TOP 1P．SG associate come MOD．dare NOM
cyp ma ax di jjo．
NUM． 1 CL only have
＇There was only one who dared to associate with me．＇
g．刌旬斗り小品。
ngax li ix go li ap－but．
1P．SG TOP home go NEG－MOD．dare
＇I don＇t dare go back home．＇

## G．The modal get＇can，able＇

The modal auxiliary get refers to the ability of the subject to perform the action described by the sentence．This meaning of get is partially complementary with the other possibility auxiliaries，hxit（section H），dop（I）and yix syp（J）．

ngop mu ddix ddop ma cy hxip get．
1P．PL area dialect，patois 3P．SG speak MOD．can
＇He is able to speak our local dialect．＇
b．寸たの気比ぶ扸，寸ます。
ne tep yy kax bi get su li，ne syp ox．
2P．SG book CLF read MOD．can NOM TOP 2P．SG know DP ＇What you can read，you already know．＇

mu jy rrup ssi get -jjy- get.
male name chopsticks use MOD.can very MOD.can
'Mudje can use chopsticks very well.'

cy syt cy jjit hxip ryt ap- get.
3P.SG matter DEM.PROX CL confess NEG- MOD.can
'He is unable to admit this bad situation.'

Besides the meaning of able, the auxiliary get has also developed a more abstract epistemic meaning. It occurs in nominalized constructions in which the potential existence of the noun referent is stated.
(58) Existential construction: $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{VP}+$ su jjo get.

Possible and impossible existence of events is illustrated in (59).

co zyt jie gop bo bop shep ap- syp su jjo get.
person REFL body preserve NEG- know NOM have MOD.can
'There may be someone who does not know how to care for himself.'

co zyt jie gop bo bop shep ap- syp su jjo ap- get.
person REFL body preserve NEG- know NOM have NEG- MOD.can 'There can't be anybody who hates his/her own body.'

co hxi jox ip ko ndup su jjo get.
person outside door knock NOM have MOD.can
'There may be somebody outside knocking at the door.'
d.
vit gga go ddut pa qip su jjo ap- get.
clothes LOC cloth darn NOM have NEG- MOD.can
'There can't be anybody darning the clothes.'

## H. The modal hxit 'can'

The second possibility modal is hxit. It expresses external and moral permission. The negated form ap hxit conveys prohibition.

cox ra ap－hxit，co ndux ap－hxit． person curse NEG－MOD．can person beat NEG－MOD．can ＇You must not curse and must not beat others．＇
b．サザQㅗㅗㅗN．
nop ngat qop bop ddie hxit．
2P．PL 1P．SG friend make，prepare MOD．can
＇You can be my friends．＇
c．
nop wox lu po hxep da sso hxit－jjy－hxit．
2P．PL male name COV．watch learn MOD．can very MOD．can
＇You can learn very much from Lupo．＇
d．活出出X주N。
ne xyx hnie ddie cy box hxit．
2P．SG shoe COV．prepare 3P．SG show MOD．can
＇You can show him your shoes．＇

nit xyp mop kep mu nyi nbot hat da ap－hxit．
2P．SG wife IND．however hide put NEG－MOD．can
＇You really can＇t hide your wife．＇

nga cyp zha nyix lyr nyie ap－hxit．
1P．SG NUM． 1 VCL．a little bit also move NEG－MOD．can ＇I can’t even move it a little bit．＇

## I．The modal dop＇can＇

Among the four possibility modal auxiliaries，dop＇can＇is the broadest．It covers permissive，ability and epistemic meanings．

cy jie yi go da bbit la ap－dop．
3P．SG prison LOC COV．put exit come NEG－MOD．can
＇He cannot come out of prison．＇

va qip qot va zyr sse jjip dox．
egg change chicken become MOD．can
＇The egg become a chicken．＇
c．※式日可田小ま。
lur kur cyx ma gox zzur dox．
city DEM．PROX CL LOC stand MOD．can
＇This city can stand firm．＇
d．牙ゆ匋片さ干解氏な。
ax yi max su nge ci jix byp dox．
child ART＝CL－DET NUM． 50 CL．pound carry MOD．can
＇The child can carry 50 pounds．＇
e．X 夋米HवIにき。
cy zzyt bbo mu yyx jy dox．
3P．SG alone swim MOD．can
＇He can swim alone．＇

ne kax mo su nga mo qi，tit gox mo ap－dop． 2P．SG CLF see NOM 1P．SG see MOD．want but PRO．PAT see NEG－MOD．can ＇I would like to see what you see，but I can＇t．＇

## J．The modal yix syp＇able，know－how＇

The modal auxiliary yix syp＇can＇has a more restricted sense of（mental）ability．Its first syllable is without relevant meaning，but the second syllable is the verb syp ＇know＇．The auxiliary yix syp cannot be used as sole predicate．

cy lur nbie nbie yix syp．
3P．SG slingshot sling MOD．can
＇He can sling a slingshot．＇

a yit uo fa mguo yix syp．
female name headscarf embroider MOD．can
＇Ayi can embroider headscarves．＇
c．ザ
ngat mup mit ne zyt die yix－ap－syp．
1P．SG situation 2P．SG analyze MOD．can＜NEG＞
＇You cannot analyze my situation．＇

shyrx rruo la go ne，ku ax di ku，
robber come COMP TOP steal only steal
bie ax di bie quo yix syp．
destroy only destroy MOD．can
＇When，the robber comes，he is only able to steal and to destroy．＇
e．利ヨ $X_{n}$ 式N：

| nex | li | rre zza | ax di | zyr | yix syp． |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2P．SG | TOP | wealth＝money＋food | only | amass | MOD．can |
| ＇You are only | able to amass wealth．＇ |  |  |  |  |

The following example juxtaposes two possibility modals．One modal refers to an internal property of the subject（ability），while the other to an external sense of obligation．

sux yy ddie su li co hmat yix syp ssox．
leader function NOM TOP people teach MOD．can MOD．should ＇A leader should be able to teach others．＇

## K．The modal hxi nyi＇intend＇

The modal auxiliary hxi nyi＇intend＇consists of the truncated syllable hxi，derived from hxie mat＇heart＇，and nyi＇sit＇．These components have lexicalized by the meta－ phor intentions sit in the heart of an agent．The morphosyntactic properties of modal auxiliaries（e．g．intensification，possibility of negation，impossibility as sole predi－ cate）are illustrated for hxi nyi below．

lat sse cyp pat vu hxep bbo hxi nyi．
male name 3P．SG．POSS uncle see go MOD．intend
＇Laze intends to visit his uncle．＇

cy ssox dde cyx ma ju hxi－ap－nyi．
3P．SG school DEM．PROX CL manage MOD．intend＜NEG＞
＇He does not intend to run this school．＇
c．武事打柲丰手必丰。
ax mo vap la chyp hxi nyi－jiy－hxi nyi．
Mom Nuosu cloak with fringes weave intend very intend ＇Mom really wants to weave a Vala cloak．＇

The modal hxi nyi＇intend＇can only be nominalized in combination with a VP－ complement．This is shown in the following minimal sentence pair．

[^21]b. $\hat{\theta} \sqrt{5} \hat{\theta}$
ssox sse max su ka bba cyp vit wep hxi nyi su nge. student ART prize NUM. 1 VCL get MOD.intend FOC COP 'The student intends to win a prize.'

The modal auxiliary hxi nyi is compatible with the dynamic perfect marker ox and with the experiential marker nzox (section 7.6.1), but not with the progressive njuo (section 7.4.1) or periodic marker ndit (section 7.6.2).
a. Nッツ!

| nga | ap hxiet | op rro | it | bbo | hxi nyi | nzox. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P.SG | before | Xichang | live | go | MOD.intend | EXP |

'I once wanted to live in Xichang.'

*ax yi la hxi nyi njuo. child come MOD.intend PROG Intended meaning: 'The child is willing to come.'

## L. The modal mo mgu 'intend'

The modals mo mgu (section L) and hxi nyi (section K) have similar meanings but have different lexical make-up: mo mgu means 'see-think'; hxi nyi is derived from 'heart-sit'. The string mo mgu satisfies all properties of a modal auxiliary (e.g. sole main predicate, only VP-complements but no clause-complements).

ngax li ke dit sip li mo mgu.
1P.SG TOP dog lead go MOD.intend
'I intend to lead the dog away.'

nga ie qyt tip ne dox mo mgu.
1P.SG water scoop 2P.SG give to drink MOD.intend
'I will scoop water for you to drink.'

ax pa syt xix yiet nyi ddie jjip mo mgu.
other matter IND.whatever CL also manage MOD.intend
'(He) intends to manage all things.'

kax ddi ma ngat jop hxip su nga gox hna mo mgu.
INT.who CL 1P.SG to speak NOM 1P.SG PRO.PAT listen MOD.intend 'I intend to listen to who was speaking to me.'

mu ga ax yi zhax su jo ax mo bbyp mo－ap－mgu．
male name child ART hand over mother COV MOD＜NEG＞ ＇Muga does not intend to give the infant to his mother．＇

## M．The modal mo ddix＇committed＇

The modal mo ddix＇committed＇is related to the modal mo mgu＇intend＇but is more intense．It is composed of the quotative ddix（section 8．3．1）．The auxiliary mo ddix is ungradable but satisfies all other properties of modals．

＊cop wox nop jiet la mo ddix－jjy－mo ddix． 3P．PL 2P．PL home come MOD．committed very MOD．committed Intended meaning：＇They are very committed to come to your home．＇

cy co nyip ma wa ddop shep mo ddix．
3P．SG person NUM． 2 CL behind accuse MOD．committed
＇He is committed to accuse two people．＇

ip nyip cop wox chot ndup mo－ap－ddix．
today 3P．PL gun hit MOD．committed＜NEG＞
＇Today they are committed to shooting with the gun．＇
d．$x$ 悉勾可出出出氕。
cy zhyx ge ax lu bbur yu mo ddix．
3P．SG name of god portrait carve MOD．committed
＇He is committed to carving a portrait of Zhyxge＇alu．＇

bbu jji ggex su cop ggit cyr gox sha sat mo ddix．
enemy ART 3P．PL eliminate SEND EXH MOD．committed
＇They are committed to eliminating their enemies completely．＇

## N．The modal jox dop＇prepared＇

The auxiliary jox dop＇prepared＇is lexicalized by morphological reanalysis of the postposition jox＇to＇and the verb dop＇point at＇．If jox dop directly modifies a noun phrase，both components are used with their original meanings，as in（69a）．

cy lot rrep ssox sse jox dop．
3P．SG hand stretch students to point at
＇He stretched out his hand and pointed at the students．＇
b. ØりH
xip li muga jox dop da hxip su nge. DEM.DD TOP male name to point at STP say FOC COP 'This is referring to (lit. talking about) Muga.'

The string jox dop can also be preceded by a verb phrase. In this function, it was reanalyzed as modal auxiliary with the sense prepared to. It acquired all morphosyntactic properties of modal auxiliary verbs. Semantically, its meaning shifted from pointing to an object to preparing a state of affairs.

ip mi cy ip ko qup jox dop.
today evening 3P.SG door guard MOD.prepared
'This evening he is prepared to guard the door.'

nga sut tep yy chyr hxex jox-ap-dop.
1P.SG other people letter open see MOD.prepared<NEG>
'I am not prepared to open and read other people’s letters.'

su hlit max su cy zy cox gu bbo shux jox dop. young person ART 3P.SG prompt people inform go CAUS MOD.prepared 'He was prepared to encourage the young man to inform everyone.'

*cop wox mux dde nra jox dop -jjy- jox dop.
3P.PL ground measure MOD.prepared very MOD.prepared Intended meaning: 'They are very much prepared to survey the land.'
e. X
cy ie qyt six bbut vie sha jox dop.
3P.SG water COV.take flower water MOD.prepared
'He is prepared to water the flowers.'

### 8.3 Evidentiality

Evidentiality is the domain of information sources which indicate how one learnt something (Aikhenvald 2004: 1; Willet 1988: 51). In about a quarter of the world's languages, information sources are encoded in the grammatical system. With bound morphemes, the sentence must indicate the type of source on which it is based. In a chapter of the World Atlas of Language Structures, De Haan (2005) identifies North and South America as the principle areas of languages with grammaticalized information sources.

Individual languages exhibit between one and five grammaticalized information sources（Aikhenvald 2004：60）：visual testimony（vis）；auditory（AUD）；sensory and participatory experience（EXP）；specific quotative（QUOT）and unspecific hearsay （HEAR）．In Nuosu，evidentiality is not encoded in the grammar－with one exception， quotation（section 8．3．1）．All other information sources are lexically encoded and are briefly surveyed in section 8．3．2．

## 8．3．1 The quotative information source

Information reported to the speaker originate from a quotative source．In Nuosu，the quotative source is marked by the sentence particle ddix．This morpheme also serves other grammatical functions，as particle of direct and indirect quotation（section A） and as complementizer（section B）．There are also lexical expressions containing ddix（section C）．

## A．The quotative particle ddix

The particle ddip／ddix is the formal mark of quotative constructions．It is grammati－ calized from the proto－Yi main verb＊di ‘say’（Gerner 2012）．Ddip（low tone）can be used as independent predicate to introduce a quote．
（71）The quotative particle ddix：
a．ddip go＋［quotative clause］＋ddix
b．ddip go＋［quotative clause］＋mu hxip
c．hxip go＋［quotative clause］＋ddix

mu rryr ddip go i shax jji bit ddix．
male name say SENT．TOP LOG．SG candy chew QUOT ＇Mudge said that he is chewing candies．＇
b．H芹坐斗も开\＃$\because$ H
mu rryr ddip go i shax jii bit mu hxip． male name say SENT．TOP LOG．SG candy chew ADVL say ＇Mudge said that he is chewing candies．＇

mu rryr hxip go i shax jji bit ddix． male name say SENT．TOP LOG．SG candy chew QUOT ＇Mudge said that he is chewing candies．＇

The verb ddip／ddix also occurs as the sole predicate of a clause with the sense be named．It does not mean speak．（73a）illustrates a well－formed and（73c）an ill－formed example．
（73）
a．$\quad$ X H平守。
cy mu gox ddix．
3P．SG name be named
＇His name is Mugo．＇
b．X点向向。
cy ddop hxip ox 3P．SG word say DP ＇He has spoken．＇
c．＊×志里问。
＊cy ddop ddip ox． 3P．SG word say say ＇He has spoken．＇

Otherwise，ddix is the formal mark of direct quotes，as in（74），and of indirect quotes，as in（75）．It is always the element of final sentence closure．

mu ga ddip go：＂nga ket zza zze ap－la ox＂ddix．
male name say SENT．TOP 1P．SG dinner eat NEG－come DP QUOT ＇Muga said：＂I won＇t come for dinner＂．＇

sut co xip mu hxip：＂at nyop jjiex mguo ox＂ddix．
other people DEM．DD say female name understand DP QUOT
＇Other people say：＂Anyo has understood it＂．＇

lat mop hxip go：＂nga hxe nyiet njuo＂ddix．
male name say SENT．TOP 1P．SG fish catch DP QUOT
＇Lamo said：＂I am fishing＂．＇

The quotative particle ddix is used as closure of indirect quotes，often in com－ bination with logophors（section 5．4．1．B）．Sometimes，the adverbial mu hxip can be used as well，see（75d）．
（75）

mu ga hxip go ip ko i gep ggot da ox ddix． male name say SENT．TOP door LOG．SG PASS shut STP DP QUOT ＇Muga said that the door was shut by him．＇

ne hxip go cy shut jji nyuo tuo ox ddix．
2P．SG say SENT．TOP 3P．SG recover consciousness DP QUOT
＇You said that he regained consciousness．＇

cop wox ddip go hmat mop op gu ox ddix．
3P．PL say SENT．TOP teacher LOG．PL call DP QUOT
＇They said that the teacher called them．＇

at nyop hxip go ax yi max su hmat dde jji ox mu hxip．
female name say SENT．TOP child ART teach grow up DP ADVL say
＇Anyo said that the child is educated．＇
Direct quotes embedded within other direct quotes are marked with two succes－ sive occurrences of ddix，as shown in（76a）．Indirect quotes within other indirect quotes are marked with only one occurrence of ddix，as in（76b）．

cy ddip go：＂cox ma shyr da hxip：‘shyr rruo la ox＇ 3P．SG say SENT．TOP person CL shout STP say robber come DP ddix＂ddix．
QUOT QUOT
＇He said：＂Someone shouted：＇A thief has come＇＂．＇

lat hxa hxip ngop ge，mu ga ddip go， male name say 1 P．SG tell male name say SENT．TOP
i syt lat ax nyi guo ddix．
LOG．SG affair many extraordinary QUOT
＇Laha told us that Muga said that he is extremely busy．＇

The quotative particle at the end of the sentence cannot be reduplicated and negated by $a p$ ．
a．标我和
＊ne hxip go lu po mu dut jie ox ddix ddix？ 2P．SG say SENT．TOP male name fire lighten DP QUOT～ALT Intended meaning：‘Did you say that Lupo lit a fire？＇
b．＊y
＊ne hxip go lu po mu dut jie ox ap－ddix． 2P．SG say SENT．TOP male name fire lighten DP NEG－QUOT Intended meaning：‘You did not say that Lupo lit a fire．＇

Moreover，ddix is used in two types of nominalizations．With a proper name，it is nominalized with the sense of so－called，see（78a）．With an indirect speech clause and a classifier，it encodes a nominal complement clause，as in（78b）．

cyx li mu jy ddix max su nge.
3P.SG TOP male name be named ART=CL-DET COP
'He is the one who is called Mudje.'

"cyx li hxie mgat ma nge" ddix gox su ddop vu-ap-jji.
3P.SG TOP Chinese CL COP QUOT ART=CL-DET word true<NEG> 'The statement that he is a Chinese is not true.'

## B. The complementizer ddix

The particle ddix also functions as complementizer of speech verbs, the same verbs which co-occur with the quotative particle ddix. The verb of speech occurs after the complementizer ddix.
(79) The complementizer ddix:
$\mathrm{NP}+[$ embedded clause $]+d d i x+\mathrm{V}_{\text {speech }}$.
The complementizer ddix is illustrated below for several verbs of speech.

cop wox hxi yip ngat jop op hmi tat ti
3P.PL further 1P.SG to LOG.PL.POSS name NEG.IMP- spread
ddix hxip.
COMP say
'They further told me not to spread their name.'

a mat ngop jox tat- bbo ddix gox xie njuo.
grandmother 1P.PL to NEG.IMP- go COMP urge PROG
'The grandmother urged us not to leave.'

cy sip hni max su co ap- ku ddix ddop zy ssi.
3P.SG woman ART people NEG- steal COMP testimony use
'He testified that the woman had not stolen from other people.'

Ddix is the complementizer for direct and indirect quotes. It contrasts with the English complementizer that which does not subcategorize direct quotes.
(81) a. YG"ジ!
at nyop "ne ip nyip la hxit hxit" ddix hna.
female name 2P.SG today come can $\sim$ ALT COMP ask
'Anyo asked: "Can you come today?",

at nyop nga jop i ip nyip la hxit ddix hna． female name 1P．SG toward LOG．SG today come can COMP ask ＇Anyo asked whether she could come today．＇

mu ga ngat jop＂nga la ap－hxit＂ddix ddop bur． male name 1P．SG to 1 P．SG come NEG－can COMP reply ＇Muga said to me：＂I cannot come＂，＇
b．HO甘゙がも川小N雨志も。
mu ga ngat jop i la ap－hxit ddix ddop bur． male name 1P．SG to LOG．SG come NEG－can COMP reply ＇Muga said to me that he cannot come．＇

## C．Other expressions incorporating ddix

Several expressions in Nuosu integrate the morpheme ddix．They relate back to the blending of the verb＊ddi＇say＇and other forms at an earlier stage of the language．

Table 8．3：Expressions including ddix

| Term | Meaning | Section of grammar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ddix | ＇at＇（for people） | section 6．2．5．B |
| ddip ssox | ＇should＇ | section 8．2．2．C |
| mo ddix | ＇committed＇ | section 8．2．2．M |
| ap ddi ddix | ＇if＇ | section 13．1．2．A |
| ddix ap bbo | ＇furthermore＇ | section 13．1．3．B |
| ddix sy ne | ＇as soon as＇ | section 13．1．2．C |

The postposition ddix＇at the place of＇must co－occur with human nouns（remi－ niscent of the French preposition chez）．It is probably cognate with the quotation particle ddix．
（83）a．メッチンスディリ。
cy cyp xyp mop ddix ap－li．
3P．SG 3P．SG．POSS wife LOC．at place of NEG－go
＇He didn＇t go to his wife．＇

nyit cy li ax yi max su da jix bie bbo ox． ghost TOP child ART＝CL－DET LOC．at place of COV．put leave go DP ＇The ghost left the child．＇

Moreover, ddix is part of the two modal auxiliaries ddip ssox 'should' (section 8.2.2.C) and mo ddix 'committed' (section 8.2.2.M). Both modals have commissive meanings with a more or less direct link to speech.

ne ngax ddie nit qop bop ma mu da ddip ssox. 2P.SG 1P.SG COV.prepare 2P.SG.POSS friend CL do put MOD.should 'You should adopt me as one of your friends.'

cy la mo ddix su nga dde-ap-jji. 3P.SG come MOD.committed COMP 1P.SG know<NEG>
'I don't know whether he intends to come.'

Finally, there are three conjunctions containing ddix. The conjunction ap ddi ddix 'if' (section 13.1.2.A) is composed of the quantifier ax di 'only' (section 5.3.2.G) and ddix 'say'. Ap ddi ddix prompts the use of yix ne at the end of the first clause.

ap ddi ddix ma hxa jjip yix ne, mu ga op roo
if rain become provided that male name Xichang
bbo ap-hxit.
go NEG-MOD.can
'If it is raining tomorrow, Muga can't go to Xichang.'

The conjunction ddix ap bbo 'furthermore' contains the intransitive verb bbo 'go'. The meaning furthermore is reanalyzed in two steps from not going to say and then needless to say.
(86) H
mu ga ap ndip hxix cyp ix go li ox, ddix ap bbo
male name yesterday 3P.SG.POSS home go DP furthermore
ngap nyit gex jiyx- mo ox.
1P.DL all, even RECL- see DP
'Muga went to his home yesterday, and both of us met there.'
The conjunction ddix sy ne 'as soon as' is composed of *ddi 'say', sy 'yet' and the topic marker ne. These three words literally mean while saying. This meaning was reanalyzed as as soon as.

ax da ssox dde xi la ddix sy ne, syt cy jiit cy
father school arrive come as soon as matter DEM.PROX CL 3P.SG
hxip ngop ge.
say 1P.PL tell
'As soon as the father arrived at the school, he told us what happened.'

### 8.3.2 Other information sources

In Nuosu, only the quotative information source is grammatically encoded. In the Yi group on a whole, evidentiality is not a feature of the grammar. ${ }^{1}$

In Nuosu, the information sources of visual (vis), auditory (AUD) testimony, sensory/participatory experience (EXP) are expressed lexically, mainly with matrix verbs.

ddip vip kep nyix mu la su nga wep mo ox. guest INT.how much ADVL come COMP 1P.SG GET see DP 'I have seen that guests are coming in high numbers.'
 ngop wox nop wox go hxep ap- ddi su mu ga gge ox. 1P.PL 2P.PL PRO.PAT see NEG- evil COMP name hear DP 'Muga heard that we do not despise you.'

cyp gop bop go nax mgo su sa mu ddu ap3P.SG.POSS body LOC illness bear NOM recover event NEGjjo su cy sip ngop ox. have COMP 3P.SG feel DP
'He felt that he had completely recovered from his illness.'

[^22]
## Chapter 9

## Adverbs and negation

In this chapter, we analyze adverbial expressions (section 9.1) and negation strategies (section 9.2).

### 9.1 Adverbs

Adverbs modify parts of speech other than nouns: verbs, adjectives, other adverbs and clauses. We present syntactical and semantic differences of adverbs in section 9.1.1 and classify them syntactically in section 9.1.2.

### 9.1.1 Adverbial constructions

We distinguish between predicate-level and sentence-level adverbials (section A). We identify the Nuosu equivalent of depictives (section B). We elaborate on the semantic orientation of adverbials toward the agent, the patient or the event (section C). We investigate free adjuncts, adverbials that are loosely attached to the main predicate (section D).

## A. Predicate-level and sentence-level adverbials

Predicate-adverbials modify the predicate, whereas sentence-adverbials target the whole sentence. Sentence-adverbials often reflect the speaker's attitude.

Predicate-level and sentence-level adverbials can be morphosyntactically derived from each other. In (1a), the adjective gex yi 'stupid' gives rise to the predicate-level adverb gex yi mu 'stupid'. In (1b), the sentence-level adverbial construction can be expressed by a nominalization predicated by gex yi ‘stupid’.

mu ga gex yi mu ddop bur.
name stupid ADVL answer
'Muga answered the question stupidly.'

mu ga ddop cyx go bur su, xip li gex yi
name word DEM.PROX CL return SENT.TOP DEM.DD TOP stupid
su nge.
NOM COP
'It was stupid of Muga to answer the question.'

In many cases，the sentence－level adverbial which corresponds semantically to the predicate－level adverbial must be constructed differently．
（2）a．可解\＃H点我。
ax ga rrop jii mu ddop hxip．
female name naturally word say
＇Aga spoke naturally．＇

hxip ddie－ap－ddur，ax ga ddop hxip ox． say need＜NEG＞female name word say DP ＇Naturally（＝it was obvious that），Aga spoke．＇

## B．Constructions equivalent to depictives

Cross－linguistically，secondary predication is a syntactic construction with two pred－ icates that express two relations within the same event（Himmelmann \＆Schultze－ Berndt 2005）．Secondary predication is reminiscent of serial verb constructions and can be subdivided into depictives and resultatives．
（3）a．George bought the carrots fresh．Depictive secondary predication
b．Georges boiled the carrots soft．Resultative secondary predication

In Nuosu，the closest equivalent of English secondary predications are adverbial constructions（section 9．1．1）and resultative constructions（section 12．2）．The Nuosu equivalent of English depictives is a construction in which the second predicate is adverbialized by－mu，as shown in（4a）．The adjective cannot be simply appended to the main predicate，as illustrated in（4b）．

mu rryr hxix ke vop nzi a shyt shyp mu cy vy six la． male name carrot fresh ADVL 3P．SG buy RES come ＇Mudge bought the carrots fresh．＇

＊mu rryr hxix ke vop nzi cy vy a shyt（shyp）． male name carrot 3P．SG buy fresh Intended meaning：＇Mudge bought the carrots fresh．＇

The adverbializer－mu is described in detail at different places of this grammar （section 5．3．2．J，section 9．1）．In Nuosu，depictive and adverbial constructions are structurally indistinguishable and contrast with English（see gloss of 5a）．

at gop guo luo mut zzy mu yi go da bbit bbo ox. female name angry ADVL house LOC COV go out DP 'Ago left the room angry/Or: Ago left the room angrily.'

The adverbializer -mu conveys manner. Semantic nuances such as circumstantial or resultative can be captured by other particles.

at gop guo luo mut zzy da yi go da bbit bbo ox. name angry STP house LOC COV go out DP 'Having become angry, Ago left the room.'

at gop guo luo mut zzy six yi go da bbit bbo ox.
name angry RES house LOC COV go out DP
'Ago was so angry that she left the room.'

## C. Oriented adverbials

Predicate-level adverbs can be event-oriented, agent-oriented or patient-oriented. Event- and agent-oriented adverbs generally take the adverbializer $m u$, as in ( $6 \mathrm{a}+\mathrm{b}$ ), patient-oriented adverbs are posed after the predicate often together with the resultative particle sip/six (section 12.2.2), as illustrated in (6c).
(6) a. $X$ 代蚆Y H
cy a shyt shyp mu sy.
3P.SG young ADVL die
'She died young.'

cop wox iex ssa ie ssa mu ssox dde max su hxep da bbo.
3P.PL very slowly ADVL school ART COV STP go
'They went to the school very slowly.'

mu ga niep ga cy jot ix nu ox.
male name pumkin 3P.SG boil soft DP
'Muga cooked the pumkin soft.'

## D. Free adjuncts

Free adjuncts are adverbial expression consisting of a secondary predicate that is only loosely attached to the primary predicate. Stump (1985: 41-42) distinguished between weak and strong free adjuncts. Weak free adjuncts set the momentary stage
for the main predication while strong free adjuncts provide a permanent platform for the predication.
(7) a. weak: Standing on a chair, John can touch the ceiling.
b. If he stands on a chair, John can touch the ceiling.
(8) a. strong: Having unusually long arms, John can touch the ceiling.
b. Because he has unusually long arms, John can touch the ceiling.

Free adjuncts in Nuosu correspond to serial verb constructions and other coordinate clauses. The equivalent of Stump's examples in Nuosu is provided in (9): weak free adjuncts in (9a) and strong free adjuncts in (9b).

nyix dde ma tot hxit yix ne, mugox lot rrep seat CL on top stand provided that male name hand stretch yi lo hmy. collar beam reach
'Standing on a seat, Mugo can reach with his hand up to the collar beam.'

lot a sho-jjy-a sho da, mu gox lot rep yi lo hmy. arm long-very-long STP male name hand stretch collar beam reach 'Having very long arms, Mugo can touch the collar beam.'

### 9.1.2 Movable adverbs

We use the term movable adverbs in a similar way Li \& Thompson (1981: 320) do for Chinese. Movable adverbs occur in clause-initial position or after the first NP which might be the subject or direct object. Movable adverbs set an interpretative frame for the whole sentence. There are temporal adverbs and other adverbs in this category.

## A. Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs locate the reference time with respect to the event time and utterance time. Temporal adverbs are sentential and contrast with aspectual adverbs ('already') and frequency adverbs ('always') which are not sentential.

The examples below illustrate the two syntactic positions in which temporal adverbs occur.

Table 9.1: Movable temporal adverbs

| ap mu 'now' | ap ndi hxix 'yesterday' |
| :--- | :--- |
| ap mut sip 'just now' | nyiet hxie ddip kut 'next year' |
| ap hxiet miep jox 'before' | ap hxiet ddip kut 'last year' |
| kep te gex nep 'already before' | hxo bbu ddur wa 'in the morning' |
| ip nyip 'today' | jjo hnox la 'ever' |
| mup shyp nyip 'tomorrow' | wax la cyp nyip ne 'in future' (...) |


ip nyip cy op rro che qu vy yy.
today 3P.SG Xichang rice buy go
'Today, he went to Xichang to buy rice.'

cy ip nyip op rro che qu vy yy.
3P.SG today Xichang rice buy go
'He went to Xichang today to buy rice.'

ap mut sip cox gge ne shex la ox. just now people CL 2P.SG look for come DP 'Some people are looking for you just now.'

cox gge ap mut sip ne shex la ox. people CL just now 2P.SG look for come DP 'Some people are looking for you just now.'

kep te gex nep nga nop jox hxip ox. already before 1P.SG 2P.PL toward say DP 'I told you so before.'

nga kep te gex nep nop jox hxip ox.
1P.SG already before 2P.PL toward say DP
'I told you so before.'

wax la cyp nyip ne nga re mop ddie nex sur mix.
in future $\quad 1$ P.SG money COV 2P.SG return FUT
'I will return the money to you.' (The topic marker ne is lexicalized)

nga wax la cyp nyip ne re mop ddie nex sur mix.
1P.SG in future money COV 2P.SG return FUT
'I will return the money to you.' (The topic marker ne is lexicalized)
The movable adverb jjo hnox la 'ever' must co-occur with the negated experiential aspect marker ap nzop to convey the meaning never before.

jjo hnox la vo xip yyx bbo co gox mo ap- nzop. ever snow DEM.DD big CL person PRO.PAT see NEG- EXP 'Such a big snowfall was never seen before.'

vo xip yyx bbo jjo hnox la co gox mo ap- nzop.
snow DEM.DD big CL ever person PRO.PAT see NEG- EXP
'Such a big snowfall was never seen before.'

## B. Other adverbs

Other movable adverbs consist of attitudinal adverbs, which convey the speaker's attitude, and one frequency adverb.

Table 9.2: Other movable adverbs

| nyip mop nyip 'in the past' | bip ap jjo mu 'for no reason' |
| :--- | :--- |
| cyx luo mu 'suddenly' | hxix hxi mu 'intentionally' |
| hxo ap lo tu ddix 'at once' | nyuo ba ba mu 'clearly' |
| tuo tuo mu 'by chance' | nyuo mo hne gge mu 'obviously' |
| wox dde mu go 'originally' | ap dda yix nyi 'at least' |
| ap bo ap de (mu) 'by any standard' | ap lop ne 'apparently' |
| o njit mu 'roughly' | bur lop bur mu 'again and again' |

Most of the sentential adverbs in Table 9.2 append the phrasal suffix -mu (section 5.3.2.J, section 9.1.2.A). These adverbs are not derived from adjectives, at least not synchronically. The presence of $-m u$ is a general marker of adverbhood. The following examples show the adverb in initial position and after the first NP.

nyip mop nyip nga nry ndo.
in the past 1P.SG wine drink
'In the past, I drank wine.'
（16）a． $\bar{x} \Phi H \theta$ ज $\ddagger$ 向。
cyx luo mu ma hxa jjip ox．
suddenly rain become DP
＇Suddenly，it rained．＇
b．$\theta \subseteq \mathbb{X} \Phi$ Н我向。
ma hxa cyx luo mu jjip ox．
rain suddenly become DP
＇Suddenly，it rained．＇

hxop ap lo tu ddix cyp hlut bbup mu hly pur six bbo ox． at once 3P．SG．POSS hat wind blow RES go DP
＇His headscarf was blown away at once．＇
b．」きがゆ心か
cyp hlut bbup hxop ap lo tu ddix mu hly pur six bbo ox． 3P．SG．POSS hat at once wind blow RES go DP
＇His headscarf was blown away at once．＇

wox dde mu go cy xyx hnie vy ji ngop．
originally 3P．SG shoe buy want，think
＇Originally，he wanted to buy shoes．＇

cy wox dde mu go xyx hnie vy ji ngop．
3P．SG originally shoe buy want，think
＇Originally，he wanted to buy shoes．＇

tuo tuo mu nga la cyx zo da．
by chance 1P．SG come $3 P . S G$ meet STP．
＇I came to meet him by chance．＇

nga tuo tuo mu la cyx zo da．
1P．SG by chance come 3 P．SG meet STP．
＇I came to meet him by chance．＇

o njit mu cy hxip jjip ox．
roughly 3 P．SG say become DP
＇He said it roughly．＇

cy o njit mu hxip jjip ox．
3P．SG roughly say become DP
＇He said it roughly．＇

bip ap jjo mu cy sut co jox zyt．
for no reason 3P．SG other people toward abuse，scold ＇He abuses others for no obvious reason．＇

cy bip ap jio mu sut co jox zyt．
3P．SG for no reason other people toward abuse，scold ＇He abuses others for no obvious reason．＇

（adversity context）
nyuo ba ba mu cy mgie ngax ge
obviously 3P．SG cheat 1P．SG tell
＇Obviously，he cheated me．＇

（adversity context）
cy nyuo ba ba mu mgie ngax ge．
3P．SG obviously cheat 1P．SG tell
＇Obviously，he cheated me．＇
The adverb $a p$ dda yix nyi＇at least＇is a quantificational adverb that requires a quantificational expression in the sentence．

ap dda yix nyi ne nge ci vat ddur luop．
at least 2P．SG NUM． 50 dollar exit REGR
＇You should give out at least 50 RMB．＇

ne ap dda yix nyi bbop cyp zha zze．
2P．SG at least invite，request NUM． 1 CL eat
＇You are at least invited to eat a little bit．＇
The adverb ap lop ne＇apparently＇must occur in a comparative construction or co－occur with the verb sup＇resemble＇．
（24）a．火由゙メボ小゙かも $\theta$ 。
ap lop ne cy nga ap－syp ma sup．
apparently 3P．SG 1P．SG NEG－know CL resemble
＇He looks like someone who doesn＇t know me．＇

nga cyx si nip ap lop ne jjy-yyx.
1P.SG 3P.SG with apparently RECL-big
'I and he apparently have the same size.'
The sole frequency adverb in this group is bur lop bur mu 'again and again'.

bur lop bur mu syt cy jjit ne hxip ddie-ap-ddur ox. again and again matter DEM CL 2P.SG say need<NEG> DP 'You need not repeat this matter over and over again.'

bbox zze cyx ma bur lop bur mu jie shat jo njuo go shex.
man DEM CL again and again street turn move HAB
'This man staggers forth and back in the street.'

### 9.1.3 Immovable adverbs

Immovable adverbs only occur after the first NP, not in sentence-initial position. Immovable adverbs fall into two semantic categories: manner adverbs and functional (quantificational, syntactic) adverbs.

## A. Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs append the phrasal suffix $-m u$ (section 5.3.2.J) which assumes a function similar to the Germanic suffix -*ly and the Romance suffix -*ment.

Table 9.3: Immovable manner adverbs

| at ggop ggop mu 'aimless, in vain' (A) | iex ssa iex ssa mu 'slowly' |
| :--- | :--- |
| xy xy zzyt zzyp mu 'meticulously' (A) | bbop bbop do do mu 'soberly' |
| ryr ggur ggur mu 'earnestly' (A) | cy jijp cy jjix mu 'naturally' |
| guo luo mut zzi zzi mu 'angry' (A) | ax ddie ddie mu 'alive' |
| gex zhy mu 'really' (A) | hxie ggur nyuo gga mu 'enthusiastically' |
| vu jji mu 'truly' (A) | miep wa mu 'orderly' |
| nji mu 'quickly' (A) | ap si si mu 'secretely' |
| hxit jjo mu 'quickly' | ggup lep mu 'in a circle' |

Some manner adverbs are not derived from adjectives. The suffix -mu only functions as a general mark of adverbhood. Adverbs derived from adjectives are indicated by (A) in Table 9.3. Many manner adverbs are derived from simple, reduplicated or antonymic adjectives by appending -mu.

cyp ngop lu ap ggop．
3P．SG．POSS thought aimless，in vain
＇His thought is futile．＇

ip nyip cop wox ap ggop ggop mu ix go jjo．
today 3P．PL aimless，in vain home be at
＇Today we remained idle at home．＇

Manner adverbs occur after the subject and before or after the direct object． Manner adverbs are oriented toward the event or toward the NP that immediately precedes them．

syt cy jjit nga xy xy zzyt zzyp mu ti hox bbap ga co event DEM．PROX CL 1P．SG carefully spread village people ge bbo ox．
tell go DP
＇I communicated carefully what happened to the villagers．＇

nga lat hxo jox ryr ggur ggur mu gox hxix．
1P．SG male name toward earnestly admonish
＇I warned Laho earnestly．＇

nga guo luo mut zzi zzi mu cy gep bie cyp luo bbyp．
1P．SG angry 3P．SG COV kick NUM． 1 VCL give
＇I was kicked by him severely．＇
（30）a．站出H雨X［丁向。
cy gex zhy mu gox xi la ox．
3P．SG real LOC arrive come DP
＇He really arrived（＝It is the reality that he arrived）．＇
b．X井H平X「向。
cy vu jji mu gox xi la ox．
3P．SG truly ADVL LOC arrive come DP
＇He truly arrived（＝It is the truth that he arrived）．＇

Not every adjective gives rise to a manner adverb．Some adjectives denoting physical properties cannot co－occur with the suffix－mu．The adjective cu＇fat＇cannot form an adverb but the adjective ix fi＇thin＇can．
a．＊刘活H
＊cux cu mu fat－fat ADVL ＇＊fatly＇
b．可けはH开
ix fifi mu jjix
thin－thin ADVL become
＇become thin＇

Not all manner adverbs can be derived from adjectives．They are lexicalized adverbs which were derived from adjectives at an earlier stage of the language．The adjective dropped out of use．The structure of the adverb suffixed by－mu became opaque．

＊ke a zzyx ma a hnat mu hxit jijo．
dog DEM．DIST CL very quick
＇That dog is very quick．＇

nop wox hxit jjo mu ngax lot buop．
2P．PL quickly 1P．SG help
＇Help me quickly！＇

syt a zzyx jjit miep wax mu hxip cop ge．
affair DEM．DIST CL front－behind＝orderly say 3P．PL tell
＇Tell them what happened one after the other．＇

syr bbo cy jjip cy jjix mu hni la ox．
tree naturally grow out come DP
＇Branches naturally grew out．＇

ax yi zhax su ax ddie ddie mu mgie ngax zi．
child ART alive，obvious cheat 1P．SG cheat
＇The child obviously cheated me．＇

ngop wox bbop bbop do do mu mip yit zza shex zze．
1P．PL soberly self food seek eat
＇We soberly looked ourselves for food．＇

mu rryr ap si si mu hxi jox co ggex su gu six la. male name secretly foreigner ART call RES come 'Mudge secretly summoned the foreigners.'

cop wox hxie ggur nyuo gga mu vo mu bop shep.
3P.PL enthusiastically king serve
'They enthusiastically serve the king.'

## B. Other adverbs

There are several other immovable adverbs with quantificational and coordinating functions. Some append the phrasal suffix -mu but are not derived from adjectives, at least not in Modern Nuosu. Two exceptions are the non-manner adverbs ryx mu 'early' and ap nryr mu 'really' which are derived from adjectives. Some adverbials originate from negated verbs: ар пе $m и$ 'not-cease = constantly' and sat ap hxit mu 'exhaust-not-can = in great numbers'. Three adverbs function also as coordinate conjunctions: yix nip 'just now’ (section 13.1.2.C), gex nep 'originally’ (section 13.1.2.C) and tat lyp 'but' (section 13.1.3.C).

Table 9.4: Other immovable adverbs

| a hnat mu 'very' | ax nyi pa jop 'in many ways' |
| :--- | :--- |
| a hnat...a hnat... 'the more...the more...' | ap bo ap de mu 'by any standard' |
| dax mu 'rather' | zzip mu 'together' |
| jjox dde jjox 'gradually' | dde dde mu 'often, always' |
| cuop luo 'a little bit' | lot ggo mu 'immediately' |
| miep 'in advance, first' | hxi mu 'especially for' |
| hxi yip 'again' | ggup lep mu 'around, in a circle' |
| ax di 'only' | ryx mu 'early' |
| nge get 'all' | ap nryr mu 'definitely, really' |
| jjy gex 'together, all' | ap ne mu 'constantly' |
| mix 'even' | sat ap hxit mu 'in great numbers' |
| nyi 'also' | yix nip 'only then' |
| ap lo 'almost' | gex nep 'originally, actually' |
| go mox 'beginning' | tat lyp 'but' |

These immovable adverbs occur after the subject or topic noun phrase, and before or after the direct object. The first adverb, a hnat mu 'very', modifies gradable adjectives and verbs. It also occurs in complex clauses as a hnat...a hnat... 'the more...the more...'.

nga a hnat mu jy jie ox．
1P．SG very fear DP
＇I was particularly afraid．＇

ne a hnat mu hxie zut da sso．
2P．SG very make efforts STP study
＇You must make special efforts in your studies．＇

nga a hnat ddop hxip a hnat jy jie ox．
1P．SG the more word speak the more fear DP
＇The more I speak the more I am afraid．＇

The adverbs dax mu＇rather＇and jjox dde jjox dde＇gradually＇are used with gradable adjectives and verbs．

mu ga si nip mu gox nyix li，mu gox dax mu gop bo ax yy．
name and name NUM． 2 TOP name rather body big
＇As for Muga and Mugo，Mugo is taller．＇

get zo zza ma jjox dde jjox dde ix nyi la．
cupboard cereals gradually few COME
＇The cereals in the cupboard decreased gradually．＇

The adverb cuop luo＇a little＇modifies activity verbs and indicates the extent of the activity carried out．

nop wox tat－ra mu da，cy bbyx cuop luo hxip shux．
2P．PL NEG．IMP－noisy ADVL 3P．SG COV a little speak CAUS
＇Be silent and let him speak a little．＇

The adverb miep＇at first＇can be employed in simple clauses and also co－occur with the adverb wax＇afterwards＇in coordinate clauses．
（43）a．米事我！
vyt vu miep hxip！
elder brother at first speak
＇The elder brother may speak first．＇

miep ddip vip zha yix nip wax vip si zze． at first guest feed only then after homeowner eat ＇Entertain the guests first，let the homeowner eat afterwards．＇

The adverb hxi yip＇again＇cannot be oriented towards the past，as in（44a＋b）， but only toward the present or future，as in（44c）．

＊le jix su hxi yip hlix ndo ox．
ox ART again lose DP
＇The ox was lost again．＇
b．＊5か入必求车め。
＊cyp ip mop hxi yip na da．
3P．SG．POSS stomach again ache，ill STP
＇His belly was aching again．＇
c．寸成小水品！
ne hxi yip cyp vit hxip！
2P．SG again NUM． 1 time say
＇Please say again！＇

The adverb ax di＇only＇modifies the immediately preceding NP．The principal function of ax di is determiner（described in section 5．3．2．G）not adverb．

xyp mop max su ax di gox ci lox．
bride ART only LOC leave over
＇The bride remained alone．＇

The adverb nge get＇all＇quantifies over the clause－initial NP．Noun phrases in second position are not within its scope．

bbox zze ggex su nge get ip mop mit da，nyop bbop ap－dop ox． man ART all belly hungry STP work NEG－can DP ＇All the men were hungry and couldn＇t keep working．＇

rre mop nge get cop wox sot ox．
money all 3P．PL count DP
＇They counted all the money．＇
c．ヨスか手さから向。
rre mop cop wox nge get sot ox． money 3P．PL all count DP ＇They counted all the money．＇

The quantificational adverb jjy gex＇together，all＇quantifies over the clause－initial NP which refers to a set of two or more．

co cyx nyip bbup nyop vi jiy gex bbop．
person DEM．PROX NUM． 2 CL labour together do
＇These two families are working together．＇
b．日爭孚鳥头坐向。
cop wox jiy gex ix go bbo ox．
3P．PL together，all home go DP
＇They all went home．＇

The focus adverb mix＇even＇modifies the immediately preceding noun phrase which assumes different semantic roles（see also section 7．8．2．B）．
（48）HVN解丰も雨。
muga mix it nyi gu ox．
male name even sleep DP
＇Even Muga slept．＇
The adverb ap lo＇almost＇is used before and after the predicate（see section 9．1．4）． It implicates one or two meanings．It implicates that an activity was not carried out at all．For incremental verbs，it implicates that an activity was not carried out completely．
（49）a．HivNO日小米。
lat hxo op rro ap lo bbo．
male name Xichang almost go
＇Laho almost went to Xichang．＇（i．e．＇Laho did not go to Xichang．＇）

lat hxo op rro ap lo xi bbo．
male name Xichang almost arrive go
＇Laho almost went to Xichang．＇［（i）＇Laho did not go to Xichang．＇
（ii）＇Laho did not go all the way to Xichang．＇］
The adverb go mox＇at first＇is already sketched in section 7．2．1．A．The adverb ax nyi pa jop＇in many ways＇is related to the conjunction cyp pa jop＇in one aspect＇ （section 13．1．2．B）．
（50）$\quad \underset{+}{ } \times$ 以
syt cy jiit cy ax nyi pa jop mga da cha hna go njuo． affair DEM．PROX CL 3P．SG in many ways according to investigate LOC PROG ＇He is investigating what happened from many aspects．＇

The sentence adverb ap bo ap de mu＇by any standard＇often prompts the use of the postverbal adverb guo＇too much＇but not the other way round（section 9．1．4）．

ggap mox ap bo ap de mu mgax we guo．
road by any standard pass－ddificult too much
＇By any standard，the road is impassable．＇

The adverb zzip mu＇together＇modifies a plural NP in clause－initial position．The morpheme $z z i p$ is derived from $z z i$ ，the classifier for pairs（section 5．2．1．E）．
（52）$\overline{\operatorname{Cr}}$ よ円H
ssox sse zzip mu shyr da hmat mop jox ddop bur． student together speak loudly STP teacher toward answer ＇The students replied to the teacher in unison．＇

The adverb dde dde mu means often or always and is employed together with the habitual aspect marker go shex（section 7．6．3）．
 ssox sse a zzyx ma dde dde mu la nyiet go shex． student DEM．DIST CL often，always come late HAB ＇The student often comes late．＇

nga dde dde mu syt ne kax hxie vur su mu． 1P．SG always affair 2P．SG CLF like NOM do ＇I always do what you like．＇

The deictic adverb lot ggu mu＇immediately＇achors the event in the immediate future．The adverb hxi mu＇especially＇informs about the mental motivation of the subject．

lat ti lot ggo mu xix nyi cy ga gox sha ox． male name immediately what also 3P．SG drop SEND DP ＇Lati dropped everything at once．＇

cop wox hxi mu tit da nit jop kax sha sha la su nge． 3P．PL especially here 2P．SG to thank come NOM COP
＇They came here especially to thank you．＇
The preverbal adverb ryх mи＇early＇is derived from the adjective ryx＇early＇and contrasts with the postverbal adverb nyiet＇late＇（see section 9．1．3）．
（56）a．Ө䣋屏手屏。
cop wox li ryx－jiy－ryx．
3P．PL TOP early very early
＇They were very early．＇
b．时爭屏H门兆向。
cop wox ryx mu la sat ox．
3P．PL early come EXH DP
＇They all arrived early．＇

The adverb ap nryr mu＇really＇is derived from the adjective ap nryr＇honest＇with a slight semantic shift．

co cyx ma ap nryr su nge．
person DEM．PROX CL honest NOM COP
＇This person is honest．＇
b．※小局胵ほ。
nga ap nryr mu ddiex bur．
1P．SG really correct
＇I really want to improve．＇
The following two adverbs are derived from two negated verbs．

cop wox ap ne mu ip ko ndup．
3P．PL not－cease＝constantly door knock
＇They knocked constantly at the door．＇

vit gga sat ap hxit mu sip go vux njuo．
clothes exhaust－not－can＝in great numbers take PRO．PAT sell PROG
＇Take clothes in large numbers and sell them．＇

The adverb yix nip 'only then' depends on the clause-initial constituent which is interpreted as a condition for the realization of the event. In (59a), tomorrow is interpreted as temporal condition of the event. In (59b), the subject NP is understood as abstract condition of a potential event. In (59c), the subject NP is understood as a default temporal condition of a completed event.

cy mup shy dex yix nip op rro la dox.
3P.SG tomorrow only then Xichang come can
'He cannot come to Xichang until tomorrow.'

ne yix nip syt cy jjit mu dox.
2P.SG only then affair DEM.PROX CL do can 'It is only you who can manage this thing.'

ne yix nip syt cy jiit mu sat ox.
2P.SG just now affair DEM.PROX CL do EXH DP
'It is just now that you have completed this task.'

The adverb gex nep 'originally' is a temporal focus adverb. Gex nep also functions as conjunction whose meaning is described in section 13.1.2.C.

cop wox gex nep xip sso ap- nzop da.
3P.PL originally, actually DEM.INDEF study NEG- EXP STP
'Originally they did not study such content.'
The adverb tat lyp 'but' marks contrast with a previous utterance or situation. The sentence in which it is used stands alone. Tat lyp also functions as backwardlinking conjunction (section 13.1.3.B).

syt cy jiit tat lyp ne hxip gox sha tat xi.
affair DEM.PROX CL but, after all 2P.SG say SEND should
'After all, you should solve this.'

### 9.1.4 Postverbal adverbs

There are several postverbal adverbs with aspectual or frequency meanings. They are listed in the following table.

Table 9．5：Postverbal adverbs

| guo＇too much＇ | ddep lox＇originally＇ |
| :--- | :--- |
| ap lo＇almost＇ | sy＇still＇ |
| da qix＇almost＇ | yip sy＇still，yet＇ |
| ap cy＇more＇ | nyiet＇late＇ |
| bur＇again＇ | lut＇enough＇ |

The adverb intensifier guo＇too much＇is placed after gradable adjectives，as in $(62 \mathrm{a}+\mathrm{b})$ ．The adverb ap lo＇almost＇implicates two interpreations for incremental verbs： almost do and not completely do，as in（63）．The adverb da qix＇almost＇is an intensifier restricted to states of extensive fatigue，as in（64）．

vit gga cyx ggu ax yy guo，nga go ggat ap－dop． clothes DEM CL big too much 1P．SG PRO．PAT wear NEG－can ＇This garment is too big，I cannot wear it．＇

ip nyip mo mu cax guo．
today sky hot too much
＇Today the weather is too hot．＇
（63）$X_{1} \nmid$ 垙利小
cy nry zhep ndo ap lo．
3P．SG wine CL drink almost
＇He almost drank a bowl of wine．＇［（i）no wine drinking；
（ii）wine drinking but of less than a bowl］

cy jjix do sy da qix da，cyp nyip xyx ne ox． 3P．SG tired die almost STP NUM． 1 day rest DP ＇He got extremely tired and rested for a whole day．＇

The adverb ap cy＇more＇is used in comparative structures（section 11．4．1．A）．

hxo pu cyx ma hxo pu a zzyx ma hmup ap cy． mountain DEM．PROX CL mountain DEM．DIST CL high more ＇This mountain is higher than that mountain．＇

The frequency adverb bur＇again＇is derived from the verb bur＇return＇（section 6．4．1），as illustrated in（66）．
（66）オヨコふほ。
ne rre mop sot bur．
2P．SG money count again
＇Count your money again．＇

The two－syllabic ddep lox is an optative particle in clauses with present or future time reference（section 15．3．1）．In clauses with past time reference it functions as adverb＇originally＇．

hmat mop xyx ne ox ddep lox．
teacher rest DP orginally
＇Originally，the teacher was resting．＇
The adverbs in Table 9.5 disallow TAM particles except for ddep lox，sy，yip sy， nyiet，bur and lut which are compatible with ox．The perfect particle ox is appended left of ddep lox and right of the other adverbs．Below are illustrations．

ne vat－jjy－vat mu ssox sy ox．
2P．SG well very well ADVL study still DP
＇You studied very well．＇

a zzyx te go nga iet zyr yip sy ox．
DEM．DIST time 1P．SG small still DP
＇At that time I was still young．＇

ap ndip hxix mo mgep go，nep nyit xix mu xi nyiet ox？ yesterday meeting SENT．TOP 2P．DL why arrive late DP ＇Why did both of you arrive late at the meeting yesterday？＇

cop jiet zzax zze lut ox．
3P．PL．POSS family food eat enough DP
＇Their family has already enough to eat．＇

### 9.2 Negation

In Nuosu, the negation particle ap 'not' is used in declarative and interrogative clauses, and the particle tat 'do not' in imperative clauses. They occur in different slots and scope over different constituents of the sentence.

### 9.2.1 Nouns

There are no negative determiners in Nuosu that negate nouns. English no+N constructions are translated by negated existential constructions. Most of these constructions are nominalizations with -su and the existential verb jjo 'have'.

zzax da yi go che ma go ap- it Subject storehouse LOC rice LOC NEG- lie
'No grain is left in the storehouse.'

co op rro la su ap- jjo.
Subject
person Xichang come NOM NEG- have
'Nobody came to Xichang.'

nga suo nyip zza ap- zze ox. Direct object
1P.SG NUM. 3 day food NEG- eat DP
'I have eaten no food for three days.'

ngat hmi nga hxip cox ge su ap-jjo Indirect object
1P.SG.POSS name 1P.SG say person tell NOM NEG-have
'I have revealed my name to nobody.'

cy vi mop ax- sip syr kie su nge. Instrument
3P.SG axe NEG- COV tree fell NOM COP
'He felled the tree without an axe.'

### 9.2.2 Noun quantifiers

Noun quantifiers are negated with nominalization constructions with -su and the copular verb nge. The negated copular verb has the effect of negating the quantifier.
 nyop mu co nge get jie shat bbo su ap－nge． peasant all street go NOM NEG－COP ＇Not all the peasants went to the street market．＇

cy co cyp gge（ax di）zi su ap－nge． 3P．SG person some only cheat NOM NEG－COP ＇He cheated not（only）a few people．＇
c．$\overline{\operatorname{\theta }} \ddagger \mathfrak{N}$
ssox sse ax nyi su mop mgep la su ap－nge．
student many NOM hold meeting come NOM NEG－COP
＇Not many students attended the meeting．＇

cy nry ix nyi mu ndo su ap－nge．
3P．SG wine few ADVL drink NOM NEG－COP
＇He not only drank a little wine．＇

## 9．2．3 Adjectives

Gradable adjectives are monosyllabic or dissyllabic，sometimes multisyllabic．They can be negated by placing the particle $a p$ before the last syllable of the adjective．The particle $a p$ is a prefix in（71a－b）and an infix in（72a－c）．
（71）a．$H \bar{X} \theta \in \Psi$ 。
mu cyx ma ap－nji．
horse DEM．PROX CL NEG－quick
＇This horse is not fast．＇

cy hxep go bbox zze a zzyx ma ap－ge．
3P．SG see SENT．TOP man DEM．DIST CL NEG－stupid
＇In his view，that man is not stupid．＇

hxop ci ix－ap－fu．
rope thin＜NEG＞
＇The rope isn＇t thin．＇
b．时さ干能河牙小丰？
co nge ci yuot la go ax－ap－nyi？
person NUM． 15 CL come SENT．TOP many＜NEG＞
＇Fifteen people are not many？＇

ngat ddox mu cyx ji mip－ap－ji．
1P．SG．POSS knife DEM．PROX CL keen＜NEG＞
＇My knife is not keen．＇

The negation strategy for ungradable adjectives is more complicated．Several ungradable adjectives in English（alive，dead，pregnant）are translated in Nuosu by positional verbs which are negated as verbs．

cy go ap－jio．
3P．SG LOC NEG－have
＇He is not here．＇

cy go ap－jjo ox．
3P．SG LOC NEG－have DP
＇He is not alive．＇

cy ax yi ap－bbop．
3P．SG child NEG－sit，possess
＇She is not pregnant．＇
b．$x$ 可川皮贸向。
cy ax yi ap－bbop ox．
3P．SG child NEG－possess DP
＇She did not have children．＇

Second，ungradable adjectives are formed by a root and an ideophonic element which is often reduplicated（section 4．4．4）．The negation particle is infixed between the adjective and the ideophone，generally in non－reduplicated form．
（75）
a．和非采 $\theta$ 粎飞き。
she a zzyx ma chyp－ap－hni．
meat DEM．DIST CL smelly－IDE＜NEG＞
＇This meat is not very smelly．＇
b．MrJsogryyyy。
cit la hxa bit jjip－ap－hmur mu it．
basket vegetable full－IDE＜NEG＞ADVL lie
＇The vegetable basket is not completely full．＇
c．M「JNはと。
cit la ggop－ap－ga．
basket empty－IDE＜NEG＞
＇The basket is not completely empty．＇

syr a zzyx bbo vut－ap－lo mu jjix．
tree DEM．DIST CL green－IDE＜NEG＞ADVL become
＇That tree is not sap－green．＇

ie qyt a zzyx zhep mguox－zhyr－ap－zhyr．Reduplicated water DEM．DIST CL cold－IDE～EXPR＜NEG＞
＇This bowl of water is ice－cold．＇

## 9．2．4 Verbs

Verbs are mono－or dissyllabic，sometimes also multi－syllabic．Verbs are negated by inserting the negation particle $a p$ before the last syllable of the verb．
（76）
a．Xisgaty
cy hxo pu go syt ap－mu．
3P．SG mountain LOC affair NEG－do
＇He is not working on the mountain．＇
b．Nゆた $\theta$ 小忍。
nga yi suo ma ap－bbop．
1P．SG house NUM． 3 CL NEG－possess
＇I do not possess three houses．＇

syt cy jjit gat－ap－qip．
affair DEM．PROX CL delay＜NEG＞
＇The event was not delayed．＇

cy tep yy jjie－ap－shyr．
3P．SG book，paper tear＜NEG＞
＇He did not tear apart the book．＇
e．Y米SNは苃。
syr bbo lyr bbur－ap－cyr．
tree move＜NEG＞
＇The tree does not move．＇

lat hxo guo luo-ap-mut.
male name upset<NEG>
'He did not get angry.'

Negated events are interpreted as states which can be complemented by the stative expression $m u$ da (section 7.7.1.B).

nyip nyip kep ku cy tep yy nyip zzit ap- bi mu da. day NUM. 2 within 3P.SG book NUM. 2 CL NEG- read make 'It is the case that he hasn't read two books in two days.'

### 9.2.5 Adverbs

There are movable, immovable and postverbal adverbs. Movable adverbs set a frame for the whole sentence. Negating the predicate entails that the event did not take place in the frame set by the adverb.

ap mut sip mu gox nit rre mop hxe ap- li ox. just now male name 2P.SG.POSS money borrow NEG- go DP 'Mugo has not borrowed money from you just now.'

Similarly, immovable adverbs can only be negated when the predicate is negated, as in (79). Sometimes a negated existential construction is used, as in (80).

nga a hnat mu jy-ap-jie.
1P.SG very fear<NEG>
'I am not particularly fearful.'

syr bbo cy jjip cy jjix ap- jjip mu hni la.
tree naturally NEG- become ADVL grow come 'The tree did not grow out naturally.'

Several manner adverbs derived from verbs can be directly negated. The effect is the same as negating the predicate directly.

cy syt mu xy－ap－zzyt－mu．
3P．SG business do carefully－ADVL＜NEG＞
＇He did not work carefully．＇

cy xy zzyt zzyp－mu syt ap－mu．
3P．SG carefully－ADVL business NEG－do
＇He did not work carefully．＇
The postverbal adverbs guo，nyiet，bur and lut can be negated，as shown in（82）． No other adverb of Table 9.5 can be negated，as illustrated in（83）．

le she i nu ap－guo．
beef soft NEG－too much
＇The beef is not too soft．＇

cy ssox dde la ap－nyiet．
3P．SG school come NEG－late
＇He did not come late to school．＇
c．XヨコSjぼ
cy rre mop sot ap－bur．
3P．SG money count NEG－again
＇He did not count the money again．＇
（83）a．＊HC形昆水Y。
＊mu ga zzax zze ap－sy．
male name food eat NEG－still
Intended meaning：＇Muga has not eaten yet．＇

＊lat ti ngat jop ax yy ap－ap－cy． male name 1P．SG．POSS to big more＜NEG＞ Intended meaning：＇Lati is not taller than me．＇
c．＊
＊cy syt mu ox ddep－ap－lox．
3P．SG business do DP originally＜NEG＞ Intended meaning：＇Originally，he hasn＇t being doing business．＇

## 9．2．6 TAM

Most TAM particles are grammaticalized verbs that preserved the property of nega－ tion．The negation particle is prefixed to the TAM particle not to the verb．

＊cy gup ap－ddur njuo．
3P．SG sweat NEG－exit PROG
Intended meaning：＇He is not sweating．＇
b．X X © U゙思。
cy gup ddur ap－njuo．
3P．SG sweat exit NEG－PROG
＇He is not sweating．＇
（85）

＊co cyx gge mu ap－la sat．
person DEM．PROX CL all NEG－come EXH
Intended meaning：＇Not all the people have come．＇

co cyx gge mu la－ap－sat．
person DEM．PROX CL all come－NEG－EXH
＇Not all the people have come．＇

＊cop jiet muti vot she ap－jot da． 3P．PL family morning pig meat NEG－cook STP

Intended meaning：＇It is the case that their family didn＇t cook pork in the morning．＇

cop jiet muti vot she jot－ap－da．
3P．PL family morning pig meat cook－NEG－STP
＇It is not the case that their family cooked pork in the morning．＇

＊lu dda cyp nyip ap－zze nzop．
male name NUM． 1 day NEG－eat EXP
Intended meaning：＇Ludda experienced not eating for a day．＇

lu po ke she zze－ap－nzop．
male name dog meat eat－NEG－EXP
＇Lupo has not eaten dog meat（yet）．＇
a．＊510かネコウ
＊cyp op mop ap－mop ndit．
3P．SG head NEG－dizzy PER
Intended meaning：＇His head is almost never dizzy．＇
b．5．0ス入小荘。
cyp op mop mop－ap－ndit．
3P．SG head dizzy－NEG－PER
＇His head is almost never dizzy．＇

＊ngop wox vot she ap－zze go shep．
1P．PL pig meat NEG－eat HAB
Intended meaning：＇We are used to not eating pork．＇

ngop wox cyp nyip zzix ap zzi vot she zze go－ap－shep．
1P．PL NUM． 1 day every pig meat eat HAB＜NEG＞
＇We are not used to eating pork every day．＇

The perfect particle $o x$ and the future tense particle mix cannot be directly negated．The negation particle must precede the predicate．
a．＊小向
b．＊k
＊ap ox
NEG DP
＊ap mix
NEG FUT

bbur ma a zzyx ma bbur ap－yot ox． character DEM．DIST CL write NEG－wrong DP
＇This character is not wrong．＇

nga ca pot nyip hxe ap－mgot mix．
1P．SG day after tomorrow fish NEG－catch FUT
＇I will not catch fish the day after tomorrow．＇

## 9．2．7 Declaratives and interrogatives

Declarative and interrogative clauses always use the negation particle $a p$ ；negative imperative clauses employ the particle tat＇do not’（section 9．2．8）．Examples（92）illus－ trate two declarative and（93）three interrogative sentences．

cy i xiet ddop bbo nzox mu xip ap－hxip．
3P．SG LOG．SG Xide county go EXP ADVL DEM．DD NEG－say
＇He did not say that he went to Xide County．＇

cy nit vup lut jjip ap－qi．
3P．SG 2P．SG．POSS neighbour become NEG－want
＇He did not want to become your neighbour．＇
（93）a．HILJさ重？
mu jy ap－nge ddap？
male name NEG－COP INT
＇Wasn’t this Mudje？’
b．HiG小庣包打重？
lat hxa sse suo yuo ap－jjo ddap？
male name son NUM． 3 CL NEG－have INT
＇Hasn＇t Laha three sons？＇

zza cyx jji xix mu ne zze go ap－nbop？
food DEM．PROX CL why 2P．SG eat SENT．TOP NEG－good
＇Why don＇t you enjoy your meal？＇

## 9．2．8 Imperatives

Negative imperative sentences have the illocutionary force of interdictions．They use the negation particle tat which is infixed before the last syllable．In（94），tat is prefixed to a monosyllabic verb；in（95），it is infixed．

ne ge yip yip mu tat－jjip ox！
2P．SG stupid ADVL NEG．IMP－become DP
＇Don＇t behave stupidly！＇

ne nit sso qop jox ddop tat－hxip！
2P．SG 2P．SG．POSS classmate toward word NEG．IMP－say
＇Don＇t talk to your classmates！＇

syt cy jjit go da mgat jip tat－shep！
affair DEM．PROX CL LOC COV advantage NEG．IMP－look for
＇Don＇t take advantage of this situation！＇
（95）
a．$\because \times 1 \times \mathbb{N}$
syt cy jjit hxie－tat－yyp！
affair DEM．PROX CL trust＜NEG．IMP＞
＇Don＇t believe that this event happened！＇
b．ヲNない番！
ne nga la－tat－hxex！
2P．SG 1P．SG wait＜NEG．IMP＞
＇Don＇t wait for me！＇

With third person subjects，the imperative particle tat also expresses interdictions．
a．$\theta$ 爭 $\boldsymbol{f}$
cop wox mux dde tat－nra！
3P．PL field，soil NEG．IMP－measure，gauge
＇Don＇t let them measure the field！＇

cy jip xi hxo－tat－lo！
3P．SG relatives depend＜NEG．IMP＞
＇Don＇t let him depend on his relatives．＇

With first person subjects，tat functions as optative particle．It expresses the speaker＇s hope that the event does not happen．In many languages of the world， imperative inflections together with first person subjects implicate the meaning of optative mood（Whaley 1997：223）．Examples（97a＋b）show first－person optatives． Clauses with tat and first person subjects disallow controlling verbs，as illustrated in（98）．
（97）a．NN $\theta$ 州采 $\theta$ 回す。
nga bbur ma a zzyx ma bbur－tat－yot．
1P．SG character DEM．DIST CL write＜NEG．IMP＞
＇I wish I am writing this character correctly．＇
b．水爭包米。
ngop wox tat－bbo．
1P．PL NEG．IMP－go
＇I wish we will not leave．＇
（98）＊N $\because$ 乎县式。
＊nga cop wox dit－tat－lyp．
1P．SG 3P．PL persecute＜NEG．IMP＞
Intended meaning：‘I hope I won’t pressure them．＇

## Chapter 10

## Subject and object

Nuosu exhibits a syntactic split conditioned by aspect. This chapter uses materials published in Gerner (2004a). Simple clauses fall into three aspectual categories:
(i) imperfective clauses with AOV order,
(ii) resultative clauses with OAV order,
(iii) clauses with variable word order and potentially ambiguous semantic roles.

Bare simple clauses with two human arguments are ambiguous. A clause like John Mary bite can mean John bites Mary or Mary bites John. In coordinate and relative clauses, Nuosu exhibits a consistent constraint for the deletion of the second coreferential NP which must be in initial position of the second clause. The (partial) grammatical relations can be defined as follows:

|  | Intransitive clauses | Imperfective clauses | Resultative clauses |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| SUBJECT | Unique NP | First NP | First NP |
| OBJECT | - | Second NP | Second NP |

### 10.1 Introduction

Many languages manifest inconsistencies in their morphosyntax. They may display an ergative morphology (alignment of $S$ and 0 ) along with an accusative syntax (alignment of $S$ and A). ${ }^{1}$ Several scholars have questioned the status of ergativity as 'deep' language feature (Anderson 1976, 1977; Dixon 1994; Haig 1998). In the typological literature, their position is a correction to earlier scholars who believed ergativity (or accusativity) are 'deep' phenomena (Shaumjan 1985; Plank 1985).

Nuosu is not an ergative language, but it manifests great consistency in aligning agent and patient across syntactic constructions. We show the existence of grammatical relations in the following constructions:
(i) the simple-clause construction (section 10.2);
(ii) the coordinate-clause construction (section 10.3.1);
(iii) the relative-clause construction (section 10.3.2);
(iv) the matrix-clause construction (section 10.3.3).

Simple clauses associate S with A or O morphosyntactically. Complex clauses display syntactic constraints for the deletion of co-referential noun phrases. These

[^23]constraints in terms of $\mathrm{S}, \mathrm{A}$ and O are also called pivots．The notion of pivot is construction－specific：pivot for coordinate clauses，pivot for relative clauses and so forth．

A construction in a language has an S／A（or S／O）pivot if the coreferential NPs are S and A （or S and 0 ）in their respective clause．Liángshān Nuosu is pivotless as it allows deletion independently of $S, A$ and $O$（see section 10．3）．

We call a sequence a pair of coreferential NPs with the second NP being deleted． A sequence is tied to individual complex clauses．There are nine logical sequences which can be grouped together into the following six types：
－ $\mathrm{S}-\mathrm{S}=\left\{\mathrm{S}_{1}=\mathrm{S}_{2}\right\}$ ；
－ $\mathrm{S}-\mathrm{A}=\left\{\mathrm{S}_{1}=\mathrm{A}_{2}, \mathrm{~A}_{1}=\mathrm{S}_{2}\right\}$ ；
－ $\mathrm{S}-\mathrm{O}=\left\{\mathrm{S}_{1}=\mathrm{O}_{2}, \mathrm{O}_{1}=\mathrm{S}_{2}\right\}$ ；
－$\quad \mathrm{A}-\mathrm{A}=\left\{\mathrm{A}_{1}=\mathrm{A}_{2}\right\}$ ；
－ $\mathrm{A}-\mathrm{O}=\left\{\mathrm{A}_{1}=\mathrm{O}_{2}, \mathrm{O}_{1}=\mathrm{A}_{2}\right\}$ ；
－ $\mathrm{O}-\mathrm{O}=\left\{\mathrm{O}_{1}=\mathrm{O}_{2}\right\}$ ．
Nuosu exhibits a syntactic split word order AOV／OAV imposed by the aspectual orientation of the clause．Several authors described the basic word order in Nuosu as AOV but did not mention the existence of OAV clauses（Fù 1997；Chén \＆Wū 1998：31； Bradley 1990：134）．

## 10．2 Simple clauses

In Nuosu，bare monotransitive clauses with two human NP arguments are ambiguous．
（1） H 的雨果。
lat sse mugox ndup．
male name male name beat
＇Laze beats Mugo．＇／or：＇Mugo beats Laze．＇

I presented this and a set of similar examples to ten Nuosu students of an Yi class at the Central University for Nationalities（Beijing）in 1995．Half of the students were unsure about the interpretation．Those who opted for AOV or OAV did so because they embedded（1）in serial verb constructions of the type Laze beat Mugo and ran away or of the type Laze was beaten by Mugo and cried．

We investigate the split syntax in Nuosu in the following sections：Imperfective clauses with AOV order（section 10．2．1）；resultative clauses with OAV order（section 10．2．2）；and residual clauses with variable word order（section 10．2．3）．Clauses with rigid AOV or OAV order extrapose noninitial topics into initial position by leaving a resumptive pronoun in the original slot（section 10．2．4）．The exhaustion particle always targets the clause－initial NP（section 10．2．5）．A and O are both candidates for pro－drop （section 10．2．6）．

## 10．2．1 AOV order in imperfective clauses

The feature of imperfective has a broader scope than the notion of progressive aspect．Imperfective clauses in Nuosu are marked by the following lexical and gram－ matical elements：
－Progressive aspect markers；
－A－or V－orientated manner adverbs；
－$\quad \mathrm{V}=\mathrm{V}_{1} \mathrm{~V}_{2}$（ $\mathrm{V}_{1}$ is an activity verb and $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ is a directional verb）．

Imperfective clauses in Nuosu always require AOV order．The initial noun phrase is always interpreted as A and the second noun phrase as 0 ．

## A．Progressive aspect markers

When the continuous aspect markers njuo and ge are posed after a transitive verb， the compulsory order is AOV．
（2）a．$H \cup \gamma^{\prime} 8$ 国虫。
mu ga at zop gur njuo．
male name female name frighten PROG
＇Muga is frightening Adzo．＇

at nyop mu gox la hxex ge．
female name male name wait PROG
＇Anyo is waiting for Mugo．＇

＊zza mu rryr zze njuo．
food，meal male name eat PROG
Impossible meaning：＇The food is eating Mudge．＇
b．＊®XIW！
＊gup cy ddur ge． sweat 3P．SG exit PROG Impossible meaning：＇The sweat is pouring out of him．＇

If njuo or ge was omitted in（2），we would face the same kind of ambiguity described above in example（1）．Consider another example．${ }^{2}$

[^24]
su nyit ddip go ne: "ngax li nyit fup bi fup njuo,
sorcerer say SENT.TOP TOP 1P.SG TOP ritual text SYL read SYL PROG
A
$\mathrm{O}+\mathrm{V}$
nex mgo ap- lit" ddix. 2P.SG pull out NEG- free QUOT
'The priest said: "I am very busy reading the texts.
I am not free to lift you out [of the pit].",

## B. A- or V-oriented manner adverbs

Manner adverbs relate semantically to the verb (e.g. dance beautifully), to the A -argument (e.g. answer eagerly) or to the O -argument (e.g. write clearly). In Nuosu, A- and V-oriented manner adverbs impose the AOV order. ${ }^{3}$

co qot a mat ma rax dde mu syr bbo bbo byp gox
$\begin{aligned} & \text { sorceress } \text { CL } \\ & \mathrm{A} \text { talkative ADVL tree } \\ & \mathrm{O} \text { CL } \\ & \mathrm{V}\end{aligned}$
mga yy ox.
pass go down DP
'"A sorceress, talking and carrying a tree, passed by."'

## C. $\mathbf{V}=\mathbf{V}_{\mathbf{1}} \mathbf{V}_{\mathbf{2}}$ ( $\mathbf{V}_{\mathbf{1}}$ activity, $\mathbf{V}_{\mathbf{2}}$ directional)

An activity verb $\left(\mathrm{V}_{1}\right)$ before a directional verb $\left(\mathrm{V}_{2}\right)$ implies a purposive meaning as in He came to collect vegetables. The obligatory order is $\mathrm{AOV}_{1} \mathrm{~V}_{2} .{ }^{4}$

cyp nyip ne vyt vu ix yi ddix lap bbu
NUM. 1 day TOP elder brother younger brother LOC ox
A
0
hxe la lox...
$\frac{\text { borrow }}{\mathrm{V}_{1}} \frac{\text { come }}{\mathrm{V}_{2}}$ and
'One day, the elder brother came to borrow an ox from his brother...'

[^25]4 Quoted from the folk story "The elder and the younger brother" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 216).

### 10.2.2 OAV order in resultative clauses

Resultative clauses refer to the state and the preceding action it resulted from (Nedjalkov \& Jaxontov 1988: 6). The concepts of resultative state and bounded event are different (e.g. John goes to the bus station is bounded but not resultative). In Nuosu, resultative clauses include one of the following elements:

- Resultative auxiliaries;
- O-orientated manner adverbs
- $\mathrm{V}=\mathrm{V}_{1}$-six- $\mathrm{V}_{2}\left(\mathrm{~V}_{1}\right.$ is an activity verb and $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ a directional verb)

Resultative clauses require the OAV order: the first noun phrase is interpreted as O, the second as A.

## A. Resultative auxiliaries

Resultative auxiliaries are grammaticalized verbs that often have preserved their original verbal meaning (section 7.3.2). In Nuosu, resultative auxiliaries form a small set.

Table 10.1: Nuosu resultative auxiliaries

| Resultative auxiliaries | Verbal origin |
| :--- | :--- |
| wex | 'get' |
| gox sha | sha 'send' |
| ssop | 'shine' |
| ndox | 'put' |

The resultative auxiliary wex imposes the order OAV. The verb plus the resultative auxiliary means find and requires the order OAV. ${ }^{5}$

"uo nyie suo li jjip su ne shep wex dop do?"
$\frac{\text { hair } \quad \text { NUM. } 3 \text { TOP become NOM }}{0} \frac{2 P . S G}{\mathrm{~A}} \frac{\text { search GET can~ALT }}{\mathrm{V}}$
'Are you able to find three-meter-long hair?'
The auxiliary gox sha 'away' is compatible with a wide range of transitive activity verbs and imposes the OAV order (section 7.3.2.B). ${ }^{6}$

[^26]
"nry mu nry yuot sip lot ji ji nga jjuo gox sha ox."
wine do wine wrong CONJ finger CL 1P.SG cut off SEND DP
'Because of the wine, I have cut off my finger.'
The following example illustrates the auxiliary ssop which cannot occur as independent predicate (section 7.3.2.C).

cyp i qi cop wox ndup ssop.
3P.SG.POSS head 3P.PL beat END
'He endured their beating on his head.'

## B. O-oriented manner adverbs

Manner adverbs that depend on the 0 impose OAV word order. The manner adverb snow-white in (8) occurs after the predicate without the adverbializer mu.

$\begin{array}{lll}\begin{array}{l}\text { vit gga ggex su } \\ \text { clothes ART=CL-DET } \\ 0\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { ax mo cy } \\ 0\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { qux zyr zyr ox. } \\ \text { mother } \\ \mathrm{A} \\ \text { wash } \\ \text { snow-white }\end{array}\end{array}$
'The clothes were washed snow-white by Mum.'

## C. $\mathbf{V}=\mathbf{V}_{\mathbf{1}}$-six- $\mathbf{V}_{\mathbf{2}}$ ( $\mathbf{V}_{\mathbf{1}}$ activity, $\mathbf{V}_{\mathbf{2}}$ directional)

When the linker six is inserted between an activity and a directional verb, it conveys resultative meaning and requires OAV order, as illustrated in (11). ${ }^{7}$


$$
\begin{aligned}
& \begin{array}{l}
\text { lap bbu cy hxe six bbo lox, cy } \\
\text { ox } \\
\frac{\text { ox }}{0}
\end{array} \frac{3 P \text { sit zG }}{\mathrm{A}} \frac{\text { borr. }}{\mathrm{V}_{1}}
\end{aligned}
$$

'The ox was borrowed and he killed it and ate it.'

### 10.2.3 The indeterminate word order

Simple clauses that are not imperfective or resultative are ambiguous if both arguments are humans. Nuosu has several means of dealing with this ambiguity: with a

[^27]grammatical tone on singular pronouns（section A）；with a grammatical tone on a set of monosyllabic verbs（section B）；with a patient pronoun（section C）；and passive marker（section D）．

## A．The grammatical tone on pronouns

There are three tones in Nuosu with a solid phonological status：the 55－，the 33－， and the 21 －tone．The 44 －tone is a sandhi tone with weak phonological standing．Few independent monosyllabic lexemes carry this tone．
（12）xip＇such a＇xi＇arrive＇xix＇what＇
（13）cyp＇one＇cy＇he／she＇cyx＇this＇
Almost all other occurrences of the 44 －tone are sandhi tones derived from an underlying 33 －tone（section 3．2．2）．Additionally，there are grammatical 44－tones on pronouns and verbs．Singular personal pronouns exhibit 33／44－tone variants encoding the contrast of $S / A$ versus 0 －roles（section 5．4．1．A）．

Table 10．2：Nuosu tone－sandhi pronouns

| Singular pronouns | S／A | 0 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1P．SG | nga | ngax |
| LOG．SG | i | ix |
| 2P．SG | ne | nex |
| 3P．SG | cy | cyx |

The following sentence contrasts the second person O－pronoun nex with the first person A－pronoun nga and illustrates also the second person S－pronoun ne．${ }^{8}$
（14）＂シャス ＂ne nyip mop nyip yox sse si nip va yu go｜｜ssa kuo－jjy－ssa kuo da， 2P．SG In the past lamb and hen catch TOP courage－very－courage STP nga mup dde nep nex pu yy｜｜ap mu cyx ggup lat mop jox ddop ma 1P．SG really 2P．SG admire now DEM VCL tiger to word A $\quad 0 \quad$ V

＇＂In the past you caught a lamb and a hen．You are extremely courageous and I really admire you for this．This time just go to the tiger and speak a few words with him．It is up to you to do this first．＂＇

[^28]
## B. The grammatical tone on verbs

Certain monosyllabic verbs alternate between the 21- and 44-tones. Verbs in the 21tone are associated with the OAV order, in the 44 -tone with the AOV order. Native speakers do not agree on the verbs that manifest these alternations. They appear to be restricted to the Shynra dialect. Chén \& Wū (1998: 129-130) provide a list of 36 monosyllabic verbs.

Table 10.3: Nuosu tone-sandhi verbs (excerpt)

| OAV | AOV | English gloss |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hxep | hxex | 'see' |
| ndup | ndux | 'beat, hit' |
| sip | six | 'take' |
| lup | lux | 'rob' |
| vup | vux | 'sell' |
| pop | pox | 'open' |
| sup | sux | 'resemble' |
| syp | syx | 'know' |
| hxop | hxox | 'paint' |
| shep | shex | 'look for' |

Examples (15) illustrates the OAV order for the verb hxop 'paint' and (16) the AOV order for the verb shex 'search'. ${ }^{9}$

yi max su cy hxop six vut mo mo mu da.
$\frac{\text { house ART }}{0} \frac{\text { 3P.SG }}{\mathrm{O}} \frac{\mathrm{paint}}{\mathrm{V}}$
'He painted the house in bright green.'


| co qot a ma | cy | zi | six | $\emptyset$ | go | shex |  | o | ox. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sorceress | 3P.SG | cheat | RES | [empty] | PRO.PAT | search | go |  | DP |
|  |  |  |  |  | A | 0 |  | V |  |

'The sorceress was tricked by him to search for them [= the objects].'

## C. The pronoun go

The pronoun go tracks 0 -arguments and disambiguates potentially ambiguous frames (section 5.4.1.F). The ambiguous clause can be disambiguated by inserting go after the second NP. It is interpreted as being coreferential with the first NP.

9 Example (16) is quoted from the folk story "Redisofu overcomes the sorceress with wisdom" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 244).
(17) a. H
mu ga lat mop dit lyp.
male name male name oppress
A/O O/A V
'Muga oppresses Lamo.'/ 'Lamo oppresses Muga.'

$\mathrm{mu} \mathrm{ga}_{1} \quad$ lat mop $\quad$ go $_{1} \quad$ dit lyp.
$\frac{\text { male name }}{\mathrm{O}} \frac{\text { male name }}{\mathrm{A}} \frac{\text { PRO.PAT }}{\mathrm{O}} \frac{\text { oppress }}{\mathrm{V}}$
'Muga ${ }_{1}$, Lamo oppresses him $_{1}$.'

Unambiguous frames cannot use the resumptive pronoun in the same way. Example (18) is thus ungrammatical.

*mu ga zza go zze.
$\frac{\text { male name }}{\mathrm{O}} \frac{\text { food }}{\mathrm{A}} \frac{\text { PRO.PAT }}{\mathrm{O}} \frac{\text { eat }}{\mathrm{V}}$
Intended meaning: 'Muga eats food'

Many stative predicates do not have ambiguous frames but encode the semantic roles as AOV. The use of the resumptive pronoun go is ungrammatical.

mu ga at nyop mgu.
male name female name miss, love
A
0
V
'Muga loves Anyuo.'


Intended meaning: ' Muga $_{1}$, Anyuo loves him $_{1}$.'

Native speakers do not agree which predicate with two human arguments represents an ambiguous frame. The following table indicates tendencies.

Table 10.4: Unambiguous and ambiguous verb frames in Nuosu

| Verbs with unambiguous AOV order (go forbidden) <br> bba <br> 'carry on back' <br> duo | 'hold in arms' | hxo | mgu |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

## D. The passive marker gep

The passive particle gep also disambiguates between A and O by fixing the word order as OA gep V (section 11.1). Passives can be defined in a language, only if it has the grammatical relations of subject and object. In section 10.4, we claim that Nuosu has subjects and objects. Below are given two illustrative examples.

ax yi cy gep zi hnat da cox ku bbo shux.
child 3P.SG COV lure STP people steal go CAUS
'The child was lured by him into stealing.'

cy ax yi max su gep shu ke ci -jiy- ke ci ox. 3P.SG child ART=CL-DET COV COV obey very obey DP 'She was made obedient by the child.'

### 10.2.4 Left-dislocation

Left-dislocation is the placement of a noninitial NP into initial position by leaving an optional resumptive pronoun in the original slot. Syntactic constraints on left dislocation reveal how a language aligns $\mathrm{S}, \mathrm{A}$ and O .

In Mandarin Chinese, for example, the basic order is AVO. Left-dislocation of O is possible but a pause (particle) must be used after 0 . Pauses or pause particles do not appear after $S$ and $A$ which occur in front position naturally.
(21) nèi zhī gŏu $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\emptyset \\ \mathrm{a} \\ \text { me } \\ \text { ne }\end{array}\right\}$ wǒ yǐing kàn guo le.

DEM.DIST CL dog PAUSE 1P.SG already see EXP DP
'The dog, I have already seen.' (Li \& Thompson 1981: 86)

In Nuosu, left-dislocation of the noninitial noun phrase in both AOV and OAV orders is possible. The following example illustrates both types of left-dislocation (the resumptive pronoun is marked in bold font). ${ }^{10}$


'"I could not overcome the sorceress and she just took the meat."'
The extraposed topic of (22), the sorceress, is tracked in both clauses by a resumptive pronoun. Left-dislocation does not exhibit syntactic constraints on A or O .

### 10.2.5 The exhaustion particle

The exhaustion particle sat (section 7.5.1) always scopes over the clause-initial noun phrase, either A or O. Sat thus targets not a semantic role but a syntactic position, the subject.
 cop wox bbox a zzyx ma dduo li sat. Initial NP is A 3P.PL mountain DEM.DIST CL climb go EXH

A
0
V
(i) 'They all climbed up the mountain.' (ii) 'They completely climbed up the mountain.'

ngop wox ip ko bbux da nex la hxex sat. Initial NP is A


A
0 V
'We are all waiting for you at the entrance door.'

10 Example (22) is quoted from the folk story "Redisofu overcomes the demon with wisdom" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 239).

cop wox nry a zzyx gge ndop sat．Initial NP is A $\frac{\text { 3P．PL }}{\mathrm{A}} \frac{\text { wine DEM．DIST CL }}{0} \frac{\text { drink }}{\mathrm{V}}$ EXH
（i）＇They all finished the wine．＇（ii）＇They completely finished the wine．＇
（24）a．Hy 雨：时爭则兆。
nry a zzyx gge cop wox ndop sat．Initial NP is O
$\frac{\text { wine DEM．DIST CL }}{0} \frac{3 P . P L}{\mathrm{~A}} \frac{\text { drink }}{\mathrm{V}}$ EXH
＇They finished all the wine．＇

hxie zyr ggex su cy ndup shu la sat ox．Initial NP is O
$\frac{\text { bird } \quad \text { ART }}{0} \frac{3 P . S G}{\mathrm{~A}} \frac{\text { hit } \quad \text { CAUS come EXH DP }}{\mathrm{V}}$ EX
＇He has shot down all the birds．＇
c．末日电世非め兆。
we zze ddu nga nzip da sat．Initial NP is O

＇I endure all hardships．＇

## 10．2．6 Pro－Drop

Pro－drop（or zero－anaphora）is the omission of obligatory arguments in contexts in which they are understood．Pro－drop is widespread in languages with verb agree－ ment like Italian but not allowed in languages with no or poor verb agreement like English（Rizzi 1986）．An exception are languages like Chinese，called radical pro－ drop languages，which lack agreement but allow pro－drop（Huang 1984；Neeleman \＆Szendröi 2007）．Sometimes languages reveal additional constraints on the argu－ ment that is omitted．

In Nuosu which is radical pro－drop，zero－anaphora is unconstrained for $\mathrm{S}, \mathrm{A}$ and O．Restrictions only exist for peripheral roles，as shown in Table 10.5 below．

Customer：＂uop lur cyx ma iet zyr guo， hat DEM．PROX CL small too much

| $\emptyset$ | ax yy ma | sip | nga |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ［empty］ | great CL | COV．take | 1P．SG | give | come |
| A | 0 |  | B |  | V |

＇Customer：＂This hat is too small，give me a bigger one．＂＇
In（25a），the coverb sip must be specified．When the 0－argument is omitted，as in （25b），the coverb sip is optional．

Customer：＂uop lur cyx ma da dop ox， hat DEM．PROX CL put able DP

| $\emptyset$ | $\emptyset$ | sip | nga | bbyx | la．＂ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ［empty］ | ［empty］ | COV．take | 1P．SG | give | come |
| A | 0 |  | B |  | V |

＇Customer：＂This hat is suitable，give it to me．＂＇

Benefactive and oblique NPs cannot be deleted whatever the discourse settings are．The arguments in bold font must be specified．

nga tep yy bbut bbur cy bbyx．Benefactive
$\frac{1 P . S G}{\mathrm{~A}} \frac{\text { book CL }}{\mathrm{O}} \frac{\text { write }}{\mathrm{V}} \frac{\text { 3P．SG COV．give }}{\mathrm{B}}$
＇I write him／her a letter．＇
b．Х10昌も，叔丰于斗も。
cy op rro it，nga nyi tit go it．Locative
$\frac{3 P . S G}{\mathrm{~S}_{1}}$ Xichang live $\frac{1 P . S G}{\mathrm{~V}_{1}} \frac{\mathrm{~S}_{2}}{\mathrm{~V}_{2}}$
＇S／he lives in Xichang，and I also live there．＇
By contrast，the semantic role of direction can be omitted in appropriate dis－ course settings（Lĭ \＆Mă 1981：2）．

| A: " |  |  | B: |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| "nga | op rro | уу." (...) | "nga | nyi | (op rro) | yу." |
| 1P.SG | Xichang | go down | 1P.SG | also | Xichang | go down |
| S |  | V | S |  |  | V |

'A: "I go to Xichang." (...) B: "I also go to Xichang."'

The constraints on pro-drop of various semantic roles is summarized in Table 10.5.

Table 10.5: Semantic roles and pro-drop in Nuosu

| Semantic roles | Pro-drop |
| :--- | :--- |
| S | $\checkmark$ |
| A | $\checkmark$ |
| O (with or without the coverb sip) | $\checkmark$ |
| Benefactive (with the coverb bbyp) | $\times$ |
| Benefactive (without the coverb bbyp) | $\mathbf{x}$ |
| Instrument (with the coverb sip) | $\times$ |
| Location | $\times$ |
| Direction | $\checkmark$ |

### 10.3 Complex clauses

When two noun phrases in a complex clause are coreferential, the second noun phrase can be elipsed if both coreferential noun phrases occur in initial position of their respective clause. In this section, we investigate coordinate clauses (section 10.3.1), relative clauses (section 10.3.2) and matrix clauses (section 10.3.3).

### 10.3.1 Coordinate clauses

The second coreferential noun phrase in S-A, S-O and A-O sequences can be deleted.

## A. S-A sequence

The second clause in (28) is imperfective with obligatory order AOV. The elipsed noun phrase is in initial position of the second clause. The coordinate clause is an S-A sequence. ${ }^{11}$

11 Quoted from the folk story "The drunk man" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 229).


| cyp nyip ne jiix mu vut hop nry yit sip |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NUM. 1 day | TOP male name | $\frac{\text { wine drunk }}{\text { SONJ }}$ |  |

$\emptyset \quad$ che mu yy hxex bbo.
[empty] rice water field see go
'On a day, Jjimuvuho was drunk and went out to inspect his rice field.'

The next example is an A-A-S sequence of coreferential noun phrases. ${ }^{12}$



| $\begin{array}{l}\text { ddie da } \\ \text { block } \\ \mathrm{V}_{2}\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{l}\emptyset \\ \mathrm{S}_{3}\end{array} \frac{\text { it }}{\mathrm{V}_{3}}$ |
| :--- | :--- |

'Mister Pu's family blocked the entrance gate with stone bricks and then fell asleep.'

The property of coreferential deletion in initial position can be tested by imposing in the second clause the word order OAV (with the resultative auxiliary gox sha). The modified construction is ungrammatical.



| ddie gox sha | da | $\begin{array}{l}\emptyset \\ \mathrm{V}_{2}\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{l}\text { it } \\ \text { block } \\ \text { SEND }\end{array}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| STP |  |  |  |

Intended meaning: 'Mister Pu's family blocked $u p$ the entrance gate with stone bricks and then fell asleep.'

Example (30) is an S-A-S-S sequence with four verb phrases. ${ }^{13}$

[^29]


| ndo | $\emptyset$ | gox ny | nyi da | $\emptyset$ | jiyx－ | （．．．） |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| drink | ［empty］ | PRO．LOC si | sit STP | ［empty］ | RECL－ | discuss |
| $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ | $\mathrm{S}_{3}$ |  | $\mathrm{V}_{3}$ | $\mathrm{S}_{4}$ |  | 4 |

＇These four men hid and drank wine behind the house；they sat there and discussed．．．＇

Example（31a）contains an A－S sequence．${ }^{14}$ If we permute the order of arguments in the first clause，the coreferential NP is not in the initial position and the whole construction is ungrammatical．
（31）a．于內外H
tit da vo mu max su ket mop ne qu shy ngo da
thus king $\frac{\text { ART＝CL－DET }}{\mathrm{A}_{1}}$ evening TOP silver gold $\frac{\text { touch }}{\mathrm{O}_{1}} \frac{\mathrm{~V}_{1}}{\text { STP }}$
$\emptyset \quad$ it nyi gu ap－hna ox．
$\frac{\text {［empty］}}{\mathrm{S}_{2}} \frac{\text { sleep } \quad \text { NEG－willing }}{\mathrm{V}_{2}}$ DP
＇In the evening the emperor caressed his silver and gold so that he did not want to sleep．＇

＊tit da qu shy ket mop ne vo mu max su ngo da
thus $\frac{\text { silver gold }}{\mathrm{O}_{1}}$
$\begin{array}{lllll}\emptyset & \text { it nyi gu ap－hna ox．} \\ \frac{\text {［empty］}}{\mathrm{S}_{2}} & & \end{array}$
Intended meaning：＇In the evening the silver and gold was caressed so much by the emperor that it did not want to sleep．＇

14 Quoted from the folk story＂The emperor and his daughter＂（Chén \＆Wū 1998：265）．

## B. S-O sequence

The type of sequence displayed in (32) is INSTR-S-O. ${ }^{15}$


| ke | cy | sip | mux | mo | go |  | ne |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| dog | 3P.SG | COV | earth | plough |  | ENT.TOP | TOP |
| INSTR | $\mathrm{A}_{1}$ |  | $\mathrm{O}_{1}$ | $\mathrm{V}_{1}$ |  |  |  |


| $\emptyset$ | gox | yy |  | hna | lox |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [empty] | PRO.DIR | descend | NEG- | willing | CONJ |
| $\mathrm{S}_{2}$ |  |  | $\mathrm{V}_{2}$ |  |  |

$\emptyset \quad$ cy uo ga sy gox sha ox.
[empty] 3P.SG hit, beat die SEND DP
$\begin{array}{lll}\mathrm{O}_{3} & \mathrm{~A}_{3} & \mathrm{~V}_{3}\end{array}$
'He took the dog to plough the soil, but it didn't want to move.
So he beat the dog to death.'

Sentence (33) represents an S-O sequence. The second clause is resultative with an O-orientated adverb. ${ }^{16}$

ke mo max su zyp dde go bba ma bbo tit ni dog carcass ART bury NOM LOC bamboo CL here sprout LOC
$\mathrm{S}_{1}$
$\mathrm{V}_{1}$

'At the place where the dog's body was buried, a bamboo shoot was growing. He took it and sharpened it to a point.'

Example (34) is an O-S sequence. ${ }^{17}$

[^30]

$\emptyset \quad$ jie bbyp bbyp mu gox nyi.
[empty] afraid IDE IDE ADVL PRO.LOC sit
$\mathrm{S}_{2}$
$\mathrm{V}_{2}$
'Djidjevanidzu, frightened by her, was sitting there trembling.'

## C. A-O sequence

The following example exhibits an A-O sequence. ${ }^{18}$


| ji jie va nyie zzur pup pup pu mu ga | ap- ddur mu pup ddix |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| male name | ONO | ADVL wave NEG- exit | ADVL | $\frac{\text { ONO }}{\mathrm{A}_{1}}$ |  | $\frac{\text { QUOT }}{\mathrm{O}}$ |


'Djidjevanidzu swang the feather-duster but without effect. Rather, with a breath from the sorceress he was blown onto the roof.'

Another example of an A-O sequence is the following sentence which we already encountered in section 10.2.3.B.


'The sorceress was tricked by him to search for them [= the objects].'

### 10.3.2 Relative clauses

The Nuosu split syntax is also obvious in relative clauses with -su (section 5.2.4). If the extraposed head noun is coreferential to the initial NP of the relative clause, it is gapped; if is coreferential to a noninitial NP, it is tracked by a resumptive pronoun.

Table 10.6: Gapped and resumed head nouns of relative clauses

| Obligatory word order in relative clause | Role of extraposed head | Use of resumptive pronoun |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| AOV | A | $\left[_{R C} \emptyset_{A} \ldots.\right]+s u+N$ |
| OAV | A |  |
| AOV | 0 | $\left[_{R C} \emptyset_{0} \ldots ..\right]+s u+\mathbf{N}$ |
| OAV | 0 | $\left[_{\text {RC }} \ldots . . \mathrm{PRO}_{\mathbf{o}} \mathrm{V}\right]+\mathrm{su}+\mathbf{N}$ |

We will again use the notion of sequence to refer to pairs of coreferential noun phrases in the main clause and relative clause.

## A. S-A sequence

In (37), the relative clause has the word order AOV. The gapped head noun has the A-role and is in initial position of the relative clause. ${ }^{19}$


'There was nobody who believed what they said.'

The relative clause in (38) is resultative and has obligatory OAV order. The extraposed head noun has the A-role but does not occur in initial position of the relative clause. It leaves a resumptive pronoun in the original slot.


'There was nobody who had seen this event.'

## B. S-O sequence

The relative clause in (39) contains the resultative auxiliary gox sha and has obligatory OAV order. The extraposed head noun has the O-role and is in initial position of the relative clause.

[^31]

'The books which were thrown away by Muga were brand-new.'

The relative clause in (40) is imperfective with obligatory AOV word order. As the extraposed head noun is O but not in initial position of the relative clause, it is leftdislocated by leaving a resumptive pronoun in the original slot.


'The clothes that Mum is washing are many.'

### 10.3.3 Causative clauses

Causative clauses seem to align S with A versus 0 . The causee must be either S or A but not 0 . This alignment of $S$ and $A$ does not reveal anything about the syntax of Nuosu but is implied by universal semantic properties of causative constructions.

## A. Causee $=\mathbf{S}$

When the causee is coreferential with the $S$ of a causative clause, it is deleted. The causee can be animate, as in (41), or inanimate, as in (42).


'The neighbour makes me happy.'

cop wox yy sse jix su bbyx
$\left.\begin{aligned} & \text { 3P.PL } \\ & \text { CAUSER }\end{aligned} \frac{\begin{array}{l}\emptyset \\ \text { river } \\ \text { CAUSEE }\end{array} \text { aRT }}{\text { ap jox mga bbo }} \begin{aligned} & \text { COV } \\ & \mathrm{V}_{1}\end{aligned} \right\rvert\, \begin{aligned} & \text { shux. } \\ & \mathrm{S}_{2}\end{aligned} \frac{\text { around pass go }}{\mathrm{V}_{2}} \|$
'They cause the river to flow around [the village].'

## B. Causee $=\mathbf{A}$

The causee can be coreferential to the A of an imperfective causative clause, as in (43), ${ }^{20}$ or to the A of a resultative causative clause, as in (44).


'Redisofu let him guard the house.'


'Muga made Mugo eat up the food.'

## C. Causee $\neq 0$

The causee cannot be coreferential to the O-argument of a causative clause.
(45) *H


### 10.4 Synthesis

Some authors argued that a language uses the notion of subject and object only if it morphosyntactically aligns S with A or with O (van Valin \& LaPolla 1997). LaPolla (1993) demonstrated that in Mandarin Chinese a viable definition of subjects and objects is not possible as there are no clear S/A or S/O pivots.

In Nuosu, S is not morphosyntactically aligned with A or with O either. However, a purely syntactic definition of subject and object is possible. The initial NP is the subject, the second NP is the direct object. This definition is only partial. It does not account for indeterminate clauses, which are neither imperfective nor resultative.

[^32]Table 10.7: Partial grammatical relations in Nuosu

|  | Intransitive clauses | Imperfective clauses | Resultative clauses |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| SUBJECT | Unique NP | First NP | First NP |
| OBJECT | - | Second NP | Second NP |

The syntax of Nuosu requires a revision of the idea that syntactic relations should be defined in terms of S/A or S/O pivot (Dixon 1994; van Valin \& LaPolla 1997). Gerner (2004a) discusses these findings in detail.

## Chapter 11

## Valency changing constructions

Nuosu employs two valency decreasing constructions, passive (section 11.1) and reciprocal (section 11.2), and two valency increasing constructions, causative (section 11.3) and comparative (section 11.4).

### 11.1 Passive

In section 10, we argued for the existence of subject and object in imperfective and resultative clauses. For languages with syntactic relations, we can evaluate the existence of passive constructions. (For languages without subject and object, the concept of passive cannot be defined.)

A passive construction satisfies the following three properties (Dixon 1994: 146; Haspelmath 1990: 27; Palmer 1994: 117-141; Siewierska 1984: 2-3):
(1) a. the subject is demoted to a non-core argument or deleted,
b. the object is promoted to subject,
c. the valency of the predicate is decreased.

We argue in this section that the coverb gep (section 6.2.1.A) is the formal mark of constructions that satisfy (a), (b) and in a certain sense also (c). Nuosu therefore exhibits a passive construction though not the most prototypical.

We discuss the origin of the coverb gep in section 11.1.1, the concept of adversity often associated with passives in East Asian languages in section 11.1.2, the omission of unimportant demoted subjects in section 11.1.3, and the exclusion of low-transitivity verbs in section 11.1.4. This subsection uses material published in Gerner (2004a).

### 11.1.1 The passive postposition

The postposition gep is derived from the verbal predicate gep 'add' (section 6.2.1.A). Its meaning as predicate is illustrated in (2).

ce te sha zzit gep (da hlu).
dish chili add STP cook
'Add chili to the dish (and cook it).'
In the passive construction, the postposition gep marks the agent noun phrase in second position.

cyp lot cy gep zhe sy ddur ox. 3P.SG.POSS hand 3P.SG COV cut blood exit DP 'His hand, cut by himself, bled.'

ka bba ax yy cy gep ngo ndox ox. prize big 3P.SG COV touch PUT DP
'A big prize was won by him.'
The passive meaning is historically derived from the main verb add. A noun phrase referent was associated with the patient as a companion in the event. The meaning of companion was eventually reanalyzed as agent.

### 11.1.2 The concept of adversity

Many East Asian languages have passive constructions that convey adversity, the idea that the situation is unfortunate. The concept of adversity is unknown in the languages of Europe. In Nuosu, adversity is not conveyed by gep. The particle gep is compatible with euphemic contexts without implicating adversity.

ddip vip ggex su cy gep zzyx jie six he -jjy- he. guest ART 3P.SG COV entertain RES good very good

0
A V
'The guests were entertained very well by him.'

### 11.1.3 Omission of unimportant demoted subjects

Pro-drop is widespread in Nuosu (section 10.2.6). It is possible to delete A whenever it may be inferred from the context and represent unimportant pragmatic information. It is not possible to delete A when it is marked by gep. By contrast, the Chinese passive marker bèi allows deletion of the agent NP.

```
(5) tā bèi \emptyset mà le.
(Li and Thompson 1981: 493)
3P.SG PASS [empty] scold DP
'He/she was scolded.'
```

In the following Nuosu example, it is not possible to delete the agent Xido Bo'ondju before the postposition gep, although it can easily be inferred from the context. ${ }^{1}$

[^33]
xy duo bbox o nju jju jju jju ap- dda mu cy gep hmo yi vut dit. $\frac{\text { male name }}{0}$ ONO NEG- can ADVL $\frac{3 P . S G ~ C O V}{A} \frac{\text { blow }}{\mathrm{V}_{1}}$ roof $\frac{\text { fix }}{\mathrm{V}_{2}}$
'Xido Bo'ondju repeatedly stamped his feet, but in vain. He was blown up onto the roof by the witch.'

### 11.1.4 Exclusion of low-transitivity verbs

The gep-construction does not exhibit morphological marking on the verb, but decreases the transitivity of the predicate in a more abstract way. Clauses using gep have a high degree of transitivity (Hopper \& Thompson 1980). Clauses with low transitivity cannot co-occur with gep. Languages with passives typically exhibit this transitivity constraint. For example, the Nuosu verb gur 'frighten' is morphologically derived from the verb ggur 'fear’. The high-transitive verb gur can co-occur with gep but the low-transitive verb ggur cannot. ${ }^{2}$


ap- get mu gox rrur ddep lox.
NEG- can ADVL PRO.LOC lie about originally
'He was so frightened by the wives so that he stood speechless.'
b. *HCNirofo
*mu ga nga gep ggur ox name 1P.SG COV fear DP 'Intended meaning: 'Muga is feared by me.'

The following verbs may not co-occur with gep: sy 'know', bbop 'own', hxie vur 'love', mgu 'love', hxep 'see', hna 'hear' and hnip 'smell'. Clauses with gep therefore have reduced transitivity (Hopper \& Thompson 1980).

Gep-constructions in Nuosu are passives, if we substitute the constraint of valency decrease in (1c) by the looser requirement of transitivity decrease. Gep-constructions are the passive of both AOV and OAV clauses. For imperfective AOV clauses (section 10.2.1), it is straightforward to view $\mathrm{OA}+g e p+\mathrm{V}$ as the derived passive. Resultative OAV clauses (section 10.2.2) exhibit the same word order as the gep-construction, their passive construction to which they bear resemblance.

[^34]In summary，Nuosu displays two sorts of passives：an imperfective passive derived from ongoing AOV clauses and a resultative passive derived from resultative OAV clauses．

## 11．2 Reciprocal

In a reciprocal clause，two noun phrases occupy interchangeable semantic roles of the predicate．The clause John and Peter shoot arrows at each other implies that John shoots arrows at Peter and Peter shoots arrows at John．Cross－linguistically， reciprocal constructions use anaphors such as each other or verb affixes．Reciprocal anaphors do not decrease the valency of the predicate but verb affixes do．

The Nuosu verb prefix jjy－decreases the valency of the predicate．It cannot be prefixed to intransitive verbs，only to mono－and ditransitive verbs．

＊mu ga si nip luti jiy－na ox．
male name and male name RECL－ill DP
＇Intended meaning：＇Muga and Luti are both ill．＇
b．＊＋米乎：向。
＊ngap nyit jiy－nbur ox．
1P．DL RECL－full DP
＇Intended meaning：＇Both of us are full．＇

The predicate must allow two argument slots to be permutable．It must be possible that both arguments occur variably in both semantic roles．

nop wox jjyx－la hxex da bbo．
2P．PL RECL－wait STP go
＇When you go wait for each other．＇
b．牙师可व事义要果忠。
ax yi sux yy mox da jjy－mgot njuo．
child older people in front of STP RECL－pursue PROG
＇The children chase each other in front of older people．＇
c．护米要凶メ。
ngap nyit jjyx－hxi zy．
1P．DL RECL－trust
＇We both trust each other．＇

ngop wox jiy－ap－ly－ap－tie．
1P．PL RECL－NEG－discuss＜NEG＞
＇We did consult each other．＇

ssox sse a zzyx nyip bbot ip nyip jjyx－hxip bot．
student DEM．DIST NUM． 2 CL today RECL－debate
＇Those two groups of students argue today with each other．＇
The reciprocal marker jjy－can also be prefixed to ditransitive verbs and even to coverbs．
（10）a．时孚为坐坐学ふ。
cop wox ka bba ddie jjy－bbyx．
3P．PL present COV RECL－give
＇They gave each other presents．＇

ngop nyip bbup jjyx－nre sur．
1P．DL family RECL－debt return
＇Our families are paying off debts to each others．＇

ngop wox jjy－rrox mu da ddop hxip．
1P．SG RECL－COV STP word speak
＇We are speaking on behalf of each other．＇

ax mo ax yi jjy－mgex da ngo．
mother child RECL－COV．mix STP cry
＇Mother and child are weeping together．＇

The reciprocal prefix $j$ jy－has a derived function in comparative constructions （section 11．4．1．C）．It indicates that two referents share a property to the same extent．

ggap mop cyx ji si nip a zzyx ji jjy－shox．
road DEM．PROX CL and DEM．DIST CL RECL－long
＇This road is as long as that one．＇
b．末 $\cap$ 列爪 $\theta$ チの。
syp ga cyx nyip ma jjy－yyx．
pear DEM．PROX NUM． 2 CL RECL－big
＇Both pears are equally big．＇

che mu cyx jot si nip a zzyx jot jjy-ap-fi.
rice paddy field DEM.PROX CL and DEM.DIST CL RECL-NEG-wide 'This rice field is not as wide as that one.'

### 11.3 Causative

Three structural causative types are reckoned in the typological literature (Whaley 1997): lexical causatives (kill = cause to die), morphological causatives (affix + Verb), and analytic causatives (make to do). Haiman (1983) argued for an iconic correspondence between the structural types and the concept of direct causation. Lexical causatives display a close relation between the causing event and the caused event, whereas for analytic causatives the link is looser.

Table 11.1: Haiman's iconic causation correspondences

| Structural Types | Causation Types |
| :--- | :--- |
| lexical causatives | more direct |
| morphological causatives | medial |
| analytic causatives | less direct |

Nuosu has several analytic causatives with different semantic nuances and overtones. These constructions have two formal marks, the causative coverb and the causative particle shux which occurs after the verb of the embedded clause.

Table 11.2: List of causative coverbs

| Coverb | occurs after | Structure |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bbyp/bbyx 'give' | causee | $\ldots . . b b y p / b b y x . . . V+$ shux |
| ddie 'prepare' | causer or causee | ...ddie...........V + shux |
| ga 'drop' | causer or causee | ...ga..........V(+ shux) |
| shu 'make' | causer or causee | ...shu............V |

We survey the four causative coverbs in section 11.3 .1 (see also section 6.2.3) and the causative particle shux in section 11.3.2.

### 11.3.1 Causative coverbs

Languages with morphological case use different cases for the causee. Comrie (1989) argues for an iconic link between case and the degree of control that the causee retains in the event. Nominative case encodes greater control for the causee than accusative case.

Table 11.3: Comrie's iconic case-control correspondences

| Morphological case | Causee's degree of control |
| :--- | :--- |
| nominative | high |
| oblique | less |
| accusative | none |

The Nuosu coverb bbyp/bbyx 'give' encodes the causee as a recipient to whom an event is commissioned. The control retained by the causee is low. The coverbs ddie 'prepare' and shu 'make' treat the causee as a manipulated patient with no control over the event. The coverb ga 'drop' has permissive meaning giving the causee a high degree of control over the event.

Table 11.4: Nuosu coverbs and the causee's degree of control

| Nuosu causative coverbs | Causee's degree of control |
| :--- | :--- |
| bbyp/bbyx 'give' | less |
| ddie 'prepare' | none |
| ga 'drop' | high |
| shu 'make' | none |

The coverb bbyp/bbyx 'give' (section 6.2.3.A) is adjacent to the causee noun phrase and requires the predicative particle shux at the end of the clause.

nga ax yi bbyx mup dut jie shux.
1P.SG child COV.give fire burn CAUS
'I summon the child to light a fire.'

cy bbyx yy lut mu yy shux.
3P.SG COV.give laugh enough ADVL laugh CAUS
'Let him have a laugh.'

The coverb ddie 'prepare' (section 6.2.3.B) is postposed after the causer, the second noun phrase. The causee appears in sentence-initial position. The use of the predicative particle shux is obligatory.

cy ngop ddie a ddit da muga la hxex shux. 3P.SG 1P.SG COV.prepare there COV male name wait CAUS 'We caused him to wait there for Muga.'

hnip mop ax mo ddie vit gga ggut shup. elder sister mother COV.prepare clothes sew CAUS
'My mother made my sister sew the clothes.'
The coverb ga 'drop' (section 6.2.3.C) can be adjacent to the causer or causee noun phrase. It does not require the particle shux at the end of the clause.
(14) $\quad: \quad$ 片
ke max su ga ix go vur tat-shup.
dog ART COV.drop house enter NEG.IMP-CAUS
'Don't let the dog come in.'

The coverb shu (section 6.2.3.D) is derived from a dummy verb. The postposition shu cannot co-occur with the predicative particle shux. Shu is adjacent to either causer or causee.

muga ngop wox shu zzi mga bbo.
male name 1P.PL COV.make bridge cross go
'Muga made us cross the bridge.'

### 11.3.2 The causative particle

The postverbal particle shux is the formal mark of causative constructions. Its presence encodes the embedded clause as caused event. It is grammaticalized from a verb that is unproductive in Modern Nuosu, the same verb that developed into a causative postposition (section 6.2.3.D) before the main predicate.

bbut cy cyx gge ga cy bbyx yyx sha shux.
herb DEM.PROX CL COV 3P.SG COV sprinkle CAUS
'Let him pour water on the herbs.'

za pux cop ga gox jjuo shux.
wall 3P.PL COV.drop PRO.LOC collapse CAUS
'They let the wall collapse.'

### 11.4 Comparison

Three basic comparison constructions exist in Nuosu (section 11.4.1) as well as strategies to intensify predicates and to form their superlative (section 11.4.2).

### 11.4.1 Comparative Constructions

There are superiority constructions (section A), inferiority constructions (section B) and equality constructions (section C).

## A. Superiority

The superiority construction exhibits a short and an extended version, as presented in (17). Constituents that may be compared are noun phrases or nominalized verb phrases suffixed by -ddux, as in (18).
(17) a. ObjectComp+StandardComp+Predicate $a p c y$
b. ObjectComp+StandardComp-jox+ap cy-mu+Predicate

Short
Extended
(18) a. ObjectComp and StandardComp are both NPs

NPs
b. ObjectComp and StandardComp are both VP-ddux

The string $a p$ cy functions as adjective and adverb. Example (19a) illustrates $a p c y$ as main predicate, (19b) as postverbal adverb and (19c) as adverbialized adjective. As adjective, $a p c y$ can be nominalized by -ddu with the meaning $a p c y$-ddu 'advantage', see (19d).

gop bo li rre mop jox ap cy su nge. body TOP money toward more NOM COP 'Health is more (important) than money.'

qop bop miep nyix ap cy xip gge cy gu six la. friend before many more DEM.INDEF CL 3P.SG call RES come 'He invited more friends than the previous time.'

ngat i dix viex vie cyx bu jox ap cy mu a hni.
1P.SG.POSS clothes flower DEM.PROX CL toward more ADVL red 'My clothes are more reddish than this flower.'

cyx li sut co jox ap cy ddu xix gge jjo?
3P.SG TOP other person toward more NOM what CL have 'What advantage does he have compared with others?'

Only a few dimensional adjectives can be employed in the short version（17a）． These adjectives can also be prefixed by the equality morpheme jjy－．

Table 11．5：Comparative forms of dimensional adjectives

| adjective | ap cy＇more＇ | jiy－（equality） |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ax yy＇big＇ | yyx ap cy＇bigger than＇ | jjy－yyx＇as big as＇ |
| ax fu＇rough＇ | ＊fu ap cy＇rougher than＇ | jiy－fu＇as rough as＇ |
| ax hmu＇high＇ | hmu ap cy＇higher than＇ | jiy－hmux＇as high as＇ |
| ax sho＇long＇ | sho ap cy＇longer than＇ | jiy－shox＇as long as＇ |
| ax fi＇wide＇ | fi ap cy＇wider than＇ | jiy－fix＇as wide as＇ |
| ax du＇thick＇ | du ap cy＇thicker than＇ | jjy－dux＇as thick as＇ |
| ax nyi＇many＇ | nyi ap cy＇more than＇ | jjy－nyix＇as many as＇ |
| ax ly＇heavy＇ | ly ap cy＇heavier than＇ | jjy－lyx＇as heavy as＇ |

（20）a．HべNaが
mu ga nga yyx ap cy．
name 1P．SG big more
＇Muga is bigger than me．＇

mu ga ngat jox ap cy mu ax yy．Extended
name 1P．SG to more ADVL big
＇Muga is bigger than me．＇

vot ba cyx ma a zzyx ma lyx ap cy．Short
pig DEM．PROX CL DEM．DIST CL heavy more
＇This pig is heavier than that one．＇

vot ba cyx ma a zzyx ma jox ap cy mu ax ly．Extended pig DEM．PROX CL DEM．DIST CL to more ADVL heavy
＇This pig is heavier than that one．＇

Other multisyllabic adjectives can only occur in the extended version，as illus－ trated in（22）．

mu chur mu nyi jox ap cy mu mgo．
autumn summer toward more ADVL cold
＇The autumn season is colder than the summer season．＇

shy hni li qu jox ap cy mu pu luggo su nge. gold TOP silver toward more ADVL precious NOM COP 'Gold is more precious than silver.'

In addition to adjectives, we can use gradable verbs, verbs modified by speed and manner adverbs and auxiliary verbs in the superiority construction.
(23) a. H muga ludda jox ap cy mu bot nji. male name male name toward more ADVL run quickly 'Muga runs faster than Ludda.'

cy nga jox ap cy mu zzax zze nyiet. 3P.SG 1P.SG toward more ADVL food eat late
'He is eating later than I am.'

ngat tep yy cyx zzit tep yy a zzyx zzit ap cy mu hxep qi. 1P.SG.POSS book DEM CL book DEM.DIST CL more ADVL see want 'I like to study this book more than that book.'

Verb classifiers (section 7.6.4) indicate the degree by which the object of comparison is superior to the standard of comparison.
(24) NTN
nga nyip kur cy yyx ap cy.
1P.SG NUM. 2 year 3P.SG big more
'I am older than he by two years.'
When subjects are compared, the order of elements should be as in (25).

nga cyp jox ap cy mu nex hxie vur su nge.
1P.SG 3P.SG toward more ADVL 2P.SG love NOM COP
'I love you more than he does.'

Direct objects can only be compared in nominalized VPs with -ddux. The order of constituents should be as in (26b) not as in (26a).

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*nga nex cy jox ap cy mu hxie vur su nge. 1P.SG 2P.SG 3P.SG toward more ADVL love NOM COP 'Intended meaning: 'I love you more than I love him.'

nga nex hxie vur ddux nga cyx hxie vur -ddux jox 1P.SG 2P.SG love NOM 1P.SG 2P.SG love -NOM toward
ap cy mu hxie vur su nge.
more ADVL love NOM COP
'I love you more than I love him.'

For gradable matrix predicates like zhet 'good', the object and standard of comparison are argument clauses nominalized by su.

op rro bbo su op rro ap- bbo su jox ap cy mu
Xichang go NOM Xichang NEG- go NOM toward more ADVL
zhet su nge.
good NOM COP
'It is better to go to Xichang than not to go.'

## B. Inferiority

There are two structures, one for noun phrases, the other for nominalized verb phrases. For noun phrases, inferiority is expressed by ngex ngep suffixed to the constituent that serves as standard of comparison and by the negation particle ap-. For verb phrases, two constituents nominalized by the suffix -ddux are compared in a construction using the negated existential predicate jjip 'become'.
(28) a. $\mathrm{NP}_{\text {object }}+\mathrm{NP}_{\text {standard }}-n g e x$ ngep+ap-Predicate / ap-jijp NPs
b. $\mathrm{VP}_{\text {object }}-d d u x+\mathrm{VP}_{\text {standard }}-d d u x($ ngex ngep $)+a p-j i j p \quad$ VPs

The following examples illustrate inferiority constructions. The negation particle is infixed before the last syllable of the predicate (section 9.2).
 mu ga ngat ngex ngep ap-qyt-ap-wat. male name 1P.SG similarly NEG-anxious<NEG> 'Muga is less anxious than me.'

ngat mu cyx ma nit mu ngex ngep bbur-ap-jjip. 1P.SG.POSS horse DEM.PROX CL 2P.SG.POSS horse similarly obey<NEG> 'My horse is less obedient than yours.'

ne cy ngex ngep lie-ap-ba su nge.
2P.SG 3P.SG similarly dangerous<NEG> NOM COP
'You are less in danger than he.'

mu ga ne ngex ngep but-ap-ndit.
name 2P.SG similarly daring<NEG>
'Muga is less courageous than you.'

zze ti cyx ma li a zzyx ma ngex ngep a-ap-du.
table DEM.PROX CL TOP DEM.DIST CL similarly thick<NEG> 'This table is less thick than that table.'

When subjects of a gradable verb are compared, then the construction follows (30a). When direct objects are compared, then the comparison is constructed with the nominalizer -ddux as in (30b).

nga nex ddop njyp ddux cy nit ddop njyp ddux
1P.SG 2P.SG word believe NOM 3P.SG 2P.SG.POSS word believe NOM
ngex ngep ap- jiip.
similarly NEG- become
'I believe you less than he does.'

nga nex ddop njyp ddux nga cyp ddop njyp ddux 1P.SG 2P.SG word believe NOM 1P.SG 3P.SG.POSS word believe NOM
ngex ngep ap- jijip.
similarly NEG- become
'I believe you less than I believe him.'

## C. Equality

The equality construction has short and extended versions. The extended version substitutes the reciprocal prefix $j j y$ - by the expression $j j y ~ s u x ~ m u$. Both NPs and nominalized VPs can be compared in the equality construction.
（31）a．ObjectComp＋StandardComp－si nip＋jjy－Predicate
b．ObjectComp＋StandardComp－si nip＋jjy－sux－mu＋Predicate
（32）a．ObjectComp and StandardComp are both NPs
b．ObjectComp and StandardComp are both VP－ddux

The postposition si nip＇with＇has several functions that are analyzed elsewhere in this grammar（section 5．3．3，section 12．2．1）．The reciprocal prefix jjy－（section 11．2） is prefixed in（33b）to the main verb sup／sux＇resemble＇．

sse ax da sux．
son father resemble
＇The son resembles his father．＇
b．时手手可。
cop wox jjy－sux．
3P．PL RECL－resemble
＇They resemble each other．＇

Only disyllabic size adjectives of Table 11.5 may occur in the short version．In this case，the size prefix $a$－or $i$－is omitted（compare with section 11．4．1．A）．

yit cyx ji ngat uo nyi cyx ji si nip jiy－sho． needle DEM．PROX CL 1P．SG hair DEM．PROX CL with RECL－long ＇This needle is as long as this hair of mine．＇

yit cyx ji ngat uo nyi cyx ji si nip jiy－sux－mu a sho． needle DEM CL 1P．SG hair DEM CL with RECL－resemble－ADVL long ＇This needle is as long as this hair of mine．＇

＊ap mu shu kut ap hxiet ddip kut si nip jjy－zzyr muo．
this year last year with RECL－peaceful
＇Intended meaning：＇This year is as peaceful as last year．＇

ap mu shu kut ap hxiet ddip kut si nip jiy－sux－mu zzyr muo． this year last year with RECL－resemble－ADVL peaceful ＇This year is as peaceful as last year．＇

The prefix $j j y$ - is derived from the reciprocal prefix jjy- (section 11.2). The sense of equality is a secondary meaning derived from the sense of reciprocity.

vyt vu ix yi si nip ngax jjy-gix.
elder brother younger brother with 1P.SG RECL-care
'My elder brother is concerned about me as is my younger brother.'
The extended version of the equality construction does not require the predicate to be gradable since it only expresses that two different referents participate in a state or event in an equivalent way.

nit yo ngat yo si nip jjy-sux-mu hlix ndo nzox.
2P.SG.POSS sheep 1P.SG.POSS sheep with RECL-resemble-ADVL get lost EXP 'Your sheep got lost as did mine.'

A similar meaning can also be expressed by the adverb ngex ngep 'similarly'. It does not require the predicate to be gradable.

mu ga ax pu si nip lat hxa ax pu ngex ngep sy ox. male name grandfather with male name grandfather similarly die DP 'Muga's grandfather is dead and so is Laha's grandfather.'

kut shyr vot ba cyx ma si nip a zzyx ma ngex ngep cu. New Year pig DEM.PROX CL with DEM.DIST CL similarly fat 'The New Year's pig is as fat as this pig.'

vit gga a hni su si nip vit gga a shy su ngex ngep nrat. clothes red NOM with clothes yellow NOM similarly nice 'The red clothes are as beautiful as the yellow clothes.'

### 11.4.2 Intensification and superlative

There are two infixes that are inserted between a gradable predicate and its reduplicated last syllable or its full copy. The intensifier -jjy- and superlative -lop- occupy the same morphological positions in the predicate.

## A．The intensifier－jjy－

The infix－jjy－＇very＇must be distinguished from the prefix jjy－＇each other＇（section 11．2）．The infix－jyy－is inserted before a fully reduplicated copy of a gradable predicate．

mu ga qop bop ddop mu－jiy－ddop mu．
male name friend obey very obey
＇Muga obeys his friends very much．＇

mu rryr ddop ma cyx gge ngox die－jiy－（ngox）die． male name word DEM．PROX CL doubt very doubt ＇Mudge doubts very much these words．＇

cy bbu shy a zzyx ji mo go jjur hla－jiy－jjur hla． 3P．SG snake DEM．DIST CL see COMP anxious very anxious ＇He is very anxious to encounter that snake．＇

xyx hnie cyx zzip a shyt－jiy－（a）shyt．
shoe DEM．PROX CL new very new
＇This pair of shoes is brand new．＇
Ungradable predicates can co－occur with the infix－jjy－，sometimes with a derived meaning．It indicates a greater speaker certainty for making an assertion．Alterna－ tively，－jjy－can simply convey the sense of intense activity．
（41）a．必本入米手米。
nga jie shat bbo－jiy－bbo．
1P．SG street go very go
＇I am absolutely staying on the road．＇
b．겔！チチチチ，
a bbe！jjie－jiy－jjie ddix．
EXCL burn very burn QUOT
＇Oh！This is to say that it is burning strongly．＇

ax yi ngo－jjy－ngo．
child weep very weep
＇The child is crying bitterly．＇

The infix－jjy－can also be inserted in the middle of a fully reduplicated common noun．It intensifies the defining properties of a noun concept．It can be glossed by real or worthy of its name．
a．X悉旦爯采 $\theta \pm$ 。
cy bbox zze－jijy－bbox zze ma nge．
3P．SG man very man CL COP
＇He is a man worthy of this name．＇

nop it dde li la dda－jiy－la dda ji nge．
2P．PL township TOP valley very valley CL COP
＇Your township is a real valley．＇

cyp ke a zzyx ma ke－jiy－kex ma nge．
3P．SG．POSS dog DEM．DIST CL dog very dog CL COP
＇His dog is really a good dog．＇

## B．The superlative－lop－

The superlative infix－lop－is inserted between a gradable predicate and its fully reduplicated copy．

cy iet zyr－lop－iet zyr zhax su nge．
3P．SG small SUP small ART COP
＇He is the smallest．＇

mu nyox li ggut nyi－lop－ggut nyi ma nge．
male name TOP diligent SUP digilent CL COP
＇Munyo is the most diligent．＇

sip hni shax ndur－lop－shax ndur ma a ddit go it．
woman diligent SUP arduous CL there LOC live
＇The most diligent woman lives there．＇
d．「雨出由出片。
la ru nbop－lop－nbop su．
bacon fragrant SUP fragrant NOM
＇the most fragrant bacon＇

hxa bit ke -lop- ke su. vegetable bitter SUP bitter NOM
'the most bitter vegetable'

ax pu kut ti li tit bbap ga go ax yy -lop- ax yy max su nge. grandfather age TOP here village LOC old SUP old ART COP 'Grandfather is the oldest in the village.'

## Chapter 12

## Versatile constructions

In this chapter, we scrutinize presentative constructions (section 12.1), resultative constructions (section 12.2) and extent constructions (section 12.3).

### 12.1 Presentative constructions

Presentative constructions introduce a new discourse referent in space and sometimes time. Presentative constructions consist of an existential verb, an indefinite noun phrase, and a locative noun phrase. The presentative construction in which the locative NP comes first contrasts with the locative construction in which the presented NP comes first.
(1) a. NP + Locative NP + Existential Verb
b. Locative NP + Presented NP + Existential Verb

Locative
Presentative

Presentative constructions in East Asian languages have special features, either special word order as in Mandarin Chinese (section 12.1.2.M) or large sets of existential verbs as in Nuosu and other Tibeto-Burman languages (section 12.1.2).

### 12.1.1 The presented and locative noun phrases

The presented noun phrase consists of a common noun, as in (2), or a proper noun, as in (4). If it is a common noun, it must be indefinite not definite, as in (3).

get sse go bburx yyr ax nyi mu it.
litte box LOC picture many ADVL lie
'There are many photographs in the little box.'

get sse go bburx yyr ma it.
litte box LOC picture CL lie
'There is a photograph in the little box.'

njie ggup go xix mu fu zzi xip yyx su jip?
courtyard LOC why voice DEM.INDEF great NOM have
'Why is there such a loud noise in the courtyard?'

＊bbop jox bbut vie juox juox max su go jiix．
in front garden ART LOC located Intended meaning：＇In front there is the garden．＇

tit go muga it ix？
here LOC name live～ALT
＇Does Muga live here？＇

The locative phrase consists of a common noun，place name，or possibly of a locative particle（e．g．go，tot and so forth）．
（5）NP＋（Locative Particle）

As the locative phrase occurs in sentence－initial position，the coverb $d a$ is not associated with the presentative construction（see section 6．3．1）．

## 12．1．2 The existential predicate

Most languages have two or three existential verbs such as be，have and exist in English．Several authors report high numbers of existential verbs for Tibeto－Burman languages：Qiang（LaPolla 2003），Hani（Bái 1991），and Nuosu（Walters \＆Ndaxit 2006）．${ }^{1}$ In these languages there are between five and thirteen existential verbs． Nuosu has the maximal number of thirteen verbs which are decribed in detail by Walters \＆Ndaxit（2006），see table 12.1 below．

Some of these verbs are pure existential verbs，others are posture verbs with implied existential meanings．Existential verbs vary for the range of entities whose existence they state．An entity might be predicated simultaneously by several existen－ tial verbs with different nuances of meaning，as in（6）and（7）．
（6）a．非种坐坐田。
a ddit syr bbo bbo zzur．
there tree CL stick up
＇There is a tree（standing）．＇

a ddit syr bbo bbo rrur．
there tree CL lie flat
＇There is a tree（lying flat）．＇

1 For a cross－linguistic study of existential verbs，see LaPolla（1994：75）．

Table 12．1：Existential verbs

| Verb | Section | Description |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| jjo＇have＇ | 12．1．2．A | location，existence，possession for animate，inanimate |
| rrur＇lie about＇ | 12．1．2．B | disorderly posture for inanimate entities |
| jjip＇located＇ | 12．1．2．C | location for landmarks in landscape |
| ndit＇attached＇ | 12．1．2．D | attachment for inanimate entities |
| qo＇contain＇ | $12.1 .2 . \mathrm{E}$ | animate，inanimate entities included in larger groups |
| rryp＇stick to＇ | 12．1．2．F | attachment for inanimate entities |
| it＇lie＇ | $12.1 .2 . \mathrm{G}$ | posture for animate and some inanimate entities |
| nyi＇sit＇ | 12．1．2．H | posture for animate and some inanimate entities |
| hxit＇stand＇ | 12.1 .2 .1 | posture only for animate entities |
| zzur＇stick up＇ | $12.1 .2 . \mathrm{J}$ | posture for mainly inanimate entities |
| ke＇nest＇ | $12.1 .2 . \mathrm{K}$ | existence for nests of birds and bees |
| bbu＇exist＇ | $12.1 .2 . \mathrm{L}$ | existence for several unrelated inanimate entities |


hxi jox kex ma go jio．
outside dog CL LOC have
＇There is a dog outside．＇
b．※雨分 $\theta$ 米も。
hxi jox kex ma go it．
outside dog CL LOC live，lie
＇There is a dog lying outside．＇

hxi jox kex ma go nyi．
outside dog CL LOC sit
＇There is a dog sitting outside．＇

Existential verbs are mainly intransitive，stative and ungradable．They cannot be modified by intensifiers．Existence is a black－and－white property．

## A．The existential verb jjo＇have＇

Of all existential verbs，$j j o$＇have＇covers the broadest range of meanings．Example （8a）expresses possession，（8b）existence in space，（8c）existence in time，and（8d） abstract containment．

cop wox rre zza ax nyi mu jio．
3P．PL possessions many ADVL have
＇They have a lot of possessions．＇

ngop bbap ga go bbox zze vut ga hmi xip ma jjo．
1P．PL village LOC man name named DEM．INDEF CL exist ＇In our village there is a man whose name is Vuga．＇

ap mu shu kut xyp xi hni jyx vit jjo．
this year wedding VCL．time have
＇This year there is a wedding．＇

cyp kur ne kop nge ci nyix ma jio．
NUM． 1 year week，section NUM． 52 CL have
＇A year has 52 weeks．＇
The verb $j j o$ also states existence in time．The following example is quoted from Walters \＆Ndaxit（2006：134）and Zhaò \＆Zhū（1986：1）．

ip si mox a hle sy sse six sse yurx te go nuo su sy sse
a long time ago supernatural being born when Nuosu supernatural being
zhyx ge ax lu nge ddix xip ma jio．
name COP QUOT DEM．INDEF CL have
＇Long ago in the days of supernatural men，there was a Nuosu immortal called Zhygeaxlu．＇

## B．The existential verb rrur＇lie about＇

The verb rur means＇lie about＇and is used for inanimate entities that lie about on the ground in a disorderly way．

a ddit go lur ma ax yy xip ma go rrur．
there LOC stone big DEM．INDEF CL LOC rest
＇There is a big stone．＇
b．Y タ＇任斗の？
syr ggut kat go rrur？
plough where LOC rest
＇Where is the plough？＇

syr zza lur ma bbo gox rrur．
fruit CL LOC rest
＇There was a pile of fruit．＇

## C．The existential verb jjip＇located＇

The intransitive verb jjip＇located＇is mainly used for places in the landscape such as mountains，rivers or pieces of land in an area，as shown in（11）．It also situates the progress of events in time，as illustrated in（12）．
（11）a．व龵是可日 $\theta$ き。
yy hnot pop hxo pu ma jjip．
river opposite mountain CL located
＇There is a mountain on the opposite side of the river．＇

a zzy ggat gat zyr go ne jie shat ji jjip．
DEM．DIST place middle LOC TOP street CL located
＇In the middle of that place there is a street．＇

lur kur go hot pu ggep dde ma jjip．
city LOC public park CL located
＇In the city there is a public park．＇
（12）よ
cyp xyp mop xyp da cyp bbu hlep jjip ox． 3P．SG．POSS wife marry STP NUM． 1 month located DP
＇He has been married for one month already．＇

The verb jjip has several related meanings．It functions as adjective with the meaning full；it is the predicate of weather droppings，and it serializes with the verb qot to convey the meaning change into．

ngat pax shu jjip－jjy－jjip．
1P．SG bag full very full
＇My bag is completely full．＇
b．未た $\theta$ 氏日
ip nyip ma hxa jjip．
today rain become
＇Today it is raining．＇

co sy ggup jjux qot nyit cy jjip ddap ap－jjip？ person die after change ghost become or NEG－become ＇After someone dies，does he become a ghost？＇

Finally, the verb jjip has compounded with other words and given rise to a range of lexicalized words.

Table 12.2: Lexicalized expressions with jjip

| jox jjip 'possible', | jjip hnex mu 'therefore' | lat jjip 'spoiled' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bbur jjip 'overcome'  <br> hxop jjip 'overripe' ke jjip 'praise, agree' <br> bup jjip 'brittle, rotten' hmat jjip 'educated' |  |  |

## D. The existential verb ndit 'attached'

The existential verb ndit is used for inanimate entities that can be attached to other things such as body parts (arm, hand, leg), fruits and vegetables, written characters on a surface and so forth. Ndit also has the grammatical function of quantificational aspect (section 7.6.2).

za pux go bbur ma ly ma go ndit.
wall LOC written character NUM. 4 CL LOC attached 'Four letters are written on the wall.'

ngat qop bop miep zyt ax nyi mu ndit.
1P.SG.POSS friend beard much ADVL attached
'My friend has full beard.'

bbu nyip mop ji xy hxit pot ndit.
spider leg NUM. 8 CL attached
'The spider has eight legs.'

## E. The existential verb qo 'contain'

The existential verb qo predicates animate or inanimate entities that are contained in bigger ensembles or masses. Only very small animals such as worms may co-occur with the existential verb $q 0$.

gop bo yyr hla ap- qo su nge.
body spirit NEG- contain NOM COP
'The body is without spirit.'

ngop wox cyx qo zzax zze.
1P.PL 3P.SG contain food eat
'We had a meal with him.'
c．束億斗 ※代 500 。
cha zza go lur zhyr sse qo．
rice LOC little stone contain
＇There are little stones in the rice．＇
d．（3）料斗かiv500。
ce te go bbup ddi sse qo．
dish LOC worm contain
＇There are worms in the dish．＇
e．事H＊HIC筞 80 。
mo mu go mu jy hlop bbop qo．
sky LOC star moon contain
＇There are the stars and the moon in the sky．＇
The existential verb qo＇exist＇is incompatible with bigger animals in a confined area for which it＇lie＇or jjo＇have＇should be used．
（16）a．＊व头条武丰 $H$ Oo 。
＊yy go hxe ax nyi mu qo．
river LOC fish much contain
＇The river contains many fish．＇

＊syr juo go ssyt qo．
forest LOC tiger contain
＇There are tigers in the forest．＇

## F．The existential verb rryp＇stick to＇

The existential verb rryp＇stick to＇is similar to ndit＇attached＇but is used for other referents．The verb rryp＇stick to＇mainly predicates inanimate entities that somehow stick to other entities．Some of these associative relations are alienable，some are inalienable．
（17）a．
le o ho nyip pot rryp．
ox horn NUM． 2 CL stick to
＇The ox has two horns．＇

cyp jy xy go ma wa ma rryp．
3P．SG．POSS foot LOC wound CL stick to
＇There is a wound on his foot．＇

cyp lot go bbu shy ji rryp. 3P.SG.POSS hand LOC snake CL stick to
'There is a snake stuck to his hand.'

The following example is quoted from Walters \& Ndaxit (2006: 141) respectively from Zhaò \& Zhū (1986: 42).

hex jjy pup mit ggex su pur cyp gop bo go rryp sat da. pot ashes ART blow 3P.SG.POSS body LOC stick to EXH STP 'There were ashes from the pot all over her body.'

## G. The existential verb it 'lie'

The existential posture verb it 'lie' as well as the verbs in the next two sub-section nyi ‘sit' and hxit 'stand' predicate animate, especially human, referents.

hxo pu tot cop wox go it.
mountain on top of 3P.PL LOC live
'They live on the mountain.'
b. बもØ。
mot it dde
soldier live NOM
'barracks’

The verb it also takes inanimate subjects, as shown in (20). The entity is presented in lying position although, of course, the idea of posture cannot be defined for liquids. $(20 a+b)$ are quoted from Walters \& Ndaxit (2006: 131, 136).

yy ix nyi nyip gex lo go it yip sy.
water, soup little little pot live still
'There is still a little soup in the pot.'

hox ho sse ku jox yit ji ax di go it. box within needle CL only LOC lie 'There is only one needle in the box.'

cyp nyuo zzyp go pop chep it．
3P．SG．POSS eye LOC splinter lie
＇There is a splinter in his eye．＇

## H．The existential verb nyi ‘sit’

The existential posture verb nyi ‘sit＇is typically used with animate referents but also predicates inanimate subjects，sometimes with metaphorical meaning．

a yit gox nyi da uo fa mguo．
name LOC sit STP turban embroider
＇Ayi is sitting there embroidering a turban．＇

siex nyuo go hxie zyr ma gox nyi．
window LOC bird CL LOC sit
＇A bird is sitting in the window．＇
c．X 出事
cy hly mo nyi．
3P．SG boat sit
＇He is going by boat．＇

The following examples lack the idea of control by the subject referent．The exis－ tence stated by nyi is abstract and metaphorical．

syp vo a zzyx ma ku jox yy ax nyi mu nyi．
peach DEM．DIST CL inside water，juice much sit
＇That peach has a lot of juice．＇
b．$\sqrt[n]{ }$ 民Z丰片。
bbu shy ddut nyi su
snake poison sit NOM
＇poisonous snake’
c．毕兰头手丰。
gop po go sy nyi．
body LOC blood sit
＇There is life in the body．＇

gop bo li sy nyi sot nyi．
body TOP blood sit breath sit ＇He is someone with blood and flesh．＇

Furthermore，the verb nyi is part of several compound words that describe men－ tal states．

Table 12．3：Lexicalized expressions with nyi

| we nyi＇strong＇ | xy nyi＇consider，reflect＇ | shot nyi＇honest＇ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hxie zyp nyi＇patient＇ | ggut nyi＇diligent and frugal＇ |  |

## I．The existential verb hxit＇stand＇

The posture verb hxit is restricted to animate referents and has not developed meta－ phorical extensions as the other posture verbs it＇lie’ and nyi＇sit＇．

hxi jox mu ga a ddit hxit da．
outside name there stand STP
＇There is Muga standing outside．＇
b．禾旦白覑雨N
bbox zze max su dep go hxit da．
man ART rise LOC stand STP
＇The man rose and stood there．＇

## J．The existential verb zzur＇stick up＇

The verb zzur＇stick up＇states the existence of entities that stick out of the ground or landscape．It has secondary meanings such as stand up and establish．

hxo pu go syr go ap－zzur．
mountain LOC tree LOC NEG－stick up
＇There are no trees on the mountain．＇

lur kur hxi jox ssox dde max su gox zzur ap－dop．
city outside school ART LOC stick NEG－can
＇The school cannot be built outside the city．＇

cy ddop hxip ngax jox zzur.
3P.SG word say 1P.SG toward stand up, oppose
'He speaks out against me.'

The verb $z z u r$ is a component of a range of complex words with metaphorical or abstract meanings. The verb bbur zzur 'seem', for example, is composed of bbur 'image' and zzur, and has the meaning of seem = image+stand up.

Table 12.4: Lexicalized expressions with zzur

| hxie zzur 'naughty' | hmi zzur 'famous' | zzurx xie 'oppose' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bbur zzur 'seem' | mut zzur 'angry' |  |

## K. The existential verb $k e$ 'nest'

The existential verb ke 'nest' functions as classifier of birds and bees (section 5.2.1.E). It is also found as existential predicate for the same kind of entities.

o bbop jox bbut vup ke go ke.
ahead ant CL LOC nest
'There is an antnest ahead.'

vat bu go jjix ke go ke.
mountain rock LOC bee CL LOC nest
'There is a bee hive on the mountain rock.'

syr bbo tot hxie zyr ke go ke.
tree top of bird CL LOC nest
'There is a bird nest on top of the tree.'

## L. The existential verb bbu 'exist'

The verb bbu 'exist' is used for predicating a few specific but unrelated nouns such as doors, wrinkles and footprints. The verb has lost productivity and might disappear from the language in the future.

tit go ip ko jjur bbu.
here LOC door CL exist
'The door turns on its hinges.'

cyp ax pu nyiet gga bbu ox．
3P．SG．POSS grandfather wrinkle have DP
＇His grandfather has wrinkles on his face．＇

tit go ggap mop ji bbu．
here LOC road CL have
＇There is a road here．＇
d．外斗雨雨可覑。
vo go xyx ddux gox bbu．
snow LOC footprint LOC have
＇There is a footprint in the snow．＇

za pux go buo gga bbu．
wall LOC crack have
＇There is a crack in the wall．＇

## M．Motional verbs are not presentational

In Mandarin Chinese，clauses with motional verbs can express existential meanings if the order of the presented noun and the verb is inverted．The following example contrasts this presentative construction with the ordinary intransitive construction．
（27）Mandarin Chinese（Li \＆Thompson 1981：517）
a．chū lái le yi ge kèren．Presentative construction exit come DP NUM． 1 CL guest ＇There is a guest coming out．＇
b．yi ge kèren chū lái le．Intransitive construction NUM． 1 CL guest exit come DP
＇A guest has come out．＇
In Nuosu，both Mandarin constructions collapse．Motional verbs cannot be used with a special presentational meaning．

tep yy dax dde go bbup zhyt gap nyiep ma gox njuo．
book shelf LOC cockroach CL LOC move around
＇A cockroach moves around on the bookshelf．＇
b．$\epsilon \lessdot \theta$ 米米王。
yo nyip ma jjie bbo ox．
sheep NUM． 2 CL leave go DP
＇Two sheep ran away．＇
c. (i) 羞 小
rrur ggu cyp gge gox $\mathbf{~ x i}$ ox.
goods QUANT.some PRO.LOC arrive DP 'A load of goods arrived.'

ngop ket mop ggep dde go mu ga si nip mu gox nyix
1P.PL evening amuse NOM LOC name and name NUM. 2
ax di gox xi la.
only PRO.LOC arrive come
'Only Muga and Mugo came to our evening gathering.'

bbu sse ma jji hxi jox ddur la ox.
fly CL fly outside exit come DP
'A fly flew outside.'

### 12.2 Resultative constructions

According to Boas (2003), linguists of English distinguish three classes of resultative constructions ( $\mathrm{RP}=$ resultative phrase):
(i) the RP predicates a subcategorized object of a transitive verb;
(ii) the RP predicates a nonsubcategorized object of an intransitive verb;
(iii) the RP predicates a nonsubcategorized object of a transitive verb.
(29) i. I dyed my grey school skirt dark red. (Boas 2003: 1)
ii. Frank sneezed the napkin off the table. (Goldberg 1995: 152)
iii. She drank him under the table.
(Boas 2003: 7)
In English, it is not possible that the resultative phrase predicates the subject of a transitive verb, a property that Levin \& Rappaport (1995) call the direct object restriction.
(30) *John drank the whiskey drunken.

By contrast, Nuosu resultative phrases can predicate the subject of a transitive verb. There are three classes: agent-resultative constructions (section 12.3.1); patientresultative constructions (section 12.3.2); resultative constructions of non-arguments (section 12.3.3). Some of the examples in this section are Nuosu equivalents of examples in Boas's book that I dicussed with native Nuosu.

### 12.2.1 Agent-resultative construction

We can ascribe a resultative state to the agent of a clause by a special construction which uses a reduplicated verb and the conjunction si nip (section 5.3.3).
(31) $\mathrm{NP}+(\mathrm{NP})+$ Verb Verb+si nip+Resultative Phrase

One important constraint is imposed on this construction. The verb must be intransitive, as in (32), monotransitive, as in (33), or unergative (section 6.1.4), as in (34a-c). It cannot be unaccusative, as in (34d).
(32) a. H
mu ga bot bo si nip sot bbu sot shy ddux ox.
male name run run and breatlessly DP 'Muga got out of breath from running.'

ngop wox shyrx shyr si nip fup sot ox.
1P.PL shout shout and hoarse DP
'We yelled ourselves hoarse.'

at gop mu ga gep mgo six biex qie qie si nip gup ddur ox. name name COV pull RES dance dance and sweat exit DP 'Muga danced with Ago so much that she sweated.'
(33)

lu dda ax rryr mgot mgot si nip hxie ci ox. male name female name persue persue and give up = heart-fall DP 'Ludda courted Adge to the point of giving up.'

vut gop vot she zzex zze si nip ndat-jjy-ndat ox. female name pork eat eat and disgusted-very-disgusted DP 'Vugo felt disgusted after the consumption of so much pork.'

lu ti mu cyx ma zzyx zzy si nip jiix do ox. male name horse DEM.PROX CL ride ride and exhausting DP 'Luti rode this horse and was exhausted.'

The verbs yy 'laugh', ddiex bur 'change' and ngo 'cry' are unergative. A resultative state can be ascribed to their agent by the structure (31). By contrast, an unaccusative verb, like mge 'boil' in (34d), is ungrammatical in this stucture.

vut ryy yyx yy si nip nyuo bby ddur ox．
female name laugh laugh and tears－come out DP
＇Vudge laughed herself to tears．＇

cy ddiex bur bur si nip a hnat mu mu vat ox．
3P．SG change change and especially ADVL good DP
＇He became so good．＇

cy ngox ngo si nip nyuo bby hat ga ox．
3P．SG cry and tear consume DP
＇He cried to the point of desperation．＇

＊hxa bit mgex mge si nip ax hxo jjip ox． vegetable boil boil and porridge become DP ＇The vegetable is boiled soft and becomes（a kind of）porridge．＇

Resultative compounds usually do not use resultative linkers but can be coerced as in the examples（35b）and（36b）．The resultative phrase predicates the subject．

cyp ax da na sy ox．
3P．SG．POSS father ill dead DP
＇His father died of illness．＇
b．よ牙义雨年見\＆ソ向。
cyp ax da nax na si nip sy ox．
3P．SG．POSS father ill ill and dead DP
＇His father died of illness．＇
（36）
a．X $\exists$ 习S $\sqrt{\text { 可。 }}$
cy rre mop sot yot ox．
3P．SG money count wrong DP
＇He made a mistake in counting the money．＇

cy rre mop sot sot si nip yot ox． 3P．SG money count and wrong DP
＇He made a mistake in counting the money．＇

### 12.2.2 Patient-resultative construction

Another construction is available to ascribe a resultative state to the entity that undergoes the situation. This construction uses the linker sip/six and requires the undergoing NP to be in sentence-initial position.

## (37) NP+(NP)+Verb+sip/six+Resultative Phrase

The linker is historically derived from the verb sip/six 'take' (section 6.2.1.D). In order to use sip/six for ascribing a resultative state, the main verb must allow for the idea of disposal. We can employ intransitive and monotransitive verbs in (37) if the first noun phrase is the undergoer of the situation. In (38), we consider intransitive verbs, in (39) monotransitive verbs and in (40) unaccusative verbs.

shur njot sip ga jie jie ox.
lake freeze RES hard, solid DPD
'The lake froze solid.'

cyp bbo lo wop six a hnat mu ax yy ox.
3P.SG.POSS face swollen RES especially big DP
'His face swelled very big.'

lu po nry yit six dep la ap- dop ox. male name wine drunk RES rise come NEG- MOD.can DP 'Lupo got so drunk that he could not stand up.'

mge vat ax mo xip six iet zyr guo ox.
buckwheat cake mother cut RES small very much DP 'Mother cut the buckwheat cake into small pieces.'

zhuop zi mu ga gep syr six bbox sho ox. table male name COV sweep RES clean DP 'The table was swept clean by Muga.'

yi max su mu nyox hxop six a hni mu da ox. house ART male name paint RES red ADVL DP 'Munyo painted the house red.'

tep yy zzit su at gop yu six la ox. book ART female name take RES come DP 'Ago took the book away (= take-come).'

syr ddip mup bat gep mgo six bax juo juo ox. log horse COV pull RES smooth DP 'The horses dragged the logs smoothly.'

wax ddip hxix mu ti te go mu ga nga cy gep lit
next day morning when name 1P.SG 3P.SG COV shake
six it nyi la ox.
RES awake COME DP
'The next morning Muga shook me awake.'

bbut vie lat hxa gep yyx sha six yyx jjur jjur ox.
flower male name COV water RES flat, full of water DP
'Muga watered the flowers well.'

Unaccusative verbs can ascribe a resultative state to the entity that undergoes the effect of the event by using the linker six.

vup du jix su lix qy six ret mop ddur ox.
bone ART break RES piece exit DP
'The bone broke into pieces.'

vit gga po hxo six a hni mu da ox.
clothes dye RES red ADVL DP
'The clothes were dyed red.'

Resultative phrases that comment on the event rather than on the patient of the main verb should not use the marker sip/six.

ip kop cy bie (\#six) pop la ox. door 3P.SG kick RES open come DP
'He kicked the door open.'

cop wox nry cyp pip ndo（\＃six）zzi lox．
3P．PL wine NUM． 1 bottle drink RES left over
＇They drank wine leaving one bottle．＇

at gop cyp bbox zze cy zyt（＊six）ke she zha ap－jiip． name 3P．SG．POSS man 3P．SG scold RES flea CL NEG－become ＇Ago scolded her husband that he would become a good for nothing bum．＇

## 12．2．3 Nonargument－resultative constructions

There is a category of resultative constructions in which the resultative phrase ascribes a state to a non－argument．The first kind of non－arguments are body parts or items related to the agent．They are ascribed a resultative state by si nip．

ngop wox shyrx shyr si nip zyt jie fup bbip mix fup sot ox． 1P．PL shout shout and REFL throat even hoarse DP ＇We yelled ourselves hoarse．＇

lu pox yyx yy si nip sip ggot ox． male name laugh laugh and liver pain DP
＇Lupo laughed so much that he got a stomach ache．＇
c．XNN思\＆れりか。
cy hxit hxit si nip xy li ggot．
3P．SG stand stand and leg ache
＇His legs ached from standing so long．＇

ax yi max su ngox ngox si nip hxie mat ho ox．
child ART weep weep and heart sad DP
＇The child cried so much he became sad．＇

cy hxa tie mux mu si nip lot syr pa yyx ggie ggie ox． 3P．SG sneeze sneeze and handkerchief soggy，wet DP ＇He sneezed（so much）his handkerchief（became）soggy．＇

cy ngox ngo si nip o kup nyo bby lo ox．
3P．SG cry cry and pillow tears block DP
＇She cried so much that the pillow became wet with her tears．＇

A non-argument can also be predicated by the resultative phrase by using the linker six, if it is related to the patient referent who undergoes the effect of the activity.

tep yy cy ddiex bur six tep yy bbur su co bbyx
book 3P.SG change RES book write NOM person CAUS
hxie kat-jjy-hxie kat shux ox.
happy-very-happy CAUS DP
'He changed the book in such a way that the author was very happy.'

ngop wox cy gga shyx six syt ddur ox.
1P.PL 3P.SG lead RES event exit DP
'We were led by him into calamity.'

The use of si nip in (44a) and sip/six in (44b) depends on the availabality of a resultative interpretation. If resultative meaning is only a marginal interpretation, then si nip and six should be omitted.
(44)

ne zze (\#zze si nip) nit gop bo hit njuo su nge ox. 2P.SG eat eat and 2P.SG.POSS body harm PROG NOM COP DP 'You are eating yourself to death.'

nry cop wox ndo (\#six) cyp pip mix zzi-ap-lop.
wine 3P.PL drink RES NUM. 1 bottle even left<NEG>
'They drank up the wine with nothing left.'

## Chapter 13

## Complex sentences

In this chapter, we analyse two types of complex sentences, coordinating constructions (section 13.1) and subordinating constructions (section 13.2). Serial verb constructions are sentences that contain two or more juxtaposed verb phrases without any syntactic marker that indicates the semantic relationship between them. Some serial verb constructions are coordinating constructions, others are subordinating constructions.

### 13.1 Coordinating constructions

We examine serial verb constructions in section 13.1.1, coordinate sentences with a conjunction in the first clause in section 13.1.2, and coordinate sentences with a conjunction in the second clause in section 13.1.3.

### 13.1.1 Zero linking

Cross-linguistically, serial verb constructions (SVCs) are constructions with at least two verbs satisfying the following features (Aikhenvald 2006: 4-21). SVCs have (i) single event interpretation; (ii) single clause intonation; (iii) shared tense, aspect and modalidy values; (iv) at least one argument shared by two verbs.

SVCs are common in Nuosu and generally comply with these four conditions except that SVCs can refer to two closely associated events. The semantic relationship between both events is often vague and ambiguous. SVCs give rise to consecutive, simultaneous, conditional, circumstantial, purposive interpretations, or to any combination of these.

cy gox nyi da zzax zze tat xi.
3P.SG LOC sit STP food eat should
Simultaneous: 'He should sit and eat.'

lat hxo yi ku jox la nga hxip cyx ge. male name house inside come 1P.SG say 3P.SG tell Consecutive: 'Laho went inside the house and I told him.'

ne ddox mu ggep nit lot cy zhe mat.
2P.SG knife play 2P.SG.POSS hand 3P.SG cut FEAR
Conditional: 'If you play with a knife, you will hurt your hand.'

cy lap bbu mo mup bat hlut．
3P．SG ox plough horse pasture
Simultaneous：＇He is ploughing and pasturing．＇
Circumstantial：＇As he was ploughing the earth with an ox，he pastured some horses．＇

vy ddu ax nyi mu jjo vu ga vit gga vy．
items much ADVL have name clothes buy
Causal：＇Because there are many items，Wuga bought clothes．＇
Circumstantial：＇As there are so many items，Wuga bought some clothes．＇

nga yy mge furx ndo．
1P．SG cool water pour drink
Consecutive：＇I poured cold water（in my cup）and then drank it．＇
Purposive：＇I poured cold water（in my cup）to drink it．＇

cop wox mop mgep la ox．
3P．PL hold meeting come DP
Purposive：＇They came to hold a meeting．＇

Generally，it is not possible to convey resultative interpretations by SVCs．Re－ sultative constructions employ syntactic markers such as six（section 12．3）．The following three examples contrast purposive，consecutive and resultative meanings．
（8）a．Xi舛覑米米。
cy lap bbu hxe bbo．
3P．SG ox borrow go
Purposive：＇He went to borrow an ox．＇
（8a）is an SVC；the movement of the person is prior to the borrowing of the ox． When we employ the consecutive conjunction lox，the movement of the person is posterior to the borrowing，see（8b）．When we insert the resultative marker six and inverse the order of subject and object，it is the ox which moves as a result of the action of borrowing，see（8c）．
b．似夺覑米坐。
cy lap bbu hxe lox bbo．
3P．SG ox borrow and then go
Consecutive：＇He borrowed an ox and then went away．＇
c．和』和米蒠米。
lap bbu cy hxe six bbo．
ox 3P．SG borrow RES go
Resultative：＇He borrowed an ox and（as a result）the ox was gone．＇

## 13．1．2 Forward－linking conjunctions

Similar to adverbs（section 9．1），there are three types of forward－linking conjunctions： movable conjunctions（section A），immovable conjunctions（section B），clause－final conjunctions（section C）．

## A．Movable conjunctions

Movable conjunctions can occur at the beginning of the first clause or after the topic． The only forward－linking movable conjunction is ap ddi ddix＇if＇．It co－occurs with a clause－final conjunction in the first clause，either yix ne or go li．

ap ddi ddix ne bbo yix ne，ngat jop hxip．
if 2P．SG go provided that 1P．SG to say
＇If you leave，please tell me．＇

cy ap ddi ddix vit gga vy yix ne，ngat ddip vy la． 3P．SG if clothes buy provided that 1P．SG at buy come ＇If she wants to buy clothes，let her come here to get some．＇

ap ddi ddix nga bbo ap－dop go li，ne bbo．
if 1P．SG go NEG－can SENT．TOP 2P．SG go
＇If I can＇t go，then（please）go．＇

nop ap ddi ddix mop mgep go li，nga la ap－qi． 2P．SG if hold meeting SENT．TOP 1P．SG come NEG－want ＇If you hold a meeting，I don＇t want to come．＇

## B．Immovable conjunctions

Immovable forward－linking conjunctions can be used only after the topic in the first clause．They require the presence of a backward－linking conjunction in the second clause．

Table 13.1: Immovable forward-linking conjunctions

| Forward-linking conjunction | Required <br> Backward-linking conjunction | Adverb |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| cyx pa jop 'on the one hand' | a zzyx pa jop 'on the other hand' |  |
| miep pa jop 'firstly' | wa pa jop 'secondly' | section 9.1.3.B |
| nyi 'both...and' | nyi 'both...and' |  |

The first two forward-linking conjunctions occur before the direct object. The conjunction nyi...nyi... is inserted between the direct object and verb in both clauses.

cy cyp pa jop rre mop shep, a zzyx pa jop bbur ma sso. 3P.SG on one side money earn on one side course study 'They both work for a living and attend lessons.'

lu ti cyp nyip zzix ap zzi yiet hxop nyi yiet, tep yy nyi bbur. male name every day song also sing book also write 'Luti is singing and writing letters every day.'

## C. Clause-final conjunctions

Most forward-linking conjunctions are found at the end of the first clause. A list of these conjunctions is presented in Table 13.2. With two exceptions, conjunctions do not require a conjunction in the second clause. Furthermore, two of these conjunctions can be used as adverbs in simple sentences (section 9.1.2.B).

Table 13.2: Clause-final forward-linking conjunctions

| Forward-linking conjunction | Compatible <br> Backward-linking conjunction | Adverb |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| yix ne 'provided that' <br> ax di...yix ne 'except that' <br> yix nyi 'even if' <br> yip go 'although' <br> dda mo 'no matter what' <br> ax di...ap nge mu 'not only' | ddix ap bbo 'but also, furthermore' |  |
| lox 'and then' | te go xi 'up to when' |  |
| hnox 'until' <br> yix nip 'only then' <br> te go 'when' <br> ggup jjux ne 'after' <br> ddix sy ne 'as soon as' <br> sy zzy mu 'as long as' <br> gex nep 'at the origin of' |  | section 9.1.2.B |

The conjunction yix ne 'provided that' presents the first clause as background information. It is compatible with conditional, causal and temporal interpretations.

ne hxip da yix ne, nga hxip ddie-ap-ddur ox.
2P.SG say put provided that 1P.SG say need<NEG> DP
'Given the fact that you made the point, I need not add anything.'
With the adverb $a x$ di 'only', yix ne frames the VP of the first clause as an event excluded from a set of background events. The combined conjunction expresses the meaning except that.

cy ax di ke she zze yix ne, ngop wox nge get vot she zze ox. 3P.SG only dog meat eat given that 1P.PL all pig meat eat DP 'We were all eating pig meat except that he was eating dog meat.'

If the verb phrase in ax di...yix ne is empty, the conjunction changes into a postposition with the sense except for.

ke she ax di yix ne, ax pa cy xix she nyi zze.
dog meat except other 3P.SG INT.what meat also eat
'Except for dog meat, he eats everything else.'
There are four concessive conjunctions in Nuosu: the conjunctions yix nyi 'even if', yix go 'although', dda mo 'no matter what' and ax di...ap nge mu 'not only...but also...'.

cy ndit yix nyi, ne xip mu cyp jox zyt tat-ap-xi. 3P.SG bear even if 2P.SG DEM.DD 3P.SG.POSS to scold should<NEG> 'Even if he bears the responsibility, you should not scold him.'

mu gox ax yi zha nge yip go, syp ddu ax nyi mu jjo. male name child CL COP although knowledge much ADVL have 'Although Mugo is a child, he has a lot of knowledge and skills.'

ne ax pa syt xix jio dda mo, ca pot nyip
2P.SG other affair INT.what have no matter what day after tomorrow
la go shex.
come HAB
'No matter what other things you have on, you must come the day after tomorrow.'

mu gox ax di la su ap nge mu, ddix ap bbo ap mop ax yi male name only come NOM not only but also mother child jjy gex la sat.
together come EXH
'Mugo came not alone but together with his wife and children.'

The remaining conjunctions in this group convey temporal meanings. The most common is the consecutive linker lox 'and then' which juxtaposes two events in the temporal order in which they occur.

ssox sse ggex su sso sat lox, jjy gex ix go bbo ox. students ART study EXH and then together home go DP
'The students finished the lesson and (then) went home together.'
The conjunction hnox 'until' in the first clause must be co-associated with the expression te go xi 'up to when' in the second clause.

cy nry ap- ndo mu hnox, ax yi max su yurx te go xi. 3P.SG wine NEG- drink ADVL EXT.until child ART bear when arrive 'She did not drink wine until the birth of her child.'

mu nyox tep yy sso hnox, nyip zzi kut te go xi. male name book study EXT.until NUM. 20 year when arrive 'Munyo attended school until the age of twenty.'

The conjunction yix nip 'only then' encodes temporal succession and logical implication. It also functions as adverb in simple clauses posed after the topic noun phrase (section 9.1.2.B).
 nga hxip cyx ge yix nip, cy shut la. 1P.SG say 3P.SG tell only then 3P.SG remember come 'He did not remember until I told him.'

The remaining conjunctions of this group emphasize different temporal relations such as immediate sucession, simultaneity and precedence.

ax da ix go xi la ddix sy ne, syt cy jjit cy hxip ngop ge. father home arrive come as soon as event DEM CL 3P.SG say 1P.PL tell 'As soon as Daddy came home, he told us what had happened.'

ap bbo gox jjo sy zzy mu, sse max su nzy ke ssi ap- dop.
father LOC have as long as son ART power use NEG- can 'As long as a father is alive, the son is not able to exert power.'

ax yi it nyi-ap-gu sy gex nep, zza ddie cyx zha.
child sleep<NEG> still at the origin of food COV 3P.SG feed 'Before the child is sleeping, let him eat.'

The linkers te go 'when' and ggup jjux ne 'after' are standard temporal conjunctions. The linker te go is composed of the truncated noun te kop 'time' and the locative marker go.

mu ga nyop bbop te go, dde dde mu yiet hxop yiet.
name work when often song sing
'When Muga is working, he often sings songs.'

cop wox ba njiet six op rro it ggup jjux ne, cy lat ti yur. 3P.PL move DIR Xichang live after 3P.SG male name bear 'After they moved to Xichang, she bore Lati.'

### 13.1.3 Backward-linking conjunctions

Four types of backward-linking conjunctions can be distinguished in Nuosu based on their syntactic slot: clause-initial conjunctions (section 13.1.3.A), movable conjunctions (section 13.1.3.B), clause-second conjunctions (section 13.1.3.C) and clausefinal conjunctions (section 13.1.3.D).

## A. Clause-initial conjunctions

There are two backward-linking conjunctions that are placed in initial position of the second clause (and cannot occur after the subject noun phrase). They do not require the co-occurrence of forward-linking conjunctions in the first clause.

Table 13.3: Clause-initial backward-linking conjunctions

| Compatible <br> Forward-linking conjunction | Backward-linking conjunction | Adverb |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | tit 'however, but' |  |
|  | ap nge ox go 'either...or...' |  |

The first conjunction, tit 'but', is derived from the demonstrative tit 'here' (section 5.4.3.D). It indicates a shifting topic in the same way the demonstrative adverb now in Now that wasn't a bad idea marks a discourse shift in English.

nga ggap mop go da cop wox ke hxox ji la hxex, 1P.SG road LOC COV 3P.PL long period wait
tit cop wox go ap- la.
however 3P.PL LOC NEG- come
'I was waiting on the road for a long time, but they did not come.'
The disjunctive conjunction ap nge ox go is composed of the negated copular verb nge, the perfect particle ox and the complementizer go. The whole complex literally means '(if) it is not the case that'.

ne rre hxep bbo, ap nge ox go cop qo mu zyt bbo.
2P.SG pasture livestock go or 3P.PL follow soil dig go
'You pasture the livestock or you go with them to dig the soil.'

## B. Movable conjunctions

Several backward-linking conjunctions occur in initial and non-initial position of the second clause. They are movable and are presented in Table 13.4.

Table 13.4: Movable backward-linking conjunctions

| Compatible <br> Forward-linking conjunction | Backward-linking conjunction | Adverb |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | xip hnex 'therefore' <br> jjip hnex 'therefore' <br> ddix ap bbo 'moreover, actually' <br> cyp ggup jjux 'afterwards' |  |

The implicative conjunction xip hnex 'therefore' does not require a linker in the first clause.

ap ndi hxix ma hxa jjip, xip hnex ngop wox nyop bbop ap- bbo. yesterday rain get therefore 1P.PL work NEG- go 'Yesterday it was raining, therefore we did not go to work.'

The conjunction ddix ap bbo 'moreover' literally means 'needless to say' but has the current menaing of 'actually'. It details information provided by the first clause.

cy ap ddi hxix op rro la ox, ddix ap bbo ngap nyit gex 3P.SG yesterday Xichang come DP actually 1P.DL both jjyx- mo ox.
RECL- see DP
'He came to Xichang yesterday, so we actually saw each other.'

ngop wox cyp jox ba ox, ngap nyit ddix ap bbo cyp
1P.PL 3P.SG toward notify DP 1P.DL actually 3P.SG.POSS
ix go li ox.
home go DP
'We briefed him. Two of us actually went to his home.'

The conjunction cyp ggup jjux 'afterwards' is formed of the proximal demonstrative cyp and the postposition ggup jjux 'after'.

ne hxip nga nyip vit ge, nga cyp ggup jjux syp ox. 2P.SG say 1P.SG NUM. 2 time tell 1P.SG afterwards know DP 'You told me twice and I was aware of it afterwards.'

## C. Clause-second conjunctions

There are three backward-linking conjunctions that must occur after the first noun phrase of the second clause: tat lyp 'but', gga gga lox 'moreover' and bur six 'to the contrary'. All three conjunctions are immovable.

Table 13.5: Clause-second backward-linking conjunctions

| Compatible <br> Forward-linking conjunction | Backward-linking conjunction | Adverb |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { yip go 'although' } \\ \text { yix nyi 'even if' } \\ \text { (ax di ap nge mu 'not only...') }\end{array}\right\}$ | tat lyp 'but' | section 9.1.2.B |

The conjunction tat lyp 'but' marks overt contradiction with the previous clause that is either uttered by the same speaker or by someone else. If the previous clause is not uttered by the same speaker, tat lyp assumes the function of immovable adverb (see section 9.1.2.B).

## 

ne sux yy ma nge yip go, tat lyp cop mgex da mu.
2P.SG leader CL COP although but 3P.PL mix STP do
'Although you are a leader, you nevertheless socialize with them.'

The conjunction gga gga lox 'furthermore' presents the second clause as a piece of information unrelated to the information in the first clause.
 ggap mop mga-ap-sa su ax di ap- nge mu, road easy to pass<NEG> NOM only NEG- COP ADVL cop wox gga gga lox la ma hxa jjip xip luo zo. 3P.PL furthermore come rain become DEM.INDEF time meet 'The road is not only hard to travel, furthermore it began to rain.'

The conjunction bur six 'to the contrary' marks irreconcilable contrast and conveys a stronger value than tat lyp 'but' (above) or tit 'however' (section 13.1.3.A).

mu jie hxip go "ne jy-tat-jie" ddix, cy male name say SENT.TOP 2P.SG fear<NEG.IMP> QUOT 3P.SG
bur six mu jie yyx.
to the contrary male name laugh
'Mujie said (to him) "Don't worry", but he laughed at Mujie.'

## D. Clause-final conjunctions

There are two backward-linking conjunctions that occur at the end of the second clause. They are immovable.

Table 13.6: Clause-final backward-linking conjunctions

| Compatible <br> Forward-linking conjunction | Backward-linking conjunction | Adverb |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (su) | yy ddi 'because' | - |
| (go) | ssi ap dda 'so perhaps' | - |

They do not require a linker in the first clause, but the first clause provides background information and is optionally marked by $s u$ (section 5.2.4.C) or go (section 5.4.1.G). The marker yy di 'because' is the standard causal conjunction and typically co-occurs with the sentence topic particle su.

ax yi a zzyx ma yi ngox su li
child DEM.DIST CL cry SENT.TOP TOP
cyp ax mo cyp jox zyt yy ddi.
3P.SG.POSS mother 3P.SG toward scold because
'The child is crying because his mother scolded him.'
The conjunction ssi ap dda 'so perhaps' evaluates the likelihood of a situation based on information provided in the first clause.

ip nyip ma hxa jjip go mu jy ix go jjo ssi ap dda.
today rain become SENT.TOP male name home have so perhaps 'Today it is raining, so perhaps Mudje is at home.'

### 13.2 Subordinating constructions

Subordinate constructions consist of two clauses in which one clause, the embedded clause, is the syntactic argument of the predicate of the second clause. The superordinate predicate is called the matrix predicate. In section 8.2.1.A, we compare matrix verbs and modal auxiliary verbs. Matrix verbs can occur as sole predicates of the clause, can take NP-complements as well as clause-complements (though generally not VP-complements), and require one of three complementizers (go, su, $d d i x)$ with a few exceptions.

We investigate matrix predicates without complementizers in section 13.2.1, with complementizer go in section 13.2.2, su in section 13.2.3 and ddix in section 13.2.4. Semantically, matrix predicates designate mental activities or states and also speech events. The complementizer go tend to subcategorize mental activities, su mental products and ddix speech events, although there are exceptions.

### 13.2.1 Zero marking

In Mandarin Chinese, matrix predicates do not mark the embedded clause with a complementizer. Subordinate constructions are therefore serial verb constructions (Li \& Thompson 1981: 598-606).

In Nuosu only few matrix predicates do not mark the embedded clause．There are several intransitive matrix predicates which do not take any NP or VP but only the embedded clause as argument：bur zzur＇seem’，jox jjip＇possible’ and jjox bbu ＇probable＇．These intransitive matrix predicates subcategorize clause－complements and not of VP－complements．
（31）

＊mu ga bur zzur．
name seem
Intended meaning：＇Muga appears．＇

＊cy ngop wox yy go hxit da hxe nyiet bur zzur．
3P．SG 1P．PL river LOC stand STP fish catch seem
Intended meaning：＇For him we seem to stand at the river fishing．＇
c．寸が小まほた。
ne nga ap－syp bur zzur．
2P．SG 1P．SG NEG－know seem
＇It seems that you do not know me．＇

cy nra hxex su nrax ddur bur－ap－zzur．
3P．SG examination measure－exit seem＜NEG＞
＇It does not seem that he was successful at the exam．＇
（32）

＊syt cy jjit jox jjip．
event DEM．PROX CL possible
Intended meaning：＇This event is possible．＇

ip mi ma hxa jjip la jox jjip ox．
this evening rain become come possible DP
＇It is perhaps raining this evening．＇

ip nyip jie shat go zziet ma pu jjo jox－ap－jjip．
today street LOC pepper price have possible＜NEG＞
＇It is impossible that pepper is expensive in the street market today．＇
（33）a．＊
＊syt suo jjit jjox bbu．
event NUM． 3 CL probable
Intended meaning：‘Three events are probable．＇

cy bbo ox jjox bbu ox.
3P.SG go DP probable DP
'It is probable that he is going.'
Two verbs of thinking, yip mgu and mgu mu ngop, do not mark the embedded clause with a complementizer. Both ascribe a belief to a subject and embed the belief as a clause.

cy nga ip nyip la ap- dox yip mgu.
3P.SG 1P.SG today come NEG- can consider
'He considered that I could not come today.'

ngax li mu gox jjix do mgu mu ngop.
1P.SG TOP male name tired think
'I think that Mugo became tired.'

### 13.2.2 With complementizers su and go

The complementizers $s u$ and go assume other functions analyzed in different parts of this grammar. For overviews of their meanings, see section 5.2.4.C (su) and section 5.4.1.G (go). Most matrix verbs can co-occur with both complementizers with a difference in meaning. The complementizer su marks the embedded clause as a proposition, while go imports the meaning of abstract locative ('in the event of'). The following table lists matrix verbs compatible with both $s u$ and go.

Table 13.7: Matrix predicates using $g o$ and $s u$

| lie ba 'dangerous' | hxi zy 'trust' | nuo chex 'spy on' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ggap jjyx 'easy' | bbup 'admire' | hxip ryt 'confess' |
| nbop 'good' | ddie mga 'please' | durx xie 'oppose, block' |
| zhet 'fine' | ke bbo 'promise, allow' | nge hna 'agree, allow' |
| hxie kat 'glad' | hxie ca 'eager' | jjur hla 'fear' |
| gat qip 'delay' | nrax xie 'measure' |  |

To start with a controversial predicate, the adjective $v u$ jji 'true' sub-categorizes noun phrases not clauses. $V u$ jji is not a matrix predicate although its English equivalent true is. Vu jji cannot take clause arguments, as shown in (35c), but can take headless relative clauses, as in (35d).
（35）a．ヨ习×水夏水\＃。
rre mop cy bbut vu－ap－jji．
money 3P．SG CL true＜NEG＞
＇This bill is fake．＇
b．㔛 $\theta$ 更\＃必斗。
ddop ma vu jji cyx go．
word true DEM．PROX CL
＇one true word＇

＊cy ngat jox nuo su hxop hxip $\left\{\begin{array}{c}{ }^{\star} \text { su } \\ \text {＊go }\end{array}\right\}$ vu jji．
3P．SG 1P．SG toward Nuosu language speak COMP true
Intended meaning：＇It is true that he talks to me in Nuosu．＇

cy hxip $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { su } \\ \mathbf{g o}\end{array}\right\}$ vu jji－jjy－vu jji．
3P．SG say COMP true very true
＇What he says is very true．＇
The following matrix adjectives are intransitive and take noun phrases and clauses as arguments．
（36）a．
nop lie ba ox．
2P．PL dangerous DP
＇You are in danger．＇

cop wox ket mop ggax shu $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { su } \\ \text { go }\end{array}\right\}$ lie ba．
3P．PL evening walk COMP dangerous
＇It is dangerous that they walk in the evening．＇

syt jiit su a hnat mu ggap jjyx．
issue ART very easy
＇The issue is very easy（to solve）．＇

tep yy cy zzit nga sso $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\mathbf{s u} \\ \mathbf{g o} \boldsymbol{o}\end{array}\right\}$ ggap jjyx ox.
book DEM.PROX CL 1P.SG study COMP easy DP
'It is easy for me to study this book.'

co cyx ma nbop-jjy-nbop.
persons DEM.PROX CL good-very-good
'This man is very good.'

lat yy cyx gge ax gguo mu ndo $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { su } \\ \text { go }\end{array}\right\}$ ap- nbop.
tea DEM CL cold ADVL drink COMP NEG- good 'The tea is not delicious when cold.'

nga nex lot buop da bbur $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\mathbf{s u} \\ \mathbf{g o} \boldsymbol{0}\end{array}\right\}$ zhet zhet?
1P.SG 2P.SG help STP write COMP good~ALT
'Is it ok that I help you write the letter?'

mu jie syt jjit su yy di mu hxie kat nzox.
male name issue ART because of glad EXP 'Mujie was very glad about what happened.'

cy tit zzax zze $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\mathbf{s u} \\ \mathbf{g o}\end{array}\right\}$ ngop wox hxie kat-jjy-kat.
3P.SG here food eat COMP 1P.PL glad-very-glad 'We are very glad that he is eating here.'

Most matrix verbs are monotransitive and subcategorize noun phrases, verb phrases and clauses as arguments. The matrix subject and the embedded subject may be identical.

ngop wox op rro da cyp nyip gat qip．
1P．PL Xichang COV NUM． 1 day delay
＇（On our trip）we were delayed in Xichang for a day．＇

cy nga hee nyiet $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\mathbf{s u} \\ \mathbf{g o}\end{array}\right\}$ gat qip ox．
3P．SG 1P．SG fish catch COMP disturb DP
＇He disturbed me when I was fishing．＇
（42）a．扫米要义。
ngap nyit jjyx－hxi zy．
1P．DL RECL－trust
＇We both trust each other．＇

nga cy syt mu $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { su } \\ \text { go }\end{array}\right\}$ hxi zy．
1P．SG 3P．SG matter do COMP trust
＇I am trusting in his way of doing business．＇
（43）a．X甘甘サササかi。
cy ngat shax jji bbup．
3P．SG 1P．SG．POSS candy admire，envy
＇She envies my candies．＇

nga cy zzax zze $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { su } \\ \mathbf{g o}\end{array}\right\}$ bbup－jiy－bbup．
1P．SG 3P．SG food eat COMP admire－very－admire
＇I admire very much his eating．＇
（44）a．
syt cyp jjit cyp ddie－ap－mga．
issue NUM． 1 CL 3P．SG please＜NEG＞
＇He was not pleased with what happened．＇

cop wox uop lur ndit $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\mathbf{s u} \\ \mathbf{g o}\end{array}\right\}$ nga ddie-ap-mga.
3P.PL hat wear COMP 1P.SG please<NEG>
'I did not like that they wear a hat.'

cy rre mop nge hxa vat ke bbo.
3P.SG money NUM. 500 RMB promise
'He promised 500 RMB.'

nga op rro bbo $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\mathbf{s u} \\ \mathbf{g o}\end{array}\right\}$ cy ke bbo ox.
1P.SG Xichang go COMP 3P.SG promise DP
'He promised that I would go to Xichang.'

There are several control predicates such as hxie ca 'eager' which can take noun phrases and verb phrases but not clausal arguments.

bbox zze cyx ma hxie ca ndit.
man DEM.PROX CL get nervous PER
'This man gets nervous sometimes.'

ax mo cyx ma ax yi zzyx $\quad\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { su } \\ \text { go }\end{array}\right\}$ hxie ca.
mother DEM.PROX CL child pick up COMP eager
'The mother is eager to pick up her child.'
The following matrix predicates subcategorizes noun phrases and clauses but not verb phrases.

cy mux dde suo juo nrax xie ox.
3P.SG land NUM. 3 CL measure DP
'He measured three pieces of land.'

hmat mop ssox sse xix ngop $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\mathbf{s u} \\ \mathbf{g o} \mathbf{g}\end{array}\right\}$ nrax xie njuo．
teacher student INT．what think COMP measure PROG
＇The teacher is finding out what the students think．＇
（48）a．X小川和気。
cy bbu jji nuo chex．
3P．SG enemy spy on
＇He spied on his enemies．＇

bbox zze max su cop wox syt mu $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\mathbf{s u} \\ \mathbf{g o}\end{array}\right\}$ nuo chex njuo．
man ART 3P．PL thing do COMP spy on PROG
＇The man is spying on how they are working．＇

cy yot vi nge ji hxip ryt ox．
3P．SG crime，sin NUM． 5 CL admit DP
＇He admitted five crimes．＇

cy cop wox re mop ku $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { su } \\ \text { go }\end{array}\right\}$ hxip ryt ox．
3P．SG 3P．PL money steal COMP admit DP
＇He admitted that they stole money．＇

cy ngop nge yuo durx xie．
3P．SG 1P．PL NUM． 5 CL oppose
＇He opposes us five people．＇

ax mo ax da yo $\operatorname{vup}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\mathbf{s u} \\ \mathbf{g o}\end{array}\right\}$ durx xie．
mother father lamb sell COMP oppose
＇My mother opposed my father selling the sheep．＇

The matrix verb nge hna 'willing, agree' in (51) cannot take noun phrases but only verb phrases and clauses as arguments.

cy ssox dde bbo $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { su } \\ \mathbf{g o}\end{array}\right\}$ nge hna.
3P.SG school go COMP willing
'He is willing to attend school.'

mu gox ax di bbo $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { su } \\ \text { go }\end{array}\right\}$ nga nge hna.
name only go COMP 1P.SG agree
'I agreed that Mugo would go on his own.'
The matrix verb jjur hla 'fear' in (52) only takes clauses as arguments not noun phrases or verb phrases.

ma hxa a hnat mu jjip $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { su } \\ \mathbf{g o} \boldsymbol{o}\end{array}\right\}$ nga jjur hla ox.
rain especially become COMP 1P.SG fear DP
'I was afraid of the strong rain.'

### 13.2.3 With complementizer su alone

The use of go is more restricted than that of $s u$. The verbs in Table 13.8 require $s u$ but reject $g o$. They are incompatible with the idea of locative expressed by go.

Table 13.8: Matrix predicates using su but rejecting go

| hxo lo 'depend' | shy gox 'deceive, conceive' | hxip pie 'attest' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ngop jix 'consider' | njyp 'believe' | po shy 'deceive' |
| ngop bur jix bur 'reconsider' | ngop die 'doubt' | mox po 'evade, avoid' |
| turx jo 'defend, prevent' | nra hox 'train, measure' | xi mgu 'hope' |
| sso 'learn, imitate' | shut die 'remember' | jie 'afraid' |

Several matrix predicates subcategorize，noun phrases，verb phrases and clauses， as the verbs in（53）－（55）．
（53）
a．Nが気式刚か。
nga ax mo ax da hxo lo．
1P．SG parents depend
＇I depend on my parents（for a living）．＇

ax mo sse ddi hxuo $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { su } \\ { }^{\text {tgo }}\end{array}\right\}$ hxo lo
parents only son capable COMP hope
＇Mom hopes in her only son＇s strength．＇

nga mop su te go kat it $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { su } \\ { }^{\mathbf{s} \text { go }}\end{array}\right\}$ ngop jix ox．
1P．SG old NOM time where live COMP think about DP
＇I am thinking about where I will live when I am old．＇

gup na bba na turx jo．
plague prevent
＇prevent a pandemic＇

ngop wox ke cyx ma co xit $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { su } \\ \star \mathbf{g o}\end{array}\right\}$ turx jo．
1P．PL dog DEM．PROX CL person bite COMP prevent
＇We prevent this dog from biting other people．＇
Others co－occur only with noun phrases and verb phrases not with whole clauses in which the subject is different from the subject of the matrix predicate．

nga bbur ma bbur $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { su } \\ \text {＊go }\end{array}\right\}$ sso njuo．
1P．SG written language write COMP study PROG
＇I am learning how to write．＇

Still others select noun phrases and clauses as arguments but reject verb phrases for which the subject is the same as the matrix subject.

cy syt ap- vat jjit shy gox njuo.
3P.SG matter NEG- good CL conveive PROG
'He is conceiving something bad.'

cy ix go da cy kep mu sur ggat la $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { su } \\ { }^{\mathbf{g} \mathbf{g o}}\end{array}\right\}$ shy gox. 3P.SG home COV 3P.SG how rich come COMP conceive 'At home he conceived a strategy to become rich.'

cy co zzi-ap-syp su njyp nzox.
3P.SG person familiar<NEG> NOM believe EXP
'He once trusted someone unfamiliar.'

cy ip nyip yiep yot zze $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { su } \\ \star \mathbf{g o}\end{array}\right\}$ nga (go) njyp.
3P.SG today potato eat COMP 1P.SG PRO.PAT believe
'I believe that he is going to eat potatoes today.'

nga cyx ngop-ap-die.
1P.SG 3P.SG doubt<NEG>
'I do not doubt him.'

cy bbur ma sso ddix $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\mathbf{s u} \\ { }^{\mathbf{g}} \mathbf{g o}\end{array}\right\}$ nga go ngox die.
3P.SG lesson study QUOT COMP 1P.SG PRO.PAT doubt
'I doubt the rumor that he attended the lessons.'

cop wox mux dde nge jot nra hox ox. 3P.PL land NUM. 5 CL measure DP 'He took measurements of five plots of land.'

nga lur mat ggex su kax ddi gep bbo a ddit da $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { su } \\ { }^{\star} \text { go }\end{array}\right\}$ nra hox njuo.
1P.SG stone ART who COV pile there put COMP find out PROG 'I am finding out by whom the stones were piled up there.'
(61)

cy cyp qop bop max su shut die.
3P.SG 3P.SG.POSS friend ART remember
'He remembered his friend.'

ngop wox cy cox lot buop $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { su } \\ \star \text { go }\end{array}\right\}$ shut die.
1P.PL 3P.SG people help COMP remember
'We remember how he helped others.'

cy syt suo jjit hxip pie ox. 3P.SG matter NUM. 3 CL attest DP
'He testified in three cases.'

mu rryr cyp zyt jie nuo su co ma nge $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { su } \\ \star \mathbf{g o}\end{array}\right\}$ hxip pie ox. male name 3P.SG REFL Nuosu person CL COP COMP attest DP 'Mudge proved his Nuosu identity.'

si hni max su lat rep suo yuo mox po njuo.
woman ART thief NUM. 3 CL flee PROG
'The woman is escaping from three thieves.'

lu ti mu jie hnap chot ndup $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { su } \\ \star \text { go }\end{array}\right\}$ mox po.
male name male name gun beat COMP escape
'Luti escapes Mujie's gun shooting.'

Finally, the following two matrix predicates only subcategorize clauses but cannot take noun phrase and verb phrase arguments.

nga co ip ko pop $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { su } \\ \text { *go }\end{array}\right\}$ xi mgu.
1P.SG person door open COMP hope
'I hope that someone opens the door.'

nga zzyt mu cyx ma ssut lup ba la $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { su } \\ { }^{\mathbf{g} \text { go }}\end{array}\right\}$ jie.
1P.SG world DEM.PROX CL throw into disorder COMP
'I fear that the world is in turmoil.'

### 13.2.4 With complementizer ddix

The morpheme ddix functions as quotative marker (section 8.3.1) and as complementizer. As quotative marker, ddix occurs at the end of the clause. As complementizer, it is placed before the matrix predicate.
(66) a. $\mathrm{N}+\mathrm{V}_{\text {SPEECH }}+$ go+[reported speech clause] + ddix.
b. $\mathrm{N}+[$ embedded clause $]+d d i x+\mathrm{V}_{\text {SPEECH }}$.
quotative ddix
complementizer ddix

The matrix predicates that co-occur with the complementizer ddix are speech act verbs. The embedded clause is conceptualized as speech product.

Table 13.9: Matrix predicates using the complementizer ddix

| gox xie 'exhort, urge' | hxip 'say' | ddop bur 'reply' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ddop zy ssi 'witness' | hna 'ask' |  |

Speech act verbs subcategorize both noun phrases and clauses. For the following verbs, (a) exemplifies NP arguments and (b) clause arguments. In (b), ddix can be substituted by the complementizer su but not by go.

ngop wox ax yi cyx ma cuop luo gox xie.
1P.PL child DEM.PROX CL a little encourage
'We encourage this child a little bit.'

nga cop jox cy ggat go zza tat- zze $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { su } \\ \text { ddix }\end{array}\right\}$ gox xie.
1P.SG 3P.PL to DEM CL LOC food NEG.IMP- eat COMP urge
'I urged them that they should not eat anything in this place.'

nga cyp rrox mu ddop zy-ap-ssi.
1P.SG 3P.SG COV.for witness<NEG>
'I did not witness for him.'

cy ax yi cyx ma co ap- ku $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { su } \\ \text { ddix }\end{array}\right\}$ ddop zy ssi.
3P.SG child DEM CL person NEG- steal COMP witness
'He attested that this child did not steal from anybody.'
The logophor $i / o p$ may be used in embedded clauses with the complementizer $d d i x$. This is illustrated in (69) for $i$.

cy ngop ix zi hnat $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { su } \\ \text { ddix }\end{array}\right\}$ hna.
3P.SG 1P.PL LOG.SG cheat COMP ask
'He asked whether we cheated him.'

## Chapter 14

## Topic and focus

Topic and focus are information units the speaker uses to stratify the discourse. We analyze Nuosu topic constructions in section 14.1 and focus constructions in section 14.2.

### 14.1 Topic

Topic is an important concept in Nuosu. The topic is the discourse portion about which the predication is made (Dik 1997: 312-314, Lambrecht 1994: 118, Reinhart 1982: 58-59) or which sets a framework within which the predication holds (Chafe 1976: 50, Li \& Thompson 1981).

Topics in Nuosu occupy an extra-clausal position ("specifier of CP"). A topic consists of a noun phrase, time adverbial or whole sentence. Topics can be morphologically marked. Nuosu employs the following topic particles.

Table 14.1: Topic particles

| Syntactic unit | Topic particle | Function | Section |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NP, time adverbial | ne | Maintaining topic | section 14.1.1 |
| NP, time adverbial | li | Contrasting topic | section 14.1.1 |
| Clause | su | Sentence topic | section 14.1.2 |
| Clause | su ne | Maintaining sentence topic | section 14.1.2 |
| Clause | su li | Contrasting sentence topic | section 14.1.2 |
| Clause | go | Sentence topic | section 14.1.3 |
| Clause | go ne | Maintaining sentence topic | section 14.1.3 |
| Clause | go li | Contrasting sentence topic | section 14.1.3 |

The sentence topic particles su and go also function as complementizer (section 13.2.2 and section 13.2.3). Both functions target clausal constituents.

### 14.1.1 The topic particles ne and $l i$

The morpheme ne marks maintaining topic (Dik 1997: 315-316), the sense that a piece of information fits under the ongoing discourse topic. Li encodes contrasting topic, the idea of a change in the discourse topic or of unexpected information about the current discourse topic.

Both topic particles are appended to common nouns, proper nouns, locative expressions and time adverbials.

mu ti mu jy max su li ket mop mu jy max su nge．common noun morning star ART TOP evening star ART COP
＇The morning star is the evening star．＇
（Context：Someone might think that the morning star and the evening star are two different stars）

vut sa ne nyop mu cox ma nge．proper noun name TOP peasant CL COP
＇Vusa is a peasant．＇（Context：Vusa was mentioned before）

xiet ddop ne lur kur ax yy ma nge．locative noun city name TOP city big CL COP
＇Xide is a big city．＇（Context：Xide was mentioned before）

a ddit wa jop li yy mop hmo jjip．locative phrase
there behind TOP river CL locate
＇Behind there is a river．＇（Context：The addressee should pay attention）

kut shyr go li ngop wox vot she zze．temporal noun Yi New Year LOC TOP 1P．PL pork eat
＇During the New Year we eat pork．＇（Context：Contrast to other festivals）
f．कと乘ざからなり。
mup shy dex ne vut nyop yur nyip nge．temporal adv tomorrow TOP female name birthday COP
＇Tomorrow is Vunyo＇s birthday．＇（Context：Question about tomorrow）

Cross－linguistically，noun phrases marked by topic particles are often definite （Portner \＆Yabushita 1998：119－120），either previously mentioned or identifiable through an entity that is familiar．

ngop wox cop ix go xi la ggup jjux，sip po li ngop wox
1P．PL 3P．PL home arrive come after houselord TOP 1P．PL
zo six vat－jjy－vat．
entertain RES good very good
＇After we came to their home，the houselord entertained us very well．＇

## （3）よれなり愛をお。

cyp jjo ssy li sho ddep lox．
3P．SG．POSS life span TOP long WISH
＇His lifespan is hopefully long．＇
The maintaining topic marker ne requires definite noun phrases，whereas the shifting topic marker li also co－occurs with indefinite noun phrases．

cop wox ax di go nyi，cox ma（\＃ne／li）cop wox jox hna la． 3P．PL only LOC sit person CL TOP 3P．PL to ask come ＇They were sitting there alone．A man came to ask them．＇

The topic particles（ne or li）can be used after the definite noun phrase in（5a） but ne is not natural in（5b）．

ax mo ko lo ko；nga ne／li ix go it mo． mother bedspread cover 1P．SG TOP home stay intend ＇My mother made up the bed；I wanted to stay at home．＇

ax mo ko lo ko；ddip vip ma（\＃ne／li）ix go it mo． mother bedspread cover guest CL TOP home stay intend ＇My mother made up the bed．As for the（／＊a）guest，he wants to stay at home．＇
（6a）is taken from the opening section of a folk story．The first sentence of（6a） introduces the protagonist of the story．The second sentence establishes this new ref－ erent as major discourse topic by using the shifting topic marker li．${ }^{1}$
 ga lu la da mu ddix bbox zze got gop ddix xip ma go place name place man name be called DEM．INDEF CL LOC it．bbox zze cyx ma li zza gat ddix ap bbo，．．． live man DEM CL TOP stingy not only
＇In Galulada there was a man whose name was Gogo．This man was not only stingy，．．．＇

[^35]In (6b), the topic moves from the story's protagonist to his wife and then to a particular day in their life. The noun phrases are marked by the maintaining topic particle ne. ${ }^{2}$

ro ndit xip ma, tit cyp
earnest face put on DEM.INDEF CL however 3P.SG.POSS
xyp mop max su ne ssa hxuo ggup jjux ddop hxip get
wife ART TOP capable further word say can
xip ma cyp nyip ne, cyp jiet ddu ddip vip
DEM.INDEF CL NUM. 1 day TOP 3P.SG.POSS home guest
cur gox xi la,...
CL LOC arrive come
'..., but was also putting on an earnest face. His wife, however, was skillful and capable in speech. On one day, there were guests who came to their home.'

The topic marker $l i$ is used in the middle of a folk story to shift attention to a discourse referent different from the one mentioned before. ${ }^{3}$

"ne nit ax mo ax da ddu bbo, ngax li ndu
2P.SG 2P.SG.POSS parents home go 1P.SG TOP crawl
niep ga kux lur jox it bbo mo" ddix.
pumpkin inside to live go intend QUOT
'Go back to your parents. As far as I am concerned I plan to dig into a pumkin and live in it.'

tit da cyx suo yuo nyiet jie da
however STP DEM.PROX NUM. 3 CL embarrased STP
iex ssa iex ssa mu nuo six go hxex la go ne,
slow slow ADVL covert RES LOC see come SENT.TOP TOP
cyx li xyp mop ggex su gep gur bbur jjyt ap- get.
3P.SG TOP wife ART COV frighten answer NEG- can
'However, the three were embarrassed and slowly withdrew; he (mentioned before) was frightened by the wives being left speechless.'

[^36]The contrastive topic marker li is used in parallel predications in which two referents are contrasted for some properties．
（9）a．刅勾片，刘小くも。
nga li nuo su，cyx li hxie mgat． 1P．SG TOP Nuosu 3P．SG TOP Han
＇I am Nuosu，he is Han．＇

mu jy yur nyip li ip nyip，mu gox yur nyip li mup shy dex． name birthday TOP today name birthday TOP tomorrow ＇Mudje＇s birthday is today，Mugo＇s birthday is tomorrow．＇

The topic marker ne is a lexicalized part of several conjunctions（section 13．1．2．C）． The conjunction ddix sy ne＇as soon as＇literally means while still speaking．The conjunction xix mu ne＇it is because＇is composed of xix mu＇why＇and ne．The con－ junction yix ne＇provided that＇merged the exclamation particle yip and ne．

cy zzax zze sat ddix sy ne，cy jjie bbo ox． 3P．SG meal eat EXH as soon as 3P．SG leave go DP
＇As soon as he finished his meal，he left．＇

xix mu ne cy（li）ap ndi hxix la su nge． it is because 3P．SG TOP yesterday come NOM COP ＇It is because he came yesterday．＇

cy zyt qi yix ne，ga go bbyx zyt shux！ 3P．SG bluster want provided that COV 3P．SG COV bluster CAUS ＇If he wants to bluster，let him do so！＇

## 14．1．2 The sentence topic particle su

The topic particle su marks a clause for being an extra－clausal constituent．Sentence topics marked by su can be often glossed by because．The sequence su ne in（11）has the maintaining topic marker ne as optional component．

syt cy jiit go ddur su ne ngop wox event DEM．PROX CL happen SENT．TOP TOP 1P．PL
hxiet kat－jjy－hxie kat tat xi．
happy very happy should
＇Because it happened we should be happy．＇

In (12), the accident of Jimu Vuho's finger cut off is described in the preceding discourse and is thus familiar. It is marked by $l i$ as it introduces unexpected information. ${ }^{4}$

bbap ga co ggex su xip mu hxip: "jjix mu vyt hop lot jy jjuo
village people ART DEM.DD say name finger fell
su li nry yit yy ddi su..."
SENT.TOP TOP drunk reason NOM
'The village people said the following: "Jimu Vuho cut off his finger, because he was drunk".'

### 14.1.3 The sentence topic particle go

The sentence topic particle go marks a clause as condition for the main clause. This interpretation of topics was first proposed by Haiman (1978). The topic marker go is compatible with both ne and li. ${ }^{5}$

"jiy yip, cyx ne le xip ji ap- jjo go ne very-EXCL DEM.PROX TOP ox DEM.INDEF CL NEG- have SENT.TOP TOP kep mu da nit go zzi xip zyt dop hxax" ddix. INT.how STP 2P.SG.POSS drum DEM.INDEF sew can IMP QUOT
' $O$ yes, given this (situation), if there is no such an ox, how can you sew such a drum?'

In (14), the sentence topic marker go ne marks a direct speech clause as background information. ${ }^{6}$

"ne xix sip mu zyt zze ddix" go ne, 2P.SG what, why COV ground dig eat QUOT SENT.TOP TOP "it ke zyp dde go bba ma ji i zzit LOG.SG.POSS dog bury NOM LOC bamboo CL LOG.SG fell sip la lox, cyx ji sip mu zyt zze" ddix. take come and DEM CL take earth dig eat QUOT 'When (the elder brother asked) how he would plough the ground, (his brother replied that) he felled the bamboo tree that grew out of the place where his dog was buried and ploughed the ground with it".'

[^37]Example (15), taken from spoken discourse, also exhibits the semantics of conditional clauses.

ne sut co lot-ap-bop go li sut co nyi nex
2P.SG other people help<NEG> SENT.TOP TOP other person also 2P.SG
lot-ap-bop.
help<NEG>
'If you don't help others, others won't help you.'

### 14.2 Focus

### 14.2.1 The focus particle $l i$

When the morpheme $l i$ is postposed after the first constituent, it encodes the constituent as contrastive topic. After the second constituent, it marks it as the contrastive focus and must be followed by a second contrastive sentence.

cy re mop li ap- jjo, tit vot va ax nyi mu jjo. 3P.SG money TOP NEG- have but pig chicken many ADVL have 'He has no money, but he has a lot of pigs and chickens.'

### 14.2.2 The sentence focus particle su

The morpheme su in optional combination with the copular verb nge form a focus construction, called the association with focus pattern, which we analyzed in section 6.1.2.B.
 ax mo nyo bby ddur go hxie kat su nge, hxie qyt su ap- nge. mother tears exit SENT.TOP happy FOC COP sad FOC NEG- COP 'Mother is weeping. It is for joy and not for sadness.'

ddop ma cyx go ne hxip su nge, cy hxip su ap- nge. word DEM.PROX CL 2P.SG say FOC COP 3P.SG say FOC NEG- COP 'You made this statement not he.'

### 14.2.3 The pseudo-cleft construction with kax

Nuosu pseudo-cleft constructions use the preverbal particle kax and the nominalizer $s u$. Pseudo-cleft constructions are either headless or appended right to a head noun. Like relative clauses, they restrict the reference of the head noun. Unlike relative clauses pseudo-cleft constructions only relativize S- or O-arguments, but never Aarguments.
(19) Pseudo-cleft constructions:

| (i) | $\left(\mathrm{N}_{\mathrm{A}}\right)+k a x+\mathrm{V}+s u ;$ | (Headless) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (ii) | $\left(\mathrm{N}_{\mathrm{A}}\right)+k a x+\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{CL} ;$ | (Headless) |
| (iii) | $\mathrm{N}_{\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{O}}+\left(\mathrm{N}_{\mathrm{A}}\right)+k a x+\mathrm{V}+s u ;$ | (Restrictive) |
| (iv) | $\mathrm{N}_{\mathrm{S} / \mathrm{O}}+\left(\mathrm{N}_{\mathrm{A}}\right)+k a x+\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{CL}^{\prime}$ | (Restrictive) |

Pseudo-cleft constructions function as new or contrastive topic at the beginning of a larger sentence. They can be glossed by what is happening is [comment] (if the relativized verb is intransitive) or what $X$ is doing is [comment] (if the relativized verb is monotransitive).

syt kax jjo cyx gge gox ddur su nge.
matter CLF have DEM.PROX CL happen FOC COP
'All these things actually happened' (lit. those things that exist actually happened).

ddop ma ke go kax ddur la ggex su ngat hxie vur. word mouth LOC CLF exit come ART=CL-DET 1P.SG like
'I like the words that came out of (your) mouth.'
In (21), the pseudo-cleft constructions are headless and relativize the 0 -argument of a monotransitive verb.

cy kax mu su li nga gox dde ap jji.
3P.SG CLF do NOM TOP 1P.SG PAT know<NEG>
'I was not aware of what he was doing.'

kax zzi ggex su ne hxip su si nip jjy-mu-jjy-sux.
CLF encounter ART=CL-DET 2P.SG say NOM and RECL-make-RECL-resemble 'What (we) encountered corresponds to what you said.'
(22a+b) are pseudo-cleft constructions with obligatory AOV resp. OAV order. The head noun is resumed by the pronoun gox in the AOV clause (22a). It cannot be resumed by gox in the resultative clause (22b).

ax yi cy gox kax mgu su ne, cy ap nryr mu cop ju hmat. child 3P.SG PAT CLF love NOM TOP 3P.SG really 3P.PL take care 'She really takes care of the children she loves.'

yi mu jie (*gox) kax hxop six a hni mu da ox su li house male name PAT CLF paint RES red do STP DP NOM TOP hxep sa -jjy- hxep sa.
beautiful very beautiful
'The houses that Mujie painted red are very beautiful.'
Pseudo-cleft constructions with kax are productive. In addition, there is a lexicalized expression, kax nyi mu 'all' (nyi 'sit' and $m u$ 'all'). The whole expression is used as a universal quantifier for properties such as 'strength', 'intelligence'.

cox ma cyp we kax nyi mu shyr.
person CL 3P.SG.POSS strength CLF-sit-all call
'There is someone crying with all his strength.'

## Chapter 15

## Speech act particles

Several sentence－end particles encode the illocutionary function of an utterance： interrogative（section 15．1），imperative（section 15．2）and expressive（section 15．3）．

## 15．1 Interrogative

## 15．1．1 The particle ddap

The morpheme ddap assumes two functions．It connects a positive and negated verb form as choices in an alternative question．
（1）a．和利解片出き重出水活？
nit le jix su bbur jjip ddap bbur－ap－jjip？
2P．SG．POSS ox ART submissive INT submissive＜NEG＞
＇Your ox is submissive，isn＇t it？＇

ne ip nyip zza bbo hxep mga ddap ap－mga？
2P．SG today crops inspect INT NEG－inspect
＇You inspect the crops today，don＇t you？＇

nit lot sip ngop ddap sip－ap－ngop？
2P．SG．POSS hand feel INT feel＜NEG＞
＇You feel your hand，don＇t you？＇
As sentence－end particle，ddap encodes an utterance as Yes／No－question，as shown in（2）．It might be preceded by the discourse particle yip which communicates that the utterance is up for discussion，as illustrated in（3）．

cop wox li xip mu o bbu hne nji ddap？
3P．PL TOP DEM．DD clever INT
＇Are they so clever？＇

ne op zzup hxop syp ddap？
2P．SG Tibetan language know INT
＇Do you speak Tibetan？＇

luti syt cy jjit mu dox su ne cy njyx yip ddap？ male name affair DEM CL do can COMP 2P．SG 3P．SG believe META INT ＇Do you believe that Luti can do this？＇

cy nop ddip cyp mgat jip shep nzox yip ddap？
3P．SG 2P．PL at 3P．SG．POSS advantage search EXP META INT ＇Did he take advantage of you？＇

Another use of the sentence－final particle ddap is in suggestive questions in which the predicate is negated．
（4）a．Хほび生小け重？
cy tit ngat ddip ap－la ddap？
3P．SG here 1P．SG at NEG－come INT
＇Didn＇t he come here？＇

co ddop ma hxip max su hxie mgat co ap－nge ddap？ person word say ART Han person NEG－COP INT ＇Isn＇t the one who is speaking a Chinese？＇

tep yy cy zzit nit zyt jie－vi ap－nge ddap？ book DEM CL 2P．SG．POSS REFL－POSS NEG－COP INT ＇Isn＇t this book yours？＇

## 15．1．2 The particle mix

The discourse marker mix is co－associated with wh－questions and alternative ques－ tions．It solicits the addressee＇s feedback，glossable as＇what do you think＇．
（5）a．
le cyx ji kax ddi tut－vi nge mix？
ox DEM．PROX CL INT．who family－POSS COP SOL
＇This ox belongs to whose family？＇

syt cy jjit li cy xix sip gox hne sup hxit mix？ matter DEM．PROX CL TOP 1P．SG INT．what take PRO．PAT compare can SOL ＇With what should he compare this event？＇

xyp mop a shyt po bbo ox, mgot mgot mix?
wife new run go DP chase~INT SOL
'The bride escaped. Should we chase after her?'

nyip mop nyip cy ryx mu la go shex, ip nyip xix mu la nyiet usually 3P.SG early come HAB today why come late su nge mix?
NOM COP SOL
'Usually he comes early. Why is he late today?'
It is homophonous to the future tense particle mix (section 7.8.1 and section 7.8.2.A).

### 15.2 Imperative

Three particles encode imperative clauses, the first person imperative particle mo (section 15.2.1), the second and third person imperative particle map (section 15.2.2) and the politeness particle yip su (section 15.2.3).

### 15.2.1 The particle mo

As bare verb particle, mo is restricted to first person subjects and communicates a gentle self-oriented summon to action. Mo also combines with other particles and relaxes then some of these constraints (see section 15.3.3).

dep la! ngop wox bbo (ssox) mo!
stand up come 1P.PL go should IMP
'Get up! Let's go!'

nga jix po xix yiet sip syt cy jjit mu su nga hxip 1P.SG method what CL COV matter DEM CL do COMP 1P.SG say
nop ge mo!
2P.PL tell IMP
'Well, let me tell you the method I am using for doing this.'

## c．水爭 日毟队

ngop wox cop wox bbyx syt cy jjit ju hmox shux mo！ 1P．PL 3P．PL give matter DEM CL arrange CAUS IMP ＇Well，we let them take care of this．＇

Second and third person subjects cannot be used with the bare verb particle mo． This constraint is lifted if mo combines with other verbal particles．

＊ne tep yy a shyt zzit su dop cyx box mo！ 2P．SG book new ART point at 3P．SG show IMP Intended meaning：＇You may show him the new book．＇

ne tep yy a shyt zzit su dop cyx box ox mo．
2P．SG book new ART point at 3P．SG show REGR
＇Unfortunately，you showed him the new book．＇

＊cy hxip mo！ 3P．SG say IMP
Intended meaning：＇Let him say something．＇
b． $\mathrm{X}:$ व布 E ！
cy hxip shux mo！
3P．SG say CAUS IMP
＇Let him say something．＇
（9）${ }^{*} \theta$ け 켜 $k!$
＊ma hxa jijp mo！
rain become IMP
Intended meaning：＇May it rain！＇
The clause in which the bare particle mo is used must allow subject control．If the predicate does not allow control，the use of mo is ungrammatical．

＊nga hxie kat mo！ 1P．SG happy IMP ＇Let me be happy！＇
b．＊Nな筬事！
＊nga hxie jjuo mo！
1P．SG depressed，disappointed IMP
＇Let me be depressed！＇

The following two examples are proverbs built on the particle mo．
（11）a．A
sit la cyp nyip kuo mo！
warfare NUM． 1 day hero IMP
＇Want to be a hero in a day of war！＇
b．МНよतн太！
nyop mu cyp nyip ggat mo！
labour NUM． 1 day rich IMP
＇Want to be rich in a day of labour！＇

## 15．2．2 The particle map

The imperative particle map is complementary to mo．Map requires second or third person subjects and is incompatible with first person subjects．
（12）a．オメ河小米革！
ne cy go ap－shut map！
2P．SG 3P．SG PRO．PAT NEG－remember IMP
＇Don＇t remember him！＇
b．X
cy zze map！
3P．SG eat IMP
＇Let him eat！＇

nga vy bbo mo，ne xyx ne map！
1P．SG buy go IMP 2P．SG rest IMP
＇I will go shopping．Have a rest here！＇

hxi jox mgo－jjy－mgo，lu dda vit gga ddie ggat map！
outside cold－very－cold male name clothes COV wear IMP
＇It is very cold outside．Ludda should wear clothes！＇
First person singular subjects cannot co－occur with map but first person plural subjects can．Mo sets a gentler tone than map，as illustrated（13b＋c）．
（13）

${ }^{*}$ nga le hlut map！
1P．SG ox pasture IMP
Intended meaning：＇I may pasture the oxen！＇
b．㘳代き末！
c．水狛末革！
ngop le hlut mo！ngop le hlut map！
1P．PL ox pasture IMP 1P．PL ox pasture IMP
＇Let us pasture the oxen．＇＇We must pasture the oxen．＇

Map also combines with the perfect particle ox as a regret particle（section 15．3．3）．

ap ndip hxix mux lyr ox map．
yesterday earthquake REGR
＇Unfortunately，there was an earthquake yesterday．＇

## 15．2．3 The particle yip su

The preverbal particle yip su softens the tone of a command and corresponds to English please．It often co－occurs with the imperative particle map．

ne yip su nga bbo ggu ddux ne go jox hxip map．
2P．SG IMP 1P．SG go after 2P．SG PRO．PAT to say IMP
＇After I am gone，please talk to him．＇
b．寸水片も单！
ne yip su it map！
2P．SG IMP sleep IMP
＇Please have a sleep．＇

## 15．3 Expressive

Expressive speech act particles express the attitude of the speaker，his wishes（section 15．3．1），his fears（section 15．3．2）and his regrets（section 15．3．3）．This section uses material published in Gerner（2010）．

## 15．3．1 The wish particle ddep lox

The verb particle ddep lox expresses the wish of the speaker．It communicates the same meaning as optative mood conjugations in Ancient Greek or Sanskrit．

nop wox kax ddi nyi zzyr muo ddep lox.
2P.PL who also peace(ful) WISH
'May you enjoy peace!'

kut shyr vot ba cu ddep lox.
New Year hog fat WISH
'It is desirable that the New Year's pig is fat.'

lyx dde cyx ji cy syp ddep lox.
common sense DEM.PROX CL 3P.SG understand WISH
'It is desirable that he understands this argument.'

co ip ko pop da su jjo ddep lox.
person door open STP NOM have WISH
'It is desirable that someone opens the door.'

Ddep lox conveys the perspective of an impersonal agent which functions as a guise for the speaker's own wishes. The speaker's and the impersonal agent's attitude cannot be separated. Moore's Paradox (Levinson 1983: 105) holds therefore for ddep lox. (17) shows that the speaker cannot use ddep lox and negate the wish in the same sentence.

co ip ko pop da su jjo ddep lox, person door open STP NOM have WISH
\#tit nga co ip ko pop da su xi-ap-mgu.
but 1P.SG person door open STP NOM hope<NEG>
Intended meaning: '\#It is desirable that someone opens the door, but I don't want that to happen'.

Ddep lox cannot be used in sentences that express socially unacceptable values. The predicate $x i m g u$ 'wish', by contrast, can ascribe values that are contrary to the Nuosu norm. The attitude holder is then depicted as abnormal.

\#shyp lyt hxa ma zza bbo cy dip guox bba ddep lox.
storm crops 3P.SG destroy ferocious WISH
'It is desirable that the storm destroys the crops!'

nga shyp lyt hxa ma zza bbo cy dip guox bba su xi mgu． 1P．SG storm crops 3P．SG destroy ferocious NOM hope ＇I hope that the storm destroys the crops＇．

Ddep lox cannot be used in sentences that presuppose the speaker＇s knowledge． For example，a wedding requires mental and practical preparation．Nobody can be unaware of his own wedding on the eve of the ceremony．

\＃mup shy dex nga bbox zze ma ddix jijp bbo ddep lox．
tomorrow 1P．SG man CL to，at become go WISH
＇\＃It is desirable for me to get married tomorrow．＇
As wish particle，ddep lox applies to non－past events．When the clause has past time or completed reference，it switches to the sense of originally（section 9．1．4）．

lat hxo hmat mop xyx ne ox ddep lox．
male name teacher rest DP WISH
＇Originally，Teacher Laho was taking a nap．＇

## 15．3．2 The fear particle mat

The verb particle mat voices the speaker＇s anxiety．It has similar properties as ddep lox which we investigate below．

zzyt mu cyx ma zzux lup ba la mat．
world DEM CL throw into disorder FEAR
＇It is to be feared that the world is being thrown into disorder．＇
b．$X$ 壮井H：$\in$ 田。
cy a hnat mu shyr mat．
3P．SG very much shout FEAR
＇I am afraid of his shouting．＇

sse nge yuox su pat mop yix kur mat．
son NUM． 5 ART parents house share FEAR
＇It is to be feared that the five sons share their parents inheritance．＇

Mat expresses the stance of the speaker via an impersonal agent in similar way as ddep lox. Again, the speaker's and the impersonal agent's attitude cannot be separated. (22) shows that the speaker cannot use mat and negate this fear in the same sentence.

## 

ke ma la mat, \# tit nga ke ap- jie.
dog CL come FEAR but 1P.SG dog NEG- fear
'\#It is to be feared that a dog is coming, but I am not afraid of dogs'.
Mat cannot be used felicitously for situations that express socially positive values. On the other hand, the predicate jie 'fear' can take clauses with ethically positive values but then the attitude holder is presented as abnormal.

\#cyp gop bop sa mu ddu ap- jjo mat. 3P.SG.POSS body recover event NEG- have FEAR 'It is to be feared that he completely recovered.'

nga cyp gop bop sa mu ddu ap- jjo su jie. 1P.SG 3P.SG.POSS body recover event NEG- have COMP fear 'I fear that he completely recovered.'

Furthermore, anxiety cannot be voiced about situations that the speaker is supposed to be aware of. Mat cannot be used in such situations.

\#ngop wox mu ddix go yyp mop a sho-jjy-a sho mat.
1P.PL place LOC river long-very-long FEAR
'\#It is to be feared that a very long river goes through my native place'.

In coordinate clauses, mat can be attached to the first and second clause. After the first clause, mat expresses fear about a potential situation that would be the outcome if the warning expressed by the second clause were not considered.

ne cy ap- dda mat, go tat gep.
2P.SG 3P.SG NEG- overcome FEAR 3P.SG NEG.IMP- wrestle
'I am afraid that you won't overcome him, so don’t wrestle with him.'

After the second clause，mat communicates fear about a situation that would be the outcome，if the advice encoded in the first clause were not accepted．

ne go jox hxip，ip ko cy ggot da mat．
2P．SG PRO．PAT to say door 3P．SG close FEAR
＇Talk to him，otherwise，I am afraid，he will close the door．＇

## 15．3．3 Regret particles

There are three compound particles that communicate the speaker＇s regret about a situation．These compound particles are composed of the perfect particle（section 7．7．2）and different imperative and exclamative particles．Furthermore，the simple particle luop expresses the speaker＇s complaint．

Table 15．1：Three regret compound particles

| Particle | Meaning | 1st particle | 2nd particle |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ox mop | regret about situation in distant past | ox | mo（section 15．2．1） |
| ox map | regret about situation in close past | ox | map（section 15．2．2） |
| ox lip | regret about loss or fallout | ox | lip |
| luop | complaint |  |  |

The compound particle ox mo represents new meaning not closely related to the imperative particle mo（section 15．2．1）．Ox mo adds a note of fate to the proposition： that＇s it，we can＇t do anything about it．
（27）a．Є采利同入。
yo hlix ndo ox mop．
sheep loose REGR
＇The sheep is lost（it is too late）．＇
b．$X$ 出d必向入。
cy cep yy wep ox mop．
3P．SG cold get REGR
＇He caught a cold，unfortunately．＇

ap ndip hxix mux lyr ox mop．
yesterday earthquake REGR
＇Yesterday，there was an earthquake．＇

The particle ox map communicates a similar but more emphatic meaning．The proposition is supposed to be closer to the time of utterance．
（28）a．ЄH：戠岗Y向牢。
yo lat mo xit sy ox map．
sheep wolf bite die REGR
＇Alas，the sheep was bitten to death by the wolf．＇

cy wax ap－ci mu kep te gex nep xi la ox map．
3P．SG back NEG－fall ADVL early then arrive come REGR
＇Alas，he did not delay but arrived early．＇

ne cy go ap－shut ox map．
2P．SG 3P．SG PRO．PAT NEG－remember REGR
＇Alas，you don＇t remember him．＇

The particle lip only occurs in ox lip with a sense of complaint and regret．
（29）a．©
zip ddu cyx ma bbox－ap－sho－jjy－bbox－ap－sho ox lip．
jar DEM CL clean＜NEG＞very clean＜NEG＞REGR
＇This jar has become so dirty．＇
b． $\mathrm{H}: \mathrm{y}$ 坐何 $\oplus$ 。
lat zzi bbo ox lip．
male name go REGR
＇Oh dear，Ladzi left．＇

The monosyllabic particle luop occurs in noun phrase exclamations，as in（30）．By using it as a verb particle，the speaker complains about a situation，as in（31）．

nop wox ssox sse cyx gge luop！
2P．PL student DEM．PROX CL EXCL
＇Oh you students！＇

ne co ax yy cyx ma luop！
2P．SG person great DEM CL EXCL
＇Oh you great man！＇

ne xix mu ap- zze luop?
2P.SG why NEG- eat REGR
'Oh why don't you eat?'

hxo bbu ddur la te go, cax -jjy- ca luop.
sun exit come when hot very hot REGR
'The sun has risen, it is so hot!'

ne cuop luo nji mu la luop!
2P.SG a little bit quick ADVL come REGR
'Oh come more quickly!'

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## Appendix

## Folk Stories

The following three folk stories were compiled in 2000 with the help of Sūn Zi Xiā Xiā 孙子呷呷，a native Nuosu speaker from Xĭdé County 喜德县．


| vo co | xix mu | rre | ddie | yix | go | zip | da |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| vo $^{33} \mathrm{ts}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathbf{o}^{33}$ | $\mathrm{xi}^{44} \mathrm{~m}^{33}$ | dzu $^{33}$ | de $^{33}$ | $\mathrm{zi}^{44}$ | $\mathrm{ko}^{33}$ | tsi $^{21}$ | ta $^{33}$ |
| mankind | INT．why | livestock | COV．prepare | house | LOC | insert，put | STP |

## Why do men have their livestock stay close to home？


ip sip shex a hlex vo co si nip rre mop ssyr nyuo nyix bbu hxit bbu
 long ago old generation mankind and livestock wild animal In ancient times，the people and all the animals

xix xix nyi nyop mu vi yot yix－ap－syp yip sy te go， $\mathrm{cI}^{44} \mathrm{Cl}^{44} \quad \mathrm{ni}^{33} \quad \mathrm{n}_{0}{ }^{21} \mathrm{~m}^{33} \quad \mathrm{vi}^{33} \mathrm{q}_{0} 0^{55} \quad \mathrm{zi}^{44}{ }^{44}-\mathrm{a}^{21}-\mathrm{si}^{21} \quad \mathrm{zi}^{21} \mathrm{si}^{33} \quad \mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{ur}^{33} \mathrm{ko}^{33}$ ， INT．what～all also work carry load MOD．can＜NEG＞still，yet time were not yet capable of ploughing and carrying loads．

zhyt ge ax ly ne i rre mop ssyr nyuo si nip nyix bbu hxit bbu

name of god TOP LOG．SG livestock and wild animal
Zhege＇alu committed himself to training the animals

cyx gge hxop hmat six nyop mu vi yot zze mo ddix da，
 DEM．PROX CL teach，train RES work carry load eat IMP QUOT STP to plough the earth and to carry loads．


```
nyix bbu hxit bbu lyr lyr go kax jjo mu cy gu
```



```
wild animal moving entity LOC CLF have ADVL 3P.SG call
```

All the wild animals and everything that moves

cy rep six cyp gga da cop wox jop: ngat sse ts $^{\mathrm{h}}{ }^{33} \mathrm{zum}^{21} \mathrm{si}^{44}$ ts $^{\mathrm{h} \mathbf{i}^{21} \mathrm{ga}^{33}}$ ta $^{33}$ ts $^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{o}^{21} \mathrm{\gamma o}^{44}$ tc̣o ${ }^{21}$ : " $\mathrm{ya}^{55} \quad \mathrm{zu}{ }^{33}$ 3P.SG gather RES together STP 3P.PL toward 1P.SG.POSS son were brought together by him and told, "My sons

ngat lu wo ip nyip lip wax ne nop wox kax ddi nyi ya $^{55} \quad \mathrm{lu}^{33} \quad \mathrm{yo}^{33} \mathrm{i}^{21} \mathrm{n}_{\mathrm{o}} \mathrm{i}^{21} \quad \mathrm{li}^{21} \mathrm{\gamma a}^{44} \quad \mathrm{nu}{ }^{33} \mathrm{no}^{21} \mathrm{yo}^{44} \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{a}^{44} \mathrm{di}^{33} \mathrm{ni}^{33}$ 1P.SG.POSS grandson CL today afterwards TOP 2P.PL INT.who also and grandsons, starting from today you all

zyt jie we vi go hxo lox da, mux dde wax dde mux yot da zze tsif ${ }^{55} \mathrm{tce}^{33} \mathrm{\gamma ur}^{33} \mathrm{vi}^{33} \mathrm{ko}^{33} \mathrm{ho}^{33} \mathrm{lo}^{44} \mathrm{ta}^{33}$, $\mathrm{m}^{14} \mathrm{dur}^{33} \mathrm{ya}^{44} \mathrm{dur}^{33} \mathrm{~m}^{44} \mathrm{zoO}^{55}$ ta ${ }^{33} \mathrm{dzur}{ }^{33}$ REFL strength LOC depend STP earth and field act, do STP eat must rely on your own strength to cultivate the earth."

yix nip zhet ox" ddix. tit cyp ddop mu
${ }_{7 i} i^{44} \mathrm{ni}^{21} \quad$ tssur ${ }^{55} \quad \mathrm{o}^{44}{ }^{4} \mathrm{dI}^{44}$. thi ${ }^{55}$ tship $^{21} \quad \mathrm{do}^{21} \stackrel{\circ}{\mathrm{~m}}^{33}$
only then good, ok DP QUOT but 3P.SG.POSS word do
However, there wasn't anyone who was willing to obey,


| hna | su | ap-jjo | mu , | vo co | ax di | cyp |  | dop |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| noa ${ }^{33}$ | su ${ }^{33}$ | $\mathrm{a}^{21}$-dzo ${ }^{33}$ | $\mathrm{m}^{\text {¹3 }}$, | $\mathrm{vo}^{33} \mathrm{ts}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{O}^{33}$ | $\mathrm{a}^{44} \mathrm{ti}^{33}$ | ts ${ }^{\text {hip }}{ }^{21}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| MOD.willing | NOM | NEG-have | ADVL | man | only | 3P.SG |  | rd |  | o | STP | and only human beings listened to his words.

よ爪
cyp nyip lox cyp nyip, cyp hlep lox cyp hlep,
 NUM. 1 day and NUM. 1 day NUM. 1 month and NUM. 1 month
Day after day, month after month,

cyp kur lox cyp kur mu mux dde mu yot zze.
 NUM. 1 year and NUM. 1 year ADVL earth do (farming) eat year after year, they cultivated the earth.

## 

vo co mux dde wax dde mu yot zzax zy yy qix su

mankind earth and field do (farming) plant seedlings NOM
When he (= Zhege'alu) saw that men cultivated the earth and

cy mox te gox ne, cy hxie kat nyuo kat da go jox:

3P.SG see when TOP 3P.SG very happy STP 3P.PL toward
planted seedlings, he was very glad and told them,

"nop wox ngat ddop mu hla mu, hxop ddop hmat ddop hna
" $\mathrm{no}^{21} \mathrm{yo}^{44} \mathrm{na}^{55} \quad \mathrm{do}^{21} \mathrm{~m}^{33}$ ła $^{33} \stackrel{\mathrm{~m}}{ }^{33}$, ho $^{21}$ do ${ }^{21}$ ma $^{55}$ do $^{21}$ noa $^{33}$
2P.PL 1P.SG.POSS word do soul do admonish word teach word listen
"You obeyed my words and listened to my teaching

ip nyip ggup jjux ne, nop wox shu nyop bbop da zze -ddu ggat -ddu $\mathrm{i}^{21} \mathrm{n}_{\mathrm{i}}{ }^{21} \mathrm{gu}^{21} \mathrm{~d}_{7} \mathrm{u}^{44} \mathrm{nw}{ }^{33}$, $\quad \mathrm{no}^{21} \mathrm{yo}^{44} \mathrm{su}^{33} \quad$ no $^{21} \mathrm{bo}^{21} \quad$ ta ${ }^{33}$ dzu ${ }^{33}-\mathrm{du}^{33} \mathrm{ga}^{55}-\mathrm{du}^{33}$ today afterwards SENT.TOP 2P.PL make labour STP eat NOM wear NOM so from today on, you will get enough food and clothing.

wep, nop wox shu jjox dde o bbu dde xi shux" ddix.
 get 2P.PL make live, have the more intelligent the more arrive CAUS QUOT You will become more and more intelligent."

cy nyix bbu hxit bbu ggex su jox ne: "nop wox ngat

3P.SG wild animal ART toward TOP 2P.PL 1P.SG.POSS
He said to the wild animals, "You were

ddop mu hla mu ap- hna, ngat hxop ddop hmat ddop
 word do soul do NEG- willing 1P.SG.POSS admonish word teach word not willing to obey my words and listen to my teaching,

mu ap- hna su ngox; ip nyip ggup jjux ne, nop wox shu
 do NEG- willing COMP think today afterwards TOP 2P.PL make so from today on, you must

bbut zze da jjo ddep lox ddix. ap mu cyx te go $\mathrm{bu}^{55} \mathrm{dzux}^{44} \mathrm{ta}^{33} \mathrm{dzoO}^{33} \mathrm{dur}^{21} \mathrm{lo}^{44} \mathrm{dr}^{44}$. $\mathrm{a}^{21} \mathrm{~m}^{33} \mathrm{ts}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{i}^{44} \quad \mathrm{tu}^{33} \mathrm{ko}^{33}$
grass eat STP live WISH QUOT now DEM.PROX time
live by eating grass." This is the reason why from that very moment

## 

rre mop ssyr nyuo tat lyp bbut zze yip sy su li xip yy ddi ddix.
 livestock but grass eat still, yet TOP TOP DEM.DD because QUOT livestock were eating grass.

nyix bbu hxit bbu ggex su gat zyr ssyt nuop si nip lat ne nyop mux $n_{i} i^{44} \mathrm{~b}^{v} u^{33} \mathrm{hi}^{55} \mathrm{~b}^{\mathrm{V} u^{33}} \mathrm{gu}^{44} \mathrm{su}^{33} \quad \mathrm{ka}^{55} \mathrm{tsi}^{33} \mathrm{zi}^{55} \mathrm{no}^{21} \quad \mathrm{si}^{33} \mathrm{ni}^{21} \mathrm{la}^{55} \mathrm{num}^{33} \mathrm{nom}^{21} \mathrm{~m}^{44}$ wild animal ART=CL-DET middle tiger and wolf TOP work
Among the wild animals, the tiger and the wolf

vi yot nyi ap- hna, bbux hluo nyi zze ap- hna. tit da
 carry load also NEG- willing grass also eat NEG- willing thus didn't like to work and didn't like to eat grass.

nyix bbu hxit bbu ax pa ggex su mup bat, lap bbu, qyt, yo

wild animal other ART=CL-DET horse ox goat sheep
The other wild animals such as the horse, ox, goat, and sheep

cyx gge ne zhyt ge ax ly ddix da nyo lyx gge hmot la.

DEM.PROX CL TOP name of god COV.at STP complain come came to Zhege'alu to complain.

"jy tat- jie ip nyip ggup jjux ne ssyt nuop si nip lat mop "tç ${ }^{33} \mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{a}^{55}$ - $\quad \mathrm{tce} \mathrm{e}^{33} \mathrm{i}^{21} \mathrm{n}_{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{i}^{21} \quad \mathrm{gu}^{21} \mathrm{~d} \not \mathrm{qu}^{44} \quad \mathrm{nu}{ }^{33} \mathrm{zi}^{55} \mathrm{no}^{21} \quad \mathrm{si}^{33} \mathrm{ni}^{21} \mathrm{la}^{55} \mathrm{mo}^{21}$ gall NEG.IMP- fear today afterwards TOP tiger and wolf (Zhege'alu told them,) "Don't fear, from today on the tiger and the wolf

## 

ggex su jie bop cop lie gga la, cy mop zhot lyr cop wa $\mathrm{gur}^{44} \mathrm{su}^{33}$ tce $^{33} \mathrm{po}^{21}$ ts $^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{O}^{21} \mathrm{le}^{33} \mathrm{ga}^{33} \mathrm{la}^{33}$, tshis ${ }^{33} \mathrm{mo}^{21} \mathrm{tso}^{55} \mathrm{l}^{33}$ ts $^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{o}^{21} \mathrm{ya}^{33}$ ART rope 3P.PL neck harness come gunpowder bullet 3P.PL after will be tamed with a rope around their neck, and gunpowder and bullets

lax dde ggup" ddix. ssyt nuop si nip lat mop ggex su gge go $\mathrm{la}^{44} \mathrm{dur}^{33} \mathrm{gu}^{211} \mathrm{di}^{44}$ 。 $\mathrm{zi}^{55} \mathrm{no}^{21} \quad \mathrm{si}^{33} \mathrm{ni}^{21} \mathrm{la}^{55} \mathrm{mo}^{21} \mathrm{gur}^{44} \mathrm{su}^{33} \mathrm{gur}^{33} \mathrm{ko}^{33}$ come want QUOT tiger and wolf ART hear SENT.TOP will follow them." When the tiger and the wolf heard that

ne pur rrep mop ssyr nyuo ax pa ggex su jox da lax da,
 TOP turn around livestock other ART toward treat STP the other animals had turned against them,

cop mup ba, lap bbu, vot qyt si nip yo go xit zze la,
 3P.PL horse ox pig goat and sheep PAT bite eat come they came to bite and eat the horse, ox, pig and goat.

mup, le, qyt, yo si nip vot cyx gge bop shep da, cop
 horse ox goat sheep and pig DEM.PROX CL protect STP 3P.PL
In order to protect the horse, ox, goat, sheep and pig, so that they were not

ddie ssyt lat ap- zha shux mo ddix, jjip hnex cop ne
 COV tiger wolf NEG- feed make committed therefore 3P.PL TOP killed, Zhege'alu hid them

zhyt ge ax ly ddie yix go zip da．ip nyip cyx te nuo su $\mathrm{tss}{ }^{55} \mathrm{ku}^{33} \mathrm{a}^{44} \mathrm{i}^{33} \mathrm{de}^{33}{ }_{7 \mathrm{I}^{44}} \quad \mathrm{ko}^{33}$ tsi $^{21} \quad$ ta $^{33}$ ． $\mathrm{i}^{21} \mathrm{ni}^{21} \quad$ ts $^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{i}^{44} \quad \mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{ur}^{33} \mathrm{n} 0^{33} \mathrm{su}^{33}$ name of god COV house LOC insert STP today DEM．PROX time Nuosu in the house of the human beings．This is the reason why，until this very day，

rre ddie yix go zip da hxo sux li xip yy dde nge dzuu ${ }^{33} \quad \mathrm{de}^{33} \mathrm{zr}^{44} \quad \mathrm{ko}^{33} \mathrm{tsI}^{21} \quad \mathrm{ta}^{33} \mathrm{ho}^{33} \mathrm{su}^{44} \quad \mathrm{li}^{33} \quad$ ci $^{21} \quad{ }_{8}{ }^{33} \mathrm{dur}^{33} \mathrm{ym}^{33}$ livestock COV house LOC insert STP feed SENT．TOP TOP DEM．DD reason COP the Nuosu keep their livestock at home．
＊
yip ddix．
$z_{i}{ }^{21} \quad \mathrm{di}^{44}$ ．
EXCL QUOT
（In deed）

| 目は爫回 |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| tap hly s | si nip got pu |
| $t^{\text {ha }}{ }^{\mathbf{2 1}} \mathbf{2}^{\mathbf{3 3}} \mathbf{~}$ | $\mathrm{si}^{\mathbf{3 3}} \mathrm{ni}^{21} \mathrm{ko}^{55} \mathrm{p}^{\text {h }} \mathbf{u}^{33}$ |
| dove | and cuckoo |
| he dove | e and the curser |


ddu ndit kax jjo su mu got pu max su si six sux yy dBu ${ }^{33}$ ndi $^{55} \mathrm{ka}^{44}$ dzo ${ }^{33} \mathrm{su}^{33} \stackrel{\mathrm{~m}}{ }^{33} \quad \mathrm{ko}^{55} \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{u}^{33} \mathrm{ma}^{44} \mathrm{su}^{33} \mathrm{si}^{33} \quad \mathrm{si}^{44} \mathrm{su}^{44} \mathrm{zo}^{33}$ bird CLF CLF NOM QUANT．all cuckoo ART choose RES leader When the community of birds chose the cuckoo as leader，

mu da gox ne，tap hly ddie－ap－mga，cy hxip go：

do STP SENT．TOP TOP dove please＜NEG＞3P．SG say SENT．TOP
the dove was not pleased and said，

## 

＂ngat vit gga got pu－vi jox ap cy mu nrat ngat
＂ya ${ }^{55} \quad \mathrm{vi}^{55} \mathrm{ga}^{33}$ ko $^{55} \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{u}^{33}$－vi ${ }^{33}$ tço ${ }^{44} \quad \mathrm{a}^{21} \mathrm{ts}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{i}^{33} \mathrm{~m}^{33} \quad$ ndza ${ }^{55}$ na $^{55}$
1P．SG．POSS clothes cuckoo－POSS toward more ADVL pretty 1P．SG．POSS
＂My feathers are more beautiful than the cuckoo＇s．

yiet hxop nyi got pu jox ap cy mu da na sa, nga dax
 song also cuckoo toward more ADVL STP pleasant to hear 1P.SG COV My songs are also nicer than the cuckoo's. Therefore I should be

川原dH
sip sux yy mu tat xi" ddix. a zhat jix po shyx da tap hly
 take leader do should QUOT magpie method conceive STP dove the leader." The magpie conceived a solution and said to the dove

si nip got pu nyit jop: "mup shy dex muti ne nep nyit kax ddi
 and cuckoo NUM. 2 toward tomorrow morning TOP 2P.DL INT.who and the cuckoo, "Tomorrow, whoever of you will

dax mo ry ne kax ddi sux yy ddie" ddix. tap hly miep jji
 COV call early TOP INT.who leader do QUOT dove at first fly sing first should become leader." The dove flew away first.

bbo ox, cy jji six yit kie go vur bbo lox ax mo sha bbur
 go DP 3P.SG fly RES village LOC enter go and mother wool It flew to a village, and took its mother's wool

cy duo six o kup mux da, it cy ngop go it sa
 3P.SG pick up RES pillow do STP sleep 3P.SG think LOC sleep well to make a pillow. It intended to sleep well that night

mu cyp hxo it da yix ne mupshy dex muti gox ne
 ADVL NUM. 1 night sleep STP provided that tomorrow morning SENT.TOP TOP in order to sing well in the morning.

建内建出可。
yiet hxop yiet sa ox．mgu cy jji ot it ddix sy ne，ddu ndit $z^{55} \mathrm{ho}^{21} \quad$ ze $^{55}$ sa $^{33} \mathrm{o}^{44}$ ． $\mathrm{ygu}^{33}$ ts $^{\text {hi }}{ }^{33}$ dzi $\mathrm{i}^{33} \quad \mathrm{o}^{55} \quad \mathrm{i}^{55} \quad \mathrm{di}^{44} \mathrm{si}^{33} \mathrm{num}^{33}$ ，dbu ${ }^{33} \mathrm{ndi}^{55}$ song sing well DP think 3P．SG fly，fall down sleep as soon as bird As it fell asleep and dreamt about becoming leader

sux yy ddie su iet muop muo it nyi gu yix ne，it ap－nyi $\mathrm{su}^{44} \mathrm{z}_{2}{ }^{33} \mathrm{de}^{33} \mathrm{su}^{33} \mathrm{I}^{55} \mathrm{~m}^{21} \quad \mathrm{mo}^{33} \mathrm{i}^{55} \mathrm{ndi}^{33} \mathrm{ku}^{33} \mathrm{zi}^{444} \mathrm{nu}^{33}$ ，$\quad \mathrm{i}^{55} \quad \mathrm{a}^{21-} \quad \mathrm{ndi}^{33}$ leader do NOM dream do sleep provided that sleep NEG－wake of the birds，it slept so well that it

mu dep la ap－dop lix ndo ox．got pu nyi jji bbo ox．
 ADVL rise come NEG－can go PUT DP cuckoo also fly go DP could not wake up．The cuckoo also flew away．

cy jji six yyp mop yyx nzi go it bbo lox lur mat
 3P SG fly RES river water side LOC sleep go and stone It flew to the river to stay at the riverside over night．

map lix bu mu xip ma cy dur six okup mu．ot it da， $\mathrm{ma}^{21} \mathrm{l}^{44}{ }^{44} \mathrm{pu}^{33} \mathrm{~m}^{33} \quad \mathrm{ci}^{21} \quad \mathrm{ma}^{33} \mathrm{ts}^{\mathrm{h}}{ }^{33} \mathrm{tu}^{33} \quad \mathrm{si}^{44} \mathrm{o}^{33} \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{u}^{21} \stackrel{\mathrm{~m}}{ }^{33}$ ．o o ${ }^{55} \quad \mathrm{i}^{55} \quad \mathrm{ta}^{33}$ ， round ADVL DEM．DD CL 3P．SG pick up RES pillow do under stay STP It took a round stone as a pillow，with the following idea in mind．

## 

i nyigu yy yix ne，lur mat map lix bu max su lip lip nbo yyx $\mathrm{i}^{33} \mathrm{n}_{\mathrm{i}}{ }^{33} \mathrm{ku}^{33}{ }_{7 \rho^{33}} \mathrm{zi}^{444} \mathrm{nu}^{33}$ ，$\quad \mathrm{lu}^{33} \mathrm{ma}^{55} \quad \mathrm{ma}^{21} \mathrm{li}^{44} \mathrm{pu}^{33} \mathrm{ma}^{44} \mathrm{su}^{33} \mathrm{li}^{21} \mathrm{li}^{21} \mathrm{mbo}^{33} \mathrm{z}_{2} 2^{44}$ sleep go provided that stone，rock round ART roll go When it slept，the round stone would roll away

da，it jji ox．lur mat map lix bu max su suo vit lip lip nbo $\operatorname{ta}^{33}$ ， $\mathrm{i}^{55} \quad \mathrm{~d} \mathrm{Zl}_{1}{ }^{33} \quad \mathrm{o}^{44} . \mathrm{lu}^{33} \mathrm{ma}^{55} \mathrm{ma}^{21} \mathrm{li}^{44} \mathrm{pu}^{33} \mathrm{ma}^{44} \mathrm{su}^{33} \mathrm{ss}^{33} \quad$ vi ${ }^{55} \quad \mathrm{li}^{211} \mathrm{li}^{21} \mathrm{mbo}^{33}$ STP sleep awake DP stone round CL NUM． 3 time roll so that it would wake up．（In the night）the round stone rolled away three times

got pu nyi suo vit mu it jji ox. mo mu bbur ddur
 chuckoo also NUM. 3 time ADVL sleep awake DP sky east and the cuckoo woke up three times. When the sky dawned

ap mop bbop la ox su wep mo gox ne, got pu ddur kax $\mathrm{a}^{21} \mathrm{mo}^{21} \mathrm{bo}^{21} \quad \mathrm{la}^{33} \quad \mathrm{o}^{44} \mathrm{su}^{33} \quad \mathrm{\gamma um}^{21} \mathrm{mo}^{33} \mathrm{ko}^{44} \quad$ nur ${ }^{33}$, ko ${ }^{55} \mathrm{p}^{4} \mathrm{u}^{33} \mathrm{dBu}^{33} \mathrm{ka}^{44}$ bright come DP NOM see SENT.TOP TOP cuckoo wing flap, beat in the East, the cuckoo saw it, started to flap its wings and,

## 

lox, syr lot go hxit da fu zzi ax hmu mu: "got pu! got pu!" $\mathrm{lo}^{44}$, $\mathrm{si}^{33}{ }^{33} \mathrm{lo}^{55} \mathrm{ko}^{33} \mathrm{hi}^{55} \quad \operatorname{ta}^{33} \mathrm{fu}^{33} \mathrm{dzi}^{33} \mathrm{a}^{44} \mathrm{mou}^{33} \mathrm{~m}^{\circ}{ }^{33}$ : "ko ${ }^{55} \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{u}^{33!}$ ko ${ }^{55} \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{u}^{33}$ !" and branch LOC stand STP voice high ADVL cuckoo cuckoo standing on a branch, called with a loud voice, "Cuckoo! Cuckoo!"

mu yiet. hxo bbux nyi got pu gep gu shu la ox, nyi hly $\grave{m}^{33}$ ze $^{55}$. ho $^{33}$ Bu $^{44}$ nii ${ }^{33} \mathrm{ko}^{55} \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{u}^{33} \mathrm{ku}^{21} \mathrm{ku}^{33}$ su $^{33}$ la ${ }^{33} \mathrm{o}^{44}$, ni $\mathrm{i}^{44} \mathrm{a}^{33}$ ADVL sing sun also cuckoo COV call make come DP spring wind The sun was called into rising by the cuckoo, the spring wind

nyi gu shu la ox. got pu nyop mu co jox "nop zzax cy yy
 also call make come DP cuckoo peasant toward 2P.PL crops plant crops was called into existence. The cuckoo told the peasants, "(It is time to) plant

qyp da ox!" ddix. bbox ot cy gu vut la hlop gop ddur,
 put STP DP QUOT mountain below 3P.SG call green IDE~EXPR exit the crops". The mountains were called into becoming very green.

bbut la hlu vie cy yiet vie kep kep ox. ddu ndit dur lap vat
 grass \& flower 3P.SG sing flower beautiful DP bird NUM. 1000 \& 10000 Grass and flowers were sung into beautiful existence. Thousands and

mu cy shyr dep la ox．tap hly jox hxip：＂tap hly ap！nga
 ADVL 3P．SG shout rise come DP dove to say dove EXCL 1P．SG thousands of birds were urged to sing．It said to the dove，＂Oh dove！I

世出卉夺 $\theta$ H：
ddu ndit dur lap vat mu shyr dep la ox．ne it nyi ax di dBu ${ }^{33} \mathrm{ndi}^{55} \mathrm{tu}^{33} \mathrm{la}^{21} \mathrm{va}^{55} \quad \stackrel{\mathrm{~m}^{33}}{ } \mathrm{Se}^{33} \quad \mathrm{twi}^{21} \mathrm{la}^{33} \quad \mathrm{o}^{44} . \mathrm{num}^{33} \mathrm{i}^{55} \mathrm{ni}_{\mathrm{i}}{ }^{33} \mathrm{a}^{44 \mathrm{ti}^{33}}$ bird $\quad 1000 \& 10000$ ADVL call，shout rise come DP 2P．SG sleep only urged thousands and thousands of birds to sing．What you were doing

gu hxi jit ap－get ox？＂ddix．tap hly ne：＂Gu！Gu！Gu！＂mu
 sleep shameful NEG－can DP QUOT dove TOP EXCL EXCL EXCL ADVL was sleeping．Aren＇t you ashamed？＂The dove only replied：＂Gu！Gu！Gu！＂，

yi ngox la ox．got pu ne tit da ddu ndit suxyy ddie ox． $z_{i}{ }^{33} \mathrm{go}^{44} \quad$ la $^{33} \quad \mathrm{o}^{44} . \mathrm{ko}^{55} \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{u}^{33} \mathrm{nu}^{33} \mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{i}^{55} \mathrm{ta}^{33} \mathrm{dBu}^{33} \mathrm{ndi}^{55} \mathrm{su}^{44} \mathrm{z}^{33} \mathrm{de}^{33} \mathrm{o}^{44}$ ． cry，weep COME DP cuckoo TOP thus bird leader do DP and started to weep．The cuckoo thus became the leader of all the birds．

## SNNHKN

zhyt ge ax ly mu zyr bbur
 name of god thunder tame

## Zhege＇alu tames the thunder


ip si ax hlex mop，mu vut go mu zyr lix guo－jjy－lix guo，cy $\mathrm{i}^{21} \mathrm{si}^{33} \mathrm{a}^{44} 4 \mathrm{um}^{44} \mathrm{mo}^{21}$ ， $\mathrm{m}^{33} \mathrm{vu}^{55} \mathrm{ko}^{33} \mathrm{~m}^{33} \mathrm{tsi}^{33} \mathrm{li}^{44} \mathrm{ko}^{33}$－dzi ${ }^{33}$－li ${ }^{44} \mathrm{ko}^{33}$ ，ts ${ }^{\text {hi }}{ }^{33}$ long time ago sky on thunder powerful very powerful 3P．SG
A long time ago，the thunder in the sky was very powerful．

dde dde mu vo co go ax di nzie la go shex, xip jjip hnex
 often man to, at only strike come HAB therefore It often came to strike mankind. As a result,

mux dde go vo co ne mu zyr jie sy da qix. cyp nyip
 earth LOC man(kind) TOP thunder fear die almost NUM. 1 day people on earth were frightened to death. On one day

## 

muti gox ne, zhyt ge ax ly shu ip mop mit lox, cy shu ${\underset{1}{\circ}}^{33} \mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{i}^{33} \mathrm{ko}^{44} \mathrm{num}^{33}$, $\mathrm{t} \mathrm{s}^{55} \mathrm{kul}^{33} \mathrm{a}^{44} \mathrm{li}^{33} \mathrm{su}^{33} \mathrm{i}^{21} \mathrm{mo}^{21} \mathrm{mi}^{55} \quad \mathrm{lo}^{44}$, $\mathrm{ts}^{\mathrm{h}} \dot{\mathbf{i}}^{33} \mathrm{su}^{33}$ morning LOC TOP name of god make belly hungry and 3P.SG make in the morning, Zhege'alu became very hungry and

it kie ggat go zza shex zze li, tit it kie cyx ma go $\mathrm{i}^{55} \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{e}^{33}$ ga $^{55} \mathrm{ko}^{33} \mathrm{dza}^{33}$ sum $^{44} \quad \mathrm{dzu}{ }^{33} \mathrm{li}^{33}$, $\mathrm{th}^{\mathrm{h}}{ }^{55} \mathrm{i}^{55} \mathrm{kh}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{e}^{33} \mathrm{ts}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{i}^{44} \quad \mathrm{ma}^{33} \mathrm{ko}^{33}$ village CL LOC food look for eat go but village DEM:PROX CL LOC went into a village to look for food. But in the whole village

## 

co mup dut jiex da zza mu su cyp bbup nyi ap- jjo.
 person fire burn da food do NOM NUM. 1 family also NEG- have there was no family who cooked food.

cy cy shu ap zzep zzep da, cy shu cox yie go ha:
 3P.SG 3P.SG make amazed STP 3P.SG make person family PAT ask It was amazing to him, so he asked someone,

"xix mu da co cyp bbup nyi mup dut jiex da zza ap- mu
 INT.why STP person NUM. 1 family also fire burn STP food NEG- do "Why isn't there any household that is cooking?"

su nge" ddix. co bbup sux ne: "ngop wox zzax mu yy yot
$\mathrm{su}^{33}$ yu?" di ${ }^{44}$. ts $\mathrm{ts}^{\mathrm{h}}{ }^{33} \mathrm{Bu}^{21} \mathrm{su}^{44} \quad \mathrm{num}^{33}$ : "о ${ }^{21} \mathrm{\gamma o}^{44} \quad \mathrm{dza}^{44} \mathrm{~m}^{33}$ zo $^{33} \quad$ zo ${ }^{55}$
NOM COP QUOT person ART TOP 1P.PL food do soup, water do Members of that household replied, "It is not the case that we don't want

zze ap- qi su ap- nge mu, mu zyr ngop bbyp zzax mu
 eat NEG- think NOM NEG- COP ADVL thunder 1P.PL COV food do to cook food and soup, but the thunder doesn't allow us to cook

zze ap- shup su. kax ddi yie ddu mu gu ddur lix ne, cy
 eat NEG- CAUS NOM INT.who house smoke rise go up TOP 3P.SG and to eat. Whichever household has smoke going up, is

kax ddi yie ddu go nzie la su. zhyt ge ax ly ne co jox: $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{a}^{44} \mathrm{di}^{33} \mathrm{ze}^{33} \mathrm{dBu}^{33} \mathrm{ko}^{33} \mathrm{ndze}^{33} \mathrm{la}^{33} \mathrm{su}^{33}$. ts ${ }^{55} \mathrm{kwm}^{33} \mathrm{a}^{44} \mathrm{li}^{33} \mathrm{nu}^{33}$ ts $^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{o}^{33}$ t $\mathrm{co}^{44}$ : INT.who household LOC strike come NOM name of god TOP person toward struck by thunder." Zhege'alu told them,

"zyt dop da mup dut jiex da zzax mu zze li, ap ddi ddix mu zyr
 prepare STP fire burn STP food do eat go if thunder "Go, make a fire and prepare food. If the thunder is going to strike,

## 

la yix ne nga gox yu la mo" ddix. zhyt ge ax ly li sy sse $\mathrm{la}^{33} \mathrm{zi}^{144} \mathrm{nu}^{33}$ ya $^{33} \mathrm{ko}^{44} \mathrm{zu}^{33} \mathrm{la}^{33} \quad \mathrm{mo}^{33}{ }^{33} \mathrm{di}^{44} \quad \mathrm{ts}^{55}{ }^{55} \mathrm{ku}^{33} \mathrm{a}^{44} \mathrm{l}^{33} \mathrm{li}^{33} \mathrm{si}^{33} \mathrm{zu}^{33}$ come given that 1P SG PAT seize come IMP QUOT name of god TOP son of god I'll seize it." As Zhege'alu is a god,

six sse ma ngex da, kax ddi nyi cyp ddop mux da,
 angelic being CL COP STP INT.who also 3P.SG.POSS word do, listen STP everyone obeyed him,

mup dut jiex da zzax mu sat. mu gu it kie cyx ma gox
 fire burn STP food do EXH smoke village DEM.PROX CL LOC
lit a fire and cooked food. When smoke went up from the village,

da ddur lix te gox ne, muzyr jix su mgot nop gox ddur la
 STP exit go up when TOP thunder CL run pass LOC exit come the thunder reached out,

lox, zhyt ge ax ly si nip cyp vit jjyx- ga lox, zhyt ge ax ly

and name of god and NUM. 1 time RECL- drop, make and, after name of god and drew Zhege'alu into a fight but could not overcome him.

ap- dda, tit da mu zyr jix su po mu vut go nbot bbo, $\mathrm{a}^{21-} \mathrm{da}^{33}$, $\mathrm{th}^{\mathrm{h} 5} \mathrm{ta}^{33} \mathrm{~m}^{33} \mathrm{tsi}_{\mathrm{c}^{33}} \mathrm{tçic}^{44} \mathrm{su}^{33} \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{o}^{33} \stackrel{\mathrm{~m}}{ }^{33} \mathrm{vu}^{55} \mathrm{ko}^{33} \mathrm{mbo}^{55} \mathrm{bo}^{33}$, NEG- win thus thunder ART run sky LOC hide go

Then the thunder went back to hide in the sky.

## 

zhyt ge ax ly cyp vit gga cy hlo ggat da lox mu zyr jix su
 name of god 3P.SG.POSS clothes 3P.SG change wear STP and thunder ART
Zhege'alu changed his clothes and followed the thunder

## 

wa mgot mu vut go vur bbo. mu vut gox da muzyr max su she
 after see sky LOC enter go sky LOC COV thunder CL steel into the sky. In the sky he saw that the the thunder was preparing steel thunder

muzyr si nip jjy mu zyr jyt njuo su cy mo. zhyt ge ax ly
 thunder and lead thunder beat PROG NOM 3P.SG see name of god and lead thunder. Zhege'alu

ne ap- jjix sho mu: "hxax yip, muzyr vyt vu, ne jjy jyt she
 TOP NEG- know pretend ADVL EXCL thunder brother 2P.SG lead beat steel put on a brave front and asked: "Hah, brother thunder! For what purpose

jyt six xix mu mix?" ddix hna. mu zyr jix su ne zhyt ge ax ly
 beat RES INT.what do SOL say ask thunder CL TOP name of god do you prepare steel and lead?" The thunder did not recognize Zhege'alu

## 

cy cyx ap- syp da: "nga ddie six shyp mux nge jjyx zhyt ge ax ly
 3P.SG 3P.SG NEG- know STP 1P.SG do RES Universe Earth name of god (who had changed his clothes) and said, "I am committed to strike Zhege'alu

go nzie yy mo ddix su" ddix. zhyt ge ax ly ne: "ne $\mathrm{ko}^{33} \quad \mathrm{ndze}{ }^{33} \mathrm{za}^{33} \mathrm{mo}^{33} \mathrm{di}^{44} \quad \mathrm{su}^{33}{ }^{33} \mathrm{di}^{44}$. ts $9^{55} \mathrm{kum}^{33} \mathrm{a}^{44} \mathrm{li}^{33} \mathrm{nu}{ }^{33}$ : "nu ${ }^{33}$ PRO.PAT strike go MOD.committed FOC QUOT name of god TOP 2P.SG on earth or in heaven." Zhege'alu continued, "On what day are you

mu nyip xix nyip yy mo ddix?" ddix. "shy nyip yy mo" ddix.
 days INT.what day go MOD.committed QUOT snake day go IMP QUOT committed to do this?" "On the day of the snake."

ax ly ne: "ne kep mu gox nzie yy mix?" ddix.

name of god (abbreviated) TOP 2P.SG INT.how PRO.PAT strike go SOL QUOT
Zhege'alu asked, "How are you going to strike?"

mu zyr jix su hxip ap- hmy sy go gex nep, ax ly go jox: $\mathrm{m}^{33} \mathrm{tsi}^{33} \mathrm{tcc}^{44} \mathrm{su}^{33} \mathrm{hi}^{21} \mathrm{a}^{21} \quad \mathrm{mi}^{33} \quad \mathrm{si}^{33} \mathrm{ko}^{33} \quad \mathrm{kum}^{44} \mathrm{nul}^{21}, \mathrm{a}^{44} \mathrm{l}^{33} \quad \mathrm{ko}^{33} \mathrm{t} \mathrm{co}^{44}$ : thunder ART say NEG- reach still SENT.TOP only then name of god PAT to Before the thunder could answer,

"hxip ngax ge, muzyr ne xix yiet jie?" ddix. "nga xix

say 1P.SG hear thunder 2P.SG INT.what CL fear QUOT 1P.SG IND.whatever Zhege'alu said, "Tell me what do you fear." The thunder said, "I don't

nyi ap- jie, nga co hex jjy ggu ma ddie cyp o ma
 also NEG- fear 1P SG person pot NUM. 9 CL COV 3P.SG.POSS head fear anything except the one who can cover his head with nine pots,

go zyp dax ma ax di jie, hxi yip jjy hxap kuo ax di jie" ddix.
 LOC cover STP CL only fear still lead net only fear QUOT and except nets made of lead."

ddop ma cyx gge gge ggup jjux ne, ax ly bur nge jjyx
$\mathrm{do}^{21} \mathrm{ma}^{33} \mathrm{ts}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{i}^{44} \quad \mathrm{gur}^{33} \mathrm{gur}^{33} \mathrm{gu}^{21} \mathrm{~d} \not \mathrm{u}^{44} \mathrm{nur}^{33}, \mathrm{a}^{44} \mathrm{li}^{33} \quad \mathrm{pu}^{33} \quad \mathrm{yw}^{33} \mathrm{~d}_{2} \boldsymbol{2}^{44}$ word CL DEM.PROX CL hear after TOP name of god return this world Upon these words, Zhege'alu returned to this world

$\begin{array}{llllllllllllllll}\text { da cyx } & \text { ggep zyt dop la } & \text { lox, mu zyr cy } & \text { yu } & \text { six } & \text { she } & \text { gox bba }\end{array}$ STP DEM.PROX CL prepare come and thunder 3P.SG grasp RES smash wretched and made some preparations. Then he engaged the thunder in a fierce battle

我, H:
lox, mu zyr cy ndup ke cix da, cyx ggup jjux ne mu zyr
 and thunder 3P.SG beat surrender STP DEM.PROX after TOP thunder and beat it into surrender. Thereafter, the thunder did not

cox nzie ap- but, ddi ap bbo jjy xi he xix nyi jie ox.
 person strike NEG- dare moreover lead wire steel wire also fear DP dare to strike people again, and feared also wires made of lead and steel.

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| uo |  | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{X} \\ & \mathrm{X} \\ & \mathrm{X} \\ & \mathrm{I} \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ⿹ㅢㄱ } \\ & \text { 븨 } \\ & 0, \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Na } \\ & \text { Na } \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \bar{\delta} \\ & \bar{\delta} \\ & \frac{\bar{x}}{} \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \bar{\theta} \\ & \dot{\theta} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & y \\ & y \\ & y \\ & 10 \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \mathrm{C} \\ \Phi \\ \Phi \\ \Phi \\ \mathfrak{W} \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 出 } \\ & w \\ & w \\ & w \\ & w \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 震 } \\ \hline \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{u} \\ & \stackrel{\mathrm{U}}{\mathrm{C}} \\ & \mathrm{C} \\ & \mathrm{cu} \\ & \mathrm{o} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \frac{x}{\hat{x}} \\ \hat{x} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \frac{o}{o} \\ & \text { of } \\ & \text { of } \\ & \text { of } \\ & \hline \text { on } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & x_{1} \\ & x_{1} \\ & x_{1} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \bar{\theta} \\ & \theta \\ & \mathrm{J} \theta \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hat{5} \\ & 5 \\ & 5 \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 采 } \\ & \text { 丞 } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \sqrt{1 i 1} \\ & \sqrt{1 i} \\ & \sqrt{x} \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \bar{\sim} \\ & \text { f } \\ & \text { f } \\ & \mathfrak{q} \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 同 } \\ & {\left[\begin{array}{l} {[0]} \\ \mid * \end{array}\right.} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0 \\ & \bar{x} \\ & \overline{1} \\ & \psi \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 9 \\ & 9 \\ & G \\ & 1-1 \\ & G \\ & G \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{\mathrm{g},}{\mathrm{~g}} \\ & \mathrm{~g} \\ & \mathrm{~g} \\ & \mathrm{y} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ⿷匚 } \\ & \underset{\sim}{w} \\ & \text { w } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \widehat{\mathbf{0}} \\ \stackrel{y}{0} \\ \stackrel{y}{w} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathscr{\theta} \\ & \ddot{\theta} \end{aligned}$ |  | $t$ |
| 0 | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \underline{Q} \\ \hline 10 \\ 10 \mid \\ 10 \\ \hline 10 \end{array}$ |  |  |  | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{4} \\ \underset{\sim}{4} \\ \underset{\sim}{u} \\ \underset{U}{4} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | d 京 d d S | $\begin{aligned} & \hline d \\ & d \\ & \vdots \\ & \vdots \\ & N \\ & \lambda \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & x_{1} \\ & x_{1} \\ & x_{n}^{\prime} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \psi^{u} \\ o j \\ o \\ q^{\prime \prime} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 0 \\ & f \\ & f \\ & f \\ & f \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \mathscr{\#} \\ & \nexists \\ & \ddot{\theta} \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{array}{\|c} \hline \text { w } \\ \text { 粦 } \\ \text { 学 } \\ \frac{11}{} \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \sqrt{n} \\ & N \\ & N \\ & N \\ & N \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \frac{s}{y} \\ \hat{y} \\ y \\ 凶 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline x \\ \hat{B} \\ 0 \\ v^{2} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{l\|} \hline \kappa \\ \hat{0} \\ 0 \\ x_{0} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \bar{于} \\ 未 \\ y_{1} \\ X_{1} \end{array}$ |  |  |  | 万̄ $5$ | $\begin{aligned} & S \\ & S \\ & \text { F } \\ & \text { F } \\ & \$ \\ & \$ \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \mu^{\prime} \\ \hat{\theta} \\ \theta \\ \text { fot } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 留 } \\ & \text { 利 } \\ & \text { 利 } \\ & \text { H } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \sqrt[l v]{n} \\ & \hat{\theta} \\ & \hat{\theta} \\ & \hat{n} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ग } \\ & \text { 封 } \\ & \text { N } \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \\ & \hline \phi \\ & \phi \\ & \% \\ & \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \underset{+}{w} \\ & \underset{\sim}{w} \\ & \underset{\sim}{w} \\ & \underset{\sim}{w} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \\| 1 \\ & \theta_{0} \\ & \theta_{0} \\ & \theta \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & M_{i} \\ & \sqrt{W B} \\ & N_{3} \\ & N_{1} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 永 } \\ & \text { w } \\ & \text { } \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{t} \\ & \mathrm{x} \\ & \mathrm{p} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| e | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yy } \\ & \text { Y } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { fo } \\ & \text { fo } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \tilde{\delta} \\ & \tilde{\delta} \\ & \dot{y} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { of } \\ & \text { o } \\ & \text { g } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|l} \frac{7}{3} \\ \frac{1}{3} \\ \frac{1}{3} \\ r_{1} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \bar{y} \\ & y \\ & y \\ & y \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hat{\theta} \\ & \theta \\ & \theta \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c} \substack{1 \\ ~ \\ \vdots \\ \vdots \\ \tilde{u} \\ \hline} \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \text { j } \\ i \sqrt{1} \\ 15 \\ i v \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \underset{u}{u} \\ \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ \vdots \\ u \end{array}$ |  |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|l} \text { 采 } \\ \text { 禾 } \\ \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \ddagger \\ \ddagger \\ \theta_{0} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{c\|} \hline \pi \\ \pi \\ \pi \\ 0 \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 年 } \\ \text { 中i } \\ \text { 总 } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \widehat{3} \\ & \left.\begin{array}{l} 3 \\ \underset{W}{3} \\ \hline \end{array} \right\rvert\, \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{\mathrm{e}}{\mathrm{e}} \\ & \mathrm{e} \\ & \mathrm{e} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 萫 } \\ & \text { 吉 } \end{aligned}$ | 9 4 4 4 4 | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \sqrt{h} \\ \sqrt{2} \\ B \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \overrightarrow{N_{1}} \\ & \overrightarrow{H^{\prime}} \\ & \mathrm{H}^{\prime} \\ & \mathrm{d} \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $t$ p |
| u |  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline i_{1} \\ & J_{1} \\ & j_{1} \\ & \mathbb{C} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{C} \\ & \text { G } \\ & \text { a } \\ & \text { d } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 水 } \\ & \sqrt{2} \\ & \sqrt{11} \\ & \sqrt{11} \\ & \sqrt{i} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \mathbb{E} \\ \stackrel{y}{0} \\ i 0 \\ \vdots 0 \\ \Phi \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \underline{N H} \\ H \\ H \\ H \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline i \\ & \vec{y} \\ & \ddot{y} \\ & \ddot{y} \\ & \ddot{i} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \alpha \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & o \\ & i \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline x_{1} \\ \vec{E} \\ \underset{y}{w} \\ o \\ \hline \end{array}$ | ¢ |  | $$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \theta \\ & \theta \\ & \theta \\ & \forall \\ & \Theta \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \frac{\psi}{w} \\ & \cdots \\ & \cdots \\ & \cdots \\ & w \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline y_{01} \\ y_{1} \\ y_{1} \\ y_{1} \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\hat{u}} \\ & \hat{\sqrt{1}} \\ & \sqrt{1} \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & \text { ह刂ll} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \Theta \\ & A_{i} \\ & H_{i} \\ & H_{i} \end{aligned}$ |  | $$ | $t$ p |
| ur |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \hat{\vartheta} \\ \hat{\vartheta} \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \hat{\sigma}_{H} \\ & \hat{O}_{1} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \hat{N} \\ \aleph \\ \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & \hline 0, i n \\ & 0,0 \end{aligned}$ | $\left. \right\rvert\,$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \hat{x^{2}} \\ & \hat{y}^{\prime} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 9 \\ & \hdashline \\ & \hdashline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hat{f} \\ & \hat{f} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \sqrt{n} \\ & \sqrt[3]{\text { In }} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \bar{U} \\ \mathbb{U} \end{array}$ |  |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|l\|} \hline \underline{\underline{N}} \\ \underline{w} \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \hat{Q} \\ & \mathbf{Q} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \tilde{X} \\ \mathbb{X} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{l\|} \hline \hat{y} \\ 0 \\ 0 \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \mathfrak{f} \\ & \ddagger \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline 8 \\ 8 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \underline{4} \mid \\ \boxed{4} \mid \end{array}$ |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \dot{x} \\ & x_{1} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \overline{O_{1}} \\ & \hat{H}_{1} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|l\|} \hline \ldots \\ \text { II } \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \ddot{\theta} \\ & \ddot{U} \end{aligned}$ |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { so } \\ & y^{0} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \mathrm{fi} \\ & \hline \text { fí } \\ & \text { fir } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline(1) \\ & \text { (1) } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hat{\rho} \\ & \hat{9} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \dot{\alpha} \\ & 2 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \boldsymbol{w}_{1} \\ & w_{1} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|l\|} \hline \text { (1) } \\ \text { U } \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \widehat{Q} \\ & \mathbb{Q} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \dot{\Phi} \\ & \underline{末} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \overrightarrow{\mathrm{f}} \\ & \text { f } \end{aligned}$ |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 辛 } \\ & \text { 年 } \end{aligned}$ | x |
| y |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \sqrt{x} \\ \sqrt{k} \\ k \\ k \\ f \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  | $\begin{array}{l\|} \hline \sqrt{N} \\ \sqrt{1} \\ \sqrt{1} \\ J \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  |  | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{x} \\ 0 \\ 0 \\ 11 \\ 11 \\ 1 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $k$ $k$ 4 $y$ $y$ $y$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \text { 米 } \\ 0, ~ \\ \vdots, ~ \\ \vdots \\ \vdots \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline{ }_{2} \\ \widehat{\psi} \\ \psi \\ \tilde{j} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \mathbb{N} \\ \mathbb{N} \\ \mathbb{N} \\ N \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline x \\ X \\ X \\ X \\ \dot{x} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline N \\ \bar{X}_{1} \\ X_{1} \\ J \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  | $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline \text { g } \\ \hat{K} \\ k \\ k \\ @ \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \dot{+} \\ & \hat{Y} \\ & Y \\ & \ddagger \\ & \# \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \mathrm{jH} \\ & \mathrm{~N}_{1} \\ & \mathrm{~N}_{1} \\ & \mathrm{q}_{\mathrm{i}} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \# } \\ & \text { H } \\ & H \\ & H \\ & H \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { X } \\ Y \\ Y \\ Y \\ \text { og } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \stackrel{N}{N} \\ \tilde{y} \\ Y \\ Y \\ H \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \underset{\sim}{u} \\ \underset{\sim}{u} \\ \underset{\sim}{u} \\ \underset{\sim}{2} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline \frac{w}{\pi} \\ \grave{d} \\ \text { d } \\ \varepsilon \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{t} \\ & \mathrm{x} \\ & \mathrm{p} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| yr |  | $$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline y_{i} \\ & d_{i} \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{array}{l\|} \hline \dot{x} \\ \text { 米 } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \widehat{S}_{4} \\ \mathscr{W}^{2} \end{array}$ |  |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { 采 } \\ \text { 晏 } \end{array}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{array}{l\|} \hline \text { if } \\ \text { in } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \tilde{S} \\ \mathrm{~S} \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline i k \\ i k \\ i k \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|c\|c\|c\|c\|} \hline x \\ \underset{y}{c} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \hat{A} \\ \mathrm{~A} \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { Uiv } \\ & \text { U4 } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \bar{Y} \\ & Y \\ & Y \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|c\|} \hline \stackrel{\tilde{N}}{1} \\ \underset{N}{n} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \mathbb{E} \\ \mathbb{E} \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 要 } \\ & \text { 㝻 } \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \overline{\sqrt{n}} \\ & \sqrt{\sqrt{2}} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \hat{C} \\ & i \in \\ & i \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \overline{\hat{k}} \\ & , k \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{A}^{\prime} \\ & \mathrm{\xi}^{\prime} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 采 } \\ & \text { 朵 } \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{\pi}{i n} \\ & \text { : } \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \tilde{\sim} \\ & \text { 出 } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \begin{array}{l} z_{k} \\ \text { 水 } \end{array} \end{array}$ | x |


[^0]:    1 In practice，the Chinese Nationalities Commission allowed any group to apply for the status of Mínzú 民族，i．e．nationality．According to Harrell（1995：82），there were 260 groups in Yúnnán alone who requested this status in the 1950s．After registration of their names，teams specialized in culture and language examined the validity of these claims and，based on Stalin＇s four criteria，they estab－ lished the 56 nationalities．
    2 The official historiography of this event is as follows．Through false reporting of an imminent Yi rebellion against the imperial authority，Wú Sānguì received authorization to attack local Yí lords （tŭsī）in Guìzhōu province．After two decisive battles，one of which took place at Yáncāng 盐仓 township in Wēiníng County，the resistance of the Yi was defeated．During the following years，an important portion of the Western Guìzhōu Yi emigrated to Liángshān 凉山（Sìchuān province）and Hónghé 红河（Yúnnán province）（Wēiníng Mínwēi 1997：50－51）．

[^1]:    9 For Han metaphysics, Harrell quotes Martin \& Ahern (1972: 232), see Martin E. and Ahern, E. (1972). The cult of the Dead in a Chinese village. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

[^2]:    1 Two sounds or syllables are in free variation, if they are not in complementary distribution and if the substitution of one by the other does not alter the meaning.
    2 In this subsection, I am using again material published in Gerner (2013b).

[^3]:    1 The modulo operation finds the remainder of division of one number by another (for example: $11 \bmod 3=2$, since $11=3 \times 3+2$ ). Several Yi languages have classifiers which are sensitive for the modulo operation (Gerner 2003: 993).

[^4]:    2 A possessor－possessee relationship is alienable if the possessee can be easily separated or ＂alienated＂from the possessor（John＇s hair），whereas it is inalienable，if it cannot be easily separated （John＇s heart）．

[^5]:    3 （55b）is quoted from Chén \＆Wū（1998：224）．

[^6]:    5 Hammarström (2010) catalogues the existing arithmetical bases found in about 4,000 languages of the world. Besides the widespread arithmetical bases of 10 and 20 , he reports other bases such as $3,4,5,6,8,12,15$ and identifies the language families in which they are attested.

[^7]:    8 The term logophor was originally coined by Hagège (1974) and adopted in Clements (1975)'s study of Ewe. The label is etymologically derived from the Greek logos 'word' and pherein 'carry', a verb inherited from an old Proto-Indo-European source with cognates in many ancient European languages (e.g. Latin). Hagège employed this term for dependent marking in indirect speech clauses attested in West-African languages including Mundang, Dogon, Ewe, Tupuri (Niger-Congo) and Mupun (Afro-Asiatic).

[^8]:    9 "Sub-command" is a weaker version of "c-command". A constituent A sub-commands a constituent $B$ if and only if a constituent C which is mother or grandmother of A dominates B .

[^9]:    12 Example（239）is quoted from the folk story＂The elder and younger brother＂（Chén \＆Wū 1998： 218）；（240）is cited from the folk story＂Fearing the wives＂（Chén \＆Wū 1998：226）．

[^10]:    3 Dixon \＆Aikhenvald（2000：20）disprefer to employ these terms thinking that they are used with many different senses in the literature，without clear cross－linguistic criteria being involved．

[^11]:    1 In English, most people would probably draw a line somewhere between 'raspberry' and 'rice', because their morpho-syntactic properties are different: three raspberries, *three rices.

[^12]:    2 In both examples，the progressive focuses on a proper subevent of singing one song and of holding one book．Any proper subevent of singing one song is not again of the type singing one song，whereas any proper subevent of holding one book is again of the type holding one book．（49a）only yields true descriptions of the reality insofar the subevent can be extended into an event of the type singing one song．This，however，may not be possible in all contexts in which（49a）is uttered，but only in certain contexts．（49b）always gives true descriptions of the reality．The discrepancy of（49a）has been called in the literature the imperfective paradox．

[^13]:    5 The term 'exhaustion particle' is inspired from Björverud (1998: 82), although she uses this name for a type of particle which I characterize as send auxiliary (section 7.3.2.B; Gerner 2002: 88).
    6 The Nuosu particle sat is reminiscent of Jelinek's Straits Salish quantifier mok'w. There is one difference between the Nuosu particle and Salish $m \partial k^{\prime}{ }^{w}$. The Salish quantifier does not seem to take a stative predicate in its scope with superlative meaning. Otherwise, there seems to be much similarity. Witness (Jelinek 1995: 512-514):

    ```
    mək'w ł 'әw' ya-t-\emptyset cә sčeenx w.
    ALL 1P.NMT LINK eat-TR-3P.ABS DET fish
    ```

    (i) 'We ate all the fish.' (ii) 'We all ate the fish.' (iii) 'We ate the fish up completely.'

[^14]:    7 Quoted from the folk story "The emperor and his daughter" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 266).

[^15]:    9 Sentence（89a）is quoted from Lĭ \＆Mă’s conversational textbook（1981：23）．

[^16]:    11 English approximations for ideophones or expressives are words like brand-new, crash-hot, triggerhappy and the like.

[^17]:    12 Quoted from the folk story＂The drum and the ox＂（Chén \＆Wū 1998：224－225）．

[^18]:    13 Quoted from the folk story＂The elder and the younger brother＂（Chén \＆Wū 1998：216－221）．

[^19]:    14 Quoted from the folk story "The elder and the younger brother" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 216-221).
    15 Quoted from the folk story "The earnest man" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 223).

[^20]:    17 Quoted from the folk story "Redisofu overcomes the sorceress" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 243-244).

[^21]:    
    ＊ssox sse max su hxi nyi su nge． student ART MOD．intend FOC COP ＇The student is intending．＇

[^22]:    1 In Weishan Lalo, a Yi language spoken in Yúnnán Province, the visual information source is expressed as grammatical particle (Björverud 1998: 136-138).

[^23]:    1 S, A and O are pervasive labels in the typological literature (Dixon 1979, 1994). They represent intermediate notions between semantic role (agent, patient) and syntactic relation (subject, object). In contrast to the syntactic relations of subject and object, $\mathrm{S}, \mathrm{A}$ and O are universal. They are best understood as an extensional grouping of semantic roles.

[^24]:    2 Adapted from the folk story＂Looking for mother＂（Chén \＆Wū 1998：253）．

[^25]:    3 Example (6) is quoted from the folk story "Redisofu overcomes the sorceress with wisdom" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 246).

[^26]:    5 Quoted from the folk story "Looking for mother" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 254).
    6 Quoted from the folk story "The drunk man" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 230).

[^27]:    7 Quoted from the folk story "The elder and the younger brother" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 216).

[^28]:    8 Quoted from the folk story＂The forest meeting＂（Chén \＆Wū 1998：261－262）．

[^29]:    12 Quoted from the folk story "The sleepy Mister Pu" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 233).
    13 Quoted from the folk story "Fear the wives" (Chén and Wū 1998: 226).

[^30]:    15 Quoted from the folk story "The elder and the younger brother" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 217).
    16 Quoted from the folk story "The elder and the younger brother" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 217).
    17 Quoted from the story "Redisofu overcomes the demon with wisdom" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 239).

[^31]:    19 Quoted from the folk story "The drum and the ox" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 224).

[^32]:    20 Example (43) is quoted from the folk story "Redisofu overcomes the sorceress with wisdom" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 238).

[^33]:    1 (6) is quoted from the folk story "Redisofu overcomes the sorceress with wisdom" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 241).

[^34]:    2 (7) is quoted from the fold story "Fearing the wives" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 227).

[^35]:    1 Quoted from the folk story＂The earnest man＂（Chén \＆Wū 1998：221）．

[^36]:    2 Quoted from the folk story "The earnest man" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 221-222).
    3 (7) is quoted from the folk story "The elder and younger brother" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 219) and (8) from the story "Fearing the wives" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 226-227).

[^37]:    4 Quoted from the story "The drunk man" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 230).
    5 Quoted from the folk story "The drum and the ox" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 225).
    6 Quoted from the folk story "The elder and younger brother" (Chén \& Wū 1998: 218).

