

Matthias Gerner
A Grammar of Nuosu

Mouton Grammar Library

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Matthias Gerner

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For Ling 玲
(an exceptional woman)



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First of all, I wish to thank God for whom and through whom all things, including this grammar, exist.



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Preface

I started research on the Nuosu language at the *Chinese Academy of Social Sciences* in Beijing 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 (Lǐ & Mǎ 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 Beijing. 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
~	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'	Classifier-bar
CLF	Cleft focus
COME	Phasal auxiliary derived from 'come'
COMP	Complementizer

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	Imperative
INSERT	Phasal auxiliary derived from ‘insert’
INSTR	Instrumental
INT	Interrogative

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	Resultative derived from ‘put’
QUOT	Quotative
QUANT	Quantifier

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 (彝) 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 published 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 Mǎ Chángshòu 马长寿 (1985: 100) believes that the earliest mention of the Yi is in historical 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 Nánzhào 南诏 kingdom near Dàlǐ 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* 罗 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 彝. In the language classification 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 夷.

No grouping uses Yi as an autonym. Perhaps 15% of the Yi population call themselves 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 classification 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 Sāngui 吴三桂 brought upon local Yí lords (*tǔsī*) in Western Guìzhōu in the 1660s. A large portion of the Yi in Guìzhōu fled to Sīchuān where they populated the Liángshān area (Wēining Mínwēi 1997: 50–51).²

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 established 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 Sāngui received authorization to attack local Yí lords (*tǔsī*) in Guìzhōu province. After two decisive battles, one of which took place at Yáncāng 盐仓 township in Wēining 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 (Sīchuān province) and Hónghé 红河 (Yúnnán province) (Wēining Mínwēi 1997: 50–51).

Harrell (p.c. in February 2011) does not accept a recent settlement of the Nuosu in Liángshān 350 years ago, as suggested in the Wěining 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 ³)	Yi in Guizhou
‘mountain’	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 ‘Six Patriarch Epic’ ⁴
‘snow’	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 ‘The origin of the Yi’ ⁵
‘tree’	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 ‘Six Patriarch Epic’

3 The characters for ‘mountain’, ‘snow’ and ‘tree’ are quoted from the ‘Ashima’ Poem (Huáng Jiànmíng 黄建明, Pǔ Wèihuá 普卫华 and Liáng Hóng 梁红 (1985). *Āshīmǎ* 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 Patriarch Epic’, a narrative about the six founding patriarchs of the Yi people (Zhāng Délin 张德林, Liǔ Guāngfú 柳光福 and Wéi Dìngfū 韦定富 (1983). *Migration of the Six Patriarchs* 彝族六祖迁徙典籍选编. Beijing: College of Nationalities). 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. Guiyáng: Guìzhōu Nationalities Press).

The Nuosu caste society surfaced after the Mongols extended their subsidiary ruling system based on indigenous chieftains (*tǔsī*) 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 *nzy mo*⁶ constituted a relatively small group of indigenous landowners chosen by the central government from several spots in Liángshān. The *nuoho* caste⁷ constitutes a much larger class of ethnic aristocrats, but not acknowledged by the central government. Further, the *quho* caste⁸ consists of ordinary people. The Chinese historiographer Mǎ Chángshòu 马长寿 (1985: 105–109) reports that conflicts between the *nzy mo* 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, Miǎnníng 冕宁 and Nínglàng 宁蒗 in Northern Yúnnán). In these counties, the Nuosu coexist with other groups, mainly Han, whereas the Nuosu almost exclusively populate the core counties of Liángshān (Meīgū 美姑, Zhāojié 昭觉, Xǐdé 喜德, Pǔgē 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 aftermath, 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 standardized 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 consists 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 *tǔsī*, 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 cross-cousin, 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, *nzyimo*, *nuoho* or *quho*. The *nzyimo* 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 *nzyimo* marries a *nzyimo* (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 *ga xy* houseslaves, which are not associated with any clan. They are the descendants 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.

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.

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 descriptions 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 month-cycle starts in August with the month of the Rat and is ordered by Rat (≈ August), Ox (≈ September), Tiger (≈ October), Rabbit (≈ November), Dragon (≈ December), Snake (≈ January), Horse (≈ February), Sheep (≈ March), Monkey (≈ April), Chicken (≈ May), Dog (≈ June) and Pig (≈ 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 commemorate 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 incorporate again materials published in Germer (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 languages 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 standardization. Little is known about the relationship of the five Nuosu dialects. Shynra,

Table 2.1: The Loloish languages

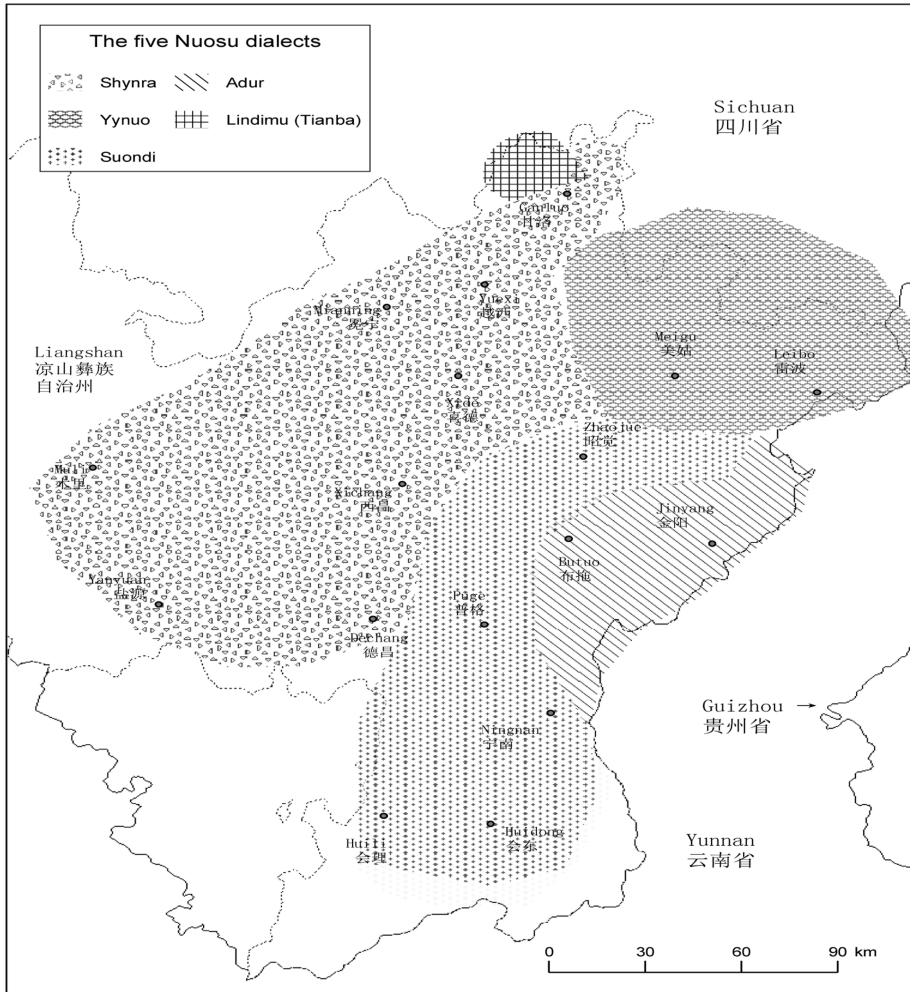
Loloish Benedict (1972)	Loloish Bradley (1997)	Yi Sūn 孙 (1998)	Loloish van Driem (2001)	Loloish Matisoff (2003)
Northern Independent Lolo, Lisu, Ahi, Nyi, Ulu	Northern Nosu , Nasu Sami, Kepo Phula, Laka (...) Central Sani (Nyi), Axi Azhe, Liphō, Lisu Lalo, Lahu (...)	Yi , Lisu, Hani, Lahu Naxi, Jinuo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

Table 2.2: Population statistics for the Nuosu dialects

County/ municipality	Population	Shynra	Suondi	Adur	Yynuo	Lindimu (Tianba)
Xīchāng 西昌	818,033	71,400	10,200	–	–	–
Mùlǐ 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	–	–	–
Huǐlǐ 会理县	676,360	–	105,400	–	–	–
Huìdōng 会东县	566,111	–	79,900	–	–	–
Níngnán 宁南县	260,844	–	54,400	–	–	–
Pǔgé 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	–
Zhāojié 昭觉县	349,996	117,300	96,900	30,600	86,700	–
Xǐdé 喜德县	207,478	173,400	–	–	–	–
Miǎnníng 冕宁县	474,624	142,800	–	–	–	–
Yuèxī 越西县	363,674	239,700	–	–	5,100	–
Gānlùò 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 Xiǎo Liángshān, Yúnnán, and Pānzīhuā, 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 Màoji 傅懋勳 (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 containing 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 Fù'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 provided 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 (Dàlǐ 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 Shílín 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 published since 1979, mainly in *Mínzú Yǔwén* ('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) – proverb quadruplets (Lǐ Xiùqīng 李秀清 1985; Wū Dá 巫达 1995)
3) lexicon:	– proper names (Zhū Wénxù 朱文旭 1987) – kinship terms (Sū Liánkē 苏连科 1988; Bāqiě Rìhuǒ 巴且日火 2000) – adjectives (Xiǎomén Diǎnfū 小门典夫 2002) – determiners (Chén Shìlín 陈士林 1989) – sound-symbolic words (Mǎ Xīngúo 马兴国 1991) – Chinese loanwords (Zhū Wénxù 朱文旭 1997)
4) syntax:	– syntactic roles (Hú Sùhuá 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 Sùhuá 胡素华 2004)
7) diachrony:	– grammaticalization (Shāmǎ Dǎgè 沙马打各 2005)

The native Nuosu linguist Hú Sùhuá 胡素华 (2002) published a book in Chinese on *the structural particles in Yi* 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 published 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 [ʙ]. It occurs always before the vowel [u] in either noncreaky [ʙ] or creaky syllables [ʙ̚], and sometimes with alveolar consonant onset as in [tʙ] or [tʙ̚]. The trill is more pronounced in creaky syllables and with alveolar consonant onset. (More information is provided in section 3.1.1.A.)

[ʙ]:	yi bbux	‘roof’		[ʙ]:	bbut shy	‘meadow’
[ʙ̚]:	shax bbur	‘bread’		[ʙ̚]:	bbur	‘write’
[tʙ]:	ddut	‘poison’		[tʙ]:	she ddu	‘steel’
[tʙ̚]:	bbux ddur	‘East’		[tʙ̚]:	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’	[p]: bo ‘rent’	[p ^h]: po ‘escape’
[nd]: ndat ‘enough’	[d]: ddat ‘bear’	[t]: da ‘put’	[t ^h]: ta ‘earthen jar’
[ŋg]: mge ‘buckwheat’	[g]: gge ‘hear’	[k]: ge ‘tell’	[k ^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 suffixing 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		
𑄓𑄚	ix sho	‘short’	𑄓𑄚	a sho	‘long’
𑄓𑄛	ix du	‘thin’	𑄓𑄛	a du	‘thick’
𑄓𑄜	ix ly	‘light’	𑄓𑄜	ax ly	‘heavy’
𑄓𑄝	ix jji	‘narrow’	𑄓𑄝	a jji	‘wide’
𑄓𑄞	ix nyi	‘few’	𑄓𑄞	ax nyi	‘much, many’
𑄓𑄟	ix fu	‘fine’	𑄓𑄟	a fu	‘coarse’
𑄓𑄠	ix nu	‘soft’	𑄓𑄠	ax guo	‘hard’
𑄓𑄡	iet zyr	‘small’	𑄓𑄡	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).

- (1) a. 𑄓𑄛₁ 𑄓𑄚₂ 𑄓𑄛𑄛_{1/*2/*3} 𑄓𑄛𑄛𑄛₁。
lu dda₁ mu ga₂ jox hxi₁ go **i_{1/*2/*3}** jjiex mguo ox ddx.
 male name male name to say SENT.TOP LOG.SG clear DP QUOT
 ‘Ludda₁ told Muga₂ that he_{1/*2/*3} understood it clearly.’

(7) Emphatic pronouns

a. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎。

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

a. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎 𐄎𐄎𐄎?

 cop wox ne **gux gu?**

3P.PL 2P.SG call ~ALT

‘Did they call you?’

b. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎?

 hxop ci ix **fu fu?**

cord fine ~ALT

‘Is the cord fine (enough)?’

(9) Intensification of manner adverbs

a. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎。

 ma hxa **a hnat a hnat** mu jjip ox.

rain intensive ~INTENS ADVL fall DP

‘It is raining intensively.’

b. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎。

 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’ (≈ imperfective) clauses and OSV in ‘resultative’ (≈ perfective) clauses.

(10) SOV order in ‘Ongoing clauses’

a. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎。

at nyop mu rryr la hxex njuo.

female name male name love PROG

‘Anyo is waiting for Mudge.’

OSV order in ‘Resultative clauses’

b. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎。

at nyop mu ga wep mo ox.

female name male name GET see DP

‘Anyo was seen by Muga.’

(13) Relative clause built on common nouns

a. 喇 拜 拜 拜 拜 拜

co	nax	jjo	mgo	jjo	su	(Right-branching)
person	<u>illness</u>	have	illness	have	NOM	

Restrictive: ‘the people who have an ailment.’

Relative clause built on proper nouns

b. 拜 拜 拜 拜 拜 拜

nax	jjo	mgo	jjo	su	mux ga	(Left-branching)
<u>illness</u>	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. 喇 拜 拜 拜 拜 拜

cop	jiet	vot	she	ddie	ngax	zha.
3P.PL	home	pig	<u>meat</u>	<u>COV.prepare</u>	1P.SG	feed
			Noun (D)	Coverb=postposition (H)		

‘Their family gave me pig meat.’

b. 喇 拜 拜 拜 拜 拜

ngop	wox	rruo	nuo	da	cyp	nyip	gat qip.
1P.PL	<u>Mianning</u>	<u>COV.put</u>			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. 喇 拜 拜 拜 拜 拜

lu po	ax rryr	go	bu dex.
male name	<u>female name</u>	PAT	<u>praise</u>
	Argument (D)		Verb (H)

‘Lupo praises Adge.’

b. 喇 拜 拜 拜 拜 拜

ddox	mu	ke	jo	ix cy	hxep da	zhe.
knife	mouth	handle	<u>downwards</u>	<u>COV.see</u>	<u>cut</u>	
			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.

- (16) a. ㄨㄚ ㄗㄝ ㄐㄧ ㄗㄝ ㄇㄨ ㄅㄛ。
 cy we zze ji zze mu bot.
 3P.SG spending strength ADVL run
 Manner Adverb (D) Verb (H)
 ‘He ran with particular effort.’

- b. ㄈㄨ ㄗㄝ ㄒㄧ ㄚㄚ ㄇㄨ ㄏㄒㄧ!
 fu zzi ax yy mu hxip!
 voice big ADVL speak
 Manner Adverb (D) Verb (H)
 ‘Speak louder!’

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

- (17) a. ㄨㄚ ㄇㄨ ㄗㄝ ㄐㄩ ㄅㄛ ㄆㄛ ㄆㄛ ㄆㄛ ㄆㄛ ㄆㄛ。
 cy pu jjit qop bop ap- jjo.
 3P.SG place name friend NEG have
 Negative particle (H) Verb (D)
 ‘He has no friends in Puge County.’

- b. ㄨㄚ ㄍㄨㄛ ㄌㄨㄛ ㄆㄛ ㄇㄛ ㄇㄛ。
 cy guo luo -ap- mut.
 3P.SG angry <NEG> angry
 Verb (D) Negative particle (H) Verb (D)
 ‘He does not feel upset.’

Predicates are in the scope of auxiliary verbs which is reflected by the order of verbs-auxiliary.

- (18) a. ㄈㄨ ㄗㄝ ㄐㄩ ㄇㄛ ㄇㄛ!
 nex li nji mu sso ssox!
 2P.SG TOP quickly study MOD.should
 Verb (D) Auxiliary (H)
 ‘You should study quickly!’

b. མི་མི་མཚོ་ལ་འོང་གི་ཡོད་པའོ།

cop wox tit la
3P.PL here come

sat	ox	ddix.
EXH	DP	QUOT
Layer 1	Layer 2	Layer 3

‘(Someone) said that they all came up.’

c. བཤུ་མཚོ་ལ་མི་མཚོ་ལ་འོང་གི་ཡོད་པའོ།

ne bbut cy ndo
2P.SG medicine drink

sat	go shex	hxax.
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. བུ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལ་མི་མཚོ་ལ་འོང་གི་ཡོད་པའོ།

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.’

b. མི་མཚོ་ལ་མི་མཚོ་ལ་འོང་གི་ཡོད་པའོ།

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	Alveopalatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	prenasalized	nb [mb/mᵇ]	nd [nd/ndᵇ]			mg [ŋg]	
	voiced	bb [b/ᵇ]	dd [d/dᵇ]			gg [g]	
	unvoiced	b [p]	d [t]			g [k]	
	aspirated	p [pʰ]	t [tʰ]			k [kʰ]	
Fricatives	voiced	f [f]	ss [z]	r [ʒ]	y [ʒ]	w [ɣ]	
	unvoiced	v [v]	s [s]	sh [ʃ]	x [ç]	h [x]	hx [h]
Affricates	prenasalized		nz [ndz]	nr [ndz̥]	nj [ndz̥]		
	voiced		zz [dz]	rr [dz̥]	jj [dz̥]		
	unvoiced		z [ts]	zh [tʃ]	j [tɕ]		
	aspirated		c [tsʰ]	ch [tʃʰ]	q [tɕʰ]		
Nasals	voiced	m [m]	n [n]		ny [ɲ]	ng [ŋ]	
	unvoiced	hm [m̥]	hn [n̥]				
Laterals	voiced		l [l]				
	unvoiced		hl [l̥]				

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 [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: [u̠] (written as *ur*). 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 *nb* in Nuosu Pinyin.

nb [mb/mɓ]	bb [b/ɓ]	b [p]	p [p ^h]
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'
	bbyp 'give'	byp 'compensate'	pyp 'inhale'
nbyr 'peel, cut off'		byr 'child diarrhea'	pyr 'fold (clothes)'

The alveolar stops [nd] and [d] are pronounced as [ndɓ] and [dɓ] 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: [ɯ].

nd [nd/ndɓ]	dd [d/dɓ]	d [t]	t [t ^h]
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 'earthen 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 [ŋg]	gg [g]	g [k]	k [k ^h]
	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.

f [f]	v [v]	w [ɥ]	
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 [ʒ]	sh [ʃ]
ssi 'use'	si 'choose'		
ssa kuo 'hero'	sat 'mark, sign'	ra 'make noise'	sha 'splash'
	suo 'three'	ruop 'pull trigger'	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 [ʒ]	x [ç]	w [ɥ]	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'		
x [ç]	h [x]	hx [h]	
xit 'bite'	hit 'harm'	hxit 'eight'	
xie 'catch fish'		hxie mat 'heart'	
	ha 'advise'	hxa 'hundred'	
xuo 'slip, slide'	huop lyt 'apricot'	hxuo 'mix, add'	
xop 'leak out'	hot 'bow'	hxo 'grow, raise'	
	he vat 'very good'	hxe 'fish'	

C. Affricates

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

nz [ndz]	zz [dz]	z [ts]	c [tʂʰ]
nzi 'hammer nails'	zzi 'bridge'	zi 'leave over' (tr.)	ci 'fall'
nzie 'chop'	zzie 'drench'	zie 'compensate'	cie 'deer'
nza 'sing (of bird)'	zza 'crops, food'	za pux 'earth wall'	ca 'hot'
nzuo 'leak'		zuo 'hire'	cuop luop 'a little'
nzop (exp asp)		zo 'entertain, bear'	co 'person'
nze 'pretty'	zze 'eat'	zep 'tighten'	ce 'salt'
nzup 'armful of'	zzu 'jab, poke'	zut 'stir up'	cu 'fat'
nzur 'hate'	zzur 'reside, live'	zur bop 'origin'	cur 'build'
nzy 'rule'	zzy 'ride (horse)'	zy 'plant'	cy 'wash'
nzyr 'hot'	zzyr muo 'peace'	zyr 'accumulate'	cyr 'pinch'

nr [ndz̥]	rr [dz̥]	zh [tʂ̥]	ch [tʂ̥ʰ]
nra 'measure, test'	rrax ggie 'aligned'	zha 'feed'	cha 'discuss'
	rruo 'thief'	zhuo 'bridle'	chuo 'rip off'
nro 'stuff in'	ro 'accomodate'	zhot 'despise'	chop 'breakfast'
nrep 'withdraw'	re 'row'	zhep 'bowl'	che 'rice'
nrut 'rust'	rrup 'chopsticks'	zhu 'praise'	chu 'thorn'
nrur 'lock'	rrur 'lie about'	zhur 'whet'	mu chur 'autumn'
nry 'wine'	rry 'tooth'	zhy 'command'	chy 'bequeath'
nryr 'pierce'	rryr 'worn out'	zhyr 'pull up'	chyr 'tear'

nj [ndʒ]	jj [dʒ]	j [tɕ]	q [tɕʰ]
nji 'fast'	jjj 'fly'	ji (classifier)	qi 'want'
njie 'vomit'	jjie 'burn' (intr.)	jie 'burn' (tr.)	qie 'jump'
njuo 'wander'	jjuo 'collapse'	juo 'press flat'	quo 'navel'
njo 'make level'	jjjo 'have, exist'	jo 'turn'	qo 'contain'
nju 'crawl'	jjut 'waist'	ju 'manage'	qu 'silver'
njurx zuo 'expell'	jjur (classifier)	jur 'marrow'	qur 'shave'
njy 'skin'	jjy 'melt'	jy 'bladder, gall'	qy 'sweet'
njyr 'weed'		jyr 'slip off'	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 [n̩]	ng [ŋ]
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 [m̩]	n [n]	hn [n̩]
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'	hmyt 'end'		

n [n]	l [l]	hn [n̩]	hl [l̩]
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'	hlepe '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 [i]		e [u]	u [u]
Close-mid						o [o]
Open-mid	ie [ɛ]					uo [ɔ]
Open				a [a]		

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

i [i]	ie [ɛ]	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'
iji 'bee'	jjie '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 [ɔ]	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'	shot 'shameful'	shuo 'brush by'	shax tur 'bullet'
zzup zzup 'icicle'			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, [55], [33], [21], 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 [ʊ]	y [i]	yr [ɨ]
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^[44] has a weak phonological status. It is the result of a dissimilatory 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 syntactically 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. | 𑄢𑄣 | → | c. | 𑄢𑄣 |
| | nga gu | | | ngax gu |
| | 1P.SG call | | | 1P.SG call |
| | ‘I called (someone).’ | | | ‘(Someone) called me.’ |
-
- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---|----|------------------------|
| d. | 𑄢𑄤 | → | e. | 𑄢𑄤 |
| | ne mgu | | | nex mgu |
| | 2P.SG love | | | 2P.SG love |
| | ‘You love (someone).’ | | | ‘(Someone) loves you.’ |
-
- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---|----|------------------------|
| f. | 𑄢𑄥 | → | g. | 𑄢𑄥 |
| | cy jie | | | cyx jie |
| | 3P.SG fear | | | 3P.SG fear |
| | ‘He fears (someone).’ | | | ‘(Someone) fears him.’ |

(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. | *𑄢𑄦 | → | c. | 𑄢𑄦 |
| | *co ma | | | cox ma |
| | person CL | | | person CL |
| | ‘a person’ | | | ‘a person’ |
-
- | | | | | |
|----|------------|---|----|------------|
| d. | *𑄢𑄧 | → | e. | 𑄢𑄧 |
| | *zzi gur | | | zzix gur |
| | bridge CL | | | bridge CL |
| | ‘a bridge’ | | | ‘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. *ꠘꠞꠞ → c. ꠘꠞꠞ
*cy ne cyx ne
3P.SG TOP 3P.SG TOP
'as for him' 'as for him'
- d. *ꠘꠞꠞꠞ → e. ꠘꠞꠞꠞ
*co li cox li
person TOP person TOP
'as for the man' '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. *ꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞ → c. ꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞ
*ne si nip nga nex si nip nga
2P.SG and 1P.SG 2P.SG and 1P.SG
'You and I' '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. *ꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞ? → c. ꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞ?
*ku ku? kux ku?
steal ~ALT steal ~ALT
'steal?' 'steal?'
- d. *ꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞ? → e. ꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞ?
*ssi ssi? ssix ssi?
bright ~ALT bright ~ALT
'bright?' '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. *ꠞꠞꠞꠞ → c. ꠞꠞꠞꠞ
*la sy lax sy
come still come still
'still come' 'still come'

- (9) Nuosu syllable structure:
- (S)(F)VT S = Stop; F = Fricative; V = Vowel; T = Tone
 - NVT N = Nasal; V = Vowel; T = Tone
 - LVT L = Lateral; V = Vowel; 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 pronunciation	Free variation
my	m̩i	m̩
hmy	m̩i	m̩
ny	(not attested)	(not attested)
hny	(not attested)	(not attested)
ly	l̩i	l̩
hly	l̩i	l̩
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

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).

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 × 10 Finals × 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.

𑄎	mi	𑄎̂	mix
𑄏	juo	𑄏̂	juox
𑄐	lu	𑄐̂	lux

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

𑄑	vep	𑄑̂	vex
𑄒	nzop	𑄒̂	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'	jjie 'separate'	
njot 'ice'	njot 'freeze'	
gguo 'harrow'	gguo 'drag a harrow'	
	dop 'adapt'	dop 'well-suited'
	jjip 'become'	jjip '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 described 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 prefixes 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		
短	ix sho	‘short’	长	a sho	‘long’
薄	ix du	‘thin’	厚	a du	‘thick’
轻	ix ly	‘light’	重	ax ly	‘heavy’
窄	ix jiy	‘narrow’	宽	a jiy	‘wide’
少	ix nyi	‘few’	多	ax nyi	‘much, many’
细	ix fu	‘fine’	粗	a fu	‘coarse’
软	ix nu	‘soft’	硬	ax guo	‘hard’
小	iet zyr	‘small’	大	ax yy	‘big’

B. Fruit prefix *syp-*

桃	syp vo	‘peach’	梨	syp ndat	‘pear’
fruit	–		fruit	–	
核桃	syp hmi	‘walnut’	杏	syp yi	‘apricot’
fruit	–		fruit	–	
苹果	syp ga	‘plum’	苹果	syp hni	‘apple’
fruit	–		fruit	–	
橙子	syp nju	‘citrus orange’			
fruit	–				

C. *gga-* ‘road’

路	gga shyx	‘lead way’	路	ggax shu	‘walk’
road	lead		road	make	
路	gga re dde	‘crossing’	路	ggax nyi	‘neighbour’
road	crossing		road	sit	
路	gga jo	‘stroll around’	路	gga yot	‘go astray’
road	hand to		road	wrong	

D. *co-* ‘person’ (also as free morpheme)

ㄷ	co	cux	‘nationality’	ㄷ	co	cyt	‘genealogy’
		person	–			person	family line
ㄷ	co	shet	‘eunuch’	ㄷ	co	mo	‘body, corpse’
		person	–			person	–
ㄷ	cox	go	‘prisoner’				
		person	LOC				

E. *ddop-* ‘word’

ㄷ	ddop	bur	‘answer’	ㄷ	ddop	shep	‘accuse’
		word	return			word	search
ㄷ	ddop	bbyp	‘command’	ㄷ	ddop	ddur	‘fulfill’
		word	give			word	exit
ㄷ	ddop	mu	‘obey’	ㄷ	ddop	zy	‘testify’
		word	do			word	attest
ㄷ	ddop	sat	‘rumor’				
		word	point to				

F. *hxie-* ‘heart’

ㄷ	hxie	ca	‘eager’	ㄷ	hxie	jjuo	‘heart moving’
		heart	hot			heart	move
ㄷ	hxie	kat	‘happy’	ㄷ	hxie	vur	‘like, love’
		heart	happy			heart	enter
ㄷ	hxie	sha	‘sorrowful’	ㄷ	hxie	guo	‘hardened heart’
		heart	sorrow			heart	hard
ㄷ	hxie	na	‘jealous’	ㄷ	hxie	pur	‘evil-minded’
		heart	ill			heart	turn
ㄷ	hxie	nbut	‘bother’	ㄷ	hxie	ndot	‘disgust’
		heart	bother			heart	disgust

G. *ke-* ‘mouth’

ㄷ	ke	bbo	‘agree’	ㄷ	ke	bot	‘argue, discuss’
		mouth	go			mouth	argue
ㄷ	ke	ci	‘tired’	ㄷ	ke	cyt	‘open mouth’
		mouth	fall			mouth	–
ㄷ	ke	hxa	‘eloquence’	ㄷ	ke	yy	‘boast’
		mouth	tongue			mouth	big
ㄷ	ke	zy	‘cross-examine’	ㄷ	ke	jjip	‘promise’
		mouth	attest			mouth	become

H. mu- ‘place, sky, steam’

ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	njy	‘sky’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	vut	‘(blue) sky’
		place,sky	–			place,sky	
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	ggu	‘sky, air’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	sot	‘air’
		place,sky	–			place,sky	breath
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	ngo	‘overcast’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	ca	‘clear sky’
		place,sky	weep			place,sky	warm
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	di	‘cloud’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	hxuot	‘mist, fog’
		place,sky	–			place,sky	–
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	hxo	‘water vapour’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	kup	‘earth steam’
		place,sky	–			place,sky	–
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	hlit	‘lightning’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	zyr	‘thunder’
		place,sky	–			place,sky	–
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mup-	hly	‘wind’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	dut	‘fire’
		place,sky	–			place,sky	–
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	hxi	‘flame’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	bbop	‘fire light’
		place,sky	–			place,sky	light
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	ddix	‘place’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	gy	‘star’
		place,sky	there			place,sky	–
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	yy	‘dark of moon’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	dduo	‘waxing moon’
		place,sky	big			place,sky	days 1–15
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	kut	‘year’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	hlepe	‘month’
		place,sky	–			place,sky	–
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	cyt	‘era’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	tat	‘hour, time’
		place,sky	family line			place,sky	–
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	nyi	‘spring’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	she	‘summer’
		place,sky	–			place,sky	–
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	chur	‘autumn’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	cu	‘winter’
		place,sky	–			place,sky	–
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	nyip	‘day, daylight’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	si	‘night’
		place,sky	day			place,sky	–
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	ti	‘morning’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	ket	‘evening’
		place,sky	–			place,sky	–
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	mu-	vi	‘dusk’				
		place,sky	–				

I. o- ‘head’

ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	o-	nyit	‘honour’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	o-	go	‘life’
		head	face			head	LOC
ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	o-	hnot	‘brain’	ᠬᠠᠮᠤ	o-	fu	‘horn’
		head	–			head	horn

𐌆𐌱	o-	kup	‘pillow’	𐌆𐌵	o-	go	‘headband’
		head	–			head	LOC
𐌆𐌶	o-	ji	‘pointed’	𐌆𐌶	o-	zzy	‘pointless’
		head	CL			head	–
𐌆𐌷	o-	bu	‘bald’	𐌆𐌷	o-	bbu	‘intelligent’
		head	–			head	–
𐌆𐌸	o-	mop	‘dizzy; giddy’	𐌆𐌸	o-	vu	‘dizzy’
		head	–			head	dry
𐌆𐌹	o-	hmy	‘start & end’	𐌆𐌹	o-	qu	‘old person’
		head	tail			head	white
𐌆𐌺	o-	ngep	‘nod head, agree’	𐌆𐌺	o-	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 nominalizer *-lu*, which is unproductive, the quality/extent nominalizer *-jjux* and the manner nominalizer *-tie*, which are both productive.

Verb	-lu (action)	-jjux (quality or extent)	-tie (manner)
mgu ‘love’	mgu- lu ‘love’ (n.)	mgu- jjux ‘extent of love’	mgu- tie ‘way of loving’
zze ‘eat’	zze- lu ‘diet’	zze- jjux ‘quality of diet’	zze- tie ‘way of eating’
syp ‘know’	syp- lu ‘knowledge’	syp- jjux ‘extent of knowledge’	syp- tie ‘way of knowing’
ju ‘govern’	ju- lu ‘act of governing’	ju- jjux ‘extent of government’	ju- tie ‘way of governing’
hmat ‘teach’	hmat- lu ‘teaching’	hmat- jjux ‘quality of teaching’	hmat- tie ‘way of teaching’
hxip ‘speak’	hxip- lu ‘speech’	hxip- jjux ‘quality of speech’	hxip- tie ‘way of speaking’
chyp ‘weave’	chyp- lu ‘act of weaving’	chyp- jjux ‘weaving quality’	chyp- tie ‘way of weaving’
mu ‘do’	mu- lu ‘acts’	mu- jjux ‘extent of deeds’	mu- tie ‘way of doing’
ggat ‘wear’	ggat- lu ‘wardrobe’	ggat- jjux ‘quality of clothing’	ggat- tie ‘way of wearing’
hxep ‘see’	hxep- lu ‘view’	hxep- jjux ‘vision’	hxep- tie ‘way of seeing’
ndo ‘drink’	ndo- lu ‘act of drinking’	ndo- jjux ‘extent of drinking’	ndo- tie ‘way of drinking’
bbur ‘write’	bbur- lu ‘writing’	bbur- jjux ‘quality of writing’	bbur- tie ‘way of writing’
nra ‘measure’	nra- lu ‘act of measuring’	nra- jjux ‘measure’ (abstract)	nra- tie ‘way of measuring’
get ‘comb’	get- lu ‘act of combing’	get- jjux ‘quality of combing’	get- tie ‘way of combing’
yy ‘laugh’	yy- lu ‘act of laughing’	yy- jjux ‘extent of laughing’	yy- tie ‘way of laughing’
ggut ‘sew’	ggut- lu ‘act of sewing’	ggut- jjux ‘quality of sewing’	ggut- tie ‘way of sewing’
bi ‘read’	bi- lu ‘act of reading’	bi- jjux ‘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	-jjux (quality or extent)	-tie (manner)
zhe ‘cut, fell’	zhe- jjux ‘extent of cutting’	zhe- tie ‘manner of cutting’
shut ‘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- jjux ‘extent of felling’	kie- tie ‘manner of felling’
ngo ‘weep’	ngo- jjux ‘extent of weeping’	ngo- tie ‘manner of weeping’
vy ‘buy’	vy- jjux ‘extent of buying’	vy- tie ‘manner of buying’
la ‘come’	la- jjux ‘quality of coming’	la- tie ‘manner of coming’
syr ‘sweep’	syr- jjux ‘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- jjux ‘extent of scalding’	lo- tie ‘manner of scalding’
hlu ‘cook’	hlu- jjux ‘quality of cooking’	hlu- tie ‘way of cooking’
hxip ryt ‘admit’	hxip ryt- jjux ‘admission’	hxip ryt- tie ‘way of admission’
la hxex ‘wait’	la hxex- jjux ‘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- jjux ‘extent of shearing’	nyie- tie ‘way of shearing’
mgot ‘chase’	mgot- jjux ‘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. * $\text{H}\text{ry}\text{ndo}$ -**lu**
 wine drink NOM
 ‘act of drinking wine’
- b. * $\text{H}\text{qi}\text{get}$ -**jjux**
 head comb NOM
 ‘act of combing one’s hair’
- c. * $\text{H}\text{tep}\text{yy}\text{bi}$ -**tie**
 book read NOM
 ‘the manner of reading books’
- d. * $\text{H}\text{hxie}\text{mgat}\text{syp}$ -**jjux**
 Chinese know NOM
 ‘the extent of knowing Chinese’
- e. * $\text{H}\text{vy}\text{lot}\text{mu}$ -**lu**
 business do NOM
 ‘the act of doing business’
- f. * $\text{H}\text{vit}\text{gga}\text{ggat}$ -**tie**
 clothes wear NOM
 ‘the manner of wearing clothes’

- (2) a. *𐌆𐌵𐌳𐌹
 *nga yy **-lu**
 1P.SG laugh NOM
 ‘*My laughing’
- b. 𐌆𐌳𐌹𐌸
 ngat yy **-lu**
 1P.SG.POSS laugh NOM
 ‘my laughing’
- c. *𐌆𐌵𐌳𐌹𐌸
 *ne hxip **-tie**
 2P.SG speak NOM
 ‘*your way of speaking’
- d. 𐌆𐌵𐌳𐌹𐌸
 nit hxip **-tie**
 2P.SG.POSS speak NOM
 ‘your way of speaking’
- e. *𐌆𐌵𐌳𐌹𐌸
 *cy hxep **-jjux**
 3P.SG see NOM
 ‘*his vision’
- f. 𐌆𐌵𐌳𐌹𐌸
 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 ‘mountain’	–	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 pleasure 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 *-jy-*.

☉	zze	sa	‘easy to eat’	☉	zze	we	‘difficult to eat’
	eat	easy			eat	difficult	
☌	ndo	sa	‘easy to drink’	☌	ndo	we	‘difficult to drink’
	drink	easy			drink	difficult	
☉	yu	sa	‘easy to grasp’	☉	yu	we	‘difficult to grasp’
	grasp	easy			grasp	difficult	
☌	mga	sa	‘easy to go’	☌	mga	we	‘difficult to go’
	go, pass	easy			go, pass	difficult	
☌	jot	sa	‘easy to cook’	☌	ot	we	‘difficult to cook’
	cook	easy			cook	difficult	
☌	mu	sa	‘easy to do’	☌	mu	we	‘difficult to do’
	do	easy			do	difficult	
☌	mgot	sa	‘easy to pursue’	☌	mgot	we	‘difficult to pursue’
	pursue	easy			pursue	difficult	
☌	hxep	sa	‘look good’	*☌	*hxep	we	‘look bad’
	see, look	pleasant			look	difficult	
☌	hna	sa	‘pleasant to hear’	*☌	*hna	we	‘difficult to hear’
	hear	pleasant			hear	difficult	
☌	nyi	sa	‘pleasant to sit’	*☌	*nyi	we	‘difficult to sit’
	sit	pleasant			sit	difficult	

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 | Input nouns | Gloss |
|-----|--------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| a. | N N + CL | N common nouns | ‘some’, ‘a few’ |
| b. | N N (+ ART/DEM+CL) | N body part term | ‘only’, ‘always’ |
| c. | N-jjy-N | 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.

- (4) a. 日暮时云多，几几几几云在山顶。
 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.’
- b. 早晨时风，呼呼呼呼吹来。
 mu ti te go ne, **mu hly mu hly** tu pur la ndit.
 morning when TOP wind~DIM CL blow come PER
 ‘A slight wind is blowing sometimes in the morning.’
- (5) a. 这块地有许多石头。
 mux dde cy jot **lur mat lur mat** ma gox rrur.
 soil DEM CL stone~DIM CL LOC lie about
 ‘Some stones lie about this piece of land.’
- b. 森林里有小路。
 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.’
- (6) a. 晚上几只狗，呼呼呼呼叫。
 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. 草地上几朵花开了。
 bbut jjuop go **viex vie viex vie** bu vie.
 grass LOC flower~DIM CL blossom
 ‘A few flowers blossom in the grassland.’

- c. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌, 𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒.
 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 *-jy-*.

(14)	Structure	Input verbs	Meaning
a.	V V	V verb	Alternative question
b.	V-jy-V	V gradable verb	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-jy-B) or wholly as ABAB (AB-jy-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-jy-mgu
qyt ‘bind’	qyt qyt	–
ndup ‘beat’	ndux ndup	ndup-jy-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-jy-bu dex
hxie vur ‘like’	hxie vur vur	hxie vur-jy-hxie vur / hxie vur-jy-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-jy-lyrx nyie
jy jie ‘fear’	jy jiex jie	jy jie-jy-jy jie / jy jie-jy-jie
hxie nep ndit ‘regret’	hxie nep ndit ndit	hxie nep ndit-jy-ndit hxie nep ndit-jy-hxie nep ndit
ggup cyr ‘rescue’	ggup cyrx cyr	–
lyr ggex ‘tremble’	lyr ggex gge	lyr ggex-jy-lyr ggex / lyr ggex-jy-ggex
hxie jjuo ‘move (sb)’	hxie jjuo jjuo	hxie jjuo-jy-hxie jjuo
syp mgep ‘chat’	syp mgep mgep	–
yyx zyr ‘drench’	yyx zyr zyr	–

- (15) 𐞓𐞐𐞑𐞒 𐞓 𐞔 𐞕 𐞖 𐞗 𐞘 𐞙 𐞚 𐞛?
 cox ku max su cop sip **qyt qyt?**
 people steal ART 3P.PL take bind~ALT
 ‘Did they get hold of the thief?’
- (16) a. 𐞓𐞑𐞒 𐞓 𐞔 𐞕 𐞖 𐞗 𐞘 𐞙 𐞚 𐞛 𐞜 𐞝?
 hmat mop ssox sse max su **bu dex bu dex?**
 teacher student ART praise~ALT
 ‘Did the teacher praise the student?’
- b. 𐞓𐞑𐞒 𐞓 𐞔 𐞕 𐞖 𐞗 𐞘 𐞙 𐞚 𐞛 𐞜?
 hmat mop ssox sse max su **bu dex dex?**
 teacher student ART praise~ALT
 ‘Did the teacher praise the student?’
- (17) 𐞓 𐞔 𐞕 𐞖 𐞗 𐞘 𐞙 𐞚 𐞛 𐞜 𐞝?
 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 *-jy-*. For dissyllabic verbs the pattern is AB-*jy*-AB or AB-*jy*-B.

- (18) a. 𐞓 𐞔 𐞕 𐞖 𐞗 𐞘 𐞙 𐞚 𐞛 𐞜 𐞝?
 nga ax mo **mgu -jy- mgu.**
 1P.SG mother love very love
 ‘I love mother very much.’
- b. 𐞓 𐞔 𐞕 𐞖 𐞗 𐞘 𐞙 𐞚 𐞛 𐞜 𐞝?
 nga ngat mu ddix **ngop -jy- ngop.**
 1P.SG 1P.SG.POSS hometown think, miss very think, miss
 ‘I am missing my hometown very much’
- (19) 𐞓 𐞔 𐞕 𐞖 𐞗 𐞘 𐞙 𐞚 𐞛 𐞜 𐞝?
 bbu dde cyx ma cox **hxie jjuo -jy- 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 adjectives can further be reduplicated with the epenthetic intensifier infix *-jy-*.

(20)	<u>Structure</u>	<u>Input adjectives</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	a. A A	A adjective	Alternative question
	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 AB reduplicate partially as ABB (AB-jjy-B), or wholly as ABAB (AB-jjy-AB). 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-jjy-ge
o bbu 'intelligent'	o bbux bbu	o bbu-jjy-o bbu
ax yy 'big'	ax yy ax yy / ax yy yy	ax yy-jjy-ax yy / ax yy-jjy-yy
ix fu 'thin'	ix fu ix fu / ix fu fu	ix fu-jjy-ix fu / ix fu-jjy-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 -jjy-ix sho / ix sho-jjy-sho
gga sho 'far'	gga shox sho	gga shox-jjy-gga sho
ix jjy 'narrow'	ix jjy jjy	ix jjy-jjy-ix jjy
ix bbo 'thin'	ix bbo bbo	ix bbo-jjy-ix bbo
wox bu 'fat'	wox bu wox bu / wox bu bu	wox bu-jjy-wox bu / wox bu-jjy-bbu
ax nyi 'many'	ax nyi nyi	ax nyi-jjy-ax nyi
mip ji 'pointed'	mip jix ji	mip ji-jjy-mip ji / mip ji-jjy-ji
lap rryt 'skew'	lap rryt rryt	lap rryt-jjy-lap rryt
ax nuo 'black'	ax nuo nuo	ax nuo-jjy-ax nuo / ax nuo-jjy-nuo
chyp hni 'stinky'	chyp hnix hni	chyp hn -jjy-chyp hni / chyp hni-jjy-hni
ce qy 'salty'	ce qyx qy	ce qyx -jjy-ce qyx / ce qyx-jjy-qyx
sha qip 'exhausting'	sha qip qip	sha qip -jjy-sha qip / sha qip-jjy-qip

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

- (21) ມາ ງອປ ຈຸຍ ຈີ ສສິ ສສິ?
 ma gop cyx ji **ssix ssi?**
 lamp DEM CL bright~ALT
 'Does this lamp shine brightly?'

- (22) a. ທຸ ກິ ລຸ ສີ ສີ ຈຸ ຈຸ ຈຸ ຈຸ?
 ngat ix di ggux su **zhut zhut?**
 1P.SG.POSS clothes ART crinkly~ALT
 'Are my clothes crinkly?'

- b. 申出鞋小(小)呢?
 xyx hnie cyx zzip **iet zyr (iet) zyr?**
 shoe DEM CL small~ALT
 ‘Is this pair of shoes small?’
- c. 湖很深呢?
 op rro shur mop **a hxuox hxuo?**
 Xichang lake deep~ALT
 ‘Is the lake of Xichang deep?’

For intensification, the epenthetic infix *-jyy-* is inserted between the base and its reduplicant: A-*jyy*-A, AB-*jyy*-AB or AB-*jyy*-B.

- (23) a. 今天天气很冷。
 ip nyip mo mu **mgo -jyy- mgo.**
 today sky, weather cold very cold
 ‘Today the weather is very cold.’
- b. 我的包很满。
ngat pax shu **jjip -jyy- jjip.**
 1P.SG.POSS bag full very full
 ‘My bag is very full.’
- (24) 我的眼睛很红?
 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 isolation. 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 poultis 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	reddish 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 jjo	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.

- (25) a. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌
 ip nyip mo mu **vut lo lo**.
 today sky green-IDE~EXPR
 ‘Today, the sky is azure.’
- b. 𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖
 nit ka nyuo **hnix zhyr zhyr**.
 2P.SG.POSS face red-IDE~EXPR
 ‘Your face is reddish.’
- c. 𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡
 vit gga yyx cy six **qu zhyr zhyr**.
 clothes wash RES white-IDE~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 categories: AABB, ABAB, 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.

𐄃𐄃𐄃𐄃	dop	dop	zzy	zzy	‘not so good’
	can	can	–	–	(dop dop ‘insufficient’)
𐄇𐄇𐄇𐄇	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 provided in which the second A has the tone sandhi -x.

𐄉𐄉𐄉𐄉	kuop	luo	kuox	luo	‘thornbush; patchwork’
	–	–	–	–	

ABCB

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

单口大口	lit	yy	dat	yy	‘arrogant’
	pharynx	big	pawn	big	
日世日世	pat	shut	mop	shut	‘remember one’s parents’
	father	remember	mother	remember	
巾巾字巾	xy	ggot	lot	ggot	‘muscle ache’
	foot	ache	hand	ache	
条条巾条	ssup	hlit	sha	hlit	‘dry barley and wheat in the sun’
	barley	dry in sun	wheat	dry in sun	
千日日日	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.

口日世日	ke	nrat	hxa	nrat	‘eloquent’
	mouth	nice	tongue	nice	(ke hxa ‘eloquence’)
手日世日	wox	ggur	sat	ggur	‘family members are scared’
	group	scared	–	scared	(wox sat ‘family’)
巾巾日巾	yi	shyt	ga	shyt	‘new farmhouse’
	house	new	steel	new	(yi ga ‘farmhouse’)
日世手巾	qop	zzy	wo	zzy	‘entertain friends’
	friend	receive	group	receive	
日世日世	zha	hxuo	dop	hxuo	‘willing to share food and drinks’
	feed	capable	give drink	capable	
千世日世	syp	hxuo	pox	hxuo	‘talkative’
	talk	capable	show	capable	(syp pox ‘talk freely’)
日世日世	ro	zzi	mo	zzi	‘pretend to be angry’
	taut face	leave over	see	leave over	
日世日世	vo	guo	hxi	guo	‘snowy and frosty weather’
	snow	much	frost	much	

Sometimes, A and C form two independent antonymic words.

日世日世	ot	jjip	tot	jjip	‘easy come easy go’
	downside	become	upside	become	
日世日世	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.

𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼	ke	sat	ddie	sat	‘all the money is distributed’
	mouth	EXH	prepare	EXH	
𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼	jjox	sha	ddie	sha	‘hard life’
	live	poor, tired	prepare	poor, tired	
𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼	shot	nyi	ddie	nyi	‘awareness about one’s shame’
	shame	sit	prepare	sit	
𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼	ssix	pu	ddie	pu	‘rental price (for ox)’
	use	price	prepare	price	
𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼	sso	get	ddie	get	‘be good at studying’
	study	can	prepare	can	
𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼	hmop	yot	ddie	yot	‘play the wrong notes’
	blow	wrong	prepare	wrong	
𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼	vut	sa	ddie	sa	‘easy to turn the grindstone’
	grind	easy	prepare	easy	
𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼	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.

𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼	mot	vit	mot	ggat	‘armor’
	soldier	–	soldier	wear	(vit ggat ‘clothes’)
𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼	jjyx-	mgux	jjyx-	dde	‘mutual love and friendship’
	RECL-	love	RECL-	–	(mgux dde ‘love’)
𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼	na	mup	na	mit	‘individual cases of disease’
	ill	–	ill	–	(mup mit ‘case, circumstance’)
𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼	ka	bbo	ka	pat	‘Creator; origin’
	CLF	father	CLF	father	
𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼	ap-	bbop	ap-	zze	‘no possessions, no consumables’
	NEG-	possess	NEG-	eat	

Some ABAC-idioms are composed of two antonyms B and C.

𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼	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.

豐收 歉收 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.

龍 龍 龍 龍 lu byx lux ji 'folk story idioms'
 dragon - dragon CL (lu byx 'idiom')

ABCD

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

日 日 日 日 rre quo zzax bi 'waste resources'
 money tear down food scatter
 女 女 女 女 xyp xi hni jyx 'wedding'
 bride reach female - xyp xi 'wedding'

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

酒 酒 酒 酒 nry ndo she zze 'feast, regale oneself'
 wine drink meat eat
 病 病 病 病 na ndit mgox zzur 'chronically ill'
 ill attached ache stick up
 頭 頭 頭 頭 o hxi hmy ga 'refuse any advice or task'
 head shake tail drop
 口 口 口 口 ke ssyt nyuo hxi 'naughty'
 mouth bite eye wave

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

頭 頭 頭 頭 o go hmy sat 'from beginning to end'
 head LOC tail EXH (o go 'life'; hmy sat 'end')
 頭 頭 頭 頭 o syr xy shox 'dressed up and decorated'
 head wipe foot clean (syr shox 'sweep')
 上 上 上 上 ot bur tot lie 'turn something upside down'
 downside turn upside turn (bur lie 'turn')

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

心 碎 心 碎 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 components in different ways. I have distinguished 15 cases in this subsection.

A and B are unrelated in meaning

葭 苳 椹 海	ax jji	bbu zza	‘mulberry tree’
	crow	worm as food	
葭 索 罽 帛	ax jju	sha bbur	‘wild cotton’
	fox	sheep wool	
葭 楸 芥 田	ax nyie	hnap bo	‘edible tree fungus’
	cat	ear	
葭 目 巳 非 口	ax pu	yo hlut mop	‘the praying mantis’
	grandfather	sheperd	
葭 卜	bbut	sse	‘reed-pipe wind instrument’
	grass	son	
葭 半 非 米	mga jot	hna bbi	‘cactus’
	buckwheat cake	without nose	
葭 陶 非 虫	a zhat	bbup ddi	‘earthen silkworm’
	magpie	worm	
葭 麻	it	ry	‘corn stove’
	maize	reed, grass	

A and B are figuratively related

葭 卜	bbox	sse	‘small hill’
	mountain	son	
葭 巳	bbo	jjut	‘halfway up a mountain’
	mountain	waist, loins	
葭 中	bbo	xy	‘foot of mountain’
	mountain	foot	
葭 水	yyx	hmy	‘south’
	water	tail	
葭 左 葭 右	ap vy	ax yi	‘careless’
	left	right	

A and B are parallel

𑖀𑖩𑖫𑖬	ax bu grandfather	a vo grand-grandfather	‘ancestors’
𑖠𑖩	pat father	mop mother	‘parents’
𑖀𑖩𑖫𑖬	ap bbo father	ax sse son	‘male members in a family’
𑖀𑖩𑖫𑖬	ap bbo father	ap my daughter	‘father and his daughters’
𑖀𑖩𑖫𑖬	ap mop mother	ap my daughter	‘female members in a family’
𑖀𑖩	bbu worm	shy snake	‘snake’
𑖠𑖫	mu horse	wo bear	‘brown bear’
𑖠𑖫	lat wolf	ke dog	‘wolfdog’
𑖀𑖩	ke mouth	hxa tongue	‘eloquence’
𑖀𑖩	ka mouth	nyuo eye	‘face’
𑖀𑖩	we strength	sot breath	‘diligent, using strength’

A is the material of which B is made

𑖀𑖩	pip board	yi house	‘wooden barrack, wooden house’
𑖀𑖩	lur stone	zhep bowl	‘earthen bowl’
𑖀𑖩𑖫𑖬	chyt nyie goat hair	yiep but cloth	‘wool cloth’
𑖀𑖩𑖫𑖬	shy gold	nrur pop key	‘golden key’

B denotes a part of A

𑖀𑖩𑖫𑖬	i dix clothes	lot hand	‘sleeve’
𑖀𑖩	syr tree	lot hand	‘branch’
𑖀𑖩	ie duck	she meat	‘duck meat’

𠄎 𠄎	bu	ddur	‘sting of hedgehog’
	hedgehog	wing, sting	
𠄎 𠄎	bbut	njip	‘grass root’
	grass	root	

A is the producer of B

𠄎 𠄎	ie	qip	‘duck egg’
	duck	egg	
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	ax bu	bbu dde	‘legend, fairy tale’
	grandfather	story	

A is processed into B

𠄎 𠄎	nda	mox	‘bracken powder’
	bracken	powder	
𠄎 𠄎	zza	mox	‘flour’
	crops	flour	
𠄎 𠄎	sha	mox	‘wheat flour’
	wheat	flour	
𠄎 𠄎	lat	yy	‘tea water’
	tea	water	
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	vap ga	yy	‘rapeseed oil’
	rapeseed plant	water	
𠄎 𠄎	lur	cy	‘oil’
	stone	oil	
𠄎 𠄎	bbut	cy	‘medicine’
	grass	oil	
𠄎 𠄎	lur	si	‘stone coal’
	stone	coal	
𠄎 𠄎	za	si	‘coal’
	earth	coal	
𠄎 𠄎	bbut	xy	‘green manure’
	grass	fertilizer	

A describes the kind or nature of B

𠄎 𠄎	mga	zza	‘buckwheat crops’
	buckwheat	crops	
𠄎 𠄎	lo	mu	‘brumby, wild horse’
	wild environment	horse	
𠄎 𠄎 𠄎	lo	yyx nyi	‘wild buffalo’
	wild environment	buffalo	

B is a unit of A

𠵼	it	ji	'corncob'
	maize	CL	
𠵼	it	jur	'grain of maize'
	maize	core	
𠵼	it	ma	'grain of maize'
	maize	CL	
𠵼	bbur	ma	'letter'
	writing	CL	
𠵼	ssex	zzi	'twins'
	son	CL.pair	

A denotes the body part on which B is worn

𠵼	lot	ggur	'bracelet'
	hand	bracelet	
𠵼	lot	bi	'ring'
	hand	ring	

B is a piece of equipment used in a means of transport, A

𠵼	lo	hly tat hmy sy	'sail'
	ship	sail, big cloth	
𠵼	mu	wat	'saddle'
	horse	saddle	
𠵼	mu	zhuo	'bridle'
	horse	bridle	

B denotes the dwelling or storing place of A

𠵼	lot	yi	'glove'
	hand	house	
𠵼	nyuo	yi	'eyeglasses'
	eye	house	
𠵼	bbur	yi	'shrine'
	idol	house	
𠵼	mot	yi	'army camp, barracks'
	soldier	house	
𠵼	va	ke	'henhouse'
	hen	nest	
𠵼	vot	ho	'pigsty'
	pig	pen	
𠵼	it	jjur	'maize storehouse'
	maize	depot	

A denotes the body part of disease B

𠄎	hnax	bbur	‘sore at the nose’
	nose	sore, ulcer	
𠄎	ke	bbur	‘sore at mouth’
	mouth	sore, ulcer	
𠄎	nyuo	na	‘illness at eyes’
	eye	ill	

B is a representative symbol for A

𠄎	mot	sa	‘(military) flag’
	soldier	seal, mark	
𠄎	vo mu	di nzyp uo tie	‘king’s crown’
	king	crown	

A denotes the sign in Chinese zodiac for time unit B

𠄎 / 𠄎	hxie	hlep / kut	‘month / year of rat’
	mouse; rat	month / year	month of rat ≈ August
𠄎 / 𠄎	nyi	hlep / kut	‘month / year of ox’
	livestock; ox	month / year	month of ox ≈ September
𠄎 / 𠄎	lat	hlep / kut	‘month / year of tiger’
	tiger	month / year	month of tiger ≈ October
𠄎 / 𠄎	tep hlep	hlep / kut	‘month / year of rabbit’
	rabbit	month / year	month of rabbit ≈ November
𠄎 / 𠄎	lu	hlep / kut	‘month / year of dragon’
	dragon	month / year	month of dragon ≈ December
𠄎 / 𠄎	shy	hlep / kut	‘month / year of snake’
	snake	month / year	month of snake ≈ January
𠄎 / 𠄎	mu	hlep / kut	‘month / year of horse’
	horse	month / year	month of horse ≈ February
𠄎 / 𠄎	yo	hlep / kut	‘month / year of sheep’
	sheep	month / year	month of sheep ≈ March
𠄎 / 𠄎	nyut	hlep / kut	‘month / year of monkey’
	monkey	month / year	month of monkey ≈ April
𠄎 / 𠄎	va	hlep / kut	‘month / year of rooster’
	rooster	month / year	month of rooster ≈ May
𠄎 / 𠄎	ke	hlep / kut	‘month / year of dog’
	dog	month / year	month of dog ≈ June
𠄎 / 𠄎	vot	hlep / kut	‘month / year of pig’
	pig	month / year	month of pig ≈ 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

ㄴㅅ	la	hxex	‘wait’
	come	see	
ㅅㅅ	ddie	mga	‘please’
	prepare	pass	
ㄹㅅ	but	ndit	‘courageous’
	dare	stick out	
ㅅㅅ	lyr	mga	‘disturb’
	wrap	pass	

A and B are antonymic

ㅅㅅ	it	dep	‘rise’
	lie	rise	
ㅅㅅㅅㅅ	vup-jjup	vy-lot-mu	‘do business’
	sell-SUFF	buy-hand-do	
ㅅㅅ	li	xi	‘come around to someone’s turn’
	go	arrive	
ㅅㅅㅅ	ggep	qy pur	‘angered because of excessive joke’
	make fun	break off	

A and B are parallel

ㅅㅅ	hxep	hna	‘take care’
	see	listen	
ㅅㅅ	hxo	hxex	‘sustain, nourish’
	nourish	see	
ㅅㅅ	jjip	qot	‘change’
	become	change	
ㅅㅅ	nbot	hat	‘hide’
	hide	cover	
ㅅㅅ	ju	hmox	‘rule’
	manage	govern	
ㅅㅅ	dop	sat	‘direct’
	point at	point toward	
ㅅㅅ	du	dex	‘emit, produce’
	raise	rise	
ㅅㅅ	ly	hmot	‘request, ask for’
	want, request	beg	
ㅅㅅ	gut	gep	‘give heartfelt support, approve of’
	support	add	

B denotes resultative state of A

听	hna	cie	‘hear clearly’
	hear	clear	
尊敬	hxep	yy	‘greatly respect’
	regard	big	
吃饱	gep	jjip	‘become full, complete’
	add	full	
吃饱	zze	nbur	‘eat one’s fill’
	eat	full up	
成熟	hmip	mga	‘overripe’
	ripe	pass	

4.4.3 Mixed compounds

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

A is noun and B is verb

动手	lot	jjip	‘spring into action’
	hand	become	
休息	xyx	ne	‘rest’
	foot	rest	
喜欢	hxie	vur	‘like, love’
	heart	enter	
算	re	sot	‘account’ (v.)
	money	count	
开锁	nrur	pop	‘key’
	lock (n.)	open	
干活	nyop	mu	‘do farming work’
	profession	do	
贵	pu	jjo	‘expensive’
	price	have	
出来	bbux	ddur	‘East’
	sun	come out	

A is noun and B is classifier

豆	nur	ji	‘soybean pod’
	soybean	CL	
刺	chu	bbo	‘thornbush’
	thorn	CL	
墓	dip	bbo	‘tomb, grave’
	bury	CL	

𠃉 𠃉	vix	bbo	'load'
	load, bundle	CL	
𠃉 𠃉	syr	bbo	'tree'
	wood, tree	CL	
⑩ 𠃉	gup	ma	'bead of sweat'
	sweat	CL	
𠃉 𠃉	lyp	ma	'grain of seed'
	seed	CL	
𠃉 𠃉	syr	qi	'leaf'
	wood, tree	CL	
𠃉 𠃉	dut	zi	'torch, flambeau'
	fire	CL	
𠃉 𠃉	yy	jjur	'spring'
	water	CL	
𠃉 𠃉	hxix	gur	'appearance, profile'
	outside	CL	

A is verb and B is classifier

𠃉 𠃉	yur	nyip	'birthday'
	be born	CL.day	
𠃉 𠃉	ngop	jix	'thought'
	think	CL	
𠃉 𠃉	sat	ma	'mark, symbol'
	point at	CL	
𠃉 𠃉	bbur	ma	'letter'
	write	CL	
𠃉 𠃉	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 determiner 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	<i>su</i>

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

Bare noun			N			
Numeral			N	NUM		CL'
Quantifier	(most)		N	QUANT		CL'
	(special)		N			CL' <i>mu</i>
	(special)		N	<i>cyp</i>		CL <i>zzix ap zzi</i>
Adjective	(left)	ADJ-su	N			
	(left)	ADJ-su	N			CL'
	(right)		N	ADJ		CL'
	(right)		N	ADJ-su		
Relativisation	(left)	RC-su	N			
	(left)	RC-su	N			CL'
	(right)		N	RC		CL'
	(right)		N	RC-su		
Demonstrative			N		DEM	CL
Definite			N			CL* <i>su</i>
Indefinite			N			CL
Possessive			N _{PR} N _{PE}			

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:*
- relative + possessor + noun + adjective + relative + classifier
 clause + component + noun + component + clause + component

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

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

- b. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇

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 mid-tone [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 *ma* 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 *ma*, 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).

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).

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 *ma* (section B) can be involved for all numbers. Several examples of the human classifier *ma* are provided in (4).

- (4) a. 一个人 b. 三个人
 co cyp **ma** co suo **yuo**
 person NUM.1 CL person NUM.3 CL
 ‘one person’ ‘three persons’
- c. 八个女人 d. 七个牧师
 si hni hxit **yuop** bi mox shyp **yuot**
 woman NUM.8 CL priest NUM.7 CL
 ‘eight women’ ‘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 *zzi* ‘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. 一只手 b. 两只袖子
 lot cyp **pot** i dix lot ke nyip **pot**
 hand NUM.1 CL sleeve NUM.2 CL
 ‘one hand’ ‘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 classifier 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. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃
syp vo cyp **bbo**
peach NUM.1 CL
‘one peach tree’
- b. 𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇
hxa bit nyip **bbo**
vegetable NUM.2 CL
‘two vegetable plants’
- c. 𐄈𐄉𐄊
ce cyp **bbo**
salt NUM.1 CL
‘one bag of salt’
- d. 𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎
bbut cy suo **bbo**
medicine NUM.3 CL
‘three bags of medicine’
- e. 𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒
lur mat nyip **bbo**
stone NUM.2 CL
‘two piles of stones’
- f. 𐄓𐄔𐄕
vo suo **bbo**
snow NUM.3 CL
‘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’	jyy ‘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’	zhiep 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’

- (7) a. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃 b. 𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇
 bbu shy cyp **ji** yit nyip **ji**
 snake NUM.1 CL needle NUM.2 CL
 ‘one snake’ ‘two needles’

- (8) a. 𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋 b. 𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏
 le ly **ji** shy suo **ji**
 ox NUM.4 CL gold NUM.3 CL
 ‘four oxen’ ‘three gold bars’

- (9) a. 𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓 b. 𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘
 mu zyr cyp **ji** li yot jjux nyip **ji**
 thunder NUM.1 CL mistake NUM.2 CL
 ‘four thunderclaps’ ‘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 *gu* 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. ມຸຂ໌ດຊ໌
 mux dde ly **jot** sha suo **jot**
 land NUM.4 CL millet NUM.3 CL
 ‘four pieces of land’ ‘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 classifier *qi* 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, *ma*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’	lur mat ‘stone, rock’	hmyx shy ‘sand’
bap nip ‘clay’	syr juo ‘forest’	shy ‘gold’
qu ‘silver’	jy ‘copper’	she ddu ‘steel’
bbap ga ‘village’	ce ‘salt’	jie shat ‘street’
jie yi ‘prison’	hnap bbi ‘nose’	gop bo ‘body’
i qi ‘head’	ip mo ‘belly’	co mo ‘corpse’
hxie mat ‘heart’	mu ‘horse’	yo ‘sheep’
chyt ‘goat’	ke ‘dog’	vot ‘pig’
ax nyie ‘cat’	ap help ‘hare’	va ‘hen’
ie ‘duck’	op ‘goose’	ssyt ‘tiger’
lat hni ‘lion’	wo ‘bear’	tap hly ‘dove’
ax hxie ‘mouse’	ke rra ‘sparrow’	lat mop ‘wolf’
ax jju ‘fox’	hxie zyr ‘bird’	bbu sse ‘gnat’
uox ba ‘frog’	bbut vup ‘ant’	iji ‘bee’
syr zza ‘fruit’	syp vo ‘peach’	hly vo ‘cherry’
syp ndat ‘pear’	syp hmi ‘nut’	che ‘rice’
chex nyo ‘glutinous rice’	lyp ma ‘seedling’	sha ‘millet’
jju ‘oats’	sax le ‘cotton’	yiep yot ‘potato’
niep ga ‘pumpkin’	huo se ‘peanut’	mup ly ‘sesame’
nur ma ‘bean’	hmu ‘mushroom’	che ma ‘rice’
she ‘meat’	va qip ‘egg’	uo tie ‘turban’
fup jip ‘button’	uop lur ‘hat’	o kup ‘pillow’
yi ‘house’	lix ti ‘storied building’	hox ho sse ‘box’
ciép yiet ‘thing’	zhuop zyr ‘table’	it ggo ‘bed’
hlut bbup ‘umbrella’	bbur ma ‘character’	biex qie ‘dance’
yiet hxop ‘song’	zy ly ‘bell’	nyit cy ‘demon’
yyr hla ‘spirit’	hmi ‘name’	iet muop ‘dream’
te kop ‘time’		

(11) a. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅

bbox sse ly **ma**
 mountain NUM.4 CL
 ‘four mountains’

b. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅

hmyx shy suo **ma**
 sand NUM.3 CL
 ‘three grains of sand’

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>c. 𑄎𑄗𑄚𑄜</p> <p>jjy nyip ma
 copper NUM.2 CL
 ‘two pieces of copper’</p> | <p>d. 𑄎𑄗𑄚𑄜</p> <p>jie shat cyp ma
 street NUM.1 CL
 ‘one street’</p> |
| <p>e. 𑄎𑄗𑄚𑄜</p> <p>biex qie nge ma
 dance NUM.5 CL
 ‘five dances’</p> | <p>f. 𑄎𑄗𑄚𑄜</p> <p>nyit cy hxit ma
 demon NUM.8 CL
 ‘eight demons’</p> |

The classifier *nzy* 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 materials. 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. 𑄎𑄗𑄚𑄜 b. 𑄎𑄗𑄚𑄜
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>hmyx shy ly zha
 sand NUM.4 CL
 ‘four grains of sand’</p> | <p>zza nyip zha
 food NUM.2 CL
 ‘two tiny bits of food’</p> |
|---|--|

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 classifiers 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’
 jyj 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’

- (13) a. 𐌆𐌐𐌌𐌔𐌔 b. 𐌖𐌊𐌛𐌔𐌔
 ddop ma hxit **go** lu byx nyip **go**
 word NUM.8 CL proverb NUM.2 CL
 ‘eight words’ ‘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 interpretations, the classifier *vit* can occur in different argument slots of the predicate and is a double noun and verb classifier.

- (14) 𐌆𐌔𐌕𐌔𐌕𐌔𐌕𐌔𐌔。
 ma hxa cyp **vit** jjip ox.
 rain NUM.1 VCL.time become DP
 ‘There was a rain shower.’
- (15) 𐌆𐌔𐌕𐌔𐌕𐌔𐌕𐌔𐌔 (𐌔𐌔𐌔) 𐌆𐌔𐌔。
 nga ma hxa cyp **vit** (jjip su) gge ox.
 1P.SG rain NUM.1 VCL.time become NOM hear DP
 ‘I heard a rain shower.’

Similarly, the classifier *tu* ‘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 collection. 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 pronouns and the definite article, see (16c–d).

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (16) a. ㄩㄨㄨㄨ | b. *ㄩㄨㄨㄨ |
| syr bbo cyp gge | *syr bbo nyip gge |
| tree QUANT.some | tree NUM.2 CL |
| ‘some trees’ | Intended meaning: ‘two trees’ |
| c. ㄩㄨㄨ / ㄩㄨㄨ | d. ㄩㄨㄨ |
| syr bbo cyx / a zzyx gge | syr bbo ggex su |
| tree DEM CL | tree ART=CL+NOM |
| ‘these/those trees’ | ‘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 contributes 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’
ji ‘bee’	she ‘meat’	

- (17) a. ㊦ㄩㄣㄣ
 qop bop cyp **wo**
 friend NUM.1 CL.group
 ‘one group of friends’
- b. ㊦ㄩㄣㄣ
 she nyip **wo**
 meat NUM.2 CL.piece
 ‘two pieces of meat’
- c. ㊦ㄩㄣㄣ
 ke suo **wox**
 dog NUM.3 CL.group
 ‘three packs of dogs’
- d. ㊦ㄩㄣㄣ
 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

syrr bbo ‘tree’ bbur ma ‘written character’ che ‘rice’

Classifier: pip ‘row’

Classifieds: tiles

mguox lur ‘tile’ sa pip ‘board, plank’

The classifier *zzi* 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) a. ㊦ㄩㄣㄣ
 lot cyp **zzi**
 hand NUM.1 CL.pair
 ‘one pair of hands’
- b. ㊦ㄩㄣㄣ
 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’

- | | | | | |
|---------|----------------------|----------------|----|-----------------------|
| (19) a. | 𑍇𑍆𑍇𑍆 | | b. | 𑍇𑍆𑍇𑍆 |
| | kep sse cyp | bbur | | hxie zyr ly |
| | puppy | NUM.1 CL.breed | | bird |
| | ‘one breed of puppy’ | | | 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 tokens into a collection (collective classifiers, see section E), or by cutting a part off a whole (partitive classifiers). The following two charts present partitive classifiers, *zip* categorizes storeys of buildings, *bbop* refers to rooms of houses.

- c. #丕米卍
#hnap bbi suo **yiet**
nose NUM.3 CL.kind
'three noses'
- d. #对肚卍
#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 exist. These measures are not borrowed from Chinese, except for *jip* 'pound' (Chinese *jīn* 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 *bu* 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, *bu* is a measure 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. 垂垂卍
viex vie cyp **bu**
flower NUM.1 CL
'one flower'
- b. 非卍卍卍卍卍
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 ti* ‘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 transformed 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 *zhǎn* 盏)

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’

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. | zɛ ²¹ | te ⁵⁴ | zɛ ²¹ | b. | q ^h aŋ ⁴⁵ | ni ⁴⁵ | q ^h aŋ ⁴⁵ |
| | house | NUM.1 | CL.house | | village | NUM.2 | village |
| | ‘one house’ | | | | ‘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.

- (25) a. ʏ ɲɛ ɲɛ
 syr **bbo** cyp **bbo**
 tree NUM.1 CL
 ‘one tree’
- b. ʏ ɲɛ ɲɛ
 syr **qi** nyip **qi**
 leaf NUM.2 CL
 ‘two leaves’
- c. ɲɛ ɲɛ ɲɛ
 dut **zi** suo **zi**
 torch NUM.3 CL
 ‘three torches’

5.2.2 Possession

Although the concept of in/alienability² 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: conceptual distance (small ↔ great) and durability (permanent ↔ 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*: N_{POSSESSOR} + N_{POSSESSEE}

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).

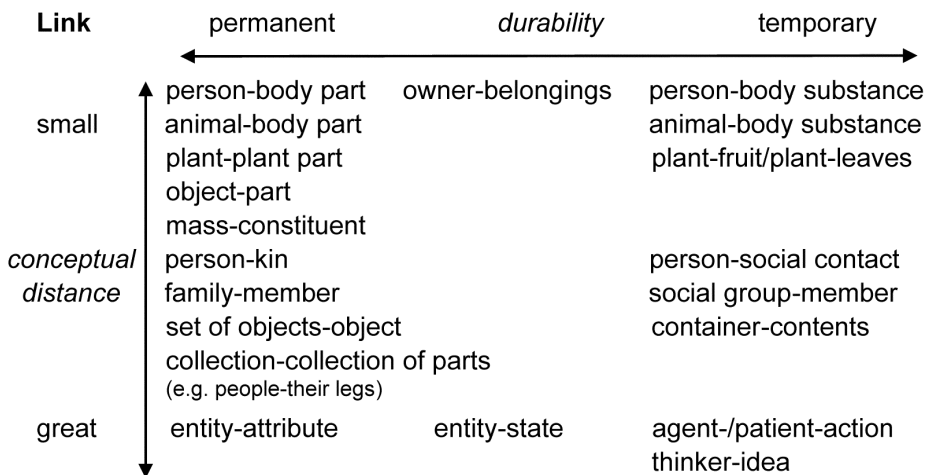


Figure 5.1: A cognitive map of possessor-possessee pairs

The possessor noun always precedes the possessee. The following examples illustrate most possessive relations.

(27) Kinship

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|
| a. | མཉམ་བུ་
cop pat vu
3P.PL uncle
'their uncle' | b. | མི་ལོ་མཉམ་བུ་
ax yi ax da
child father
'the child's father' |
| c. | ངམ་གྱི་མཉམ་བུ་
ngat mu ddix co
1P.SG.POSS hometown
'my hometown' | | |

(28) Person-body part

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| a. | མཉམ་བུ་གྱི་མི་ལོ་
nit nyuo zzyp
2P.SG.POSS eye
'your eye' | b. | ངམ་གྱི་མཉམ་བུ་གྱི་མི་ལོ་
ngat ix yi lot ggur
1P.SG.POSS brother bracelet
'my brother's bracelet' |
|----|--|----|---|

(29) Person-body substance

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|--|
| a. | མཉམ་བུ་གྱི་མཉམ་བུ་
hnip mop uo nyie
sister hair
'the hair of my sister' | b. | མཉམ་བུ་གྱི་མི་ལོ་
cyp nyuo bby
3P.SG.POSS tears
'his tears' |
|----|--|----|--|

- c. ʔᄃᄃᄃ
nit sot ddur
2P.SG.POSS breath
'your breath'
- d. ʔᄃᄃ
cyp sy
3P.SG.POSS blood
'his blood'
- (30) Owner-belongings
- a. ʔᄃᄃᄃ
nop rre zza
2P.PL.POSS assets
'your (pl.) assets'
- b. ʔᄃᄃᄃ
ngat vit gga
1P.SG.POSS clothes
'my clothes'
- (31) Animal-body part
- a. ʔᄃᄃᄃ
ax nyie hna si
small cat head
'the head of the small cat'
- b. ʔᄃᄃᄃ
le a zzyx ji pup shu
ox DEM.DIST CL tail
'the tail of that ox'
- c. ʔᄃᄃᄃ
lat hni rry ma
lion tooth
'the teeth of the lion'
- d. ʔᄃᄃᄃ
uox ba xy li
frog leg
'the legs of that frog'
- (32) Plant-part
ʔᄃᄃᄃ
syr bbo a zzyx bbo njip
tree DEM.DIST CL root
'the root of that tree'
- (33) Plant-renewable part
ʔᄃᄃᄃ
syr bbo bbox su go syr qi
tree ART=CL-DET LOC leaf
'the leaves of the tree'
- (34) Plant-fruit
ʔᄃᄃᄃ
syr bbo a zzyx bbo go max ma
tree DEM.DIST CL LOC fruit
'the fruit of that tree'

(35) Substance-constituent

ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ

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. ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ

jie vi go jiex jie
law LOC prescription
'the prescriptions of the law'

b. ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ

hxo pu go lur mat
mountain LOC stone
'the stones of the mountain'

c. ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ

zhep sse cyx ji go cha zza
bowl DEM.PROX CL LOC rice
'the rice in this bowl'

(37) Entity-attribute

a. ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ

ax pu kut ti
grandfather age
'the age of (my) grandfather'

b. ㄉㄨㄛˊ

cyp jjip jjup
3P.SG.POSS character
'his character'

c. ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ

mup dut ca jjux
fire heat
'the heat of the fire'

d. ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ

nuo su mu pix nzop ndit
Nuosu traditions
'the traditions of the Nuosu people'

e. ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ

zhu zhu pu jiet
pearl price
'the pearl's price'

(38) Person-social contact

ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ

ngat qop bop suo yuo
1P.SG.POSS friend NUM.3 CL
'my three friends'

- (43) a. དྲུག་ལྗང་ལྗང་།
 syx nie su **zzax hxo**
 sticky NOM porridge
 ‘porridge which is sticky (app.)’
- b. ལྗང་ལྗང་ལྗང་།
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.

- (44) a. མཁྱེན་ལྗང་།
 ax nuo su **ke** ma
 black NOM dog CL
 ‘a black dog (app.)’
- b. ཡུ་ལྗང་ལྗང་།
vit gga ax du cyx ggu
 clothes thick DEM.PROX CL
 ‘this thick garment (res.)’
- c. བུ་ལྗང་།
syp hmi bbit ggop ma
 walnut empty CL
 ‘an empty walnut (res.)’
- d. ཅི་ལྗང་ལྗང་།
ssox sse la ry a zzyx ma
 pupil early DEM.DIST CL
 ‘that early pupil (res.)’
- e. ལྗང་ལྗང་།
le she ax vu su
 beef dry NOM
 ‘beef that is dry (res.)’
- f. ལྗང་ལྗང་ལྗང་།
 ax li su **qop bop** max su
 old NOM friend ART
 ‘the long-time friend (app.)’
- g. ལྗང་ལྗང་།
 bbox sho su **yi** ma
 clean NOM house CL
 ‘a clean house (app.)’
- h. ལྗང་ལྗང་།
ji bop ix sho cyx ji
 cord short DEM.PROX CL
 ‘this short cord (res.)’
- i. ལྗང་ལྗང་།
syt we zze jjit
 issue difficult CL
 ‘a difficult issue (res.)’
- j. ལྗང་ལྗང་།
 jjiex mguo su **ddop ma** go
 clear NOM speech CL
 ‘a clear utterance (app.)’
- k. ལྗང་ལྗང་།
ax yi o bbu su
 child intelligent NOM
 ‘intelligent children (res.)’
- l. ལྗང་ལྗང་།
 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 *su*.

- (45) a. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎
vot **cux** su
pig fat NOM
'fat pigs (res.)'
- b. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎
gga mop **hxuox** ji
road slippery CL
'a slippery road (res.)'
- c. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎
co **nbop** su
person good NOM
'good people (res.)'
- d. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎
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. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎
sur sha max su
poor ART=CL-DET
'the poor'
- b. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎
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. 𐄎𐄎𐄎
nuo su
black NOM
'Nuosu (= black) people'
- b. 𐄎𐄎𐄎
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 *ddu* and *dde* have restricted usage as nominalizer (section B). The multiple functions of *su* 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 identity of the referents.

Left-branching relative clauses are *appositive* and do not restrict possible referents. 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 (51a+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. ㄴᄃᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆ
 co nax jjo mgo jjo **su** (Right-branching)
 person illness have illness have NOM
Restrictive: ‘the people who have an illness.’
- b. ㄴᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆ
 nax jjo mgo jjo **su** co (Left-branching)
 illness have illness have NOM person
Nonrestrictive (appositive): ‘the ill people.’

(52) RC built on proper nouns

- a. *ᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆ
 *mu ga nax jjo mgo jjo **su** (Right-branching)
 name illness have illness have NOM
Restrictive: ‘Muga who has an illness.’
- b. ㄴᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆ
 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) RC+su; (Free)
 (ii) RC+su+N; (Appositive)
 (iii) RC+su+N+CL'; (Appositive)
 (iv) N+RC+su; (Restrictive)
 (v) N+RC+CL'. (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.

(64) Wēining Neasu (author's fieldnotes 29-June-1999)

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|--|
| a. | si ³³ t ^h ɔ̃ ³³ dɿ ³³
tree fell NOM
'the instruments for felling a tree' | b. | ŋa ³³ dʒ ²¹ lɿ ²¹ dɿ ³³
bird fly go NOM
'the place to which birds fly' |
|----|--|----|--|

(i) The nominalizer *ddu*

The particle *ddu* nominalizes transitive verbs phrases as headless relative clauses. *Ddu* nominalizes bare verbs as patient nominals and object-verb phrases as instrumental nominals. It was productive at some earlier stage of history and was lexicalized afterwards.

- | | | | |
|---------|---|----|---|
| (65) a. | ʅΨ
zze ddu
eat NOM
'food' | b. | ʁʁΨ
zza zze ddu
food eat NOM
'utensils for eating' |
| c. | ʁΨ
ndo ddu
drink NOM
'drinks' | d. | ʁʁΨ
nry ndo ddu
wine drink NOM
'utensils for drinking wine' |

The particle *ddu* nominalizes the verb *ggat* 'wear' as *clothes*, the verb *ndit* 'wear' as *hat, gloves, shoes* and so forth.

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---|
| e. | ʁΨ
ggat ddu
wear NOM
'clothes' | f. | ʁʁΨ
ndit ddu
wear NOM
'what is worn at extremities of body' |
|----|--|----|---|

Some verbs to which *ddu* is attached have lexicalized meanings.

- | | | | |
|---------|---|----|---|
| (66) a. | ʁΨ
mu ddu
do NOM
'activity' | b. | ʁʁΨ
kop ddie ddu
need NOM
'needs' |
|---------|---|----|---|

Verbs nominalized by *ddu* 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).

- (67) a. 𐺓𐺏𐺖𐺙𐺛𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣?
 nop wox nra **ddu** xix yiet jjo jjo?
 2P.PL measure NOM INT.what CL have~ALT
 ‘What kind of measure do you have?’
- b. 𐺓𐺏𐺖𐺙𐺛𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣
 vap la chyp **ddu** cyp gu
 coat weave NOM NUM.1 CL
 ‘one loom’

The agent of the verb nominalized by *ddu* is expressed as a possessor, in example (67c) by the possessive pronoun *ngat* ‘my’.

- c. 𐺓𐺏𐺖𐺙𐺛𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣。
 ngat ly **ddu** li wep ox.
 1P.SG.POSS request NOM TOP get DP
 ‘My request was granted.’

The morpheme *ddu* can also nominalize stative verbs. In one case, *ddu* can even be attached to the predicate *ap cy* ‘more’ with the sense *advantage*.

- (68) a. 𐺓𐺏𐺖𐺙𐺛𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣?
 ne xix mu jy jie **ddu** jjo?
 2P.SG INT.what do fear NOM have
 ‘Why are you afraid?’
- b. 𐺓𐺏𐺖𐺙𐺛𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣?
 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?’
- c. 𐺓𐺏𐺖𐺙𐺛𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣。
 cy ddie co box **ddu** ap- jjo.
 3P.SG COV.prepare people show NOM NEG- have
 ‘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. $\text{li ngat it nyi gu dde nge.}$
 DEM.PROX TOP 1P.SG.POSS sleep NOM COP
 ‘This is my sleeping place.’
- b. * $\text{li ngat it nyi gu ox dde nge.}$
 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) a. $\text{cop cy shyp six qop bop max su jjoX dde go xi ox.}$
 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. re mop dax dde
 money put NOM
 ‘place to put money’
- c. $\text{co zzax zze dde go nyi ggex su li, hxie mgat nyip}$
 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.’
- d. $\text{cy ma gop ddie ma gop dit dde go dit da.}$
 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 classifier.

- e. $\text{mu ddix cop gox bbo dde ggat su}$
 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

- (71) 𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶

(77) 他走在路上。@X@X。

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.

(78) 你特别生气，尤其对他特别生气，对他特别生气。

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 *su* 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).

(79) a. 关于暴乱，拉提劝他们别灰心。

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. 这些事情都发生了，他们很开心。

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 -jy- kat.
 3P.PL happy very happy

‘All these things happened for the purpose of making them happy.’

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; Sapir 1965: 84–85)
Other (e.g. 60)	Other (e.g. sexagesimal)	Sexagesimal: Ekari (Trans-New Guinea: Indonesia; Drabbe 1952: 30)
Body parts	Extended body-part system (fingers, arm etc.)	Kobon (Trans-New Guinea: Papua; Comrie 2005: 530)
No	Restricted (using only \approx 20 numbers)	Pirahã (Mura in Brazil; 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	555	nge hxa nge ci nge
101	cyp hxa nip cyp	600	fut hxa
111	cyp hxa cix zy	606	fut hxa nip fut
200	nyip hxa	666	fut hxa fut ci fut
202	nyip hxa nip nyip	700	shyp hxa
222	nyip hxa nyip ci nyip	707	shyp hxa nip shyp
300	suo hxa	777	shyp hxa shyp ci shyp
303	suo hxa nip suo	800	hxit hxa
333	suo hxa suo ci suo	808	hxit hxa nip hxit
400	ly hxa	888	hxit hxa hxit ci hxit
404	ly hxa nip ly	900	ggu hxa
444	ly hxa ly ci ly	909	ggu hxa nip ggu
500	nge hxa	999	ggu hxa ggu ci ggu
505	nge hxa nip nge	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 *su* 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 CL*+su is a definite article.

- (82) a. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈
 co cyp **ma max su**
 person NUM.1 CL ART=CL-DET
 ‘the first person’
- b. 𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐
 si hni hxit **yuop yuop su**
 woman NUM.8 CL ART=CL-DET
 ‘the eighth woman’
- c. 𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘
 bi mox shyp **yuot yuot su**
 priest NUM.7 CL ART=CL-DET
 ‘the seventh priest’
- d. 𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠
 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.

- (83) 𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨
 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 *mu* ‘all’ has a wide range of grammatical functions overviewed in section J.

A. The quantifier *mu* ‘whole/all’

The particle *mu* occurs at the right edge of the noun phrase and assumes the function 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 *mu*.

- (84) *The mu-constructions:* (i) N+*mu*
 (ii) N+CL+*mu*

If the noun phrase is a singular count noun or a mass noun, then *mu* conveys the sense of *whole*. If the noun phrase denotes several countable entities, the morpheme *mu* has the sense of *all*.

- (85) a. ཨན་ལྷི་མཚོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 mu di cyx ggat **mu** hnix lo lo.
 cloud DEM.PROX CL QUANT.whole red IDE~EXPR
 ‘This whole cloud is very red.’
- b. རྩ་འགྲུབ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 ip mop max su **mu** ma wa ddur.
 stomach ART=CL-DET QUANT.whole ulcer exit
 ‘The whole stomach is full of ulcers.’
- c. ཨཕ་ལྷི་འོ་ཨོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 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.’
- d. འཇམ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 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.’
- e. སྤོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 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.’

(94) *The zzix ap zzi-construction: N+cyp+CL+zzix ap zzi+mu*

Count and mass nouns alike can occur in this construction provided that a suitable sortal or mensural classifier individualizes them.

- (95) a. མུཊ་འཕྱི་ཚེ་མཁོ་མེད་ལྟ་མཁོ་།
 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.’
- b. ཇུ་མཁོ་འཕྱི་ཚེ་མཁོ་མེད་ལྟ་མཁོ་།
 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.’
- c. འཕྱི་ཚེ་མཁོ་མེད་ལྟ་མཁོ་།
 la dda cyp lo **zzix ap zzi mu** ry jjo.
 valley NUM.1 CL QUANT.every QUANT.all grass have
 ‘Every valley has grass.’
- d. མཁོ་མེད་ལྟ་མཁོ་མེད་ལྟ་མཁོ་།
 uo nyie cyp ji **zzix ap zzi mu** ax nuo.
 hair NUM.1 CL QUANT.every all black
 ‘Every hair is black.’
- e. མཁོ་མེད་ལྟ་མཁོ་མེད་ལྟ་མཁོ་།
 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 sentence-initial position, they may also be found after NPs in second position.

- (96) མཁོ་མེད་ལྟ་མཁོ་མེད་ལྟ་མཁོ་།
 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*.

(97) 丕㊦㊧㊨㊩㊪㊫㊬㊭㊮㊯。

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 *mu*, the *zzix ap zzi*-construction is compatible with the exhaustion particle *sat*, as shown in (98).

(98) ㊰㊱㊲㊳㊴㊵㊶㊷㊸㊹。

co cyp ma **zzix ap zzi** xip mu hxip sat.
 person NUM.1 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: 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).

(100) a. ㊺㊻㊼㊽㊾㊿㊻㊼㊽㊾㊿。

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.’

b. ㊿㊻㊼㊽㊾㊿㊻㊼㊽㊾㊿。

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.’

c. ㊿㊻㊼㊽㊾㊿㊻㊼㊽㊾㊿。

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.’

d. ㊿㊻㊼㊽㊾㊿㊻㊼㊽㊾㊿。

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.’

d. ກິນອື່ນໆບໍ່ມີ.

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. ອື່ນໆບໍ່ເຮັດແລ້ວ.

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).

f. ກິນອື່ນໆຊື້.

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) | N+ <i>ax nyi</i> + <i>gge</i> | (nominal) |
| (ii) | N+ <i>ix nyi nyi gex</i> | (nominal) |
| (iii) | <i>ax nyi</i> / <i>ix nyi</i> + <i>mu</i> +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 *mu*.

(104) a. ລີ່ງຊົນໆມີພູ.

niep sha bbo **ax nyi** **gge** jzip.
Liángshān mountain QUANT.many CL have
'Liángshān has a lot of mountains.'

b. ກິນຫົວໆປາ (*ມູ) ຈຸດ.

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 *mu* connects them to the verbal complex.

- c. 𑌢𑌆𑌘𑌚𑌛𑌜𑌝𑌞𑌟𑌠𑌡𑌢𑌣𑌤𑌥𑌦𑌧𑌨𑌩𑌪𑌫𑌬𑌭𑌮𑌯𑌰𑌱𑌲𑌳𑌴𑌵𑌶𑌷𑌸𑌹𑌺𑌻𑌼𑌽𑌾𑌿𑍀𑍁𑍂𑍃𑍄𑍅𑍆𑍇𑍈𑍉𑍊𑍋𑍌𑍍𑍎𑍏𑍐𑍑𑍒𑍓𑍔𑍕𑍖𑍗𑍘𑍙𑍚𑍛𑍜𑍝𑍞𑍟𑍠𑍡𑍢𑍣𑍤𑍥𑍦𑍧𑍨𑍩𑍪𑍫𑍬𑍭𑍮𑍯𑍰𑍱𑍲𑍳𑍴𑍵𑍶𑍷𑍸𑍹𑍺𑍻𑍼𑍽𑍾𑍿𑎀𑎁𑎂𑎃𑎄𑎅𑎆𑎇𑎈𑎉𑎊𑎋𑎌𑎍𑎎𑎏𑎐𑎑𑎒𑎓𑎔𑎕𑎖𑎗𑎘𑎙𑎚𑎛𑎜𑎝𑎞𑎟𑎠𑎡𑎢𑎣𑎤𑎥𑎦𑎧𑎨𑎩𑎪𑎫𑎬𑎭𑎮𑎯𑎰𑎱𑎲𑎳𑎴𑎵𑎶𑎷𑎸𑎹𑎺𑎻𑎼𑎽𑎾𑎿𑏀𑏁𑏂𑏃𑏄𑏅𑏆𑏇𑏈𑏉𑏊𑏋𑏌𑏍𑏎𑏏𑏐𑏑𑏒𑏓𑏔𑏕𑏖𑏗𑏘𑏙𑏚𑏛𑏜𑏝𑏞𑏟𑏠𑏡𑏢𑏣𑏤𑏥𑏦𑏧𑏨𑏩𑏪𑏫𑏬𑏭𑏮𑏯𑏰𑏱𑏲𑏳𑏴𑏵𑏶𑏷𑏸𑏹𑏺𑏻𑏼𑏽𑏾𑏿𑐀𑐁𑐂𑐃𑐄𑐅𑐆𑐇𑐈𑐉𑐊𑐋𑐌𑐍𑐎𑐏𑐐𑐑𑐒𑐓𑐔𑐕𑐖𑐗𑐘𑐙𑐚𑐛𑐜𑐝𑐞𑐟𑐠𑐡𑐢𑐣𑐤𑐥𑐦𑐧𑐨𑐩𑐪𑐫𑐬𑐭𑐮𑐯𑐰𑐱𑐲𑐳𑐴𑐵𑐶𑐷𑐸𑐹𑐺𑐻𑐼𑐽𑐾𑐿𑑀𑑁𑑂𑑃𑑄𑑅𑑆𑑇𑑈𑑉𑑊𑑋𑑌𑑍𑑎𑑏𑑐𑑑𑑒𑑓𑑔𑑕𑑖𑑗𑑘𑑙𑑚𑑛𑑜𑑝𑑞𑑟𑑠𑑡𑑢𑑣𑑤𑑥𑑦𑑧𑑨𑑩𑑪𑑫𑑬𑑭𑑮𑑯𑑰𑑱𑑲𑑳𑑴𑑵𑑶𑑷𑑸𑑹𑑺𑑻𑑼𑑽𑑾𑑿𑒀𑒁𑒂𑒃𑒄𑒅𑒆𑒇𑒈𑒉𑒊𑒋𑒌𑒍𑒎𑒏𑒐𑒑𑒒𑒓𑒔𑒕𑒖𑒗𑒘𑒙𑒚𑒛𑒜𑒝𑒞𑒟𑒠𑒡𑒢𑒣𑒤𑒥𑒦𑒧𑒨𑒩𑒪𑒫𑒬𑒭𑒮𑒯𑒰𑒱𑒲𑒳𑒴𑒵𑒶𑒷𑒸𑒻𑒻𑒼𑒽𑒾𑒿𑓀𑓁𑓃𑓂𑓄𑓅𑓆𑓇𑓈𑓉𑓊𑓋𑓌𑓍𑓎𑓏𑓐𑓑𑓒𑓓𑓔𑓕𑓖𑓗𑓘𑓙𑓚𑓛𑓜𑓝𑓞𑓟𑓠𑓡𑓢𑓣𑓤𑓥𑓦𑓧𑓨𑓩𑓪𑓫𑓬𑓭𑓮𑓯𑓰𑓱𑓲𑓳𑓴𑓵𑓶𑓷𑓸𑓹𑓺𑓻𑓼𑓽𑓾𑓿𑔀𑔁𑔂𑔃𑔄𑔅𑔆𑔇𑔈𑔉𑔊𑔋𑔌𑔍𑔎𑔏𑔐𑔑𑔒𑔓𑔔𑔕𑔖𑔗𑔘𑔙𑔚𑔛𑔜𑔝𑔞𑔟𑔠𑔡𑔢𑔣𑔤𑔥𑔦𑔧𑔨𑔩𑔪𑔫𑔬𑔭𑔮𑔯𑔰𑔱𑔲𑔳𑔴𑔵𑔶𑔷𑔸𑔹𑔺𑔻𑔼𑔽𑔾𑔿𑕀𑕁𑕂𑕃𑕄𑕅𑕆𑕇𑕈𑕉𑕊𑕋𑕌𑕍𑕎𑕏𑕐𑕑𑕒𑕓𑕔𑕕𑕖𑕗𑕘𑕙𑕚𑕛𑕜𑕝𑕞𑕟𑕠𑕡𑕢𑕣𑕤𑕥𑕦𑕧𑕨𑕩𑕪𑕫𑕬𑕭𑕮𑕯𑕰𑕱𑕲𑕳𑕴𑕵𑕶𑕷𑕸𑕹𑕺𑕻𑕼𑕽𑕾𑕿𑖀𑖁𑖂𑖃𑖄𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐𑖑𑖒𑖓𑖔𑖕𑖖𑖗𑖘𑖙𑖚𑖛𑖜𑖝𑖞𑖟𑖠𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑗀𑖿𑗁𑗂𑗃𑗄𑗅𑗆𑗇𑗈𑗉𑗊𑗋𑗌𑗍𑗎𑗏𑗐𑗑𑗒𑗓𑗔𑗕𑗖𑗗𑗘𑗙𑗚𑗛𑗜𑗝𑗞𑗟𑗠𑗡𑗢𑗣𑗤𑗥𑗦𑗧𑗨𑗩𑗪𑗫𑗬𑗭𑗮𑗯𑗰𑗱𑗲𑗳𑗴𑗵𑗶𑗷𑗸𑗹𑗺𑗻𑗼𑗽𑗾𑗿𑘀𑘁𑘂𑘃𑘄𑘅𑘆𑘇𑘈𑘉𑘊𑘋𑘌𑘍𑘎𑘏𑘐𑘑𑘒𑘓𑘔𑘕𑘖𑘗𑘘𑘙𑘚𑘛𑘜𑘝𑘞𑘟𑘠𑘡𑘢𑘣𑘤𑘥𑘦𑘧𑘨𑘩𑘪𑘫𑘬𑘭𑘮𑘯𑘰𑘱𑘲𑘳𑘴𑘵𑘶𑘷𑘸𑘹𑘺𑘻𑘼𑘽𑘾𑘿𑙀𑙁𑙂𑙃𑙄𑙅𑙆𑙇𑙈𑙉𑙊𑙋𑙌𑙍𑙎𑙏𑙐𑙑𑙒𑙓𑙔𑙕𑙖𑙗𑙘𑙙𑙚𑙛𑙜𑙝𑙞𑙟𑙠𑙡𑙢𑙣𑙤𑙥𑙦𑙧𑙨𑙩𑙪𑙫𑙬𑙭𑙮𑙯𑙰𑙱𑙲𑙳𑙴𑙵𑙶𑙷𑙸𑙹𑙺𑙻𑙼𑙽𑙾𑙿𑚀𑚁𑚂𑚃𑚄𑚅𑚆𑚇𑚈𑚉𑚊𑚋𑚌𑚍𑚎𑚏𑚐𑚑𑚒𑚓𑚔𑚕𑚖𑚗𑚘𑚙𑚚𑚛𑚜𑚝𑚞𑚟𑚠𑚡𑚢𑚣𑚤𑚥𑚦𑚧𑚨𑚩𑚪𑚫𑚬𑚭𑚮𑚯𑚰𑚱𑚲𑚳𑚴𑚵𑚷𑚶𑚸𑚹𑚺𑚻𑚼𑚽𑚾𑚿𑛀𑛁𑛂𑛃𑛄𑛅𑛆𑛇𑛈𑛉𑛊𑛋𑛌𑛍𑛎𑛏𑛐𑛑𑛒𑛓𑛔𑛕𑛖𑛗𑛘𑛙𑛚𑛛𑛜𑛝𑛞𑛟𑛠𑛡𑛢𑛣𑛤𑛥𑛦𑛧𑛨𑛩𑛪𑛫𑛬𑛭𑛮𑛯𑛰𑛱𑛲𑛳𑛴𑛵𑛶𑛷𑛸𑛹𑛺𑛻𑛼𑛽𑛾𑛿𑜀𑜁𑜂𑜃𑜄𑜅𑜆𑜇𑜈𑜉𑜊𑜋𑜌𑜍𑜎𑜏𑜐𑜑𑜒𑜓𑜔𑜕𑜖𑜗𑜘𑜙𑜚𑜛𑜜𑜝𑜞𑜟𑜠𑜡𑜢𑜣𑜤𑜥𑜦𑜧𑜨𑜩𑜪𑜫𑜬𑜭𑜮𑜯𑜰𑜱𑜲𑜳𑜴𑜵𑜶𑜷𑜸𑜹𑜺𑜻𑜼𑜽𑜾𑜿𑝀𑝁𑝂𑝃𑝄𑝅𑝆𑝇𑝈𑝉𑝊𑝋𑝌𑝍𑝎𑝏𑝐𑝑𑝒𑝓𑝔𑝕𑝖𑝗𑝘𑝙𑝚𑝛𑝜𑝝𑝞𑝟𑝠𑝡𑝢𑝣𑝤𑝥𑝦𑝧𑝨𑝩𑝪𑝫𑝬𑝭𑝮𑝯𑝰𑝱𑝲𑝳𑝴𑝵𑝶𑝷𑝸𑝹𑝺𑝻𑝼𑝽𑝾𑝿𑞀𑞁𑞂𑞃𑞄𑞅𑞆𑞇𑞈𑞉𑞊𑞋𑞌𑞍𑞎𑞏𑞐𑞑𑞒𑞓𑞔𑞕𑞖𑞗𑞘𑞙𑞚𑞛𑞜𑞝𑞞𑞟𑞠𑞡𑞢𑞣𑞤𑞥𑞦𑞧𑞨𑞩𑞪𑞫𑞬𑞭𑞮𑞯𑞰𑞱𑞲𑞳𑞴𑞵𑞶𑞷𑞸𑞹𑞺𑞻𑞼𑞽𑞾𑞿𑟀𑟁𑟂𑟃𑟄𑟅𑟆𑟇𑟈𑟉𑟊𑟋𑟌𑟍𑟎𑟏𑟐𑟑𑟒𑟓𑟔𑟕𑟖𑟗𑟘𑟙𑟚𑟛𑟜𑟝𑟞𑟟𑟠𑟡𑟢𑟣𑟤𑟥𑟦𑟧𑟨𑟩𑟪𑟫𑟬𑟭𑟮𑟯𑟰𑟱𑟲𑟳𑟴𑟵𑟶𑟷𑟸𑟹𑟺𑟻𑟼𑟽𑟾𑟿𑠀𑠁𑠂𑠃𑠄𑠅𑠆𑠇𑠈𑠉𑠊𑠋𑠌𑠍𑠎𑠏𑠐𑠑𑠒𑠓𑠔𑠕𑠖𑠗𑠘𑠙𑠚𑠛𑠜𑠝𑠞𑠟𑠠𑠡𑠢𑠣𑠤𑠥𑠦𑠧𑠨𑠩𑠪𑠫𑠬𑠭𑠮𑠯𑠰𑠱𑠲𑠳𑠴𑠵𑠶𑠷𑠸𑠺𑠹𑠻𑠼𑠽𑠾𑠿𑡀𑡁𑡂𑡃𑡄𑡅𑡆𑡇𑡈𑡉𑡊𑡋𑡌𑡍𑡎𑡏𑡐𑡑𑡒𑡓𑡔𑡕𑡖𑡗𑡘𑡙𑡚𑡛𑡜𑡝𑡞𑡟𑡠𑡡𑡢𑡣𑡤𑡥𑡦𑡧𑡨𑡩𑡪𑡫𑡬𑡭𑡮𑡯𑡰𑡱𑡲𑡳𑡴𑡵𑡶𑡷𑡸𑡹𑡺𑡻𑡼𑡽𑡾𑡿𑢀𑢁𑢂𑢃𑢄𑢅𑢆𑢇𑢈𑢉𑢊𑢋𑢌𑢍𑢎𑢏𑢐𑢑𑢒𑢓𑢔𑢕𑢖𑢗𑢘𑢙𑢚𑢛𑢜𑢝𑢞𑢟𑢠𑢡𑢢𑢣𑢤𑢥𑢦𑢧𑢨𑢩𑢪𑢫𑢬𑢭𑢮𑢯𑢰𑢱𑢲𑢳𑢴𑢵𑢶𑢷𑢸𑢹𑢺𑢻𑢼𑢽𑢾𑢿𑣀𑣁𑣂𑣃𑣄𑣅𑣆𑣇𑣈𑣉𑣊𑣋𑣌𑣍𑣎𑣏𑣐𑣑𑣒𑣓𑣔𑣕𑣖𑣗𑣘𑣙𑣚𑣛𑣜𑣝𑣞𑣟𑣠𑣡𑣢𑣣𑣤𑣥𑣦𑣧𑣨𑣩𑣪𑣫𑣬𑣭𑣮𑣯𑣰𑣱𑣲𑣳𑣴𑣵𑣶𑣷𑣸𑣹𑣺𑣻𑣼𑣽𑣾𑣿𑤀𑤁𑤂𑤃𑤄𑤅𑤆𑤇𑤈𑤉𑤊𑤋𑤌𑤍𑤎𑤏𑤐𑤑𑤒𑤓𑤔𑤕𑤖𑤗𑤘𑤙𑤚𑤛𑤜𑤝𑤞𑤟𑤠𑤡𑤢𑤣𑤤𑤥𑤦𑤧𑤨𑤩𑤪𑤫𑤬𑤭𑤮𑤯𑤰𑤱𑤲𑤳𑤴𑤵𑤶𑤷𑤸𑤹𑤺𑤻𑤼𑤽𑤾𑤿𑥀𑥁𑥂𑥃𑥄𑥅𑥆𑥇𑥈𑥉𑥊𑥋𑥌𑥍𑥎𑥏𑥐𑥑𑥒𑥓𑥔𑥕𑥖𑥗𑥘𑥙𑥚𑥛𑥜𑥝𑥞𑥟𑥠𑥡𑥢𑥣𑥤𑥥𑥦𑥧𑥨𑥩𑥪𑥫𑥬𑥭𑥮𑥯𑥰𑥱𑥲𑥳𑥴𑥵𑥶𑥷𑥸𑥹𑥺𑥻𑥼𑥽𑥾𑥿𑦀𑦁𑦂𑦃𑦄𑦅𑦆𑦇𑦈𑦉𑦊𑦋𑦌𑦍𑦎𑦏𑦐𑦑𑦒𑦓𑦔𑦕𑦖𑦗𑦘𑦙𑦚𑦛𑦜𑦝𑦞𑦟𑦠𑦡𑦢𑦣𑦤𑦥𑦦𑦧𑦨𑦩𑦪𑦫𑦬𑦭𑦮𑦯𑦰𑦱𑦲𑦳𑦴𑦵𑦶𑦷𑦸𑦹𑦺𑦻𑦼𑦽𑦾𑦿𑧀𑧁𑧂𑧃𑧄𑧅𑧆𑧇𑧈𑧉𑧊𑧋𑧌𑧍𑧎𑧏𑧐𑧑𑧒𑧓𑧔𑧕𑧖𑧗𑧘𑧙𑧚𑧛𑧜𑧝𑧞𑧟𑧠𑧡𑧢𑧣𑧤𑧥𑧦𑧧𑧨𑧩𑧪𑧫𑧬𑧭𑧮𑧯𑧰𑧱𑧲𑧳𑧴𑧵𑧶𑧷𑧸𑧹𑧺𑧻𑧼𑧽𑧾𑧿𑨀𑨁𑨂𑨃𑨄𑨅𑨆𑨇𑨈𑨉𑨊𑨋𑨌𑨍𑨎𑨏𑨐𑨑𑨒𑨓𑨔𑨕𑨖𑨗𑨘𑨙𑨚𑨛𑨜𑨝𑨞𑨟𑨠𑨡𑨢𑨣𑨤𑨥𑨦𑨧𑨨𑨩𑨪𑨫𑨬𑨭𑨮𑨯𑨰𑨱𑨲𑨳𑨴𑨵𑨶𑨷𑨸𑨹𑨺𑨻𑨼𑨽𑨾𑨿𑩀𑩁𑩂𑩃𑩄𑩅𑩆𑩇𑩈𑩉𑩊𑩋𑩌𑩍𑩎𑩏𑩐𑩑𑩒𑩓𑩔𑩕𑩖𑩗𑩘𑩙𑩚𑩛𑩜𑩝𑩞𑩟𑩠𑩡𑩢𑩣𑩤𑩥𑩦𑩧𑩨𑩩𑩪𑩫𑩬𑩭𑩮𑩯𑩰𑩱𑩲𑩳𑩴𑩵𑩶𑩷𑩸𑩹𑩺𑩻𑩼𑩽𑩾𑩿𑪀𑪁𑪂𑪃𑪄𑪅𑪆𑪇𑪈𑪉𑪊𑪋𑪌𑪍𑪎𑪏𑪐𑪑𑪒𑪓𑪔𑪕𑪖𑪗𑪘𑪙𑪚𑪛𑪜𑪝𑪞𑪟𑪠𑪡𑪢𑪣𑪤𑪥𑪦𑪧𑪨𑪩𑪪𑪫𑪬𑪭𑪮𑪯𑪰𑪱𑪲𑪳𑪴𑪵𑪶𑪷𑪸𑪹𑪺𑪻𑪼𑪽𑪾𑪿𑫀𑫁𑫂𑫃𑫄𑫅𑫆𑫇𑫈𑫉𑫊𑫋𑫌𑫍𑫎𑫏𑫐𑫑𑫒𑫓𑫔𑫕𑫖𑫗𑫘𑫙𑫚𑫛𑫜𑫝𑫞𑫟𑫠𑫡𑫢𑫣𑫤𑫥𑫦𑫧𑫨𑫩𑫪𑫫𑫬𑫭𑫮𑫯𑫰𑫱𑫲𑫳𑫴𑫵𑫶𑫷𑫸𑫹𑫺𑫻𑫼𑫽𑫾𑫿𑬀𑬁𑬂𑬃𑬄𑬅𑬆𑬇𑬈𑬉𑬊𑬋𑬌𑬍𑬎𑬏𑬐𑬑𑬒𑬓𑬔𑬕𑬖𑬗𑬘𑬙𑬚𑬛𑬜𑬝𑬞𑬟𑬠𑬡𑬢𑬣𑬤𑬥𑬦𑬧𑬨𑬩𑬪𑬫𑬬𑬭𑬮𑬯𑬰𑬱𑬲𑬳𑬴𑬵𑬶𑬷𑬸𑬹𑬺𑬻𑬼𑬽𑬾𑬿𑭀𑭁𑭂𑭃𑭄𑭅𑭆𑭇𑭈𑭉𑭊𑭋𑭌𑭍𑭎𑭏𑭐𑭑𑭒𑭓𑭔𑭕𑭖𑭗𑭘𑭙𑭚𑭛𑭜𑭝𑭞𑭟𑭠𑭡𑭢𑭣𑭤𑭥𑭦𑭧𑭨𑭩𑭪𑭫𑭬𑭭𑭮𑭯𑭰𑭱𑭲𑭳𑭴𑭵𑭶𑭷𑭸𑭹𑭺𑭻𑭼𑭽𑭾𑭿𑮀𑮁𑮂𑮃𑮄𑮅𑮆𑮇𑮈𑮉𑮊𑮋𑮌𑮍𑮎𑮏𑮐𑮑𑮒𑮓𑮔𑮕𑮖𑮗𑮘𑮙𑮚𑮛𑮜𑮝𑮞𑮟𑮠𑮡𑮢𑮣𑮤𑮥𑮦𑮧𑮨𑮩𑮪𑮫𑮬𑮭𑮮𑮯𑮰𑮱𑮲𑮳𑮴𑮵𑮶𑮷𑮸𑮹𑮺𑮻𑮼𑮽𑮾𑮿𑯀𑯁𑯂𑯃𑯄𑯅𑯆𑯇𑯈𑯉𑯊𑯋𑯌𑯍𑯎𑯏𑯐𑯑𑯒𑯓𑯔𑯕𑯖𑯗𑯘𑯙𑯚𑯛𑯜𑯝𑯞𑯟𑯠𑯡𑯢𑯣𑯤𑯥𑯦𑯧𑯨𑯩𑯪𑯫𑯬𑯭𑯮𑯯𑯰𑯱𑯲𑯳𑯴𑯵𑯶𑯷𑯸𑯹𑯺𑯻𑯼𑯽𑯾𑯿𑰀𑰁𑰂𑰃𑰄𑰅𑰆𑰇𑰈𑰉𑰊𑰋𑰌𑰍𑰎𑰏𑰐𑰑𑰒𑰓𑰔𑰕𑰖𑰗𑰘𑰙𑰚𑰛𑰜𑰝𑰞𑰟𑰠𑰡𑰢𑰣𑰤𑰥𑰦𑰧𑰨𑰩𑰪𑰫𑰬𑰭𑰮𑰯𑰰𑰱𑰲𑰳𑰴𑰵𑰶𑰷𑰸𑰹𑰺𑰻𑰼𑰽𑰾𑰿𑱀𑱁𑱂𑱃𑱄𑱅𑱆𑱇𑱈𑱉𑱊𑱋𑱌𑱍𑱎𑱏𑱐𑱑𑱒𑱓𑱔𑱕𑱖𑱗𑱘𑱙𑱚𑱛𑱜𑱝𑱞𑱟𑱠𑱡𑱢𑱣𑱤𑱥𑱦𑱧𑱨𑱩𑱪𑱫𑱬𑱭𑱮𑱯𑱰𑱱𑱲𑱳𑱴𑱵𑱶𑱷𑱸𑱹𑱺𑱻𑱼𑱽𑱾𑱿𑲀𑲁𑲂𑲃𑲄𑲅𑲆𑲇𑲈𑲉𑲊𑲋𑲌𑲍𑲎𑲏𑲐𑲑𑲒𑲓𑲔𑲕𑲖𑲗𑲘𑲙𑲚𑲛𑲜𑲝𑲞𑲟𑲠𑲡𑲢𑲣𑲤𑲥𑲦𑲧𑲨𑲩𑲪𑲫𑲬𑲭𑲮𑲯𑲰𑲱𑲲𑲳𑲴𑲵𑲶𑲷𑲸𑲹𑲺𑲻𑲼𑲽𑲾𑲿𑳀𑳁𑳂𑳃𑳄𑳅𑳆𑳇𑳈𑳉𑳊𑳋𑳌𑳍𑳎𑳏𑳐𑳑𑳒𑳓𑳔𑳕𑳖𑳗𑳘𑳙𑳚𑳛𑳜𑳝𑳞𑳟𑳠𑳡𑳢𑳣𑳤𑳥𑳦𑳧𑳨𑳩𑳪𑳫𑳬𑳭𑳮𑳯𑳰𑳱𑳲𑳳𑳴𑳵𑳶𑳷𑳸𑳹𑳺𑳻𑳼𑳽𑳾𑳿𑴀𑴁𑴂𑴃𑴄𑴅𑴆𑴇𑴈𑴉𑴊𑴋𑴌𑴍𑴎𑴏𑴐𑴑𑴒𑴓𑴔𑴕𑴖𑴗𑴘𑴙𑴚𑴛𑴜𑴝𑴞𑴟𑴠𑴡𑴢𑴣𑴤𑴥𑴦𑴧𑴨𑴩𑴪𑴫𑴬𑴭𑴮𑴯𑴰𑴱𑴲𑴳𑴴𑴵𑴶𑴷𑴸𑴹𑴺𑴻𑴼𑴽𑴾𑴿𑵀𑵁𑵂𑵃𑵄𑵅𑵆𑵇𑵈𑵉𑵊𑵋𑵌𑵍𑵎𑵏𑵐𑵑𑵒𑵓𑵔𑵕𑵖𑵗𑵘𑵙𑵚𑵛𑵜𑵝𑵞𑵟𑵠𑵡𑵢𑵣𑵤𑵥𑵦𑵧𑵨𑵩𑵪𑵫𑵬𑵭𑵮𑵯𑵰𑵱𑵲𑵳𑵴𑵵𑵶𑵷𑵸𑵹𑵺𑵻𑵼𑵽𑵾𑵿𑶀𑶁𑶂𑶃𑶄𑶅𑶆𑶇𑶈𑶉𑶊𑶋𑶌𑶍𑶎𑶏𑶐𑶑𑶒𑶓𑶔𑶕𑶖𑶗𑶘𑶙𑶚𑶛𑶜𑶝𑶞𑶟𑶠𑶡𑶢𑶣𑶤𑶥𑶦𑶧𑶨𑶩𑶪𑶫𑶬𑶭𑶮𑶯𑶰𑶱𑶲𑶳𑶴𑶵𑶶𑶷𑶸𑶹𑶺𑶻𑶼𑶽𑶾𑶿𑷀𑷁𑷂𑷃𑷄𑷅𑷆𑷇𑷈𑷉𑷊𑷋𑷌𑷍𑷎𑷏𑷐𑷑𑷒𑷓𑷔𑷕𑷖𑷗𑷘𑷙𑷚𑷛𑷜𑷝𑷞𑷟𑷠𑷡𑷢𑷣𑷤𑷥𑷦𑷧𑷨𑷩𑷪𑷫𑷬𑷭𑷮𑷯𑷰𑷱𑷲𑷳𑷴𑷵𑷶𑷷𑷸𑷹𑷺𑷻𑷼𑷽𑷾𑷿𑸀𑸁𑸂𑸃𑸄𑸅𑸆𑸇𑸈𑸉𑸊𑸋𑸌𑸍𑸎𑸏𑸐𑸑𑸒𑸓𑸔𑸕𑸖𑸗𑸘𑸙𑸚𑸛𑸜𑸝𑸞𑸟𑸠𑸡𑸢𑸣𑸤𑸥𑸦𑸧𑸨𑸩𑸪𑸫𑸬𑸭𑸮𑸯𑸰𑸱𑸲𑸳𑸴𑸵𑸶𑸷𑸸𑸹𑸺𑸻𑸼𑸽𑸾𑸿𑹀𑹁𑹂𑹃𑹄𑹅𑹆𑹇𑹈𑹉𑹊𑹋𑹌𑹍𑹎𑹏𑹐𑹑𑹒𑹓𑹔𑹕𑹖𑹗𑹘𑹙𑹚𑹛𑹜𑹝𑹞𑹟𑹠𑹡𑹢𑹣𑹤𑹥𑹦𑹧𑹨𑹩𑹪𑹫𑹬𑹭𑹮𑹯𑹰𑹱𑹲𑹳𑹴𑹵𑹶𑹷𑹸𑹹𑹺𑹻𑹼𑹽𑹾𑹿𑺀𑺁𑺂𑺃𑺄𑺅𑺆𑺇𑺈𑺉𑺊𑺋𑺌𑺍𑺎𑺏𑺐𑺑𑺒𑺓𑺔𑺕𑺖𑺗𑺘𑺙𑺚𑺛𑺜𑺝𑺞𑺟𑺠𑺡𑺢𑺣𑺤𑺥𑺦𑺧𑺨𑺩𑺪𑺫𑺬𑺭𑺮𑺯𑺰𑺱𑺲𑺳𑺴𑺵𑺶𑺷𑺸𑺹𑺺𑺻𑺼𑺽𑺾𑺿𑻀𑻁𑻂𑻃𑻄𑻅𑻆𑻇𑻈𑻉𑻊𑻋𑻌𑻍𑻎𑻏𑻐𑻑𑻒𑻓𑻔𑻕𑻖𑻗𑻘𑻙𑻚𑻛𑻜𑻝𑻞𑻟𑻠𑻡𑻢𑻣𑻤𑻥𑻦𑻧𑻨𑻩𑻪𑻫𑻬𑻭𑻮𑻯𑻰𑻱𑻲𑻳𑻴𑻵𑻶𑻷𑻸𑻹𑻺𑻻𑻼𑻽𑻾𑻿𑼀𑼁𑼂𑼃𑼄𑼅𑼆𑼇𑼈𑼉𑼊𑼋𑼌𑼍𑼎𑼏𑼐𑼑𑼒𑼓𑼔𑼕𑼖𑼗𑼘𑼙𑼚𑼛

(111) *The ax di-constructions:*

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|---|------------------------------|
| (i) | ax di di+su+N | } | NP-internal: |
| (ii) | ax di di+su+N+CL' | | left-branching, appositive |
| (iii) | N+ax di di+su | } | NP-internal: |
| (iv) | N+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)

a. འཇམ་དེ་དེ་སུ་བུ་རྒྱུ་མཚན་གྱི་མཉམ་པོ་ལྟོས་ཤིང་།

sse **ax di di** su bbur ma sso bbo.

son only NOM character learn go

'The unique son is attending school (he is unique in the family).'

NP-internal (left-branching)

b. འཇམ་དེ་དེ་སུ་བུ་རྒྱུ་མཚན་གྱི་མཉམ་པོ་ལྟོས་ཤིང་།

ax di di su sse bbur ma sso bbo.

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)

a. འཇམ་དེ་དེ་སུ་བུ་རྒྱུ་མཚན་གྱི་མཉམ་པོ་ལྟོས་ཤིང་།

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)

b. *འཇམ་དེ་དེ་སུ་བུ་རྒྱུ་མཚན་གྱི་མཉམ་པོ་ལྟོས་ཤིང་།

*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) NP-internal (right-branching)
- a. རྩོམ་ཕྱི་ལོ་ལྟོ་གཞི་
ax di di su hxo bbu
 only NOM sun
 ‘the sun that is alone (in the sky)’
- b. *ལྟོ་གཞི་རྩོམ་ཕྱི་ལོ་
 *hxo bbu **ax di di** su
 sun NOM NOM
 ‘the unique sun’

If *ax di* is attached after a bare noun, it can be interpreted as noun or verb quantifier. The uniqueness may refer to the property of the noun or of the verb.

- (115) NP-internal / NP-external
- a. རྩོམ་ཕྱི་ལོ་གཞི་ལྟོ་གཞི་
 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. རྩོམ་ཕྱི་ལོ་གཞི་ལྟོ་གཞི་
 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. མུ་ཇེ་ལྟོ་གཞི་ལྟོ་གཞི་
 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 *ax di* and *ax di di mu*. The form *ax di* can target noun phrases in any argument role. *Ax di di mu* only aims at agents.

- (116) a. ལྟོ་གཞི་ལྟོ་གཞི་
 cy **ax di** vot she zze.
 3P.SG alone pork eat
 ‘He alone eats pork.’
- b. ལྟོ་གཞི་ལྟོ་གཞི་མུ་ཇེ་
 cy **ax di di mu** vot she zze.
 3P.SG alone ADVL pork eat
 ‘He alone eats pork.’

- (117) a. ལེ་བཅའ་ལྷོ་ཤིང་ལྟེ་
 cy vot she **ax di** zze.
 3P.SG pork alone eat
 ‘He only eats pork.’
- b. *ལེ་བཅའ་ལྷོ་ཤིང་ཤིང་ལྟེ་
 *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. ལྟེ་ལྷོ་ཤིང་ལྟེ་ལྟེ་
 nga **ax di** syt cyp jjit mu.
 1P.SG alone matter NUM.1 CL do
 ‘I alone did one thing.’
- b. ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ལྷོ་ཤིང་ལྟེ་
 nga syt cyp jjit **ax di** mu.
 1P.SG matter NUM.1 CL only do
 ‘I only did one thing.’
- c. *ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ལྷོ་ཤིང་ལྟེ་ལྟེ་
 *nga 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 *ax di* after a temporal NP has the function to emphasize the short duration of the time stretch.

- (119) ལེ་ལྟེ་ལྷོ་ཤིང་ལྟེ་
 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) N+ax nyi yix nyi+NUM+CL ‘at most’
(ii) N+ix 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) a. 这个男人在60岁以内。

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

b. 这个女人年龄在60岁以上。

si hni cyx ma kut ti **ix nyi yix nyi** fut ci kut jjo.
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*.

(122) a. 需要超过五车的泥。

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.’

b. 碗里超过五块的肉。

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) 两个都不一样。

cyp nyit **jjy-** **ap-** **sup**.
3P.DL RECL- NEG- resemble
‘Both are different.’

- (126) a. མཚོ་ལོ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་།
 cop wox nyop **mu**.
 3P.PL labor do
 ‘They work.’
- b. ལོ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་།
 nyop **mu** co
 work do person
 ‘Peasant’

(ii) As quantifier *mu* ‘whole/all’

The meaning of collective universal quantifier is analyzed in detail in section 5.3.2.A. Here again an example.

- (127) མི་མི་མི་མི་མི་།
 co cyx gge **mu** la.
 person DEM.PROX CL QUANT.all come
 ‘All the people came.’

(iii) As adverbializer *mu* and *mu da*

The string *mu* links adverbial expressions to the verb (section 9.1.3.A). Moreover, *mu* combines with the perfect particle *ta* (section 7.7.1.B) to form *mu da* that can substitute *mu* without difference in meaning.

- (128) a. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 nji **mu / mu da** zze!
 quick ADVL eat
 ‘Eat quickly!’
- b. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 fu zzi ax yy **mu / mu da** hxip!
 voice big ADVL speak
 ‘Speak louder!’
- c. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 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. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 dde dde **mu**
 no meaning
 ‘often’
- b. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 ap nryr **mu**
 honest
 ‘really’
- c. མཚོ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་།
 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 *mu da* (though not *mu* 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 *mu*.⁶

- (130) (….) 刈竹園字謂H刈H。

 (...) cy sip jit tuo -jyy- 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 *mu* 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 *mu*, as shown in (131d).

- (131) a. 刈肉非食H肉非食。

 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.’
- b. 例年昨日向H去H樂能至。

 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.’
- c. 例年向客去H非H街。

 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.’
- d. *刈肉非食H肉非食。

 *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).

- (132) a. $\text{vut ga si nip at gop nyix jgy gex bbur ma sso.}$
 name and name NUM.2 together writing system study
 'Vuga and Ago both study the writing system.'
- b. $\text{nga yiet yot si nip mge fu hxie vur.}$
 1P.SG potato and buckwheat cake like
 'I like potatoes and buckwheat.'
- c. $\text{nga tep yy ddie mu gox si nip vut ga bbyx.}$
 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. $\text{vut ga、 at go、 mu jie、 (*si nip) mu ga jgy gex dep la.}$
 name name name and name together rise come
 'Vuga, Ago, Mujie and Muga stood up together.'
- b. $\text{cy le she、 vot she、 (*si nip) va she ap- zze.}$
 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.

- (134) a. $\text{ssox sse si nip hmat mop ly yuo}$
 pupil and teacher NUM.4 CL
 'four pupils and teachers' (= group of four with at least one pupil and one teacher)
- b. $\text{*co cyx si nip a zzyx ma}$
 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.

- (135) a. * $\text{v}^{\text{it}} \text{gga} \text{ cyx} \quad \text{ggu} \text{ a shyt} \text{ si nip} \quad \text{pux liex guo}$
 clothes DEM.PROX CL new CONJ.and expensive
 Intended meaning: ‘new and expensive clothes’
- b. $\text{v}^{\text{it}} \text{gga} \text{ cyx} \quad \text{ggu} \text{ shyt} \text{ nyi} \text{ a shyt, pux} \text{ nyi} \text{ liex guo}$
 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.

- (136) a. $\text{cyx} \text{ si nip} \text{ cyp} \quad \text{qop bop} \text{ jyy gex} \quad \text{ggap mox} \text{ go} \text{ njuo}$
 3P.SG CONJ 3P.SG.POSS friend together road LOC walk
 ‘He and his friends are walking on the road.’
- b. $\text{cyx} \text{ cyp} \quad \text{qop bop} \text{ si nip} \text{ jyy gex} \quad \text{ggap mox} \text{ go} \text{ njuo}$
 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 *jyy-*, the postposition *si nip* marks the NP with which the primary S- or A-argument has a relationship of reciprocity.

- (137) a. $\text{nga} \text{ ngat} \quad \text{ix yi} \quad \text{si nip} \text{ jyyx-nzur-jyyx-yie}$
 1P.SG 1P.SG.POSS brother POST RECL-angry-RECL-angry
 ‘I am angry with my younger brother.’
- b. $\text{ne} \text{ cy} \quad \text{si nip} \text{ jyy-sux} \quad \text{mu} \text{ sso} \text{ jjix} \text{ ddep lox}$
 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	O	Emphatic (S/A)	Possessive adnominal	Possessive 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

(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 *op* must depend on a secondary speaker (SOURCE).

The logophors *i* and *op* 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 (152b+c).

- (152) a. $\text{H}\text{t}_1 \text{ H}\text{m}_2 \text{ } \text{F}\text{p}\text{z}\text{h}_1 \text{ } \text{J}\text{o}\text{x} \text{ h}\text{x}\text{i}\text{p} \text{ g}\text{o} \text{ } \text{i}_{1/*2/*3} \text{ b}\text{b}\text{o} \text{ o}\text{x} \text{ d}\text{d}\text{i}\text{x}.$
 male name male name to say SENT.TOP LOG.SG go DP QUOT
 ‘Lati₁ told Munyo₂ that he_{1/*2/*3} had already left.’
- b. $\text{H}\text{t}_1 \text{ H}\text{m}_2 \text{ } \text{F}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}_1 \text{ } \text{J}\text{o}\text{x} \text{ h}\text{x}\text{i}\text{p} \text{ g}\text{o} \text{ } \text{i}_{*1/2/*3} \text{ b}\text{b}\text{o} \text{ o}\text{x} \text{ d}\text{d}\text{i}\text{x}.$
 male name male name from STP hear SENT.TOP LOG.SG go DP QUOT
 ‘Lati₁ heard from Munyo₂ that he_{*1/2/*3} had already left.’
- c. $\text{H}\text{t}_1 \text{ H}\text{m}_2 \text{ } \text{d}\text{F}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}_1 \text{ } \text{J}\text{o}\text{x} \text{ h}\text{x}\text{i}\text{p} \text{ g}\text{o} \text{ } \text{op}_{*1/2/*3} \text{ b}\text{b}\text{o} \text{ o}\text{x} \text{ d}\text{d}\text{i}\text{x}.$
 male name male name from STP hear SENT.TOP LOG.PL go DP QUOT
 ‘Lati₁ heard from Munyo₂ 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).

- (153) a. $\text{H}\text{X}_1 \text{ p}\text{z}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}_2 \text{ } \text{J}\text{o}\text{x} \text{ h}\text{x}\text{i}\text{p} \text{ g}\text{o} \text{ } \text{L}\text{a}\text{h}\text{a}_2 \text{ } \text{i}\text{x}_1 \text{ n}\text{z}\text{u}\text{r} \text{ j}\text{o}\text{x} \text{ j}\text{j}\text{i}\text{p} \text{ o}\text{x} \text{ d}\text{d}\text{i}\text{x}.$
 male name say SENT.TOP male name LOG.SG hate POEP DP QUOT
 ‘Muga₁ said that Laha₂ might hate him₁.’
- b. $\text{W}\text{p}_1 \text{ p}\text{z}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}_2 \text{ } \text{J}\text{o}\text{x} \text{ h}\text{x}\text{i}\text{p} \text{ g}\text{o} \text{ } \text{c}\text{o}\text{p} \text{ w}\text{o}\text{x}_2 \text{ } \text{i}\text{x}_1 \text{ y}\text{y} \text{ d}\text{d}\text{i} \text{ m}\text{u} \text{ d}\text{a} \text{ l}\text{a}$
 male name say SENT.TOP 3P.PL LOG.SG because CONJ come
 su nge ddix.
 NOM COP QUOT
 ‘Lupo₁ said that they₂ would come because of him₁.’

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.

- (154) a. 𠵼𠵼₁𠵼𠵼₂𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼_{*1/2/3}𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。
lat ti₁ mu nyox₂ jox hxip go **cy_{*1/2/3}** bbo ox ddix.
 male name male name to say SENT.TOP 3P.SG go DP QUOT
 ‘Lati₁ told Munyo₂ that he_{*1/2/3} had already left.’
- b. 𠵼𠵼₁𠵼𠵼₂𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼_{1/*2/3}𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。
 lat ti₁ **mu nyox₂** ddix da gge go **cop wox_{1/*2/3}** bbo ox ddix.
 name male name from STP hear SENT.TOP 3P.PL go DP QUOT
 ‘Lati₁ heard from Munyo₂ that they_{1/*2/3} had already left.’

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

- (155) a. *𠵼𠵼₁𠵼𠵼₂𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼_{*1/*2/*3}𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。
 ***lat ti₁** mu nyox₂ jox hxip go **zyt jie_{*1/*2/*3}** bbo ox ddix.
 male name male name to say SENT.TOP REFL go DP QUOT
 ‘Lati₁ told Munyo₂ that he himself_{*1/*2/*3} had already left.’
- b. 𠵼𠵼₁𠵼𠵼₂𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼_{1/*2/*3}𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。
 lat ti₁ **mu nyox₂** ddix da gge go **zyt jie_{1/*2/*3}** bbo
 male name male name from STP hear SENT.TOP LOG.SG go
 ox ddix.
 DP QUOT
 ‘Lati₁ heard from Munyo₂ 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.

- (157) a. *𠵼_{*1}𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼_{*1}𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。
 ***nga_{*1}** hxip go **i_{*1}** ko wex ox mu.
 1P.SG say SENT.TOP LOG.SG pass exam DP ADVL
 ‘I_{*1} said that I_{*1} had passed the exam.’

- b. X_2 ᠬᠢ _{1/*2/*3} ᠨᠠᠳ 。
 cy₂ **ix**_{1/*2/*3} hxep yy.
 3P.SG LOG.SG respect
 ‘(Adje₁ said that) he₂ 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 singular-plural logophor pairs. The reflexive anaphor *zyt jie* should track the logophor in simple clauses, as in (162d).

- (162) a. * ᠬᠢ ᠮᠤ ᠨᠠᠳ ᠬᠢ ᠨᠠᠳ 。
 ***lu ti**₁ hxip go **i**₁ **ix**_{*1} hxep yy ddix.
 male name say SENT.TOP LOG.SG LOG.SG respect QUOT
 ‘*Ludi₁ said that he₁ respects himself_{*1}.’
- b. * ᠬᠢ ᠮᠤ ᠨᠠᠳ ᠬᠢ ᠨᠠᠳ 。
 ***lu ti**₁ hxip go **op**₁ **op**_{*1} hxep yy ddix.
 male name say SENT.TOP LOG.PL LOG.PL respect QUOT
 ‘*Ludi₁ said that they₁ respect themselves_{*1}.’
- c. * ᠬᠢ ᠮᠤ ᠨᠠᠳ ᠬᠢ ᠨᠠᠳ 。
 ***lu ti**₁ hxip go **i**₁ **op**_{*1} hxep yy ddix.
 male name say SENT.TOP LOG.SG LOG.PL respect QUOT
 ‘*Ludi₁ said that he₁ respects them_{*1}.’
- d. ᠬᠢ ᠮᠤ ᠨᠠᠳ ᠬᠢ ᠨᠠᠳ 。
lu ti₁ hxip go **i**₁ **zyt jie**₁ hxep yy ddix.
 male name say SENT.TOP LOG.SG REFL respect QUOT
 ‘Ludi₁ said that he₁ respects himself₁.’

(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.

- (164) 𑄀𑄁𑄂𑄃𑄄𑄅, 𑄆𑄇𑄈𑄉𑄊𑄋𑄌𑄍𑄎𑄏𑄐𑄑𑄒𑄓𑄔𑄕𑄖𑄗𑄘𑄙𑄚𑄛𑄜𑄝𑄞𑄟𑄠𑄡𑄢𑄣𑄤𑄥𑄦𑄧𑄨𑄩𑄪𑄫𑄬𑄭𑄮𑄯𑄰𑄱𑄲𑄳𑄴𑄵𑄶𑄷𑄸𑄹𑄺𑄻𑄼𑄽𑄾𑄿𑅀𑅁𑅂𑅃𑅄𑅅𑅆𑅇𑅈𑅉𑅊𑅋𑅌𑅍𑅎𑅏𑅐𑅑𑅒𑅓𑅔𑅕𑅖𑅗𑅘𑅙𑅚𑅛𑅜𑅝𑅞𑅟𑅠𑅡𑅢𑅣𑅤𑅥𑅦𑅧𑅨𑅩𑅪𑅫𑅬𑅭𑅮𑅯𑅰𑅱𑅲𑅳𑅴𑅵𑅶𑅷𑅸𑅹𑅺𑅻𑅼𑅽𑅾𑅿𑆀𑆁𑆂𑆃𑆄𑆅𑆆𑆇𑆈𑆉𑆊𑆋𑆌𑆍𑆎𑆏𑆐𑆑𑆒𑆓𑆔𑆕𑆖𑆗𑆘𑆙𑆚𑆛𑆜𑆝𑆞𑆟𑆠𑆡𑆢𑆣𑆤𑆥𑆦𑆧𑆨𑆩𑆪𑆫𑆬𑆭𑆮𑆯𑆰𑆱𑆲𑆳𑆴𑆵𑆶𑆷𑆸𑆹𑆺𑆻𑆼𑆽𑆾𑆿𑇀𑇁𑇂𑇃𑇄𑇅𑇆𑇇𑇈𑇉𑇊𑇋𑇌𑇍𑇎𑇏𑇐𑇑𑇒𑇓𑇔𑇕𑇖𑇗𑇘𑇙𑇚𑇛𑇜𑇝𑇞𑇟𑇠𑇡𑇢𑇣𑇤𑇥𑇦𑇧𑇨𑇩𑇪𑇫𑇬𑇭𑇮𑇯𑇰𑇱𑇲𑇳𑇴𑇵𑇶𑇷𑇸𑇹𑇺𑇻𑇼𑇽𑇾𑇿𑈀𑈁𑈂𑈃𑈄𑈅𑈆𑈇𑈈𑈉𑈊𑈋𑈌𑈍𑈎𑈏𑈐𑈑𑈒𑈓𑈔𑈕𑈖𑈗𑈘𑈙𑈚𑈛𑈜𑈝𑈞𑈟𑈠𑈡𑈢𑈣𑈤𑈥𑈦𑈧𑈨𑈩𑈪𑈫𑈬𑈭𑈮𑈯𑈰𑈱𑈲𑈳𑈴𑈶𑈵𑈷𑈸𑈹𑈺𑈻𑈼𑈽𑈾𑈿𑉀𑉁𑉂𑉃𑉄𑉅𑉆𑉇𑉈𑉉𑉊𑉋𑉌𑉍𑉎𑉏𑉐𑉑𑉒𑉓𑉔𑉕𑉖𑉗𑉘𑉙𑉚𑉛𑉜𑉝𑉞𑉟𑉠𑉡𑉢𑉣𑉤𑉥𑉦𑉧𑉨𑉩𑉪𑉫𑉬𑉭𑉮𑉯𑉰𑉱𑉲𑉳𑉴𑉵𑉶𑉷𑉸𑉹𑉺𑉻𑉼𑉽𑉾𑉿𑊀𑊁𑊂𑊃𑊄𑊅𑊆𑊇𑊈𑊉𑊊𑊋𑊌𑊍𑊎𑊏𑊐𑊑𑊒𑊓𑊔𑊕𑊖𑊗𑊘𑊙𑊚𑊛𑊜𑊝𑊞𑊟𑊠𑊡𑊢𑊣𑊤𑊥𑊦𑊧𑊨𑊩𑊪𑊫𑊬𑊭𑊮𑊯𑊰𑊱𑊲𑊳𑊴𑊵𑊶𑊷𑊸𑊹𑊺𑊻𑊼𑊽𑊾𑊿𑋀𑋁𑋂𑋃𑋄𑋅𑋆𑋇𑋈𑋉𑋊𑋋𑋌𑋍𑋎𑋏𑋐𑋑𑋒𑋓𑋔𑋕𑋖𑋗𑋘𑋙𑋚𑋛𑋜𑋝𑋞𑋟𑋠𑋡𑋢𑋣𑋤𑋥𑋦𑋧𑋨𑋩𑋪𑋫𑋬𑋭𑋮𑋯𑋰𑋱𑋲𑋳𑋴𑋵𑋶𑋷𑋸𑋹𑋺𑋻𑋼𑋽𑋾𑋿𑌀𑌁𑌂𑌃𑌄𑌅𑌆𑌇𑌈𑌉𑌊𑌋𑌌𑌍𑌎𑌏𑌐𑌑𑌒𑌓𑌔𑌕𑌖𑌗𑌘𑌙𑌚𑌛𑌜𑌝𑌞𑌟𑌠𑌡𑌢𑌣𑌤𑌥𑌦𑌧𑌨𑌩𑌪𑌫𑌬𑌭𑌮𑌯𑌰𑌱𑌲𑌳𑌴𑌵𑌶𑌷𑌸𑌹𑌺𑌻𑌼𑌽𑌾𑌿𑍀𑍁𑍂𑍃𑍄𑍅𑍆𑍇𑍈𑍉𑍊𑍋𑍌𑍍𑍎𑍏𑍐𑍑𑍒𑍓𑍔𑍕𑍖𑍗𑍘𑍙𑍚𑍛𑍜𑍝𑍞𑍟𑍠𑍡𑍢𑍣𑍤𑍥𑍦𑍧𑍨𑍩𑍪𑍫𑍬𑍭𑍮𑍯𑍰𑍱𑍲𑍳𑍴𑍵𑍶𑍷𑍸𑍹𑍺𑍻𑍼𑍽𑍾𑍿𑎀𑎁𑎂𑎃𑎄𑎅𑎆𑎇𑎈𑎉𑎊𑎋𑎌𑎍𑎎𑎏𑎐𑎑𑎒𑎓𑎔𑎕𑎖𑎗𑎘𑎙𑎚𑎛𑎜𑎝𑎞𑎟𑎠𑎡𑎢𑎣𑎤𑎥𑎦𑎧𑎨𑎩𑎪𑎫𑎬𑎭𑎮𑎯𑎰𑎱𑎲𑎳𑎴𑎵𑎶𑎷𑎸𑎹𑎺𑎻𑎼𑎽𑎾𑎿𑏀𑏁𑏂𑏃𑏄𑏅𑏆𑏇𑏈𑏉𑏊𑏋𑏌𑏍𑏎𑏏𑏐𑏑𑏒𑏓𑏔𑏕𑏖𑏗𑏘𑏙𑏚𑏛𑏜𑏝𑏞𑏟𑏠𑏡𑏢𑏣𑏤𑏥𑏦𑏧𑏨𑏩𑏪𑏫𑏬𑏭𑏮𑏯𑏰𑏱𑏲𑏳𑏴𑏵𑏶𑏷𑏸𑏹𑏺𑏻𑏼𑏽𑏾𑏿𑐀𑐁𑐂𑐃𑐄𑐅𑐆𑐇𑐈𑐉𑐊𑐋𑐌𑐍𑐎𑐏𑐐𑐑𑐒𑐓𑐔𑐕𑐖𑐗𑐘𑐙𑐚𑐛𑐜𑐝𑐞𑐟𑐠𑐡𑐢𑐣𑐤𑐥𑐦𑐧𑐨𑐩𑐪𑐫𑐬𑐭𑐮𑐯𑐰𑐱𑐲𑐳𑐴𑐵𑐶𑐷𑐸𑐹𑐺𑐻𑐼𑐽𑐾𑐿𑑀𑑁𑑂𑑃𑑄𑑅𑑆𑑇𑑈𑑉𑑊𑑋𑑌𑑍𑑎𑑏𑑐𑑑𑑒𑑓𑑔𑑕𑑖𑑗𑑘𑑙𑑚𑑛𑑜𑑝𑑞𑑟𑑠𑑡𑑢𑑣𑑤𑑥𑑦𑑧𑑨𑑩𑑪𑑫𑑬𑑭𑑮𑑯𑑰𑑱𑑲𑑳𑑴𑑵𑑶𑑷𑑸𑑹𑑺𑑻𑑼𑑽𑑾𑑿𑒀𑒁𑒂𑒃𑒄𑒅𑒆𑒇𑒈𑒉𑒊𑒋𑒌𑒍𑒎𑒏𑒐𑒑𑒒𑒓𑒔𑒕𑒖𑒗𑒘𑒙𑒚𑒛𑒜𑒝𑒞𑒟𑒠𑒡𑒢𑒣𑒤𑒥𑒦𑒧𑒨𑒩𑒪𑒫𑒬𑒭𑒮𑒯𑒰𑒱𑒲𑒳𑒴𑒵𑒶𑒷𑒸𑒻𑒻𑒼𑒽𑒾𑒿𑓀𑓁𑓃𑓂𑓄𑓅𑓆𑓇𑓈𑓉𑓊𑓋𑓌𑓍𑓎𑓏𑓐𑓑𑓒𑓓𑓔𑓕𑓖𑓗𑓘𑓙𑓚𑓛𑓜𑓝𑓞𑓟𑓠𑓡𑓢𑓣𑓤𑓥𑓦𑓧𑓨𑓩𑓪𑓫𑓬𑓭𑓮𑓯𑓰𑓱𑓲𑓳𑓴𑓵𑓶𑓷𑓸𑓹𑓺𑓻𑓼𑓽𑓾𑓿𑔀𑔁𑔂𑔃𑔄𑔅𑔆𑔇𑔈𑔉𑔊𑔋𑔌𑔍𑔎𑔏𑔐𑔑𑔒𑔓𑔔𑔕𑔖𑔗𑔘𑔙𑔚𑔛𑔜𑔝𑔞𑔟𑔠𑔡𑔢𑔣𑔤𑔥𑔦𑔧𑔨𑔩𑔪𑔫𑔬𑔭𑔮𑔯𑔰𑔱𑔲𑔳𑔴𑔵𑔶𑔷𑔸𑔹𑔺𑔻𑔼𑔽𑔾𑔿𑕀𑕁𑕂𑕃𑕄𑕅𑕆𑕇𑕈𑕉𑕊𑕋𑕌𑕍𑕎𑕏𑕐𑕑𑕒𑕓𑕔𑕕𑕖𑕗𑕘𑕙𑕚𑕛𑕜𑕝𑕞𑕟𑕠𑕡𑕢𑕣𑕤𑕥𑕦𑕧𑕨𑕩𑕪𑕫𑕬𑕭𑕮𑕯𑕰𑕱𑕲𑕳𑕴𑕵𑕶𑕷𑕸𑕹𑕺𑕻𑕼𑕽𑕾𑕿𑖀𑖁𑖂𑖃𑖄𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐𑖑𑖒𑖓𑖔𑖕𑖖𑖗𑖘𑖙𑖚𑖛𑖜𑖝𑖞𑖟𑖠𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑗀𑖿𑗁𑗂𑗃𑗄𑗅𑗆𑗇𑗈𑗉𑗊𑗋𑗌𑗍𑗎𑗏𑗐𑗑𑗒𑗓𑗔𑗕𑗖𑗗𑗘𑗙𑗚𑗛𑗜𑗝𑗞𑗟𑗠𑗡𑗢𑗣𑗤𑗥𑗦𑗧𑗨𑗩𑗪𑗫𑗬𑗭𑗮𑗯𑗰𑗱𑗲𑗳𑗴𑗵𑗶𑗷𑗸𑗹𑗺𑗻𑗼𑗽𑗾𑗿𑘀𑘁𑘂𑘃𑘄𑘅𑘆𑘇𑘈𑘉𑘊𑘋𑘌𑘍𑘎𑘏𑘐𑘑𑘒𑘓𑘔𑘕𑘖𑘗𑘘𑘙𑘚𑘛𑘜𑘝𑘞𑘟𑘠𑘡𑘢𑘣𑘤𑘥𑘦𑘧𑘨𑘩𑘪𑘫𑘬𑘭𑘮𑘯𑘰𑘱𑘲𑘳𑘴𑘵𑘶𑘷𑘸𑘹𑘺𑘻𑘼𑘽𑘾𑘿𑙀𑙁𑙂𑙃𑙄𑙅𑙆𑙇𑙈𑙉𑙊𑙋𑙌𑙍𑙎𑙏𑙐𑙑𑙒𑙓𑙔𑙕𑙖𑙗𑙘𑙙𑙚𑙛𑙜𑙝𑙞𑙟𑙠𑙡𑙢𑙣𑙤𑙥𑙦𑙧𑙨𑙩𑙪𑙫𑙬𑙭𑙮𑙯𑙰𑙱𑙲𑙳𑙴𑙵𑙶𑙷𑙸𑙹𑙺𑙻𑙼𑙽𑙾𑙿𑚀𑚁𑚂𑚃𑚄𑚅𑚆𑚇𑚈𑚉𑚊𑚋𑚌𑚍𑚎𑚏𑚐𑚑𑚒𑚓𑚔𑚕𑚖𑚗𑚘𑚙𑚚𑚛𑚜𑚝𑚞𑚟𑚠𑚡𑚢𑚣𑚤𑚥𑚦𑚧𑚨𑚩𑚪𑚫𑚬𑚭𑚮𑚯𑚰𑚱𑚲𑚳𑚴𑚵𑚷𑚶𑚸𑚹𑚺𑚻𑚼𑚽𑚾𑚿𑛀𑛁𑛂𑛃𑛄𑛅𑛆𑛇𑛈𑛉𑛊𑛋𑛌𑛍𑛎𑛏𑛐𑛑𑛒𑛓𑛔𑛕𑛖𑛗𑛘𑛙𑛚𑛛𑛜𑛝𑛞𑛟𑛠𑛡𑛢𑛣𑛤𑛥𑛦𑛧𑛨𑛩𑛪𑛫𑛬𑛭𑛮𑛯𑛰𑛱𑛲𑛳𑛴𑛵𑛶𑛷𑛸𑛹𑛺𑛻𑛼𑛽𑛾𑛿𑜀𑜁𑜂𑜃𑜄𑜅𑜆𑜇𑜈𑜉𑜊𑜋𑜌𑜍𑜎𑜏𑜐𑜑𑜒𑜓𑜔𑜕𑜖𑜗𑜘𑜙𑜚𑜛𑜜𑜝𑜞𑜟𑜠𑜡𑜢𑜣𑜤𑜥𑜦𑜧𑜨𑜩𑜪𑜫𑜬𑜭𑜮𑜯𑜰𑜱𑜲𑜳𑜴𑜵𑜶𑜷𑜸𑜹𑜺𑜻𑜼𑜽𑜾𑜿𑝀𑝁𑝂𑝃𑝄𑝅𑝆𑝇𑝈𑝉𑝊𑝋𑝌𑝍𑝎𑝏𑝐𑝑𑝒𑝓𑝔𑝕𑝖𑝗𑝘𑝙𑝚𑝛𑝜𑝝𑝞𑝟𑝠𑝡𑝢𑝣𑝤𑝥𑝦𑝧𑝨𑝩𑝪𑝫𑝬𑝭𑝮𑝯𑝰𑝱𑝲𑝳𑝴𑝵𑝶𑝷𑝸𑝹𑝺𑝻𑝼𑝽𑝾𑝿𑞀𑞁𑞂𑞃𑞄𑞅𑞆𑞇𑞈𑞉𑞊𑞋𑞌𑞍𑞎𑞏𑞐𑞑𑞒𑞓𑞔𑞕𑞖𑞗𑞘𑞙𑞚𑞛𑞜𑞝𑞞𑞟𑞠𑞡𑞢𑞣𑞤𑞥𑞦𑞧𑞨𑞩𑞪𑞫𑞬𑞭𑞮𑞯𑞰𑞱𑞲𑞳𑞴𑞵𑞶𑞷𑞸𑞹𑞺𑞻𑞼𑞽𑞾𑞿𑟀𑟁𑟂𑟃𑟄𑟅𑟆𑟇𑟈𑟉𑟊𑟋𑟌𑟍𑟎𑟏𑟐𑟑𑟒𑟓𑟔𑟕𑟖𑟗𑟘𑟙𑟚𑟛𑟜𑟝𑟞𑟟𑟠𑟡𑟢𑟣𑟤𑟥𑟦𑟧𑟨𑟩𑟪𑟫𑟬𑟭𑟮𑟯𑟰𑟱𑟲𑟳𑟴𑟵𑟶𑟷𑟸𑟹𑟺𑟻𑟼𑟽𑟾𑟿𑠀𑠁𑠂𑠃𑠄𑠅𑠆𑠇𑠈𑠉𑠊𑠋𑠌𑠍𑠎𑠏𑠐𑠑𑠒𑠓𑠔𑠕𑠖𑠗𑠘𑠙𑠚𑠛𑠜𑠝𑠞𑠟𑠠𑠡𑠢𑠣𑠤𑠥𑠦𑠧𑠨𑠩𑠪𑠫𑠬𑠭𑠮𑠯𑠰𑠱𑠲𑠳𑠴𑠵𑠶𑠷𑠸𑠺𑠹𑠻𑠼𑠽𑠾𑠿𑡀𑡁𑡂𑡃𑡄𑡅𑡆𑡇𑡈𑡉𑡊𑡋𑡌𑡍𑡎𑡏𑡐𑡑𑡒𑡓𑡔𑡕𑡖𑡗𑡘𑡙𑡚𑡛𑡜𑡝𑡞𑡟𑡠𑡡𑡢𑡣𑡤𑡥𑡦𑡧𑡨𑡩𑡪𑡫𑡬𑡭𑡮𑡯𑡰𑡱𑡲𑡳𑡴𑡵𑡶𑡷𑡸𑡹𑡺𑡻𑡼𑡽𑡾𑡿𑢀𑢁𑢂𑢃𑢄𑢅𑢆𑢇𑢈𑢉𑢊𑢋𑢌𑢍𑢎𑢏𑢐𑢑𑢒𑢓𑢔𑢕𑢖𑢗𑢘𑢙𑢚𑢛𑢜𑢝𑢞𑢟𑢠𑢡𑢢𑢣𑢤𑢥𑢦𑢧𑢨𑢩𑢪𑢫𑢬𑢭𑢮𑢯𑢰𑢱𑢲𑢳𑢴𑢵𑢶𑢷𑢸𑢹𑢺𑢻𑢼𑢽𑢾𑢿𑣀𑣁𑣂𑣃𑣄𑣅𑣆𑣇𑣈𑣉𑣊𑣋𑣌𑣍𑣎𑣏𑣐𑣑𑣒𑣓𑣔𑣕𑣖𑣗𑣘𑣙𑣚𑣛𑣜𑣝𑣞𑣟𑣠𑣡𑣢𑣣𑣤𑣥𑣦𑣧𑣨𑣩𑣪𑣫𑣬𑣭𑣮𑣯𑣰𑣱𑣲𑣳𑣴𑣵𑣶𑣷𑣸𑣹𑣺𑣻𑣼𑣽𑣾𑣿𑤀𑤁𑤂𑤃𑤄𑤅𑤆𑤇𑤈𑤉𑤊𑤋𑤌𑤍𑤎𑤏𑤐𑤑𑤒𑤓𑤔𑤕𑤖𑤗𑤘𑤙𑤚𑤛𑤜𑤝𑤞𑤟𑤠𑤡𑤢𑤣𑤤𑤥𑤦𑤧𑤨𑤩𑤪𑤫𑤬𑤭𑤮𑤯𑤰𑤱𑤲𑤳𑤴𑤵𑤶𑤷𑤸𑤹𑤺𑤻𑤼𑤽𑤾𑤿𑥀𑥁𑥂𑥃𑥄𑥅𑥆𑥇𑥈𑥉𑥊𑥋𑥌𑥍𑥎𑥏𑥐𑥑𑥒𑥓𑥔𑥕𑥖𑥗𑥘𑥙𑥚𑥛𑥜𑥝𑥞𑥟𑥠𑥡𑥢𑥣𑥤𑥥𑥦𑥧𑥨𑥩𑥪𑥫𑥬𑥭𑥮𑥯𑥰𑥱𑥲𑥳𑥴𑥵𑥶𑥷𑥸𑥹𑥺𑥻𑥼𑥽𑥾𑥿𑦀𑦁𑦂𑦃𑦄𑦅𑦆𑦇𑦈𑦉𑦊𑦋𑦌𑦍𑦎𑦏𑦐𑦑𑦒𑦓𑦔𑦕𑦖𑦗𑦘𑦙𑦚𑦛𑦜𑦝𑦞𑦟𑦠𑦡𑦢𑦣𑦤𑦥𑦦𑦧𑦨𑦩𑦪𑦫𑦬𑦭𑦮𑦯𑦰𑦱𑦲𑦳𑦴𑦵𑦶𑦷𑦸𑦹𑦺𑦻𑦼𑦽𑦾𑦿𑧀𑧁𑧂𑧃𑧄𑧅𑧆𑧇𑧈𑧉𑧊𑧋𑧌𑧍𑧎𑧏𑧐𑧑𑧒𑧓𑧔𑧕𑧖𑧗𑧘𑧙𑧚𑧛𑧜𑧝𑧞𑧟𑧠𑧡𑧢𑧣𑧤𑧥𑧦𑧧𑧨𑧩𑧪𑧫𑧬𑧭𑧮𑧯𑧰𑧱𑧲𑧳𑧴𑧵𑧶𑧷𑧸𑧹𑧺𑧻𑧼𑧽𑧾𑧿𑨀𑨁𑨂𑨃𑨄𑨅𑨆𑨇𑨈𑨉𑨊𑨋𑨌𑨍𑨎𑨏𑨐𑨑𑨒𑨓𑨔𑨕𑨖𑨗𑨘𑨙𑨚𑨛𑨜𑨝𑨞𑨟𑨠𑨡𑨢𑨣𑨤𑨥𑨦𑨧𑨨𑨩𑨪𑨫𑨬𑨭𑨮𑨯𑨰𑨱𑨲𑨳𑨴𑨵𑨶𑨷𑨸𑨹𑨺𑨻𑨼𑨽𑨾𑨿𑩀𑩁𑩂𑩃𑩄𑩅𑩆𑩇𑩈𑩉𑩊𑩋𑩌𑩍𑩎𑩏𑩐𑩑𑩒𑩓𑩔𑩕𑩖𑩗𑩘𑩙𑩚𑩛𑩜𑩝𑩞𑩟𑩠𑩡𑩢𑩣𑩤𑩥𑩦𑩧𑩨𑩩𑩪𑩫𑩬𑩭𑩮𑩯𑩰𑩱𑩲𑩳𑩴𑩵𑩶𑩷𑩸𑩹𑩺𑩻𑩼𑩽𑩾𑩿𑪀𑪁𑪂𑪃𑪄𑪅𑪆𑪇𑪈𑪉𑪊𑪋𑪌𑪍𑪎𑪏𑪐𑪑𑪒𑪓𑪔𑪕𑪖𑪗𑪘𑪙𑪚𑪛𑪜𑪝𑪞𑪟𑪠𑪡𑪢𑪣𑪤𑪥𑪦𑪧𑪨𑪩𑪪𑪫𑪬𑪭𑪮𑪯𑪰𑪱𑪲𑪳𑪴𑪵𑪶𑪷𑪸𑪹𑪺𑪻𑪼𑪽𑪾𑪿𑫀𑫁𑫂𑫃𑫄𑫅𑫆𑫇𑫈𑫉𑫊𑫋𑫌𑫍𑫎𑫏𑫐𑫑𑫒𑫓𑫔𑫕𑫖𑫗𑫘𑫙𑫚𑫛𑫜𑫝𑫞𑫟𑫠𑫡𑫢𑫣𑫤𑫥𑫦𑫧𑫨𑫩𑫪𑫫𑫬𑫭𑫮𑫯𑫰𑫱𑫲𑫳𑫴𑫵𑫶𑫷𑫸𑫹𑫺𑫻𑫼𑫽𑫾𑫿𑬀𑬁𑬂𑬃𑬄𑬅𑬆𑬇𑬈𑬉𑬊𑬋𑬌𑬍𑬎𑬏𑬐𑬑𑬒𑬓𑬔𑬕𑬖𑬗𑬘𑬙𑬚𑬛𑬜𑬝𑬞𑬟𑬠𑬡𑬢𑬣𑬤𑬥𑬦𑬧𑬨𑬩𑬪𑬫𑬬𑬭𑬮𑬯𑬰𑬱𑬲𑬳𑬴𑬵𑬶𑬷𑬸𑬹𑬺𑬻𑬼𑬽𑬾𑬿𑭀𑭁𑭂𑭃𑭄𑭅𑭆𑭇𑭈𑭉𑭊𑭋𑭌𑭍𑭎𑭏𑭐𑭑𑭒𑭓𑭔𑭕𑭖𑭗𑭘𑭙𑭚𑭛𑭜𑭝𑭞𑭟𑭠𑭡𑭢𑭣𑭤𑭥𑭦𑭧𑭨𑭩𑭪𑭫𑭬𑭭𑭮𑭯𑭰𑭱𑭲𑭳𑭴𑭵𑭶𑭷𑭸𑭹𑭺𑭻𑭼𑭽𑭾𑭿𑮀𑮁𑮂𑮃𑮄𑮅𑮆𑮇𑮈𑮉𑮊𑮋𑮌𑮍𑮎𑮏𑮐𑮑𑮒𑮓𑮔𑮕𑮖𑮗𑮘𑮙𑮚𑮛𑮜𑮝𑮞𑮟𑮠𑮡𑮢𑮣𑮤𑮥𑮦𑮧𑮨𑮩𑮪𑮫𑮬𑮭𑮮𑮯𑮰𑮱𑮲𑮳𑮴𑮵𑮶𑮷𑮸𑮹𑮺𑮻𑮼𑮽𑮾𑮿𑯀𑯁𑯂𑯃𑯄𑯅𑯆𑯇𑯈𑯉𑯊𑯋𑯌𑯍𑯎𑯏𑯐𑯑𑯒𑯓𑯔𑯕𑯖𑯗𑯘𑯙𑯚𑯛𑯜𑯝𑯞𑯟𑯠𑯡𑯢𑯣𑯤𑯥𑯦𑯧𑯨𑯩𑯪𑯫𑯬𑯭𑯮𑯯𑯰𑯱𑯲𑯳𑯴𑯵𑯶𑯷𑯸𑯹𑯺𑯻𑯼𑯽𑯾𑯿𑰀𑰁𑰂𑰃𑰄𑰅𑰆𑰇𑰈𑰉𑰊𑰋𑰌𑰍𑰎𑰏𑰐𑰑𑰒𑰓𑰔𑰕𑰖𑰗𑰘𑰙𑰚𑰛𑰜𑰝𑰞𑰟𑰠𑰡𑰢𑰣𑰤𑰥𑰦𑰧𑰨𑰩𑰪𑰫𑰬𑰭𑰮𑰯𑰰𑰱𑰲𑰳𑰴𑰵𑰶𑰷𑰸𑰹𑰺𑰻𑰼𑰽𑰾𑰿𑱀𑱁𑱂𑱃𑱄𑱅𑱆𑱇𑱈𑱉𑱊𑱋𑱌𑱍𑱎𑱏𑱐𑱑𑱒𑱓𑱔𑱕𑱖𑱗𑱘𑱙𑱚𑱛𑱜𑱝𑱞𑱟𑱠𑱡𑱢𑱣𑱤𑱥𑱦𑱧𑱨𑱩𑱪𑱫𑱬𑱭𑱮𑱯𑱰𑱱𑱲𑱳𑱴𑱵𑱶𑱷𑱸𑱹𑱺𑱻𑱼𑱽𑱾𑱿𑲀𑲁𑲂𑲃𑲄𑲅𑲆𑲇𑲈𑲉𑲊𑲋𑲌𑲍𑲎𑲏𑲐𑲑𑲒𑲓𑲔𑲕𑲖𑲗𑲘𑲙𑲚𑲛𑲜𑲝𑲞𑲟𑲠𑲡𑲢𑲣𑲤𑲥𑲦𑲧𑲨𑲩𑲪𑲫𑲬𑲭𑲮𑲯𑲰𑲱𑲲𑲳𑲴𑲵𑲶𑲷𑲸𑲹𑲺𑲻𑲼𑲽𑲾𑲿𑳀𑳁𑳂𑳃𑳄𑳅𑳆𑳇𑳈𑳉𑳊𑳋𑳌𑳍𑳎𑳏𑳐𑳑𑳒𑳓𑳔𑳕𑳖𑳗𑳘𑳙𑳚𑳛𑳜𑳝𑳞𑳟𑳠𑳡

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 (167a+b). The pronoun can also depend on the SELF (in addition to exophoric reference possibilities) but not on the SOURCE, see (167c).

- (167) a. $H_{1/2}$ $mu\ jy_1$ $hxip$ go , $ax\ ga_2$ $i_{1/2}$ $tep\ yy$ bi
 male name say SENT.TOP female name LOG.SG book read
 xi mgu ddix.
 hope QUOT
 ‘Mudje₁ said that Aga₂ hoped that he_{1/2} would attend school.’
- b. $H_{1/2}$ $mu\ jy_1$ $hxip$ go $ax\ ga_2$ $zyt\ jie_{1/2}$ $tep\ yy$ bi
 male name say SENT.TOP female name REFL book read
 xi mgu ddix.
 hope QUOT
 ‘Mudje₁ said that Aga₂ hoped that she_{1/2} would attend school.’
- c. $H_{1/2}$ $mu\ jy_1$ $hxip$ go $ax\ ga_2$ $cy_{1/2/3}$ $tep\ yy$ bi
 male name say SENT.TOP female name 3P.SG book read
 xi mgu ddix.
 hope QUOT
 ‘Mudje₁ said that Aga₂ hoped that she_{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	→	ngap nyit
LOG.SG	i	+	nyip	→	ip nyit
2P	ne	+	nyip	→	nep nyit
3P	cy	+	nyip	→	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.

- (168) a. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯

(175) ལོ་མུ་འཇེ་ཀེ་ཇོ་གོ་བལྟ་དམ་ཏེ།

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) ལུ་འཇེ་གོ།

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 directional phrase. The pronoun *go* can track destinations of directional verbs.

(177) མི་ཅུ་མཁེ་ལོ།

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 xiz	Phase auxiliary (INSERT)	xiz '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 illustrations for each of these expressions.

- (179) a. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅
 ddop ma suo **go**
 word NUM.3 CL
 ‘three words’
- b. 𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉
 yyp ddu cyp **go**
 joke NUM.1 CL
 ‘one joke’

(ii) As pronoun for O- and oblique arguments

As a pronoun, *go* can represent people, things and places that are patients, recipients, 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.

- (180) 𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐

- b. 狗拿肉去喂狗不好。
 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.’
- c. 看电影的时候你害怕吗?
 diep yyr cyx ma hxep **go** ne jjur hla dda p 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.

- (183) a. 在我看来这件事很奇怪。
 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 & Mǎ (1981: 89)

- b. “应该学吗?” – “应该学什么?”
 “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 knowledgeable?’”
- c. 小偷来的时候只偷。
 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.’
- d. mudge 到 西昌 路上 会 塌。
 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 *zìjǐ* (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:	<i>zyt jie</i>	‘oneself’
Long form:	<i>zyt jie yip dde zyt jie</i>	‘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 *zìjǐ*. 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

- a. ne_1 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(nit)} \\ \text{zyt jie}_1 \\ \text{zyt jie yip dde zyt jie}_1 \end{array} \right\}$ $\text{J}_1 \text{dex.}$
- 2P.SG 2P.SG REFL praise
 ‘You₁ praised yourself.’
- b. ax yi cyl θ_1 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(cyp)} \\ \text{zyt jie}_1 \\ \text{zyt jie yip dde zyt jie}_1 \end{array} \right\}$ hxo lo.
- child DEM.PROX CL 3P.SG REFL depend
 ‘This child₁ is self₁-dependent.’

Oblique argument

- c. ㄅㄨㄟ_1 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(ㄉ)} \quad \text{ㄗㄩㄛ}_1 \\ \text{ㄗㄩㄛ} \text{ ㄩㄩ} \text{ ㄗㄩㄛ}_1 \end{array} \right\}$ $\text{ㄩ} \quad \text{ㄗㄩ} \quad \text{ㄩ}。$
- cop wox_1 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(cop)} \quad \text{zyt jie}_1 \\ \text{zyt jie yip dde zyt jie}_1 \end{array} \right\}$ $\text{jox} \quad \text{ddop} \quad \text{hxip}。$
- 3P.PL 3P.PL REFL to word say
- ‘They₁ spoke to themselves₁.’

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

- a.
- $\text{ㄗㄩㄛ}_1 \text{ ㄗㄩㄛ}_1 \text{ ㄗㄩㄛ}_1 \text{ ㄗㄩㄛ}_1$
- 。

a yit_1 zyt jie₁ i qi_2 get njuo .
female name REFL head comb PROG

Possessor

‘Ay₁ combed her own₁ hair (*lit.* Ay₁ combed the [head of self₁]₂).’

- b.
- $\text{ㄗㄩㄛ}_1 \text{ ㄗㄩㄛ}_1 \text{ ㄗㄩㄛ}_1 \text{ ㄗㄩㄛ}_1 \text{ ㄗㄩㄛ}_1$
- 。

$\text{ngop} \text{wox}_1$ zyt jie₁ i dix_2 (zyt jie₁) ggat .
1P.PL REFL clothes REFL wear

Possessor

‘We₁ wear our own₁ clothes₂ (*lit.* we₁ wear the [clothes of self₁]₂).’

The anaphor *zyt jie* is subject-oriented; it cannot refer to the direct object (O) but must refer to the subject (A).

- (186) ㄇㄨㄎ_1 ㄗㄩㄛ_2 ㄗㄩㄛ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ㄗㄩㄛ}_1 \\ \text{ㄗㄩㄛ} \text{ ㄩㄩ} \text{ ㄗㄩㄛ}_1 \end{array} \right\}$ ㄗㄩㄛ 。
- mu ga_1 a yit_2 rrox mu $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{zyt jie}_1 \\ \text{zyt jie yip dde zyt jie}_1 \end{array} \right\}$ ddie bur .
- male name female name COV REFL change
- ‘Mug₁ changed himself₁ for the sake of Ay₂.’

B. *zyt jie* ‘self’ as long-distance anaphor

Like Chinese *zìjǐ*, 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

- (187) a. ni_1 ni_2 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{zyt jie}_1 \\ \text{zyt jie yip dde zyt jie}_1 \end{array} \right\}$ gat $tat-$ $qip!$
 nit₁ ngop lu₂ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{zyt jie}_1 \\ \text{zyt jie yip dde zyt jie}_1 \end{array} \right\}$ gat tat- qip!
 2P.SG.POSS idea REFL hamper NEG.IMP- hamper
 ‘Don’t let [your₁ ideas]₂ hinder yourself₁!’
- b. mu $hlie_1$ $ddop$ ma_2 zyt jie_1 $ngop$ $ddux_3$ zie .
 male name words REFL thought match
 ‘[Muhlie₁’s words]₂ match [his₁ thoughts]₃.’

The possessor antecedent is blocked if the possessee is a human referent. The only antecedent in (187c) is the possessee.

- c. ni_1 ni_2 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{zyt jie}_2 \\ \text{zyt jie yip dde zyt jie}_2 \end{array} \right\}$ $hxep$ yy .
 cyp₁ qop bop₂ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{zyt jie}_2 \\ \text{zyt jie yip dde zyt jie}_2 \end{array} \right\}$ hxep yy.
 3P.SG.POSS friend REFL respect
 ‘His₁ friend₂ loves himself₂.’

(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 *cy*, see (188b) and (189b).

- (188) a. mu gox_1 $ngop$ go zyt $jie_{1/*2}$ vot zza dop bbo tat xi ox .
 male name think SENT.TOP REFL pig food feed go should DP
 Main clause Embedded clause
 ‘Mugo₁ thinks he_{1/*2} should go to feed the pigs.’

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.

- b. $\text{H}\text{g}\text{o}\text{x}_1 \text{ ngop go } \text{cy}_{1/2} \text{ vot zza dop bbo tat xi ox.}$
 male name think SENT.TOP 3P.SG pig food feed go should DP
 Main clause Embedded clause
 'Mugo₁ thinks he_{1/2} should go to feed the pigs.'

- (189) a. $\text{at nyop}_1 \text{ ngat}_2 \text{ yy ddi mu } \text{zyt jie}_{1/*2/*3} \text{ la ap- dop su jie}$
 name 1P.SG.POSS because of REFL come NEG- can COMP fear
 Main clause Embedded clause Main clause
 'Because of me₂, Anyo₁ is afraid that she_{1/*2/*3} is unable to come.'

- b. $\text{at nyop}_1 \text{ ngat}_2 \text{ yy ddi mu } \text{cy}_{1/*2/3} \text{ la ap dop su jie.}$
 female name 1P.SG.POSS because of 3P.SG come NEG can COMP fear
 Main clause Embedded clause Main clause
 'Because of me₂, Anyo₁ 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.

- (190) a. $\text{lat mop}_1 \text{ mu ga}_2 \text{ jop hxip go } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cy}_{2/3} \\ \text{zyt jie}_{2/3} \end{array} \right\} \text{ a hnat mu}$
 male name male name to say SENT.TOP 3P.SG especially
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{zyt jie}_{2/3} \\ \text{zyt jie yip dde zyt jie}_{2/3} \end{array} \right\} \text{ syp tat xi ddix.}$
 REFL know should QUOT
 'Lamo₁ told Muga₂ 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).

b. 𐄀𐄁₁𐄂𐄃₂𐄄𐄅𐄆₃𐄇𐄈𐄉 𐄊𐄋₃ 𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏₃ 𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓₃ 𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗₃ 𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛₃ 𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵

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 zzyx* 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.

- (196) a. ཇི་ཇི་མེ་ཐུ་མེ་བྱུ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
 bbu shy **cyx** ji ne tat- jjip!
 snake DEM.PROX CL 2P.SG NEG.IMP- touch
 ‘Don’t touch this snake!’
- b. ལྷ་ལྷ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
 nga vit gga **cyx** ggu jjie shyr gox sha.
 1P.SG clothes DEM.PROX CL tear SEND
 ‘I will tear these clothes into pieces.’
- c. མེ་མེ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
 cy tep yy **cy** zzit bi tat xi.
 3P.SG book DEM.PROX CL read MOD.should
 ‘He should read this book.’

The distal demonstrative 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.

- (197) a. ལྷ་ལྷ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
 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.’
- b. ལྷ་ལྷ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
 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 (Himmelman 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.

Nusu resembles English. Indefinite articles introduce new discourse participants. Both *cyx* and *a zzyx* 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.

- (198) 𐎛𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙

(199) 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄

- (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.

- (205) 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅 𐄆𐄇 𐄈𐄉 𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎。
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.

- (206) 𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓

- (209) 𐎗𐎡𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎫𐎠: (…)
 vo mu ne vup zzyx **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 established through comparison with a contextually salient participant.

- (210) 𐎧𐎡𐎫𐎡𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎫𐎠.
 hot put kep nyix **xip** gge jgy gex op rro da dduur 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* (Himmelman 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 discourse deixis: *cyp xip* represents the abstract entity as something close to the deictic center, *a zzyx xip* as something remote from the deictic center.

- (212) 𐎡𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎫𐎠: “𐎡𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎫𐎠” 𐎡𐎫𐎠.
 𐎡𐎫𐎠: “𐎡𐎫𐎠 / 𐎡𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎫𐎠 𐎡𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎫𐎠!” 𐎡𐎫𐎠.
 mu nyox: “co ddir go ap hxiex ddir kut sut
 male name people say COMP last year other people
 yox ma ne ku six bbo” ddir.
 sheep CL 2P.SG steal RES go QUOT
 lat hxa: “**cyp xip** / **a zzyx xip** mux ke dop su ap map!” ddir.
 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.

- (213) 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱

- d. མི་ཤིན་པོ་ལ་འདྲེན་པོ།
 cy **a ddit** go da qie ot yy.
 3P.SG there LOC COV.put spring low go down
 ‘He can jump down from there.’
- e. མི་ལ་ཤིན་པོ་ལ་ཞུགས་པའི་དུས་ལ་འདྲེན་པོ།
 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 O-argument (if there is any). When the clause has an obligatory OAV order, the adverbs occur after the O- and A-arguments, as in (220a+b).

- (220) a. ལྷོ་མཁའ་ལ་མཚོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ།
 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.’
- b. ལྷོ་མཁའ་ལ་མི་ལྔ་ལ་མི་ལྔ་ལ་མི་ལྔ་ལ་མི་ལྔ་ལ།
 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.

- (221) a. མི་ལ་ལུ་པོ་ལ་ཞུ་བའི་སྐབས་ལ་ལུ་པོ་ལ་ཞུ་བའི་སྐབས་ལ།
 mu ga 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.’
- b. ལྷོ་མཁའ་ལ་ལྷོ་མཁའ་ལ་ལྷོ་མཁའ་ལ།
 vit gga li bbox sho su nge, **tit** jyy 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.

- (222) མི་འགའ་ཚུ་མཉམ་ཅི་ཅོ་ཅོ་
cox li nge get jgy- 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).

- (223) རྒྱལ་འབྲེལ་མཉམ་ཅི་ཅོ་ཅོ་
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 interpreted as specific and definite.

- (224) མཉམ་ཅི་ཅོ་ཅོ་ཅོ་ཅོ་ཅོ་ཅོ་ མཉམ་ཅི་ཅོ་ཅོ་ཅོ་ཅོ་ཅོ་
 mu jie nzy mop cyx ma jox ddrop 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) མི་འགའ་ཚུ་མི་འགའ་ཚུ་
 nga **mop su** ox.
 1P.SG old man DP
 ‘I am an old man now.’

- (228) *In/definite article constructions:* (i) N+CL; (indefinite)
 (ii) N+CL*+su. (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 *su* 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. *人 个
 *co su
 person DET
 Intended meanings: ‘the man’
- b. *牛 头
 *le su
 ox DET
 ‘the ox’

Sortal and mensural classifiers can both form indefinite and definite articles. Consider the following examples:

- (230) a. 蛇 个
 bbu shy **ji**
 snake CL
 ‘a snake’
- b. 蛇 条
 bbu shy **jix su**
 snake ART=CL-DET
 ‘the snake’
- c. 水 条
 yyx **hmo**
 water CL
 ‘a river’
- d. 水 条
 yy **hmox su**
 water ART=CL-DET
 ‘the river’
- e. 扫 把
 yiex syr **zi**
 broom CL
 ‘a broom’
- f. 扫 把
 yiex syr **zix su**
 broom ART=CL-DET
 ‘the broom’
- g. 枪 把
 hnap chot **zzyr**
 gun CL
 ‘a gun’
- h. 枪 把
 hnap chot **zzyrx su**
 gun ART=CL-DET
 ‘the gun’
- i. 筛 子
 a ji **bbut**
 sieve CL
 ‘a sieve’
- j. 筛 子
 a ji **bbut su**
 sieve ART=CL-DET
 ‘the sieve’

- | | |
|--|--|
| k. 尗*𠄎
ie qyt gge
water CL
‘(some) water’ | l. 尗*𠄎.𠄎
ie qyt ggex su
water ART=CL-DET
‘the water’ |
| m. 𠄎*𠄎
bbur ma rre
chracter CL
‘a row of written characters’ | n. 𠄎*𠄎.𠄎
bbur ma rrex su
chracter ART=CL-DET
‘the row of written characters’ |
| o. 𠄎*𠄎
da yi bbop
storehouse CL
‘a room in the storehouse’ | p. 𠄎*𠄎.𠄎
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 familiarity 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 | |
| (232) a. *𠄎.𠄎
*mu jie ma
male name CL
‘a Mujie’ | b. 𠄎.𠄎.𠄎
mu jie max su
male name ART=CL-DET
‘the Mujie’ |

- (236) a. \times ㄨㄛ ㄉㄉㄛ ㄕㄟ ㄏㄨㄛ ㄩㄛ ㄇㄨ ㄉㄉㄻ ㄒㄧ ㄅㄅㄛ。
 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.’
- b. * \times ㄨㄛ ㄉㄉㄛ ㄕㄟ ㄏㄨㄛ ㄩㄛ ㄇㄚ ㄉㄉㄻ ㄒㄧ ㄅㄅㄛ。
 *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.’
- c. \times ㄨㄛ ㄉㄉㄛ ㄕㄟ ㄏㄨㄛ ㄩㄛ ㄇㄚ ㄕㄟ ㄕㄟ ㄕㄟ ㄅㄅㄛ。
 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
- a. \times ㄩㄛ ㄩㄛ ㄕㄟ ㄕㄟ ㄕㄟ ㄕㄟ。
 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).’
- b. \times ㄩㄛ ㄩㄛ ㄕㄟ ㄕㄟ ㄕㄟ ㄕㄟ。
 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
 \times ㄊㄧ ㄕㄩㄑ ㄕㄟ ㄕㄟ (/ * ㄕㄩㄑ ㄇㄚ) ㄅㄨ ㄕ ㄕㄟ ㄕㄟ ㄕㄟ ㄕㄟ ㄕㄟ。
 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 subsequent mentions of referents, as in (239)–(240).¹²

Anaphora

(239) 手ぬれ夏 弟 来 弟 来 弟 来。

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.'

(240) 妻 四 个 懒 夫 怕 妻 子 街 市 上 街 市 上 街 市 上。

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 *ka/ke* or modifications thereof.

Table 5.15: Interrogative pronouns

kax ddi (ma)	'who'	kep te go	'when'
xix (+CL)	'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 interrogative 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.

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).

- (242) a. ກັດທະທຳມືອາຊີບ。
kax ddi nyi nry ndo qi.
 IND.everyone also, all wine drink want
 ‘Everyone wants to drink wine.’
- b. ກັດທະທຳມືອາຊີບມຸໂກຊໂອອອໂອ。
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 (244a–c) with the O-role, and in (245) with the locative role.

- (243) a. ມາລາສຸສີນີປາລາສຸຂີດຊີເປັດບໍ່ດີ?
 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?’
- b. ກັດທະທຳມືອາຊີບມາລາສຸສີນີປາລາສຸຂີດຊີເປັດບໍ່ດີ?
 ggap mop **xix** ji nge su nga dde-ap-jji.
 road INT.what CL COP NOM 1P.SG know<NEG>
 ‘I do not know what the way is.’
- (244) a. ມາລາສຸສີນີປາລາສຸຂີດຊີເປັດບໍ່ດີ?
 ngax li **xix** hxip ddie ddur yip sy?
 1P.SG TOP INT.what say need still
 ‘What else do I need to say?’
- b. ມາລາສຸສີນີປາລາສຸຂີດຊີເປັດບໍ່ດີ?
 nop ka bba wep jjux **xix** wep mix?
 2P.PL present thing to get INT.what get SOL
 ‘What reward will we get?’

- b. 菜勺×價銀幾錢?
 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. 狗在哪里躺着?
 ke max su **kat go** it?
 dog ART=CL-DET INT.where lie
 ‘Where is the dog lying?’
- b. 他在哪里教别人?
 cy **kat go** da co hxox co hmat?
 3P.SG INT.where COV.put people teach people teach
 ‘Where is he teaching others?’
- c. 他们在哪里喝完酒?
 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).

- (253) a. 他们从哪里来?
 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. 这些草从哪里来?
 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?’

- (256) a. $\text{kep te go ne nax mgo nzox?}$
 INT.when 2P.SG ill EXP
 ‘When have you been ill?’
- b. $\text{syx gge kep te go ddu?}$
 affair DEM.PROX CL INT.when exit
 ‘When will these things happen?’
- c. $\text{ne kep te go xyp mop xyp?}$
 2P.SG INT.when wife marry
 ‘When will you have your wedding?’
- d. $\text{shu kut ngop wox kep te go pup bbo hlo bbo?}$
 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 universal indefinite pronoun: *kep te nyi* ‘whenever, always’. No element intervenes between *kep te* and *nyi* which functions as one lexical unit.

- (257) a. $\text{cyp te kop li kep te nyi zox nze go shex.}$
 3P.SG time TOP IND.whenever available HAB
 ‘He is always available (*lit.* his time is always available).’
- b. $\text{kep te nyi syx gge cop gox jjiex mguo ap-dop.}$
 IND.whenever affair DEM.PROX CL 3P.PL PRO.PAT understand NEG-can
 ‘They are never able to understand these things.’
- c. $\text{kep te nyi nbop mu nrax qip tat xi.}$
 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 adverbializer *mu*. It is an interrogative pronoun for manner. A derived meaning is interrogative for reason and motif. In some sentences both meanings appear, in others only one meaning is present.

- b. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅
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.

- c. 𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌, 𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒.
 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 conjunction *jjip hnex* ‘because’. This interrogative pronoun is placed at the beginning of the sentence or after the subject of the sentence. The adverbializer *mu* links the interrogative pronoun to the verb phrase. In (260a), *mu* is omitted because the discourse deictic demonstrative *xip mu* already incorporates *mu*.

- (260) a. 𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜?
 cy **xix jjip hnex** xip mu guo luo mut?
 3P.SG INT.why DEM.DD angry
 ‘Why is he angry like this?’
- b. 𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤?
 yo **xix jjip hnex** mu po bbo sat?
 sheep INT.why ADVL run go EXP
 ‘Why have all the sheep run away?’
- c. 𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭?
 ne **xix jjip hnex** mu yi ngox su nge?
 2P.SG INT.why ADVL cry NOM COP
 ‘Why are you crying?’
- d. 𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹?
 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) NP+TOP+ Nominal predicate

(2) a. 𑄎𑄏𑄑𑄒。

cyx li **nzy mop.**

3P.SG TOP Tūsī (土司)

‘He is Tūsī (governor installed by the imperial government).’

b. 𑄎𑄏𑄑𑄒𑄓𑄔。

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 contexts bare nominal predicates are used frequently: in contrastive pairs of nominal predicates, as in (3), and temporal nominal predicates, as in (4).

(3) a. 𑄎𑄏𑄑𑄒𑄓𑄔𑄕𑄖, 𑄗𑄘𑄙𑄚𑄛𑄜𑄝𑄞。

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.’

- b. ຂົງ ດອນ, ຜີ ດອນ.
 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) ວຸດ ນິປ ລີ ນອຍ ດິປ ພອຍ.
 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. ມຸ ຂອ ລີ ພອຕ ມອປ.
 mu gox li **hmat mop**.
 male name TOP teacher
 ‘Mugo is a teacher.’
- b. ມຸ ຂອ ລີ ພອຕ ມອປ ມາ ນເຈ.
 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 jjiip* ‘possible’, the adverb *ap nryr mu* ‘really’ or the modal auxiliary *tat xi* ‘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).

- (6) a. ຂົງ ດອນ ສຸ ນເຈ ຈອ ຈິປ.
 cyx li nuo su **nge** jox jjiip.
 3P.SG TOP Nuosu COP possible
 ‘He might be a Nuosu.’
- b. ຂົງ ດອນ ສຸ ນເຈ ທັ ຂີ.
 cy nuo su **nge** tat xi.
 3P.SG Nuosu COP should
 ‘He should be a Nuosu.’

In Nuosu, the bare copular *nge* (without *su*) 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 assigning it intonational prominence, as in (16).

- (16) 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇, ...
 ne syt xip mu da,...
 2P.SG matter DEM.DD do STP
 ‘If you proceed in this way,...’
- a. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑,
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...’
 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕,
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.’
- b. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑,
 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...’
 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙,
 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.’
- c. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡,
 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...’
 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧,
cuop luo ax di ci su ap- nge,
 a little bit only fall NOM NEG- COP
 ‘not only slightly.’
- d. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙,
 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 ungradable adjectives. Both share morphosyntactic properties with verbs and also differ from verbs. For four features, ungradable adjectives contrast with gradable adjectives 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 <i>njuo</i>	no	no	yes/no
Dynamic perfect <i>ox</i>	most	most	yes
Stative perfect <i>da</i>	yes	yes	yes
Experiential <i>nzox</i>	few	no	yes/no
Comparative construction	yes	no	yes/no
Intensifier <i>-jy-</i>	yes	no	yes/no
Exhaustion particle <i>sat</i>	yes	no	yes/no
Superlative <i>-lop-</i>	yes	no	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.

- (17) a. 天热。
 mo mu **ca**.
 weather hot
 ‘The weather is hot.’
- b. *天热也。
 *mo mu **ca** nge.
 weather hot COP
 Intended meaning: ‘The weather is hot.’
- (18) a. 这个学生很多。
 ssox sse ggex su **ax nyi**.
 pupil ART many
 ‘The pupils are many.’
- b. 这条路很窄。
 ggap mop cyx ji **ix fi**.
 road DEM CL narrow
 ‘This road is narrow.’
- c. 你的衣服很漂亮。
 nit vit gga **nrat**.
 2P.SG.POSS clothes beautiful
 ‘Your clothes are beautiful.’
- d. 这块石头很重。
 lur mat max su **ax ly**.
 stone ART heavy
 ‘The stone is heavy.’

- e. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 vot max su **cu**.
 pig ART fat
 ‘The pig is fat.’
- f. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 le she cyx wo **ax vu**.
 beef DEM.PROX CL dry
 ‘This piece of beef is dry.’
- g. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 cyx li **o bbu hne nji**.
 3P.SG TOP intelligent
 ‘He is intelligent.’
- h. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 co a zzyx ma **nbop**.
 man DEM.DIST CL kind
 ‘That man is kind.’
- i. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 mu nyox li **bbox sha**.
 male name TOP stupid
 ‘Munyo is stupid.’
- j. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 cop wox li **surx sha**.
 3P.PL TOP poor
 ‘They are poor.’

Gradable adjectives are often intensified. The infix *-jyy-* ‘very’ is inserted in between the adjective and a copy of it.

- (19) a. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 hxi jox **mgo-jyy-mgo**.
 outside cold-very-cold
 ‘It is very cold outside.’
- b. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 cyx ma **hxep sa-jyy-hxep sa**.
 DEM.PROX CL nice-very-cold
 ‘This one is very nice.’

Some ungradable adjectives are nominalized by *su* 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. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 cyp ddop ma **vu jji**.
 3P.SG.POSS word true
 ‘His words are true.’
- b. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 cyp ddop ma **vu jji su**.
 3P.SG.POSS word true NOM
 ‘His words are true.’
- c. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 zze ddu li **lut**.
 food TOP enough
 ‘(I’ve got) enough food.’
- d. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 zze ddu li **lut ox**.
 food TOP enough enough
 ‘(I’ve got) enough food.’

Ungradable adjectives can be formed from gradable adjectives by suffixing ideophones to the root.

- (21) a. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 zza cyx gge **chyp nix ni**.
 food DEM.PROX CL smelling IDE~EXPR
 ‘The food smells bad.’

- b. ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་།
 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 nominalizing or adverbializing the compound and negating the predicate.

- (22) a. དུ་མའི་ལུ་མེད་ལེས་།
 ie qyt a zzyx zhep ap- **mgo**.
 water DEM.DIST cup NEG- cold
 ‘The water in that cup is not cold.’
- b. ལེན་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་།
 tep yy a zzyx bbut **vu-ap-jji**.
 letter DEM.DIST CL true<NEG>
 ‘That letter is not true.’
- c. ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་།
 cit la **ggop ga ga** su ap- nge.
 basket empty IDE~EXPR NOM NEG- COP
 ‘The basket is not (completely) empty.’
- d. ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་།
 syr bbo a zzyx bbo **vut lox lo** mu ap- jjip.
 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.

- (23) a. ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་།
 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. ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་།
 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*.

- b. * \uparrow 焠 0 夏 焠 焠 焠 焠 焠。
 *cyp ddog ma **vu jji-jjy-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. \times 焠 焠 焠 焠。
 cy ne **yyx** ap cy.
 3P.SG 2P.SG tall more
 ‘He is taller than you.’
- b. * \uparrow 0 焠 焠 焠 焠 焠 焠 焠 焠。
 *at nyop lu ti 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’	(...)

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).

- c. ມຸຸ່ໂໂ。
 syt **ddur** ox.
 event happen DP
 ‘An event happened.’
- d. ເຂັ້ມໂໂ。
 za pux **jjj** ox.
 wall collapse DP
 ‘The wall collapsed.’
- e. ັໂໂໂໂໂໂ。
 cyp ax pu **mop jjip** ox.
 3P.SG.POSS grandfather pass away DP
 ‘His grandfather passed away.’
- f. ັໂໂໂໂໂໂ。
 cyp bbo lo **wop** ox.
 3P.SG face swell DP
 ‘His face became swollen.’
- g. ັໂໂໂໂໂໂໂໂ。
 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’	yip bbur ‘paint’	rrot ‘weave’
hlit ‘dry in the sun’	ga ‘shake, make’	kie ‘fell’
cur ‘build’	nyot ‘seal’	nbot ‘hide’
ggit cyr ‘cause to perish’	jip ndip ‘protect’	qup ‘keep watch’
syp ‘know’	dit lyp ‘force’	mgup ddie ‘heal’ (...)

Serial verb constructions of the form NP₁ V₁ NP₂ V₂ with NP₂ denoting a subpart (body parts and so forth) of NP₁ are reminiscent of possessor ascension in other languages although the possessor is not raised in Nuosu. This construction is contrasted with the monotransitive construction in (40)–(41).

(40) a. 𑄃𑄆𑄇𑄉𑄊𑄋𑄌𑄍𑄎𑄏𑄐𑄑𑄒𑄓𑄔𑄕𑄖𑄗𑄘𑄙𑄚𑄛𑄜𑄝𑄞𑄟𑄠𑄡𑄢𑄣𑄤𑄥𑄦𑄧𑄨𑄩𑄪𑄫𑄬𑄭𑄮𑄯𑄰𑄱𑄲𑄳𑄴𑄵𑄶𑄷𑄸𑄹𑄺𑄻𑄼𑄽𑄾𑄿𑅀𑅁𑅂𑅃𑅄𑅅𑅆𑅇𑅈𑅉𑅊𑅋𑅌𑅍𑅎𑅏𑅐𑅑𑅒𑅓𑅔𑅕𑅖𑅗𑅘𑅙𑅚𑅛𑅜𑅝𑅞𑅟𑅠𑅡𑅢𑅣𑅤𑅥𑅦𑅧𑅨𑅩𑅪𑅫𑅬𑅭𑅮𑅯𑅰𑅱𑅲𑅳𑅴𑅵𑅶𑅷𑅸𑅹𑅺𑅻𑅼𑅽𑅾𑅿𑆀𑆁𑆂𑆃𑆄𑆅𑆆𑆇𑆈𑆉𑆊𑆋𑆌𑆍𑆎𑆏𑆐𑆑𑆒𑆓𑆔𑆕𑆖𑆗𑆘𑆙𑆚𑆛𑆜𑆝𑆞𑆟𑆠𑆡𑆢𑆣𑆤𑆥𑆦𑆧𑆨𑆩𑆪𑆫𑆬𑆭𑆮𑆯𑆰𑆱𑆲𑆳𑆴𑆵𑆶𑆷𑆸𑆹𑆺𑆻𑆼𑆽𑆾𑆿𑇀𑇁𑇂𑇃𑇄𑇅𑇆𑇇𑇈𑇉𑇊𑇋𑇌𑇍𑇎𑇏𑇐𑇑𑇒𑇓𑇔𑇕𑇖𑇗𑇘𑇙𑇚𑇛𑇜𑇝𑇞𑇟𑇠𑇡𑇢𑇣𑇤𑇥𑇦𑇧𑇨𑇩𑇪𑇫𑇬𑇭𑇮𑇯𑇰𑇱𑇲𑇳𑇴𑇵𑇶𑇷𑇸𑇹𑇺𑇻𑇼𑇽𑇾𑇿𑈀𑈁𑈂𑈃𑈄𑈅𑈆𑈇𑈈𑈉𑈊𑈋𑈌𑈍𑈎𑈏𑈐𑈑𑈒𑈓𑈔𑈕𑈖𑈗𑈘𑈙𑈚𑈛𑈜𑈝𑈞𑈟𑈠𑈡𑈢𑈣𑈤𑈥𑈦𑈧𑈨𑈩𑈪𑈫𑈬𑈭𑈮𑈯𑈰𑈱𑈲𑈳𑈴𑈶𑈵𑈷𑈸𑈹𑈺𑈻𑈼𑈽𑈾𑈿𑉀𑉁𑉂𑉃𑉄𑉅𑉆𑉇𑉈𑉉𑉊𑉋𑉌𑉍𑉎𑉏𑉐𑉑𑉒𑉓𑉔𑉕𑉖𑉗𑉘𑉙𑉚𑉛𑉜𑉝𑉞𑉟𑉠𑉡𑉢𑉣𑉤𑉥𑉦𑉧𑉨𑉩𑉪𑉫𑉬𑉭𑉮𑉯𑉰𑉱𑉲𑉳𑉴𑉵𑉶𑉷𑉸𑉹𑉺𑉻𑉼𑉽𑉾𑉿𑊀𑊁𑊂𑊃𑊄𑊅𑊆𑊇𑊈𑊉𑊊𑊋𑊌𑊍𑊎𑊏𑊐𑊑𑊒𑊓𑊔𑊕𑊖𑊗𑊘𑊙𑊚𑊛𑊜𑊝𑊞𑊟𑊠𑊡𑊢𑊣𑊤𑊥𑊦𑊧𑊨𑊩𑊪𑊫𑊬𑊭𑊮𑊯𑊰𑊱𑊲𑊳𑊴𑊵𑊶𑊷𑊸𑊹𑊺𑊻𑊼𑊽𑊾𑊿𑋀𑋁𑋂𑋃𑋄𑋅𑋆𑋇𑋈𑋉𑋊𑋋𑋌𑋍𑋎𑋏𑋐𑋑𑋒𑋓𑋔𑋕𑋖𑋗𑋘𑋙𑋚𑋛𑋜𑋝𑋞𑋟𑋠𑋡𑋢𑋣𑋤𑋥𑋦𑋧𑋨𑋩𑋪𑋫𑋬𑋭𑋮𑋯𑋰𑋱𑋲𑋳𑋴𑋵𑋶𑋷𑋸𑋹𑋺𑋻𑋼𑋽𑋾𑋿𑌀𑌁𑌂𑌃𑌄𑌅𑌆𑌇𑌈𑌉𑌊𑌋𑌌𑌍𑌎𑌏𑌐𑌑𑌒𑌓𑌔𑌕𑌖𑌗𑌘𑌙𑌚𑌛𑌜𑌝𑌞𑌟𑌠𑌡𑌢𑌣𑌤𑌥𑌦𑌧𑌨𑌩𑌪𑌫𑌬𑌭𑌮𑌯𑌰𑌱𑌲𑌳𑌴𑌵𑌶𑌷𑌸𑌹𑌺𑌻𑌼𑌽𑌾𑌿𑍀𑍁𑍂𑍃𑍄𑍅𑍆𑍇𑍈𑍉𑍊𑍋𑍌𑍍𑍎𑍏𑍐𑍑𑍒𑍓𑍔𑍕𑍖𑍗𑍘𑍙𑍚𑍛𑍜𑍝𑍞𑍟𑍠𑍡𑍢𑍣𑍤𑍥𑍦𑍧𑍨𑍩𑍪𑍫𑍬𑍭𑍮𑍯𑍰𑍱𑍲𑍳𑍴𑍵𑍶𑍷𑍸𑍹𑍺𑍻𑍼𑍽𑍾𑍿𑎀𑎁𑎂𑎃𑎄𑎅𑎆𑎇𑎈𑎉𑎊𑎋𑎌𑎍𑎎𑎏𑎐𑎑𑎒𑎓𑎔𑎕𑎖𑎗𑎘𑎙𑎚𑎛𑎜𑎝𑎞𑎟𑎠𑎡𑎢𑎣𑎤𑎥𑎦𑎧𑎨𑎩𑎪𑎫𑎬𑎭𑎮𑎯𑎰𑎱𑎲𑎳𑎴𑎵𑎶𑎷𑎸𑎹𑎺𑎻𑎼𑎽𑎾𑎿𑏀𑏁𑏂𑏃𑏄𑏅𑏆𑏇𑏈𑏉𑏊𑏋𑏌𑏍𑏎𑏏𑏐𑏑𑏒𑏓𑏔𑏕𑏖𑏗𑏘𑏙𑏚𑏛𑏜𑏝𑏞𑏟𑏠𑏡𑏢𑏣𑏤𑏥𑏦𑏧𑏨𑏩𑏪𑏫𑏬𑏭𑏮𑏯𑏰𑏱𑏲𑏳𑏴𑏵𑏶𑏷𑏸𑏹𑏺𑏻𑏼𑏽𑏾𑏿𑐀𑐁𑐂𑐃𑐄𑐅𑐆𑐇𑐈𑐉𑐊𑐋𑐌𑐍𑐎𑐏𑐐𑐑𑐒𑐓𑐔𑐕𑐖𑐗𑐘𑐙𑐚𑐛𑐜𑐝𑐞𑐟𑐠𑐡𑐢𑐣𑐤𑐥𑐦𑐧𑐨𑐩𑐪𑐫𑐬𑐭𑐮𑐯𑐰𑐱𑐲𑐳𑐴𑐵𑐶𑐷𑐸𑐹𑐺𑐻𑐼𑐽𑐾𑐿𑑀𑑁𑑂𑑃𑑄𑑅𑑆𑑇𑑈𑑉𑑊𑑋𑑌𑑍𑑎𑑏𑑐𑑑𑑒𑑓𑑔𑑕𑑖𑑗𑑘𑑙𑑚𑑛𑑜𑑝𑑞𑑟𑑠𑑡𑑢𑑣𑑤𑑥𑑦𑑧𑑨𑑩𑑪𑑫𑑬𑑭𑑮𑑯𑑰𑑱𑑲𑑳𑑴𑑵𑑶𑑷𑑸𑑹𑑺𑑻𑑼𑑽𑑾𑑿𑒀𑒁𑒂𑒃𑒄𑒅𑒆𑒇𑒈𑒉𑒊𑒋𑒌𑒍𑒎𑒏𑒐𑒑𑒒𑒓𑒔𑒕𑒖𑒗𑒘𑒙𑒚𑒛𑒜𑒝𑒞𑒟𑒠𑒡𑒢𑒣𑒤𑒥𑒦𑒧𑒨𑒩𑒪𑒫𑒬𑒭𑒮𑒯𑒰𑒱𑒲𑒳𑒴𑒵𑒶𑒷𑒸𑒻𑒻𑒼𑒽𑒾𑒿𑓀𑓁𑓃𑓂𑓄𑓅𑓆𑓇𑓈𑓉𑓊𑓋𑓌𑓍𑓎𑓏𑓐𑓑𑓒𑓓𑓔𑓕𑓖𑓗𑓘𑓙𑓚𑓛𑓜𑓝𑓞𑓟𑓠𑓡𑓢𑓣𑓤𑓥𑓦𑓧𑓨𑓩𑓪𑓫𑓬𑓭𑓮𑓯𑓰𑓱𑓲𑓳𑓴𑓵𑓶𑓷𑓸𑓹𑓺𑓻𑓼𑓽𑓾𑓿𑔀𑔁𑔂𑔃𑔄𑔅𑔆𑔇𑔈𑔉𑔊𑔋𑔌𑔍𑔎𑔏𑔐𑔑𑔒𑔓𑔔𑔕𑔖𑔗𑔘𑔙𑔚𑔛𑔜𑔝𑔞𑔟𑔠𑔡𑔢𑔣𑔤𑔥𑔦𑔧𑔨𑔩𑔪𑔫𑔬𑔭𑔮𑔯𑔰𑔱𑔲𑔳𑔴𑔵𑔶𑔷𑔸𑔹𑔺𑔻𑔼𑔽𑔾𑔿𑕀𑕁𑕂𑕃𑕄𑕅𑕆𑕇𑕈𑕉𑕊𑕋𑕌𑕍𑕎𑕏𑕐𑕑𑕒𑕓𑕔𑕕𑕖𑕗𑕘𑕙𑕚𑕛𑕜𑕝𑕞𑕟𑕠𑕡𑕢𑕣𑕤𑕥𑕦𑕧𑕨𑕩𑕪𑕫𑕬𑕭𑕮𑕯𑕰𑕱𑕲𑕳𑕴𑕵𑕶𑕷𑕸𑕹𑕺𑕻𑕼𑕽𑕾𑕿𑖀𑖁𑖂𑖃𑖄𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐𑖑𑖒𑖓𑖔𑖕𑖖𑖗𑖘𑖙𑖚𑖛𑖜𑖝𑖞𑖟𑖠𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑗀𑖿𑗁𑗂𑗃𑗄𑗅𑗆𑗇𑗈𑗉𑗊𑗋𑗌𑗍𑗎𑗏𑗐𑗑𑗒𑗓𑗔𑗕𑗖𑗗𑗘𑗙𑗚𑗛𑗜𑗝𑗞𑗟𑗠𑗡𑗢𑗣𑗤𑗥𑗦𑗧𑗨𑗩𑗪𑗫𑗬𑗭𑗮𑗯𑗰𑗱𑗲𑗳𑗴𑗵𑗶𑗷𑗸𑗹𑗺𑗻𑗼𑗽𑗾𑗿𑘀𑘁𑘂𑘃𑘄𑘅𑘆𑘇𑘈𑘉𑘊𑘋𑘌𑘍𑘎𑘏𑘐𑘑𑘒𑘓𑘔𑘕𑘖𑘗𑘘𑘙𑘚𑘛𑘜𑘝𑘞𑘟𑘠𑘡𑘢𑘣𑘤𑘥𑘦𑘧𑘨𑘩𑘪𑘫𑘬𑘭𑘮𑘯𑘰𑘱𑘲𑘳𑘴𑘵𑘶𑘷𑘸𑘹𑘺𑘻𑘼𑘽𑘾𑘿𑙀𑙁𑙂𑙃𑙄𑙅𑙆𑙇𑙈𑙉𑙊𑙋𑙌𑙍𑙎𑙏𑙐𑙑𑙒𑙓𑙔𑙕𑙖𑙗𑙘𑙙𑙚𑙛𑙜𑙝𑙞𑙟𑙠𑙡𑙢𑙣𑙤𑙥𑙦𑙧𑙨𑙩𑙪𑙫𑙬𑙭𑙮𑙯𑙰𑙱𑙲𑙳𑙴𑙵𑙶𑙷𑙸𑙹𑙺𑙻𑙼𑙽𑙾𑙿𑚀𑚁𑚂𑚃𑚄𑚅𑚆𑚇𑚈𑚉𑚊𑚋𑚌𑚍𑚎𑚏𑚐𑚑𑚒𑚓𑚔𑚕𑚖𑚗𑚘𑚙𑚚𑚛𑚜𑚝𑚞𑚟𑚠𑚡𑚢𑚣𑚤𑚥𑚦𑚧𑚨𑚩𑚪𑚫𑚬𑚭𑚮𑚯𑚰𑚱𑚲𑚳𑚴𑚵𑚷𑚶𑚸𑚹𑚺𑚻𑚼𑚽𑚾𑚿𑛀𑛁𑛂𑛃𑛄𑛅𑛆𑛇𑛈𑛉𑛊𑛋𑛌𑛍𑛎𑛏𑛐𑛑𑛒𑛓𑛔𑛕𑛖𑛗𑛘𑛙𑛚𑛛𑛜𑛝𑛞𑛟𑛠𑛡𑛢𑛣𑛤𑛥𑛦𑛧𑛨𑛩𑛪𑛫𑛬𑛭𑛮𑛯𑛰𑛱𑛲𑛳𑛴𑛵𑛶𑛷𑛸𑛹𑛺𑛻𑛼𑛽𑛾𑛿𑜀𑜁𑜂𑜃𑜄𑜅𑜆𑜇𑜈𑜉𑜊𑜋𑜌𑜍𑜎𑜏𑜐𑜑𑜒𑜓𑜔𑜕𑜖𑜗𑜘𑜙𑜚𑜛𑜜𑜝𑜞𑜟𑜠𑜡𑜢𑜣𑜤𑜥𑜦𑜧𑜨𑜩𑜪𑜫𑜬𑜭𑜮𑜯𑜰𑜱𑜲𑜳𑜴𑜵𑜶𑜷𑜸𑜹𑜺𑜻𑜼𑜽𑜾𑜿𑝀𑝁𑝂𑝃𑝄𑝅𑝆𑝇𑝈𑝉𑝊𑝋𑝌𑝍𑝎𑝏𑝐𑝑𑝒𑝓𑝔𑝕𑝖𑝗𑝘𑝙𑝚𑝛𑝜𑝝𑝞𑝟𑝠𑝡𑝢𑝣𑝤𑝥𑝦𑝧𑝨𑝩𑝪𑝫𑝬𑝭𑝮𑝯𑝰𑝱𑝲𑝳𑝴𑝵𑝶𑝷𑝸𑝹𑝺𑝻𑝼𑝽𑝾𑝿𑞀𑞁𑞂𑞃𑞄𑞅𑞆𑞇𑞈𑞉𑞊𑞋𑞌𑞍𑞎𑞏𑞐𑞑𑞒𑞓𑞔𑞕𑞖𑞗𑞘𑞙𑞚𑞛𑞜𑞝𑞞𑞟𑞠𑞡𑞢𑞣𑞤𑞥𑞦𑞧𑞨𑞩𑞪𑞫𑞬𑞭𑞮𑞯𑞰𑞱𑞲𑞳𑞴𑞵𑞶𑞷𑞸𑞹𑞺𑞻𑞼𑞽𑞾𑞿𑟀𑟁𑟂𑟃𑟄𑟅𑟆𑟇𑟈𑟉𑟊𑟋𑟌𑟍𑟎𑟏𑟐𑟑𑟒𑟓𑟔𑟕𑟖𑟗𑟘𑟙𑟚𑟛𑟜𑟝𑟞𑟟𑟠𑟡𑟢𑟣𑟤𑟥𑟦𑟧𑟨𑟩𑟪𑟫𑟬𑟭𑟮𑟯𑟰𑟱𑟲𑟳𑟴𑟵𑟶𑟷𑟸𑟹𑟺𑟻𑟼𑟽𑟾𑟿𑠀𑠁𑠂𑠃𑠄𑠅𑠆𑠇𑠈𑠉𑠊𑠋𑠌𑠍𑠎𑠏𑠐𑠑𑠒𑠓𑠔𑠕𑠖𑠗𑠘𑠙𑠚𑠛𑠜𑠝𑠞𑠟𑠠𑠡𑠢𑠣𑠤𑠥𑠦𑠧𑠨𑠩𑠪𑠫𑠬𑠭𑠮𑠯𑠰𑠱𑠲𑠳𑠴𑠵𑠶𑠷𑠸𑠺𑠹𑠻𑠼𑠽𑠾𑠿𑡀𑡁𑡂𑡃𑡄𑡅𑡆𑡇𑡈𑡉𑡊𑡋𑡌𑡍𑡎𑡏𑡐𑡑𑡒𑡓𑡔𑡕𑡖𑡗𑡘𑡙𑡚𑡛𑡜𑡝𑡞𑡟𑡠𑡡𑡢𑡣𑡤𑡥𑡦𑡧𑡨𑡩𑡪𑡫𑡬𑡭𑡮𑡯𑡰𑡱𑡲𑡳𑡴𑡵𑡶𑡷𑡸𑡹𑡺𑡻𑡼𑡽𑡾𑡿𑢀𑢁𑢂𑢃𑢄𑢅𑢆𑢇𑢈𑢉𑢊𑢋𑢌𑢍𑢎𑢏𑢐𑢑𑢒𑢓𑢔𑢕𑢖𑢗𑢘𑢙𑢚𑢛𑢜𑢝𑢞𑢟𑢠𑢡𑢢𑢣𑢤𑢥𑢦𑢧𑢨𑢩𑢪𑢫𑢬𑢭𑢮𑢯𑢰𑢱𑢲𑢳𑢴𑢵𑢶𑢷𑢸𑢹𑢺𑢻𑢼𑢽𑢾𑢿𑣀𑣁𑣂𑣃𑣄𑣅𑣆𑣇𑣈𑣉𑣊𑣋𑣌𑣍𑣎𑣏𑣐𑣑𑣒𑣓𑣔𑣕𑣖𑣗𑣘𑣙𑣚𑣛𑣜𑣝𑣞𑣟𑣠𑣡𑣢𑣣𑣤𑣥𑣦𑣧𑣨𑣩𑣪𑣫𑣬𑣭𑣮𑣯𑣰𑣱𑣲𑣳𑣴𑣵𑣶𑣷𑣸𑣹𑣺𑣻𑣼𑣽𑣾𑣿𑤀𑤁𑤂𑤃𑤄𑤅𑤆𑤇𑤈𑤉𑤊𑤋𑤌𑤍𑤎𑤏𑤐𑤑𑤒𑤓𑤔𑤕𑤖𑤗𑤘𑤙𑤚𑤛𑤜𑤝𑤞𑤟𑤠𑤡𑤢𑤣𑤤𑤥𑤦𑤧𑤨𑤩𑤪𑤫𑤬𑤭𑤮𑤯𑤰𑤱𑤲𑤳𑤴𑤵𑤶𑤷𑤸𑤹𑤺𑤻𑤼𑤽𑤾𑤿𑥀𑥁𑥂𑥃𑥄𑥅𑥆𑥇𑥈𑥉𑥊𑥋𑥌𑥍𑥎𑥏𑥐𑥑𑥒𑥓𑥔𑥕𑥖𑥗𑥘𑥙𑥚𑥛𑥜𑥝𑥞𑥟𑥠𑥡𑥢𑥣𑥤𑥥𑥦𑥧𑥨𑥩𑥪𑥫𑥬𑥭𑥮𑥯𑥰𑥱𑥲𑥳𑥴𑥵𑥶𑥷𑥸𑥹𑥺𑥻𑥼𑥽𑥾𑥿𑦀𑦁𑦂𑦃𑦄𑦅𑦆𑦇𑦈𑦉𑦊𑦋𑦌𑦍𑦎𑦏𑦐𑦑𑦒𑦓𑦔𑦕𑦖𑦗𑦘𑦙𑦚𑦛𑦜𑦝𑦞𑦟𑦠𑦡𑦢𑦣𑦤𑦥𑦦𑦧𑦨𑦩𑦪𑦫𑦬𑦭𑦮𑦯𑦰𑦱𑦲𑦳𑦴𑦵𑦶𑦷𑦸𑦹𑦺𑦻𑦼𑦽𑦾𑦿𑧀𑧁𑧂𑧃𑧄𑧅𑧆𑧇𑧈𑧉𑧊𑧋𑧌𑧍𑧎𑧏𑧐𑧑𑧒𑧓𑧔𑧕𑧖𑧗𑧘𑧙𑧚𑧛𑧜𑧝𑧞𑧟𑧠𑧡𑧢𑧣𑧤𑧥𑧦𑧧𑧨𑧩𑧪𑧫𑧬𑧭𑧮𑧯𑧰𑧱𑧲𑧳𑧴𑧵𑧶𑧷𑧸𑧹𑧺𑧻𑧼𑧽𑧾𑧿𑨀𑨁𑨂𑨃𑨄𑨅𑨆𑨇𑨈𑨉𑨊𑨋𑨌𑨍𑨎𑨏𑨐𑨑𑨒𑨓𑨔𑨕𑨖𑨗𑨘𑨙𑨚𑨛𑨜𑨝𑨞𑨟𑨠𑨡𑨢𑨣𑨤𑨥𑨦𑨧𑨨𑨩𑨪𑨫𑨬𑨭𑨮𑨯𑨰𑨱𑨲𑨳𑨴𑨵𑨶𑨷𑨸𑨹𑨺𑨻𑨼𑨽𑨾𑨿𑩀𑩁𑩂𑩃𑩄𑩅𑩆𑩇𑩈𑩉𑩊𑩋𑩌𑩍𑩎𑩏𑩐𑩑𑩒𑩓𑩔𑩕𑩖𑩗𑩘𑩙𑩚𑩛𑩜𑩝𑩞𑩟𑩠𑩡𑩢𑩣𑩤𑩥𑩦𑩧𑩨𑩩𑩪𑩫𑩬𑩭𑩮𑩯𑩰𑩱𑩲𑩳𑩴𑩵𑩶𑩷𑩸𑩹𑩺𑩻𑩼𑩽𑩾𑩿𑪀𑪁𑪂𑪃𑪄𑪅𑪆𑪇𑪈𑪉𑪊𑪋𑪌𑪍𑪎𑪏𑪐𑪑𑪒𑪓𑪔𑪕𑪖𑪗𑪘𑪙𑪚𑪛𑪜𑪝𑪞𑪟𑪠𑪡𑪢𑪣𑪤𑪥𑪦𑪧𑪨𑪩𑪪𑪫𑪬𑪭𑪮𑪯𑪰𑪱𑪲𑪳𑪴𑪵𑪶𑪷𑪸𑪹𑪺𑪻𑪼𑪽𑪾𑪿𑫀𑫁𑫂𑫃𑫄𑫅𑫆𑫇𑫈𑫉𑫊𑫋𑫌𑫍𑫎𑫏𑫐𑫑𑫒𑫓𑫔𑫕𑫖𑫗𑫘𑫙𑫚𑫛𑫜𑫝𑫞𑫟𑫠𑫡𑫢𑫣𑫤𑫥𑫦𑫧𑫨𑫩𑫪𑫫𑫬𑫭𑫮𑫯𑫰𑫱𑫲𑫳𑫴𑫵𑫶𑫷𑫸𑫹𑫺𑫻𑫼𑫽𑫾𑫿𑬀𑬁𑬂𑬃𑬄𑬅𑬆𑬇𑬈𑬉𑬊𑬋𑬌𑬍𑬎𑬏𑬐𑬑𑬒𑬓𑬔𑬕𑬖𑬗𑬘𑬙𑬚𑬛𑬜𑬝𑬞𑬟𑬠𑬡𑬢𑬣𑬤𑬥𑬦𑬧𑬨𑬩𑬪𑬫𑬬𑬭𑬮𑬯𑬰𑬱𑬲𑬳𑬴𑬵𑬶𑬷𑬸𑬹𑬺𑬻𑬼𑬽𑬾𑬿𑭀𑭁𑭂𑭃𑭄𑭅𑭆𑭇𑭈𑭉𑭊𑭋𑭌𑭍𑭎𑭏𑭐𑭑𑭒𑭓𑭔𑭕𑭖𑭗𑭘𑭙𑭚𑭛𑭜𑭝𑭞𑭟𑭠𑭡𑭢𑭣𑭤𑭥𑭦𑭧𑭨𑭩𑭪𑭫𑭬𑭭𑭮𑭯𑭰𑭱𑭲𑭳𑭴𑭵𑭶𑭷𑭸𑭹𑭺𑭻𑭼𑭽𑭾𑭿𑮀𑮁𑮂𑮃𑮄𑮅𑮆𑮇𑮈𑮉𑮊𑮋𑮌𑮍𑮎𑮏𑮐𑮑𑮒𑮓𑮔𑮕𑮖𑮗𑮘𑮙𑮚𑮛𑮜𑮝𑮞𑮟𑮠𑮡𑮢𑮣𑮤𑮥𑮦𑮧𑮨𑮩𑮪𑮫𑮬𑮭𑮮𑮯𑮰𑮱𑮲𑮳𑮴𑮵𑮶𑮷𑮸𑮹𑮺𑮻𑮼𑮽𑮾𑮿𑯀𑯁𑯂𑯃𑯄𑯅𑯆𑯇𑯈𑯉𑯊𑯋𑯌𑯍𑯎𑯏𑯐𑯑𑯒𑯓𑯔𑯕𑯖𑯗𑯘𑯙𑯚𑯛𑯜𑯝𑯞𑯟𑯠𑯡𑯢𑯣𑯤𑯥𑯦𑯧𑯨𑯩𑯪𑯫𑯬𑯭𑯮𑯯𑯰𑯱𑯲𑯳𑯴𑯵𑯶𑯷𑯸𑯹𑯺𑯻𑯼𑯽𑯾𑯿𑰀𑰁𑰂𑰃𑰄𑰅𑰆𑰇𑰈𑰉𑰊𑰋𑰌𑰍𑰎𑰏𑰐𑰑𑰒𑰓𑰔𑰕𑰖𑰗𑰘𑰙𑰚𑰛𑰜𑰝𑰞𑰟𑰠𑰡𑰢𑰣𑰤𑰥𑰦𑰧𑰨𑰩𑰪𑰫𑰬𑰭𑰮𑰯𑰰𑰱𑰲𑰳𑰴𑰵𑰶𑰷𑰸𑰹𑰺𑰻𑰼𑰽𑰾𑰿𑱀𑱁𑱂𑱃𑱄𑱅𑱆𑱇𑱈𑱉𑱊𑱋𑱌𑱍𑱎𑱏𑱐𑱑𑱒𑱓𑱔𑱕𑱖𑱗𑱘𑱙𑱚𑱛𑱜𑱝𑱞𑱟𑱠𑱡𑱢𑱣𑱤𑱥𑱦𑱧𑱨𑱩𑱪𑱫𑱬𑱭𑱮𑱯𑱰𑱱𑱲𑱳𑱴𑱵𑱶𑱷𑱸𑱹𑱺𑱻𑱼𑱽𑱾𑱿𑲀𑲁𑲂𑲃𑲄𑲅𑲆𑲇𑲈𑲉𑲊𑲋𑲌𑲍𑲎𑲏𑲐𑲑𑲒𑲓𑲔𑲕𑲖𑲗𑲘𑲙𑲚𑲛𑲜𑲝𑲞𑲟𑲠𑲡𑲢𑲣𑲤𑲥𑲦𑲧𑲨𑲩𑲪𑲫𑲬𑲭𑲮𑲯𑲰𑲱𑲲𑲳𑲴𑲵𑲶𑲷𑲸𑲹𑲺𑲻𑲼𑲽𑲾𑲿𑳀𑳁𑳂𑳃𑳄𑳅𑳆𑳇𑳈𑳉𑳊𑳋𑳌𑳍𑳎𑳏𑳐𑳑𑳒𑳓𑳔𑳕𑳖𑳗𑳘𑳙𑳚𑳛𑳜𑳝𑳞𑳟𑳠𑳡𑳢𑳣𑳤

Unaccusative verbs are more numerous than unergative verbs. Both types are illustrated below, starting with unergative verbs.

- (42) a. བཟུང་བྱོན།
 va bu **gu** ox.
 rooster crow DP
 ‘The rooster crowed.’
- b. ལྷ་མོ་ལྟོ་བྱོན།
 nga mu gox **gu** ox.
 1P.SG male name call DP
 ‘I called Mugo.’
- (43) a. ལྷ་ལྟོ་བྱོན།
 cy (zyt bbo mu) **ra**.
 3P.SG by himself scold
 ‘He is scolding by himself.’
- b. ལྷ་ལྟོ་བྱོན།
 cy ngax **ra** ox.
 3P.SG 1P.SG blame DP
 ‘He blamed me.’
- (44) a. ལྷ་ལྟོ་བྱོན།
 cop wox **bot** ox.
 3P.PL run DP
 ‘They ran.’
- b. ལྷ་ལྟོ་བྱོན།
 cy ip nyip op rro **bot**.
 3P.SG today Xichang run
 ‘He he running the Xichang route.’
- (45) a. ལྷ་ལྟོ་བྱོན།
 ax yi cyx ma **dde jji**.
 child DEM.PROX CL mature
 ‘This child is mature.’
- b. ལྷ་ལྟོ་བྱོན།
 syt cy jjit hmat mop **dde jji** ox.
 matter DEM.PROX CL teacher know DP
 ‘The teacher got knowledge of this matter.’
- (46) a. ལྷ་ལྟོ་བྱོན།
 mu ga **yyp** ox.
 male name laugh DP
 ‘Muga laughed.’
- b. ལྷ་ལྟོ་བྱོན།
 cop wox nga **yyx** ox.
 3P.PL 1P.SG laugh DP
 ‘They laughed at me.’
- (47) a. ལྷ་ལྟོ་བྱོན།
 cy **ddiex bur** ox.
 3P.SG change DP
 ‘He has changed (physically or mentally).’
- b. ལྷ་ལྟོ་བྱོན།
 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.’

Nuosu ditransitive clauses always mark either O or B by a coverb (postposition): 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 O argument *yyx* ‘water’ is partly lexicalized with the verb *sha* ‘sprinkle’ with which it forms a monotransitive verb.

- (64) a. $\text{nga syt kep nyix jjit cyx hna ox.}$
 1P.SG matter several CL 3P.SG ask DP
 ‘I asked him about several things.’
- b. $\text{cy bbut vie yyx sha.}$
 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. $\text{nga hxe ddie lu ti bbyp.}$
 1P.SG fish COV male name give
 ‘I gave Luti a fish.’
- b. $\text{cy rre mop ddie ngax sur.}$
 3P.SG money COV 1P.SG return
 ‘He returned me the money.’
- (66) a. $\text{nga ce bop ddie cyx hxe.}$
 1P.SG salt CL COV.prepare 3P.SG lend
 ‘I lent him a packet of salt.’
- b. $\text{vit gga a shyt ggux su ddie cyx box.}$
 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).

- (70) a. 哈𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
- lat hxa ssox sse jox **hmat.**
 male name pupil toward teach
 'Laha teaches his pupils.'
- b. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
- mu rryr ssox sse **hmat.**
 male name pupil teach
 'Mudge teaches his pupils.'
- c. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
- 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) a. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
- cy i di nrat ggu **ggat.**
 3P.SG clothes beautiful CL wear
 'He wears a beautiful clothing.'
- b. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
- ax mo i di 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.

- (72) a. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
- 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 verb	Complex monotransitive verb	Simplex monotransitive verb	Complex ditransitive verb
bbit 'appear'	bit 'take out'		
nbo 'roll' (intr.)	bop 'roll' (tr.)		
bbup 'loose'	pup 'loosen' (tr.)		
		ndit 'wear' (hat)	dit 'put on' (hat)
		ndo 'drink'	dop/x 'make drink'
		zze 'eat'	zha 'feed'
zzi 'leave over'	zi 'leave over'		
zzur 'be, stand'	cur 'erect, build'		
rry 'torn'	chy 'tear off'		
jjie 'burn'	jie 'burn'		
jjy 'melt'	jy 'melt'		
jjo 'pasture'	juo 'pasture'		
jjuo 'collapse'	quo 'make collapse'		
bie jjuo 'rotten'	bie quo 'corrupt'		
nyi 'sit'	hnip 'make sit'		
ggur 'fear'	gur 'frighten'	ggat 'wear' (shirt)	gat 'dress' (shirt)
lap ggut 'bend'	kut 'bend'	gge 'hear'	ge 'tell'

b. སྒྲིལ་མཉམ་མཉམ་ཅི།

ax yi shax jji **bit**.
child candy take out
'The child took out the candy.'

(73) a. ཅེ་ཅེ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ།

hle bo **nbo** bbo ox.
ball roll go DP
'The ball is rolling.'

b. ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ།

nga vo lip **bop**.
1P.SG snow ball roll
'I am rolling a snow ball.'

(74) a. སྒྲིལ་མཉམ་མཉམ་ཅི།

xyx hnie sy jip **bbup** ox.
shoe lace loosen DP
'The shoelace is loosening.'

b. སྒྲིལ་མཉམ་མཉམ་ཅི།

xyx hnie sy jip **pu** gox sha.
shoe lace loosen SEND
'Untie the shoelaces!'

(75) a. མཉམ་མཉམ་ཅི།

zza **zzi** ox.
food leave over DP
'Food was left over.'

b. ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ།

nga zza **zi** nex da.
1P.SG food leave 2P.SG STP
'I leave the food for you.'

(76) a. སྐོ་ཕུ་གོ་སྐོ་གོ་མཉམ་མཉམ་ཅི།

hxo pu go syr go ap- **zzur**.
mountain LOC tree PRO.LOC NEG- be, stand
'There are no trees on the mountain.'

- b. 我 们 建 了 一 间 大 房 子 。
- ngop wox yie mox ma **cur.**
 1P.PL big house CL build
 ‘We built a large house.’
- (77) a. 衣 服 自 己 破 了 。
- vit gga zyt jie **rry** ox
 clothes REFL rip DP
 ‘The garment tore by itself.’
- b. 我 穿 的 衣 服 破 了 。
- vit gga nga **chy** gox sha
 clothes 1P.SG tear SEND
 ‘I tore the clothes.’
- (78) a. 火 烧 了 。
- mup dut **jie** ox.
 fire burn DP
 ‘The fire burnt.’
- b. 你 有 必 须 点 火 。
- ne mup dut **jie** da ox.
 2P.SG fire burn STP DP
 ‘You have to kindle the fire.’
- (79) a. 钢 化 了 。
- she ddu **jjy** ox.
 steel melt DP
 ‘The steel melted.’
- b. 他 们 熔 了 钢 。
- cop wox shex **gy.**
 3P.PL steel melt
 ‘They melted the steel.’
- (80) a. 牛 在 山 上 吃 草 。
- le bbox pu go **jjo** bbo ox.
 ox mountain LOC pasture go DP
 ‘The ox was pasturing on the mountain.’
- b. 他 带 着 牛 到 绿 地 上 去 。
- 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. 墙 塌 了 。
- za pux **juo** ox.
 wall collapse DP
 ‘The wall has collapsed.’
- b. 他 让 墙 塌 了 。
- cy za pux **quo.**
 3P.SG wall make collapse
 ‘He made the wall collapse.’
- (82) a. 社 会 老 了 。
- jjut zzur ax li cyx ma **bie jjuo.**
 society old DEM.PROX CL rotten
 ‘The society is rotten.’
- b. 这 些 人 在 腐 败 社 会 。
- co cyx gge jjut zzur **bie quo** njuo.
 person DEM.PROX CL society corrupt PROG
 ‘These people are corrupting society.’

- (89) a. $\text{nit ddop ma nga gge ox.}$
 2P.SG.POSS word CL 1P.SG hear DP
 ‘I heard your word.’
- b. $\text{nga bbux dde syp cyx ge.}$
 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. $\text{ne ngat xyx hnie ssip da.}$
 2P.SG 1P.SG shoe use STP
 ‘You use my shoes.’
- b. $\text{jjot bbip nga sip mo!}$
 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 6.8: Polysemous coverbs

Coverb	Grammatical functions	Sections
sip/six 'take'	– Agent coverb, – Instrumental coverb, – Resultative conjunction	section 6.2.1.B section 6.2.7.A section 13.3
bbyp 'give'	– Causee coverb, – Recipient coverb	section 6.2.3.A section 6.2.4.A
ddie 'prepare'	– Goal coverb, – Causee coverb	section 6.2.2.A section 6.2.3.B
shu 'make'	– Causee coverb, – Valence particle	section 6.2.1.D section 12.2
da 'put'	– Locative coverb, – Stative perfect	section 6.2.5.A section 7.7.1
ddix 'say'	– Locative coverb – Quotative particle – Complementizer	section 6.2.5.B section 8.3.1.A section 8.3.1.B
sat 'point out'	– Reference coverb – Exhaustion particle	section 6.2.7.B section 7.5.1

(92) 丫峯峯峯峯峯峯峯峯峯峯。

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.

(93) a. 峯峯峯峯峯峯峯峯峯峯。

vap la suox ggu cy **gep** chyp da ox.
 cloak NUM.3 CL 3P.SG COV.add weave STP DP
 'Three cloaks were weaved by her.'

b. 丫丫丫丫丫丫丫丫丫。

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.'

c. 峯峯峯峯峯峯峯峯峯峯。

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.'

- b. 𐄇𐄛𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄛𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢。
 get lu yiet cy **gep** sso da ox.
 skill CL 3P.SG COV.add study STP DP
 ‘A skill was acquired by him.’
- c. 𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿。
 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. 𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿。
 rre mop ax nyi gge cy **sip**.
 money much CL 3P.SG take
 ‘He took a lot of money.’
- b. 𐄇𐄛𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄛𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿。
 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. 𐄇𐄛𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄛𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿。
 nit uop lur cy **sip** ndit.
 2P.SG hat 3P.SG COV.take put on
 ‘He put on your hat.’
- b. 𐄇𐄛𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄛𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿。
 ax yi ax mo **sip** jyt.
 child mother COV.take beat
 ‘The child is beaten by her mother.’
- c. 𐄇𐄛𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄛𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿。
 jie bop nga **sip** zhe.
 rope 1P.SG COV.take cut
 ‘The rope was cut by me.’

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*.

- (102) a. 烟×₃吐₃烟₃。
 yi cy **gep sip** ndo hxex.
 tobacco 3P.SG COV drink, inhale LOOK
 ‘He is trying to smoke tobacco.’
- b. 丫₃×₃取₃木₃×₃吐₃杯₃。
 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.’
- c. 穿₃×₃吐₃衣₃×₃吐₃家₃。
 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 <i>sip</i> ‘take’	
(ii) Agentive postposition <i>sip</i>	section 6.2.1.B
(iii) Instrumental postposition <i>six</i>	section 6.2.7.A
(iv) Resultative conjunction <i>six</i>	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.

- (103) a. 吐₃肉₃名₃。
 vot she gge mu hlie **sip**.
 pork CL male name take
 ‘Muhlie took the pork.’
- b. 名₃吐₃肉₃。
 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.

- (104) 𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈。
 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) 𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐。
 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.

- (106) a. 𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛。
 vit gga cy ddiex bur **six** iet zyr ox.
 clothes 3P.SG change RES small DP
 'She downsized the clothes.'
- b. 𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨。
 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:

NP₁ [NP₂ *sip*] [NP₃ V] → NP₁ [NP₂ *sip* NP₃ V]

NP₁ [NP₂ *six*] [NP₃ V] → NP₁ [NP₂ *six* NP₃ V]

- b. འཇིགས་ལུང་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་།
 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.

- (115) a. འཇིགས་ལུང་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་།
 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.’
- b. ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་།
 mge fu cop ddie nga **bbyx** zze shux.
 buckwheat bread 3P.PL COV 1P.SG COV eat CAUS
 ‘They fed me with buckwheat bread.’
- c. འཇིགས་ལུང་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་།
 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.’
- d. འཇིགས་ལུང་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་།
 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.’
- e. འཇིགས་ལུང་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་།
 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.

- (116) འཇིགས་ལུང་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་།
 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.’

- b. 𐌵𐌶𐌰𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼?
 zhep sse **ga** kat qyp da?
 bowl COV.drop where put STP
 ‘Where did you put the bowl?’
- c. 𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿。
 yix bo cy **ga** nga dox.
 tobacco CL 3P.SG COV.drop 1P.SG smoke
 ‘He let me smoke a packet of cigarettes.’
- d. 𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿?
 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.

- (125) a. 𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿。
 xyp mop **ga** mu jie bbyx yu shux.
 wife, bride COV.drop male name COV.give marry CAUS
 ‘Let Mujie choose his wife.’
- b. 𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿 (*𐌺) 𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿。
 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. 𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿?
 ne nry **shux shu**?
 2P.SG wine make~ALT
 ‘Did you drink wine?’

- b. 佻事冇事。

cop wox syt ap- **shu**.

3P.PL thing NEG- do

'They did nothing.'
- c. 事食咗。

ngop wox zzax **shu** ox.

1P.PL food make DP

'We have already eaten.'
- d. 佻射鸟。

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).

- (127) 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).

- (128) a. 佻日佻事佻事。

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.'
- b. 佻日佻事佻事。

ap ndi hxix cop wox ngax **shu** rre 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 *cy* (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).

- (129) a. 事此, 事。

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.'

- b. 吓死我心胆几乎死。
 nga cy **shu** jy jie sy dax qi.
 1P.SG 3P.SG COV.make fear die almost
 ‘It scared me almost to death.’
- c. 他使我们出去。
 ngop cy **shu** ddur bbo.
 1P.SG 3P.SG COV.make exit go
 ‘He made us go out.’
- d. 他的手使我们感动。
 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.

- (130) a. 他心里想了一天。
 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.’
- b. 医生不允许病人动。
 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 reserved 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.

- b. ນ້າ ຈາ ມາ ສູນ ນີ ບ້ຍຂ.
 nga zza ma sur ne **bbyx**.
 1P.SG crops return 2P.SG lend
 ‘I return to you the crops.’
- (133) a. ຈຶ ມຸນ ມອບ ດີ ນັ ພີ.
 cy rre mop ddie nex hxe.
 3P.SG money COV 2P.SG lend
 ‘He lends you money.’
- b. ຈຶ ມຸນ ມອບ ພີ ນີ ບ້ຍຂ.
 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) a. *ນ້າ ດອບ ມາ ຈຶ ຈອ ນັ ພີ ບ້ຍຂ.
 *nga ddop ma cyp go hna nex **bbyp**.
 1P.SG word NUM.1 CL ask 2P.SG COV
 ‘I ask you one word.’
- b. ນ້າ ດອບ ມາ ຈຶ ຈອ ນັ ພີ ພີ.
 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. *ຈຶ ນຽ ດອ ນັ ນ້າ ບ້ຍຂ.
 *cy nry dox nga **bbyx**.
 3P.SG wine make drink 1P.SG COV
 ‘He gave me wine to drink.’
- b. ຈຶ ນຽ ດີ ນັ ດອ.
 cy nry ddie nga dox.
 3P.SG wine COV 1P.SG make drink
 ‘He gave me wine to drink.’
- (136) a. *ລູ ພອ ພີ ຈີ ນັ ນັ ພີ ພີ.
 *lu po hxie mgat sso nga **bbyx** qi.
 male name Chinese study 1P.SG COV want
 ‘Lupo wants to learn Chinese from me.’

- b. ལུཏི་གོ་དམའ་མཁུ་གཏུག་གི་།
 lu ti 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 uncertain. 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.

- (137) a. བུ་ཕྱོད་ལྷོ་ཕོག་པུ་།
 ngop juo jjop **jox** li.
 1P.PL Zhaojue County toward go up
 ‘Let us go up to Zhaojue.’
- b. རྩེ་མཁུ་འཕྱོད་ལྷོ་ཕོག་པུ་།
 hxie zyr jji yyx hmy **jox** bbo.
 bird fly south toward go
 ‘The bird flies towards the south.’
- c. མུ་ག་གོ་དམའ་མཁུ་གཏུག་གི་ལུ་རམ་གཏུག་།
 mu ga 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. མུ་ཕྱོད་ལྷོ་ཕོག་པུ་།
 cy ngat **jox** lot hxi.
 3P.SG 1P.SG toward hand wave
 ‘He is waving his hand toward me.’
- b. ཡུ་མུ་མཁུ་ཕྱོད་ལྷོ་ཕོག་པུ་།
 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. མུ་མོ་མུ་ཡི་གོ་དམའ་མཁུ་གཏུག་གི་།
 ax mo ax yi **jox** zyt.
 mother child toward scold
 ‘The mother is scolding the child.’

- b. 𐄎𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗?
 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, *da* is the principle marker of locative phrases. Locative phrases have the following structure.

(141) NP+locative particle+*da*

Locative phrases marked by *da* are illustrated below. With non-motion verbs, *da* marks a non-dynamic location. With motion-verbs, *da* indicates the origin of motion.

- (142) a. 𐄎𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟.
 cop wox yi wax nuo jox **da** nyop mu ge.
 3P.PL house behind LOC COV work PROG
 ‘They are working behind the house.’
- b. 𐄎𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟.
 cy hxie mat go **da** ngop die ox.
 3P.SG heart LOC COV doubt DP
 ‘He is doubting in his heart.’
- c. 𐄎𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟.
 hxie zyr ma mo mu go **da** vo njuo.
 bird CL sky LOC COV fly PROG
 ‘A bird is flying in the sky.’
- d. 𐄎𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟.
 at nyop ku jox **da** ip ko ggot.
 female name inside LOC COV door close
 ‘Anyo closes the door from the inside.’
- e. 𐄎𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟.
 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 *da* and the source coverb *da* is illustrated for the following minimal pair of examples.

- (143) a. 𐄎𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟.
 nga bbox sse tot jop **da** hxep.
 1P.SG mountain upside LOC COV see
 ‘I am watching something on top of the mountain.’

- b. བྱ་རྒྱུ་ལྟོགས་ལ་, བྱ་དེ་ཤིང་།
 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. མཉམ་མཉམ་ལྟོགས་ལ་།
 ix yi vyt vu **ddix** la. Origin
 younger brother elder brother COV come
 ‘The younger brother comes from his brother’s home.’
- d. ལྷན་ལུ་ལྟོགས་ལྟོགས་ལ་།
 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.

- (148) ལྟོགས་ལྟོགས་ལ་།
 nit re 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 *ddi** 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.

- (149) a. ལྟོགས་ལྟོགས་ལ་།
 nit hmi ngat **ddip** da cy jji su.
 2P.SG.POSS name 1P.SG.POSS COV STP 3P.SG know NOM
 ‘He got to know your name from me.’
- b. ལྟོགས་ལྟོགས་ལ་།
 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 *da*. The string *ddix da* emphasizes the stative aspect of the locative relation.

- (150) a. ལྟོགས་ལྟོགས་ལ་།
 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.’

- (157) a. ວິໄສໄຊຊື່ນຳພີ່ນ້ອງຮັບຮູ້.
 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).’
- b. ຫິ່ນຊີ້ນຳພີ່ນ້ອງກິນອາຫານ.
 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.’
- c. ຫາກອື່ນຊື່ນຳພີ່ນ້ອງກິນອາຫານ.
 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.

- (158) a. ຜູ້ເຂົ້າຊົມບໍ່ສາມາດກວດສອບ.
 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. ຫາກຮູ້ກິນ.
 cy nga **mox** nry ndo. without *da*
 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 *xi* ‘arrive’

The coverb *xi* ‘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.

- (159) a. ມູເລີ້ຍາມາຮອດເຮືອນລາມອ.
 mu hlie la **six** lat mop jiet ddu **xi**.
 male name come DIR male name home COV.arrive
 ‘Muhlie arrives at Lamo’s home.’

- b. 刈至匪申口至匪刈。
 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.

- (160) a. 刈至匪申口至匪刈。
 hxie zyr ggex su jji **six** op rro **xi**.
 bird ART fly DIR Xichang COV.arrive
 ‘The birds flew to Xichang.’
- b. *刈至匪申口至匪刈。
 *ax nyie sse shyr **six** mu ti **xi**.
 little cat meow DIR morning COV.arrive
 ‘The little cat meowed until in the morning.’

- (161) 刈至匪申口至匪刈 / 匪至匪刈。
 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’.

- (162) a. 刈至匪申口至匪刈。
 syt cy jjit 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. 刈至匪申口至匪刈。
 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.’
- c. 刈至匪申口至匪刈。
 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.’

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 marking noun phrases as abstract reference points, as in (168).

(167) ㄸㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴ。

yo ggex su hxo pu **hxep** da bot.
sheep ART mountain COV.see STP run
'The sheep ran towards the mountain.'

(168) a. ㄸㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴ。

ne sut co **hxex** da vy.
2P.SG others person COV.see STP buy
'Purchase according to (what) others (purchase).'

b. ㄸㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴ。

ne tit cyx gge **hxex** da sot.
2P.SG here DEM.PROX CL COV.see STP calculate
'Calculate according to this here.'

c. ㄸㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴ。

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 *da* with which it forms a close unit.

(169) ㄸㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴ。

lat rep co **hxex** da cox ku.
thief person COV.see STP person steal
'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 compatible with the progress marker *njuo*.

(170) a. ㄸㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴ。

nop wox ggap mop ax yy jix su **chop**.
2P.PL road big ART go along
'Move forward along the big road.'

- b. 𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥

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 *dop*.

- (176) a. 他指着那里。

kat bbo su cy **sat** da.

where go NOM 3P.SG point out STP

‘He pointed out where to go.’
- b. 他们在这里放了一个牌子。

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) a. 他们强调他们只会吃猪肉。

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.’
- b. 他们强调他们只会去西昌。

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.

- (178) a. 他瞄准靶子。

nit hot **sat** da nbie.

2P.SG.POSS target COV.point out STP shoot

‘Shoot at the target.’
- b. 他正对着树砍。

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).’

The postposition *mgep/mgex* cannot be negated or reduplicated. It is often but not always followed by the stative perfect particle *da*.

- (188) a. ཁྱེད་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་།
 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.’
- b. མ་མཁུ་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་།
 ax mo ax yi **mgex** da shax jji mge.
 mother child COV.mix STP candy chew
 ‘The mother is eating candies with her child.’
- c. མཁུ་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་།
 ax yi ax mo **mgex** da ngo.
 child mother COV.mix STP weep
 ‘The child is weeping together with her mother.’
- d. ཁྱེད་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་།
 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).

- (189) a. ཁྱེད་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་།
 #nga cop wox **mgep** da jy jie.
 1P.SG 3P.PL COV.mix STP fear
 ‘I am afraid of them.’
- b. ཁྱེད་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་།
 #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 *mu* (section 5.3.2.J). The verb *rrop zip* occurs as independent predicate, as in (190a), and in serial verb constructions, as in (190b).

- (190) a. ཁྱེད་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་།
 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.’

- (198) མུཔ་སྤེལ་མུཔ་མུཔ་ རྩ་མགོཏ་
 mup sse mup mop **wa mgot**.
 colt mare pursue
 ‘The colt follows the mare.’

As postposition, *wa mgot* ‘after’ conveys temporal succession. It co-occurs with a large range of volitional verbs which are compatible with this concept.

- (199) a. ཡི་མཚན་ལྟར་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ རྩ་མགོཏ་ དེ་ ཇལ་ ཇལ་ ལོ་
 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. ཡི་མཚན་ལྟར་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ རྩ་མགོཏ་ དེ་ ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ སྤྲོ་ ལོ་
 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.’
- c. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ རྩ་མགོཏ་ དེ་ ལྷོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་
 nga cop **wa mgot** da shut la ox.
 1P.SG 3P.PL COV.after STP remember come DP
 ‘I remembered it after they did.’
- d. མུ་གམ་ མུ་གམ་ རྩ་མགོཏ་ དེ་ ལམ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་
 mu ga mu gox **wa mgot** da ka bba wep ox.
 male name male name COV.after STP prizet receive DP
 ‘Muga received a prize after Mugo did.’
- e. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ རྩ་མགོཏ་ དེ་ ལོ་
 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 position is held. Locative phrases use common nouns or place names, a locative particle and the coverb *da* (section 6.2.5.A).

(200) NP + Locative Particle + *da*

The following example illustrates a locative phrase marked by underlining.

- (201) 𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡

- b. ກຸ່ມນັກຮຽນຢູ່ນອກເມັງ.
 cy lur kur hxi jox it.
 3P.SG city outside live
 ‘He lives outside the city.’
- (210) a. ພົນນັກຮຽນຢູ່ຕາເວັນຕົກຂອງຫມູ່ນ້ຳ.
 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.’
- b. ມຸ່ງຢູ່ກາງຄຳວ່າຂອງພົນນັກຮຽນ.
 mu ga cop wox gat zyr jox da ddop hxip
 name 3P.PL in middle of LOC STP word say
 ‘Muga is standing in their midst.’
- c. ພົນນັກຮຽນບັນທຶກປາກົນຢູ່ອ້ອມຂ້າງບ້ານແລະເມັງ.
 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.

- (211) a. ນ້ອງຍາວຢູ່ລຸ່ມເຮືອນ.
 vyt vu ot jop da tep yy sso.
 elder brother downstairs COV book study
 ‘The brother is studying downstairs.’
- b. ກຸ່ມນັກຮຽນຢູ່ເທິງຄຳວ່າຂອງພົນນັກຮຽນ.
 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 *da* is omitted in this construction.

- (212) a. ມື້ນ້ອຍ (ມື້ນ້ອຍ) ມີຮູບຮ່າງຫຼາຍ.
 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.’

- b. $\text{yi} \quad \text{hxi jox} \quad (*\text{da}) \quad \text{cox} \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{ip ko} \quad \text{ndup} \quad \text{njuo}.$
 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 directional covers 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)
ix cy ‘downwards’	jjyp ‘downwards’ (only pronominally)

The particles are generally used with a physical interpretation as in the following examples.

- (213) a. $\text{cy} \quad \text{hxo pu} \quad \text{uo mgut} \quad \text{li} \quad \text{da} \quad \text{mup} \quad \text{zzy} \quad \text{bbo}.$
 3P.SG mountain upside go up STP horse ride go
 ‘He is riding a horse up the mountain.’
- b. $\text{ssox sse} \quad \text{uo mgut} \quad \text{li} \quad \text{da} \quad \text{tep yy} \quad \text{sso}.$
 student upside go up STP book study
 ‘The student is going up reading a book.’
- c. $\text{ne} \quad \text{ap nryr mu} \quad \text{hxat} \quad \text{li}.$
 2P.SG really, definitely LOC.up to go up
 ‘You must go up.’
- (214) a. $\text{mu rryr} \quad \text{hxo pu} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{da} \quad \text{ix cy} \quad \text{la}.$
 male name mountain LOC COV.put down come
 ‘Mudge is coming down from the top of the mountain.’

- (216) a. *མ་ང་མི་གོ་མཁུ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 *nga ix go da **ddur** ox.
 1P.SG house COV exit DP
 ‘I return from here.’
- b. *མ་ང་མི་གོ་མཁུ་འཇུག་ཅིང་།
 *nga ix go go **vur** ox.
 1P.SG house LOC enter DP
 ‘I rise from here.’
- c. མ་མཚན་མཁུ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 nga tit da **dep** ox.
 1P.SG here COV rise DP
 ‘I rise from here.’
- (217) a. མ་མཚན་མཁུ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 nga tit da **bur** ox.
 1P.SG here COV return DP
 ‘I return from here.’
- b. མུ་ག་རུ་ལོ་མཁུ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 mu ga rruo nuo **bur** la ox.
 male name Mianning County return come DP
 ‘Muga came back from Mianning County.’
- c. རྩོམ་མཁུ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 bburx **bur**
 write return
 ‘write again’
- d. རེད་མཁུ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 hxip **bur**
 say return
 ‘say again.’
- e. མ་མཚན་མཁུ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 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. རྩོམ་མཁུ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 hxit jo mu **dep** **la**.
 quick ADVL stand up come
 ‘Stand up quickly.’
- b. མ་ང་མི་གོ་མཁུ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 nga wax bbu hlep **bur** **bbo**.
 1P.SG next month return come
 ‘I go back next month.’

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 structure 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) S/he typed the letter *p* in an instant/*in one hour.
 (7) 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’.¹

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.

(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 objects 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:

TT and TU

Past tense	TT < TU (TT before TU)
Present tense	TU \subseteq TT (TU included in TT)
Future tense	TT > TU (TT after TU)

Klein (1992: 537) defines *aspect* as a relationship between TS and TT not as a relationship between TT and TU.

TT and TS

Perfective	$TS_{\text{END}} \subseteq TT$	(TT including end of TS)
Imperfective	$TT \subsetneq TS$	(TT properly in TS)
Prospective	$TT < TS$	(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 of attested Nuosu category
phasal aspect	ingressive	section 7.2
	continuous	section 7.2
	egressive	section 7.2
	resultative	section 7.3
perfectivity/imperfectivity	progressive aspect	section 7.4
	perfective aspect	section 7.5
quantitative aspect	experiential	section 7.6.1
	periodical	section 7.6.2
	habitual	section 7.6.3
perspectival aspect	perfect	section 7.7
absolute tense	past	–
	future	section 7.8

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).

- c. 猪皮放在嘴里嚼。
 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.'
- d. 泥浆打在腿上。
 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.

- (20) a. 任何女正在说。
 at nyop **go zix** ddop hxip (ge).
 female name INSERT word speak PROG
 'Anyo is in the process of saying something.'
- b. 我正在数钱时，穆利见我。
 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.'
- c. 有声音在喊。
 fu zzi **go zix** shyр 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.

- (21) གཉན་ལྷན་འགྲོ་བའོ།
 ngop wox jgy gex ku vur hxi **ddur**.
 1P.PL together inside enter outside exit
 ‘We enter and go out together.’
- (22) གཉན་གཉན་འགྲོ།
 cyp nyit **ddur** bbo ox.
 3P.DL exit go DP
 ‘They both went out.’
- (23) a. གཉན་ལྷན་འགྲོ་བའོ།
 nga syt cy jjit hxep **ddur** la ox.
 1P.SG matter DEM.PROX CL see exit come DP
 ‘I recognized this matter.’ (*lit.* recognize = see-exit-come)
- b. གཉན་ལྷན་འགྲོ་བའོ།
 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. གཉན་གཉན་འགྲོ་བའོ།
 nga gup ma ax nyi gge **ddur** ox.
 1P.SG sweat QUANT.much CL exit DP
 ‘I am sweating a lot.’
- b. གཉན་ལྷན་འགྲོ།
 nit lot jy sy **ddur**.
 2P.SG.POSS finger blood exit
 ‘Your finger is bleeding.’
- c. གཉན་ལྷན་འགྲོ།
 cyp ip mop ma wa **ddur**.
 3P.SG.POSS stomach ulcer exit
 ‘He has ulcers in his stomach.’
- d. གཉན་ལྷན་འགྲོ།
 syt cy jjit **gox ddur** ox.
 thing DEM.PROX CL happen DP
 ‘This thing has happened.’

b. ㄉㄨㄟㄉㄨㄟㄩㄟㄩㄟㄩㄟ。

yy jjur yy **qot** ndo ap- hxit su **jjip**.
 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.

(27) ㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟ。

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’.

(28) ㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟ。

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.

(29) a. ㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟ。

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. ㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟ。

syp vo xie **wex** ox.
 peach pick GET DP
 ‘(We) have collected the peaches.’

- d. ຈິງຊີຢຸດຮັດ。
 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. ມູເລີຍໂຮງມຸກຮັດ。
 mu hlie li mu ga ndup **ssop**.
 male name TOP male name hit END
 ‘Muhlie endured Muga’s beating.’
- b. ຈຸບຸໂຮງຮັດ。
 cy gop bo go na **ssop**.
 3P.SG body LOC ill END
 ‘He is ailing in his body.’
- c. ອົງເຈີຍໂຮງຮັດ ມຸກຮັດ。
 le jix su mu ga 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’.

- (39) ຈົງຊີຢຸດຮັດ ຈິງຊີຢຸດຮັດ ຈິງຊີຢຸດຮັດ。
 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.

- (40) a. ມູເລີຍໂຮງມຸກຮັດ ມູເລີຍໂຮງມຸກຮັດ ມູເລີຍໂຮງມຸກຮັດ。
 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. * $\text{shax tur cy ji cy ndup njuo.}$

bullet NUM.1 CL 3P.SG shoot PROG
 ‘He is shooting one bullet.’

c. * $\text{mu zzyr la syr a zzyx bbo ssop njuo.}$

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.

(45) $\text{cy ip ko mop tup gie njuo.}$

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. $\text{mo mu mu hlit njuo.}$

sky flash PROG
 ‘The sky is flashing (many times).’

b. $\text{shax tur ax nyi gge cy sip ndup njuo.}$

bullet many many 3P.SG COV.take shoot PROG
 ‘He is shooting many bullets.’

c. $\text{zhap dap ggex su go zix bbit njuo.}$

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) a. 嗒呼晒母对非早葛。
 hxi jox cox ma ip ko ndup **njuo**.
 LOC.outside person CL door knock PROG
 ‘There is someone knocking at the door outside.’
- b. 晒回宰成路母丫圣字非非事葛。
 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.’
- c. 对冒母非母晒成早葛。
 ip mop mit sip gup lu lup mu mo **njuo**.
 belly hungry RES IDE ADVL growl PROG
 ‘His belly is growling with hunger.’
- d. 母非丫字非成采晒母非非事葛。
 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.’
- e. 上晒母晒母非非母非非事葛。
 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.

- (48) a. *晒成非非井日水呼非非事葛。
 *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. *晒泉非非事葛。
 *vip si bur la **njuo**.
 houselord return come PROG
 ‘The houselord is returning.’
- c. *晒母晒成非非非事葛。
 *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.’

(53) $\text{le co mgot le ho go zip njuo.}$

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*.

(54) a. $\text{zza hmot co ip ko bbux xy hxit njuo.}$

zza hmot co ip ko bbux xy hxit **njuo.**
 beggar door next to stand PROG
 ‘A beggar is standing at the door outside.’

b. $\text{nga lur mat tot nyi njuo.}$

nga lur mat tot nyi **njuo.**
 1P.SG rock LOC.on top of sit PROG
 ‘I am sitting on a rock.’

c. $\text{cop wox hxo pu go it njuo.}$

cop wox hxo pu go it **njuo.**
 3P.PL mountain LOC live PROG
 ‘They are living in the mountains.’

d. $\text{cy bbo xy go da it nyi gu njuo.}$

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.

(55) a. $\text{nyop mu co ma hxa jjip su la hxex njuo.}$

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.

- b. ວຸຈີເອໂປວຍເມັດຊື່ງຸ່ງ.
 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 progressive marker *ge*.

- (70) a. ພືດແຫຼ້ງແຫຼ້ງນ້ຳຕົວຊື່ງຸ່ງ.
 viex vie a vu su ie qyt kop ge.
 flower dry NOM water need PROG
 ‘The flower is needing water.’
- b. ຍາຊາລຸຣມາເມັດຊື່ງຸ່ງ.
 syr zza lur ma hmip ge.
 fruit ripe PROG
 ‘The fruit is becoming ripe.’
- c. ພືດຊື່ງຸ່ງເຂັ້ມເຂັ້ມຊື່ງຸ່ງ.
 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 progressive particle *ge*.

- (71) a. ຈຳນິຍົມນັ້ນຢູ່ເຮືອນຊື່ງຸ່ງ.
 at nyop yi go da it nyi gu ge.
 female name house LOC COV.put sleep PROG
 ‘Anyo is sleeping at home.’
- b. ວຸຈີເອໂປວຍເມັດຊື່ງຸ່ງຢູ່ທີ່ເມັດຊື່ງຸ່ງ.
 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*.

- (72) a. *nga jjiix do ge.
 1P.SG tired PROG
 Intended meaning: 'I am tired.'
- b. *ax yi ggex su hxie mat kat ge.
 child ART happy PROG
 Intended meaning: 'The children are happy.'
- c. *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*.

- (73) a. *lat hxa li ax yy ge.
 male name TOP big PROG
 Intended meaning: 'Laha is big.'
- b. *ax yi 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. *ax yi max su it ggo tot hxit ge.
 child ART=CL-DET bed LOC.on stand PROG
 Intended meaning: 'The child is standing on the bed.'
- b. *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-categorical 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	√
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

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 *mək*^w. There is one difference between the Nuosu particle and Salish *mək*^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 ɿ ‘əw’ ɲa-t-Ø cə 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.’

- b. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆

Without temporal measure, rainfall cannot be modified by the exhaustion particle; with a temporal frame it can.

- (91) a. # θ θ θ θ θ .
 #ma hxa jjip **sat** ox.
 rain become EXH DP
 ‘It has stopped raining.’
- b. θ θ θ θ θ , θ θ θ θ θ .
 mu ti te go, ma hxa jjip **sat** ox.
 sky dawn when rain become EXH DP
 ‘When it became dawn, the rain completely stopped.’

The verb *ti* ‘dawn’ is a gradual intransitive verb. Its argument *mu* ‘sky’ is homogenous and refers to sky layers. It cannot be quantified by *sat*.

- (92) a. θ θ θ .
 mu ti ox.
 sky dawn DP
 ‘It became dawn.’
- b. # θ θ θ θ θ .
 #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. θ θ θ θ θ ?
 co la **sat sat** ox?
 person come EXH~ALT DP
 ‘Did all the people come?’
- b. * θ θ θ θ θ ?
 *cy la **sat sat** ox?
 3P.SG come EXH~ALT DP
 Intended meaning: ‘Has he all come?’

¹⁰ (93a) is quoted from Li & Mǎ’s conversational textbook (1981: 5) where the leader of an agricultural commune wonders whether all co-workers showed up for the daily work.

The following two examples use adjectives with their ideophone. The resulting complex predicates are ungradable.

- (100) a. 花全紅 (Hjj) ㄹ。
 bbut vie hnix lo lo (mu jjix) sat.
 flower very red ADVL become EXH
 ‘The flowers are all very red.’
- b. 人黑 (Hjj) ㄹ。
 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 quantized in the mind of the speaker. On a second reading, glossed in (101a-ii), the comparison class is cumulative / homogenous.

- (101) a. 那件衣服最漂亮。
 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.

- b. 那些衣服都漂亮。
 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 combination of both.

Table 7.5: The quantificational meaning of the exhaustion particle

<i>First NP: Object Denotation</i>						
<i>VP: Event Denotation</i>	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)
<i>VP: State Denotation</i>						
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

- c. *ལྷ་ལྷ་ལོ་ཤིང་།
 *vot na sy **nzox**.
 pig ill die EXP
 Intended meaning: ‘The pig was ill and died.’
- d. *ལྷ་ལྷ་ལོ་ཤིང་ཤིང་།
 *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 *nzox* 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.

- (105) a. འདི་ལྷ་ལོ་ཤིང་།
 ip nyip nga yy ndo **nzox**.
 today 1P.SG water drink EXP
 ‘Today I have drunken water.’
- b. *ལྷ་ལྷ་ལོ་ཤིང་།
 *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.

- (106) a. ལྷ་ལྷ་ལོ་ཤིང་ལོ་ཤིང་།
 ap ndi hxix hxo bbu ket mop shyp die te go ggot nuo
 yesterday sun evening NUM.7 hour time LOC close black
 vur **nzox**.
 enter EXP
 ‘The sun set yesterday at seven o’clock.’
- b. *ལྷ་ལྷ་ལོ་ཤིང་ལོ་ཤིང་།
 *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).

- (111) a. * 花 花 又 小 开 过 一 次 .
 *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.’
- b. * 爷爷 有 不治 之 症 .
 *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.’
- c. * 这孩子 在 中国 注册 过 一 次 .
 *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 hùkǒu*).’
- d. * 他 的 妈 妈 去 年 死 了 .
 *cyp a mat ap hxiet ddip kut mop jii **ndit**.
 3P.SG mother last year decease PER
 Intended meaning: ‘His mother died last year.’
- e. * 雪 昨 天 下 过 一 次 .
 *vo ap ndi hxix jjip su jyy **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*.

- (112) a. $\text{六 月 七 月 我 们 这 里 每 时 每 刻 都 下 雨}$.
 fut hlep shyp hlep ngop mu ddix ma hxa jjip **ndit**.
 June July 1P.PL area rain become PER
 ‘In June and July, it rained in our area every now and then.’
- b. $\text{六 月 七 月 我 们 这 里 几 乎 从 不 下 雨}$.
 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.’
- (113) a. 我 时 常 跳 舞 .
 nga biex qie **ndit**.
 1P.SG dance PER
 ‘I dance sometimes.’
- b. 我 几 乎 从 不 跳 舞 .
 nga biex qie ap- **ndit**.
 1P.SG dance NEG- PER
 ‘I almost never dance.’

- b. 那里几乎没有风暴。
 a ddit go hlyx guo pur ap- **ndit.**
 there LOC storm blow NEG- PER
 ‘There is rarely a storm.’
- (119) a. 他们的家被偷了一次。
 cop jiet co gox ku la **ndit.**
 3P.PL.POSS home person LOC steal come PER
 ‘Their home is broken into once in a while.’
- b. 他们的家几乎被偷。
 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. 他的身体偶尔好。
 cyp gop bo vat **ndit.**
 3P.SG body good PER
 ‘His/her health is good occasionally.’
- b. 他的身体几乎好。
 cyp gop bo vat ap- **ndit.**
 3P.SG body good NEG- PER
 ‘His/her health is rarely good.’
- (121) a. 赵姐很开心。
 vut jy hxie mat kat **ndit.**
 female name heart happy PER
 ‘Vudje is happy once in a while.’
- b. 赵姐几乎不开心。
 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.

- (122) a. 母亲洗衣服。
 ax mo vit gga yyx cy **ndit.**
 mother clothes wash PER
 ‘Mother washes clothes once in a while.’

- b. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆

- b. * $\text{ㄋㄨㄛˊ ㄙㄨ ㄘㄛ ㄢㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ ㄆㄚ ㄙㄨ ㄕㄨㄛ ㄇㄛ ㄒㄨㄛ ㄇㄛ ㄒㄨㄛ}$.
 *nuo su co ax nyi ggux pa su sip chuo it **ndit**.
 Nuosu person many CL.part NOM Sichuān live PER
 ‘Most Nuosu lived in Sīchuān (*once in a while).’
- c. * $\text{ㄞ ㄋㄚˊ ㄨㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ ㄌㄧ ㄌㄩ ㄏㄨㄛ ㄊㄜ ㄍㄜ ㄋㄜ ㄋㄜ}$.
 *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 extremities of the body (*gloves*), plants (*leaves*) and a few abstract items (*name, letter*).

- (127) a. ㄘㄩ ㄨㄛ ㄋㄩㄝ ㄋㄜ .
 cy uo nyie **ndit**.
 3P.SG hair have
 ‘He has hair.’
- b. ㄘㄩ ㄏㄋㄚ ㄅㄛ ㄋㄜ .
 cy hnap bo **ndit**.
 3P.SG ear have
 ‘He has ears.’
- c. ㄘㄩ ㄌㄛ ㄋㄜ .
 cy lot **ndit**.
 3P.SG hand have
 ‘He has hands.’
- d. ㄘㄩ ㄋㄩㄛ ㄗㄩ ㄋㄜ .
 cy nyuo zzy **ndit**.
 3P.SG eye have
 ‘He has eyes.’
- e. ㄙㄩㄣ ㄅㄛ ㄙㄩㄣ ㄗㄩ ㄋㄜ .
 syr bbo syr qi **ndit**.
 tree leaves have
 ‘The tree has leaves.’
- f. ㄙㄩㄣ ㄅㄛ ㄇㄚ ㄇㄚ ㄋㄜ .
 syr bbo max ma **ndit**.
 tree fruit bear
 ‘The tree bears fruit.’
- g. ㄊㄞ ㄩㄣˊ ㄅㄨㄣˊ ㄇㄚ ㄋㄜ .
 tep yy bbur ma **ndit**.
 book letter write
 ‘It is written in the book.’
- h. ㄘㄩ ㄏㄇㄩ ㄋㄜ .
 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.

- (128) $\text{ㄞ ㄩㄣˊ ㄌㄩ ㄏㄌㄩ ㄋㄩㄣˊ ㄗㄩ ㄗㄩ ㄋㄜ ㄋㄜ}$.
 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) 他们好久没打了?
 cop wox jiyx- 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 meaning. 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)	‘once in a while’
	possible	TS \subseteq TT	
	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 *shex/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 following four unrepeatable situations show this point.

- (130) a. *# \in ④ shex .
 *syp nju hmip **go shex**.
 tangerine ripe HAB
 Intended meaning: ‘The tangerine used to be ripe.’

c. * μ g α li cyp sse nge **go shex**.

*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 \subseteq TT).

Table 7.11: Profile of the habitual marker

Constraints on underlying clause		Aspect-Tense	Quantification
unrepeatable		*(ungrammatical)	
weak-repeatable	impossible	*(ungrammatical)	
	possible	TS \subseteq TT	‘often, used to’
	necessary	TS \subseteq TT	‘always’
strong-repeatable		*(ungrammatical)	

7.6.4 Verb classifiers

While the experiential, periodical and habitual aspects convey vague quantificational 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) μ li α μ yo

co suo **yo**
person NUM.3 CL
‘three people’

The classifier *yo* 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.

Table 7.12: Sortal verb classifiers

Sortal Verb Classifier	Instrumental Noun	Nuosu VCL	Mandarin VCL
'hand'	lot 手	–	shǒu 手
'fist'	gup zyp 拳	–	quán 拳
'palm'	lot bbu 掌	–	bāzhǎng 巴掌
'foot'	jy xy 脚	–	jiǎo 脚
'mouth'	bba hluop 嘴	bba hluop 嘴	kǒu 口
'eye'	nyuo zzyz 眼	–	yǎn 眼
'knife'	ddox mu 刀	–	dāo 刀
'gun'	hnap chot 枪	–	qiāng 枪
'hammer'	la tur 锤	–	chuí 锤
'pickaxe'	zyt mop 锄头	cha 束	chútou 锄头
'axe'	vi mop 斧头	–	fǔtóu 斧头
'scissors'	nyie da 剪刀	–	jiǎnzi 剪子
'needle'	yit 针	kip 叉	zhēn 针
'pen'	bip 笔	–	bǐ 笔

(145) 叉叉嘴。

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 instrumental noun. It is also possible to omit the instrumental noun.

(146) 叉条打。

cy **tep bbup** nyip **luo** ngax jyt.
 3P.SG baton NUM.2 VCL.time 1P.SG beat
 'He beat me twice with a baton.'

(147) 叉木。

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 *jjj*).

Table 7.15: Collective verb classifiers

Collective Verb Classifier	Nuosu	Mandarin
'time'	vit ʘ	cì 次
'quick time'	luo 𐄀	xià 下
'round'	jjj 𐄁	dùn 顿
'round' (mainly motions)	jo ʘ	tàng 趟
'round'	ggup 𐄂	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 kǔ le yī xià.
 3P.SG cry DP NUM.1 VCL.time
 'He cried once (briefly).'

Nuosu

- (149) a. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄。
 cy jy xy nyip **luo** dut.
 3P.SG foot NUM.2 VCL.time stamp on
 'He stamped with his foot twice.'
- b. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃。
 cy nyip **luo** sot.
 3P.SG NUM.2 VCL.time calculate
 'He quickly calculated twice.'
- c. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄。
 cy suo **luo** ssyr.
 3P.SG NUM.3 VCL.time press on
 'He quickly pressed three times.'
- d. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄。
 nga cyp **luo** hxip.
 1P.SG NUM.1 VCL.time speak
 'I speak on a short occasion.'

- e. * 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 *ji* ‘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 *ji*.

- (150) a. X zza nyip **ji** zze ox .
 3P.SG food NUM.2 VCL.round eat DP
 ‘He ate two meals.’
- b. nga sha mut suox **ji** ndo ox .
 1P.SG noodles NUM.3 VCL.round drink DP
 ‘I drank three cups of noodles.’
- c. ddip vip cyp **ji** 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.

- (151) a. nga mu suo **jo** zzy ox .
 1P.SG horse NUM.3 VCL.round ride DP
 ‘I rode a horse in three rounds.’
- b. nga ip ko nyip **jo** ggot ox .
 1P.SG door NUM.2 VCL.round close DP
 ‘I closed the door on two occasions.’
- c. 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.’

- d. 阿哥跑三圈。
 mu jie suo jo bot ox.
 male name NUM.3 VCL.round run DP
 ‘Mujie ran on three occasions.’
- e. 阿哥偷两圈。
 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 *huí* 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. 改一次。
 ne cyp **ggup** ddiex bur.
 2P.SG NUM.1 VCL.time correct, change
 ‘Change it once.’
- b. 为什么过桥一次?
 cy xix mu zzi cyp **ggup** mga?
 3P.SG INT.why bridge NUM.1 VCL.time cross
 ‘Why did he cross the bridge once?’
- c. 他一次怕。
 cy cyp **ggup** jy jie?
 3P.SG NUM.1 VCL.time fear
 ‘He was afraid once.’
- d. *过一次。
 *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 〇 (short) / put 卅 (long)	kè 刻
'two hours'	te 旬	shí 时
'evening & night'	hxuo 夕	wǎn 晚
'day'	nyip 日	tiān 天
'month'	bbu hlep 卅月	yuè 月
'year'	kur 卅	nián 年
'lifespan'	jjo ssy 卅岁	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).

- (154) a. 卅日 卅岁 卅日 卅岁。
 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.'
- b. 刈 卅 刈 卅 卅月 卅。
 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.

- (155) a. *刈 卅 卅 卅 卅 卅。
 *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.'

b. ㄨㄛˊㄉㄩˊㄇㄨˊㄋㄩˊㄩㄣˊㄗㄩˊㄒㄩˊ。

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.’

(156) ㄨㄛˊㄘㄩˊㄇㄨˊㄋㄩˊㄩㄣˊㄗㄩˊㄒㄩˊ。

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.

(157) ㄨㄛˊㄩㄣˊㄗㄩˊㄒㄩˊ。

ax yi cyp **tu** ngo.
 child NUM.1 VCL.while cry
 ‘The child cries for a while.’

(158) ㄋㄨㄛˊㄉㄩˊㄗㄩˊ。

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, class₁, class₂ and class₃, defined by the grammaticality pattern (*= ungrammatical) that matches that of *cì* in Chinese (Yang 2001: 129–137), see table 7.17.

Semantically, class₁ nouns denote physical entities such as *table*, *book*; class₂ nouns denote physical entities that can be understood as events such as *film*, *rainfall*; class₃ nouns denote events or states such as *work*, *attack*, see table 7.18.

Class₁ nouns comprise most common and mass nouns. Class₁ nouns cannot be categorized by *vit* as agent or intransitive subject, as in (159c).

be unspecific. Similar to the habitual and periodical markers, the verb classifiers are associated with topic times that contain the situation times ($TSit \subseteq TT$).

Table 7.21: Profile of the verb classifiers

Constraints on underlying clause	Aspect-Tense	Quantification
unrepeatable	*(ungrammatical)	
weak-repeatable	$TS \subseteq TT$	'n-times, n-time units'
strong-repeatable	*(ungrammatical)	

7.7 Perfect

The Nuosu particles *da* 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: $TU \subseteq TT$ (Klein 1992; section 7.1.2).

A controversial point in the literature on the English present perfect and of other languages (Mandarin's *le*) 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; Huddleston 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)
 wǒ 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) (Chinese)
 fēijī chū le máobing le.
 airplane exit DP trouble DP
 ‘The airplane has developed some trouble.’
- (171) What happens next (Li & Thompson 1981: 281) (Chinese)
 kuài xiǎng le.
 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) (Chinese)
 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 *da* and *ox*. This section uses material published in Gerner (2002b).

7.7.1 The stative perfect particle *da*

The particle *da* 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 *da* 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 *da* occurs at the end of clauses used in dialogue. If *da* 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.

	<i>Tense: TT and TU</i>	<i>Aspect: TT and TS</i>
Final position of clause	TU \subseteq TT	TS \subseteq TT
Non-final position of clause	–	TS \subseteq 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*.

B. The conjunctions *mu da* and *nyi mu da*

The particle *da* 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 *mu da* 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 *mu* ‘make’ which is to indicate that the subject occupies an office or social position (‘he is teacher’, ‘he is king’, ‘he is peasant’).

(186) a. Xɿɿɿɿ ʋ ʃɿɿɿ ʃɿɿɿ。

cy hxie mat syr shox jjix sho **mu da**.
3P.SG heart clean in the state of
‘He has a clear conscience.’

b. ɿɿɿɿ ʋ ʃɿɿɿ ʃɿɿɿ ʃɿɿɿ。

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.

(187) a. ɿɿɿɿ ɿɿɿ ɿɿɿ ɿɿɿ ɿɿɿ ɿɿɿɿ ɿɿɿɿ ɿɿɿɿ。

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.’

b. Xɿɿɿ ɿɿɿɿ ɿɿɿɿ ɿɿɿɿ ɿɿɿɿ ɿɿɿɿ ɿɿɿɿ ɿɿɿɿ。

lur mat mo mu go da ci la **nyi mu da**.
stone sky LOC COV.put fall come in process of
‘A meteorite was falling from the sky.’

(188) ɿɿɿɿ ɿɿɿ ɿɿɿ ɿɿɿɿ ɿɿɿɿ ɿɿɿɿ ɿɿɿɿ ɿɿɿɿ。

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.’

- c. * $\text{hxi}^{\text{H}} \text{jo}^{\text{H}} \text{kex} \text{ma} \text{go} \text{it} \text{ny} \text{mu} \text{da}$.
 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.

- (194) a. $\text{lat} \text{ti} \text{zyt} \text{jie} \text{jjip} \text{hnex} \text{mu} \text{da} \text{rruo} \text{nuo} \text{bbo} \text{ap-} \text{qi}$.
 male name REFL because of CONJ Mianning County go NEG- want
 ‘Lati does not want to go to Mianning for private reasons.’
- b. $\text{mu} \text{rryr} \text{ap-} \text{lut} \text{mu} \text{ddie} \text{ne} \text{ap-} \text{bby} \text{mu} \text{da}$,
 male name NEG- enough ADVL COV 2P.SG NEG- give CONJ
 $\text{nep} \text{nyit} \text{jy-} \text{hxix} \text{ap-} \text{da} \text{ddap}$?
 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).

- (195) a. $\text{ip} \text{ko} \text{wa} \text{nuo} \text{jox} \text{bbut} \text{su} \text{ggot} \text{ny} \text{mu} \text{da} \text{cy} \text{a} \text{ddit} \text{mga} \text{la}$.
 door back ART close CONJ 3P.SG there pass come
 ‘He came through the back door which had been closed.’
- b. $\text{mu} \text{rryr} \text{ddop} \text{hxip} \text{ny} \text{mu} \text{da} \text{go} \text{ne} \text{nga} \text{ip} \text{go} \text{vur}$
 male name word speak CONJ SENT.TOP TOP 1P.SG door enter
 $\text{la} \text{ox}$.
 come DP
 ‘Just when Mudge was speaking, I entered the house.’
- c. $\text{ryrx} \text{rruo} \text{ku} \text{ny} \text{mu} \text{da} \text{cop} \text{yu} \text{ndox}$.
 robber steal CONJ 3P.PL arrest PUT
 ‘Just when the robber was stealing, he was arrested.’

d. 佢係打咗兩隻鳥，佢就返嚟。

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 aspect-tense 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 TS_{BEG} and *ox* is inchoative. When the clause is bounded, the rightmost point is the endpoint TS_{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:

	<i>Tense: TT and TU</i>	<i>Aspect: TT and TS</i>
Final position of clause	$TU \subseteq TT$	$TT > TS_{\text{BEG}}$ (S homogenous)
	$TU \subseteq TT$	$TT > TS_{\text{END}}$ (S quantized, bounded)
Non-final position of clause	–	$TT > TS_{\text{BEG}}$ (S homogenous)
	–	$TT > TS_{\text{END}}$ (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 *ox* in punctual events places an emphasis on the aftermath of the event. The clause is perfective and relevant for the ongoing discourse.

(196) 佢係被鷹捉住。

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.

- (197) a. འཇམ་མཚན་ལཱ་ལཱ་ལྟེ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 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.’
- b. འདྲིན་ལྷན་ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ལྟེ་།
 ap ndip hxix nga huo se zze **ox**.
 yesterday 1P.SG peanut eat DP
 ‘Yesterday, I ate some peanuts.’
- c. ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
 ngop shyrx rruo cyp ma mgot **ox**.
 1P.PL robber NUM.1 CL chase DP
 ‘We have chased a robber.’
- d. ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
 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.

- (198) a. འདྲིན་ལྷན་ལྟེ་ལྟེ་ལྟེ་།
 at nyop ce te sox ji hlu **ox**.
 female name dish NUM.3 CL cook DP
 ‘Anyo has cooked three dishes.’
- b. ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
 ngop wox rre mop hxit dur vat sot **ox**.
 1P.PL money NUM.8000 dollar count DP
 ‘We have counted 8,000 dollars.’
- c. ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
 pat chap nge ma bbit **ox**.
 firecracker NUM.5 CL explode DP
 ‘Five firecrackers have exploded.’
- d. ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
 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 *ox* is in a bounded event.¹⁴

- (199) 州中杉非果夏非架送叶。。
 bba ma ji jjox nyi vyt vu sip qyr gox sha **ox**.
 bamboo CL have also elder brother COV burn SEND DP
 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. 爬百寸目山。。
 cy dduo hxo pu xi **ox**.
 3P.SG climb mountain arrive DP
 ‘He climbed up a mountain.’
- b. 丫咄泥盆打破地。。
 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 stage-level predicates.¹⁵

- (201) 坐客亦非非子真, 客口亦非非真。。
 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.

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).

- (202) a. 佢哋日漸好非以前。

cop wox rre zza ax nyi mu jjo **ox**.

3P.PL wealth much ADVL have DP

'They are wealthy now (before they weren't).'
- b. 佢哋咁醉。

co cyx gge nryp yit **ox**.

person DEM.PROX CL wine drunk DP

'These people are drunk now.'
- c. 𠵼𠵼熟。

syp vo hmip **ox**.

peach ripe DP

'The peaches are ripe now.'
- d. 佢名好。

mu ga jjix do **ox**.

male name tired DP

'Muga is tired now.'
- e. 佢哋係漢人。

cop wox li hxie mgat nge **ox**.

3P.PL TOP Chinese COP DP

'They are Han now.'
- f. 佢哋係兄弟。

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 *ox* and *da*

The particles *da* and *ox* may co-occur in both orders, *da ox* and *ox da*, but only the first is attested in text material, and this rather frequently. The combination *da ox* often occurs in commands or suggestions as a special mark of emphasis.¹⁶

- (203) 𠵼𠵼快𠵼, 𠵼𠵼食。

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 da* appears to be used mainly in states. The particle *ox* marks a change of state and *da* expresses relevance for the time of speaking.

¹⁶ Quoted from textbook "600 Liángshān Yi language dialog sentences", Lǐ & Mǎ (1981: 22).

- (204) 天昏地暗，地主回来。
 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 *da* originates from the verb ‘put’. It underwent polygrammaticalization and developed several grammatical functions.

- (i) Main verb *da* ‘put’
- (ii) Conjunction *mu da* (section 7.7.1.B)
- (iii) Stative perfective particle *da* (section 7.7.1.A)
- (iv) Stative perfective particle *da* after coverbs (section 6.2)
- (v) Location coverb *da* (section 6.2.5.A)
- (vi) Source coverb *da* (section 6.2.5.A)

Below, I briefly illustrate these six uses and will reconstruct the path of polygrammaticalization that *da* has taken.

A. The main verb *da* ‘put’

The particle *da* is derived from the verb ‘put’ still actively used in the language.¹⁷

- (205) ... 点米装下几担水放在屋檐下。...
 ... 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 *da* as a circumstantial conjunction is analyzed in section 7.7.1.B. The following example provides an additional illustration (Dài & Hú 1998: 50).

- (206) 他开门不锁就出去了。
 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.’

¹⁷ Quoted from the folk story “Redisofu overcomes the sorceress” (Chén & Wū 1998: 243–244).

C. The perfect particle *da*

For a detailed analysis of *da* as a stative perfect particle, see section 7.7.1.A. The following example illustrates *da* as main verb and as stative perfect particle.

- (207) 女Q穿裤子在那里。
 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 coversbs

The particle *da* has grammaticalized with a few verbs into complex coversbs or post-positions. After the following three coversbs, *da* is obligatory (section 6.2).

Table 7.22: Three complex coversbs with *da*

Verb	Complex coversb	Meaning
mga ‘pass, cross’	mga da	‘according to’
mo ‘watch’	mox da	‘with regard to’
hxep ‘see’	hxep da	‘toward’

Each of these complex coversbs is illustrated with an example. (208b) is quoted from Chén & Wū (1998: 253) and (208c) from (1998: 229).

- (208) a. 根据你的需要，我会给你。
 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.’
- b. 羊皮鼓由他带来，在他面前。
 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.’
- c. (...) 他朝门走来，他手指疼。
 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 *da* is also employed as coverb. In combination with non-motion verbs, it functions as location coverb.¹⁸

(209) 丁巳年正月初九日寅时于林角相遇。

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

(210) “劫后瓜棚内睡猴原举手抬金”

“i niep ga ku jox it da a nyut qy six bbo
 LOG.SG pumpkin inside sleep STP monkey raise RES go
 lox a nyut ddu **da** sip la nge (...)” ddix.
 CONJ.and monkey home COV take come COP QUOT

‘[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: NP_i + [NP_j + *da*] + [NP_k + V] → NP_i + [NP_j + *da* + NP_k + V]

Postverbal reanalysis: NP_i + [NP_k + V] + [NP_j + *da*] → NP_i + [NP_k + V + NP_j + *da*]

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 *da* occurred before other verbs whose referring events have a fixed place, the scope of that verb extended to *da* and its complement NP_j. Speakers started to view the complement NP_j of *da* as a complement of the main verb. The verbal meaning of *da* 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 $NP_k = NP_j$ coreferential)

When *da* occurred after other verbs, the complement NP_j of *da* was deleted whenever it was coreferential with the complement NP_k of the preceding verb. Native speakers started to understand *da* as a presentative particle of the whole sentence which then developed into a perfect particle.

Step 3 (complex coverbs and conjunctions)

When *da* 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.

	<i>TT and TU</i>
Past tense	$TT < TU$
Present tense	$TU \subseteq TT$
Future tense	$TT > TU$

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. $\text{nga xyp mop xyp mix.}$
 1P.SG wife marry FUT
 ‘I will get married (in the future not now).’
- b. $\text{nga ap mu syt cy jjit ngop (*mix).}$
 1P.SG now affair DEM.PROX CL think FUT
 ‘I will look into this problem now.’
- c. $\text{nyiet hxie ddip kut nga la su nge.}$
 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.

- (212) a. $\text{nyiet hxie ddip kut nga yiep yot zy mix.}$
 next year 1P.SG potato plant FUT
 ‘I will plant potatoes next year.’
- b. $\text{nyiet hxie ddip kut ne yiep yot zy (*mix).}$
 next year 2P.SG potato plant FUT
 ‘You will plant potatoes next year.’
- c. $\text{nyiet hxie ddip kut cy yiep yot zy (*mix).}$
 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 guarantees. This idea is present in the following examples.

- (213) a. $\text{nga nit hmi max su bbur ngat lot go}$
 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.’

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.

- (220) a. * $\text{ne jjo} \text{t} \text{bbip} \text{cyx} \text{ma sip} \text{bbo} \text{mix}$. Imperative
 2P.SG bag DEM.PROX CL take go FUT
 Intended meaning: ‘Take this bag away!’
- b. * $\text{ne xip} \text{mu} \text{tat-ge} \text{mix}$. Imperative
 2P.SG DEM.DD NEG.IMP- stupid FUT
 Intended meaning: ‘Don’t be stupid!’
- c. * $\text{nga xyp} \text{mop} \text{xyp} \text{ddep} \text{lox} \text{mix}$. Optative
 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).

- (221) a. $\text{ap} \text{hxiet} \text{ddip} \text{kut} \text{cy} \text{hxip} \text{go} \text{i} \text{ba} \text{njie} \text{juo} \text{jjop} \text{it}$
 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.’

- b. 屆業尙斗準系手 (*界) 非準斗準。

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.'
- c. 誰準斗準夏門界非準斗準準準準。

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	TS < TT < TU	'John had already left at 10pm.'
Future perfect	Cases: (a) TS < TU < TT (b) TS = TU < TT (c) TU < TS < TT	'John will have left by tomorrow.' → He has already left. → He is leaving now. → He will leave before midnight.
Future in the future	TU < TT < TS	'John will be about to leave.'
Future in the past	Cases: (a) TT < TS < TU (b) TT < TS = TU (c) TT < TU < TS	'John said that he would return.' → John has already returned. → John returns now. → 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.

- (222) a. ㄉㄛˊ ㄕㄞˊ ㄜˊ ㄉㄟˊ ㄇㄚˊ ㄏㄚˊ ㄐㄧˊ ㄌㄚˊ ㄇㄧˊ ㄉㄚˊ。
 mup shy dex ma hxa jjip la **mix da**.
 tomorrow rain become come DEFFUT
 ‘Tomorrow it will rain.’
- b. ㄉㄛˊ ㄕㄞˊ ㄏㄚˊ ㄇㄚˊ ㄆㄞˊ ㄙㄙㄛˊ ㄇㄧˊ ㄉㄚˊ。
 mup shy dex bbur ma ap- sso **mix da**.
 tomorrow written character NEG- study DEFFUT
 ‘No classes tomorrow.’
- c. ㄌㄨˊ ㄆㄛˊ ㄘㄩˊ ㄚˊ ㄉㄧˊ ㄩㄛˊ ㄊㄨㄛˊ ㄌㄨˊ ㄕㄨˊ ㄅㄛˊ ㄇㄧˊ ㄉㄚˊ, ㄏㄒㄧˊ ㄎㄚˊ ㄉㄉㄧˊ。
 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. ㄉㄞˊ ㄕㄞˊ ㄕㄞˊ ㄕㄞˊ ㄇㄚˊ ㄅㄛˊ ㄇㄧˊ ㄛˊ。
 cop wox ix go bbo **mix ox**.
 3P.PL home go IMFUT
 ‘They went home immediately.’
- b. ㄉㄞˊ ㄕㄞˊ ㄏㄚˊ ㄆㄞˊ ㄕㄨˊ ㄆㄞˊ ㄇㄚˊ ㄇㄧˊ ㄛˊ。
 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. ㄎㄚˊ ㄅㄨˊ ㄍㄨˊ ㄌㄚˊ ㄇㄧˊ ㄉㄚˊ ㄛˊ。
 va bu gu la **mix da ox**.
 rooster cry come IMFUT
 ‘The rooster is about to cry.’
- b. ㄩㄣˊ ㄉㄚˊ ㄆㄞˊ ㄕㄞˊ ㄎㄚˊ ㄉㄉㄧˊ ㄋㄚˊ ㄅㄞˊ ㄩㄚˊ ㄇㄧˊ ㄉㄚˊ ㄛˊ!
 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!’

- c. 雪字圣堆是快融。
 vo jji 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.

- (225) a. 我考虑这个问题。
 nga syt cy jjit ngop **mix ge ox.**
 1P.SG matter DEM.PROX CL think IMFUT
 ‘I am thinking about this problem right now.’
- b. 山上的庄稼可以收割。
 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).

- (226) 我老了的时候我要买房子。
 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’.

- (227) a. 谁在家，在哪里？
 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?’

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 describe 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 ... <i>su nge</i>	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	yes	yes	no
with <i>ox</i>			
with other TAM	(generally) no	yes/no	no
Gradable	yes/no	yes/no	yes/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. * $\text{H}\times\text{ㄅ}\text{ㄨ}\text{ㄎ}$ 。
 *mu ga tat xi.
 male name MOD.should
 Intended meaning: ‘Muga should.’

- b. 日峇中仔有休息。
 mu rryr xyx ne **tat xi** ox.
 male name rest MOD.should DP
 ‘Mudge should have a rest.’
- (2) a. *刈刈。
 *cy **qi**.
 3P.SG MOD.want
 Intended meaning: ‘He wants.’
- b. 刈仔买衣服。
 cy vit gga vy **qi** ox.
 3P.SG clothes buy MOD.want DP
 ‘He wants to buy clothes.’
- (3) a. *刈独自一人。
 *cy zyt jie ax di **hna**.
 3P.SG REFL only MOD.be willing
 Intended meaning: ‘He is willing alone.’
- b. 刈独自一人。
 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. 你试过解决问题。
 nop wox cuop luo **po shy**.
 2P.PL a little solve problem
 ‘You tried to solve the problem.’
- b. 他正在想怎么回家。
 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. 日成。
 mu jy **nge hna**.
 male name agree, promise
 ‘Mudje agrees.’

b. $\text{nga bbur ma sso bbo go pat mop nge-ap-hna.}$

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’.)

(6) a. $\text{*syt cy jjit jox jjip ox.}$

matter DEM.PROX CL possible DP

Intended meaning: ‘This event is possible.’

b. $\text{ip mi vo jjip la jox jjip ox.}$

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. *ne ddop but ox.

2P.SG word MOD.dare DP

Intended meaning: ‘You dare (to speak) words.’

b. $\text{ne ddop hxip but ox.}$

2P.SG word speak MOD.dare DP

‘You dare to talk.’

(8) a. $\text{*bbox zze cyx ma mge fu suo ma dox.}$

man DEM.PROX CL barley loaf NUM.3 CL MOD.can

Intended meaning: ‘This guy can eat three barley loaves.’

- b. 望见用非中籍口才又望不册。
 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.’
- c. 望重子前物又中做不册用燕又册。
 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.

- (16) a. *望手到并料果只非望也。
 *nop wox a hnat mu we ga su **ddie ddir.**
 2P.PL especially make effort COMP MOD.need
 Intended meaning: ‘You need to make a special effort.’
- b. *又册在捉得只。
 *cy bbu shy yu ddix **but.**
 3P.SG snake snatch COMP MOD.dare
 Intended meaning: ‘He dares to catch a snake.’
- c. *又册出丁册只才果矣。
 *cy xyx hnie cyp zzip vy go **mo ngu.**
 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 *su* 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.

- (17) A: 做又中不可得, 非手到并料果只。
 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: * $\text{nop wox dop su nge}$.

2P.PL MOD.can FOC COP

Intended meaning: 'You can.'

(18) A: $\text{X nit jop yyp ddu bit tat-ap-xi}$.

3P.SG 2P.SG to joke make, open MOD.should<NEG>

'He shouldn't joke with you.'

B: * X 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.

(19) A: $\text{sy t cy jjit mu go cy hxie nep-ap-ndit}$.

act DEM.PROX CL do COMP 3P.SG regret<NEG>

'He doesn't regret having done it.'

B: $\text{X hxie nep ndit su nge}$.

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: $\text{nga sy t xip jjit hxip hxit ddap ap- hxit}$?

1P.SG matter DEM.INDEF CL speak MOD.can or NEG- MOD.can

'Can I say such a thing?'

- b. 𑍑𑍕𑍎𑍏𑍐𑍑𑍒𑍓𑍔𑍕𑍖𑍗𑍘𑍙𑍚𑍛𑍜𑍝𑍞𑍟𑍠𑍡𑍢𑍣𑍤𑍥𑍦𑍧𑍨𑍩𑍪𑍫𑍬𑍭𑍮𑍯𑍰𑍱𑍲𑍳𑍴𑍵𑍶𑍷𑍸𑍹𑍺𑍻𑍼𑍽𑍾𑍿𑎀𑎁𑎂𑎃𑎄𑎅𑎆𑎇𑎈𑎉𑎊𑎋𑎌𑎍𑎎𑎏𑎐𑎑𑎒𑎓𑎔𑎕𑎖𑎗𑎘𑎙𑎚𑎛𑎜𑎝𑎞𑎟𑎠𑎡𑎢𑎣𑎤𑎥𑎦𑎧𑎨𑎩𑎪𑎫𑎬𑎭𑎮𑎯𑎰𑎱𑎲𑎳𑎴𑎵𑎶𑎷𑎸𑎹𑎺𑎻𑎼𑎽𑎾𑎿𑏀𑏁𑏂𑏃𑏄𑏅𑏆𑏇𑏈𑏉𑏊𑏋𑏌𑏍𑏎𑏏𑏐𑏑𑏒𑏓𑏔𑏕𑏖𑏗𑏘𑏙𑏚𑏛𑏜𑏝𑏞𑏟𑏠𑏡𑏢𑏣𑏤𑏥𑏦𑏧𑏨𑏩𑏪𑏫𑏬𑏭𑏮𑏯𑏰𑏱𑏲𑏳𑏴𑏵𑏶𑏷𑏸𑏹𑏺𑏻𑏼𑏽𑏾𑏿𑐀𑐁𑐂𑐃𑐄𑐅𑐆𑐇𑐈𑐉𑐊𑐋𑐌𑐍𑐎𑐏𑐐𑐑𑐒𑐓𑐔𑐕𑐖𑐗𑐘𑐙𑐚𑐛𑐜𑐝𑐞𑐟𑐠𑐡𑐢𑐣𑐤𑐥𑐦𑐧𑐨𑐩𑐪𑐫𑐬𑐭𑐮𑐯𑐰𑐱𑐲𑐳𑐴𑐵𑐶𑐷𑐸𑐹𑐺𑐻𑐼𑐽𑐾𑐿𑑀𑑁𑑂𑑃𑑄𑑅𑑆𑑇𑑈𑑉𑑊𑑋𑑌𑑍𑑎𑑏𑑐𑑑𑑒𑑓𑑔𑑕𑑖𑑗𑑘𑑙𑑚𑑛𑑜𑑝𑑞𑑟𑑠𑑡𑑢𑑣𑑤𑑥𑑦𑑧𑑨𑑩𑑪𑑫𑑬𑑭𑑮𑑯𑑰𑑱𑑲𑑳𑑴𑑵𑑶𑑷𑑸𑑹𑑺𑑻𑑼𑑽𑑾𑑿𑒀𑒁𑒂𑒃𑒄𑒅𑒆𑒇𑒈𑒉𑒊𑒋𑒌𑒍𑒎𑒏𑒐𑒑𑒒𑒓𑒔𑒕𑒖𑒗𑒘𑒙𑒚𑒛𑒜𑒝𑒞𑒟𑒠𑒡𑒢𑒣𑒤𑒥𑒦𑒧𑒨𑒩𑒪𑒫𑒬𑒭𑒮𑒯𑒰𑒱𑒲𑒳𑒴𑒵𑒶𑒷𑒸𑒻𑒻𑒼𑒽𑒾𑒿𑓀𑓁𑓃𑓂𑓄𑓅𑓆𑓇𑓈𑓉𑓊𑓋𑓌𑓍𑓎𑓏𑓐𑓑𑓒𑓓𑓔𑓕𑓖𑓗𑓘𑓙𑓚𑓛𑓜𑓝𑓞𑓟𑓠𑓡𑓢𑓣𑓤𑓥𑓦𑓧𑓨𑓩𑓪𑓫𑓬𑓭𑓮𑓯𑓰𑓱𑓲𑓳𑓴𑓵𑓶𑓷𑓸𑓹𑓺𑓻𑓼𑓽𑓾𑓿𑔀𑔁𑔂𑔃𑔄𑔅𑔆𑔇𑔈𑔉𑔊𑔋𑔌𑔍𑔎𑔏𑔐𑔑𑔒𑔓𑔔𑔕𑔖𑔗𑔘𑔙𑔚𑔛𑔜𑔝𑔞𑔟𑔠𑔡𑔢𑔣𑔤𑔥𑔦𑔧𑔨𑔩𑔪𑔫𑔬𑔭𑔮𑔯𑔰𑔱𑔲𑔳𑔴𑔵𑔶𑔷𑔸𑔹𑔺𑔻𑔼𑔽𑔾𑔿𑕀𑕁𑕂𑕃𑕄𑕅𑕆𑕇𑕈𑕉𑕊𑕋𑕌𑕍𑕎𑕏𑕐𑕑𑕒𑕓𑕔𑕕𑕖𑕗𑕘𑕙𑕚𑕛𑕜𑕝𑕞𑕟𑕠𑕡𑕢𑕣𑕤𑕥𑕦𑕧𑕨𑕩𑕪𑕫𑕬𑕭𑕮𑕯𑕰𑕱𑕲𑕳𑕴𑕵𑕶𑕷𑕸𑕹𑕺𑕻𑕼𑕽𑕾𑕿𑖀𑖁𑖂𑖃𑖄𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐𑖑𑖒𑖓𑖔𑖕𑖖𑖗𑖘𑖙𑖚𑖛𑖜𑖝𑖞𑖟𑖠𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑗀𑖿𑗁𑗂𑗃𑗄𑗅𑗆𑗇𑗈𑗉𑗊𑗋𑗌𑗍𑗎𑗏𑗐𑗑𑗒𑗓𑗔𑗕𑗖𑗗𑗘𑗙𑗚𑗛𑗜𑗝𑗞𑗟𑗠𑗡𑗢𑗣𑗤𑗥𑗦𑗧𑗨𑗩𑗪𑗫𑗬𑗭𑗮𑗯𑗰𑗱𑗲𑗳𑗴𑗵𑗶𑗷𑗸𑗹𑗺𑗻𑗼𑗽𑗾𑗿𑘀𑘁𑘂𑘃𑘄𑘅𑘆𑘇𑘈𑘉𑘊𑘋𑘌𑘍𑘎𑘏𑘐𑘑𑘒𑘓𑘔𑘕𑘖𑘗𑘘𑘙𑘚𑘛𑘜𑘝𑘞𑘟𑘠𑘡𑘢𑘣𑘤𑘥𑘦𑘧𑘨𑘩𑘪𑘫𑘬𑘭𑘮𑘯𑘰𑘱𑘲𑘳𑘴𑘵𑘶𑘷𑘸𑘹𑘺𑘻𑘼𑘽𑘾𑘿𑙀𑙁𑙂𑙃𑙄𑙅𑙆𑙇𑙈𑙉𑙊𑙋𑙌𑙍𑙎𑙏𑙐𑙑𑙒𑙓𑙔𑙕𑙖𑙗𑙘𑙙𑙚𑙛𑙜𑙝𑙞𑙟𑙠𑙡𑙢𑙣𑙤𑙥𑙦𑙧𑙨𑙩𑙪𑙫𑙬𑙭𑙮𑙯𑙰𑙱𑙲𑙳𑙴𑙵𑙶𑙷𑙸𑙹𑙺𑙻𑙼𑙽𑙾𑙿𑚀𑚁𑚂𑚃𑚄𑚅𑚆𑚇𑚈𑚉𑚊𑚋𑚌𑚍𑚎𑚏𑚐𑚑𑚒𑚓𑚔𑚕𑚖𑚗𑚘𑚙𑚚𑚛𑚜𑚝𑚞𑚟𑚠𑚡𑚢𑚣𑚤𑚥𑚦𑚧𑚨𑚩𑚪𑚫𑚬𑚭𑚮𑚯𑚰𑚱𑚲𑚳𑚴𑚵𑚷𑚶𑚸𑚹𑚺𑚻𑚼𑚽𑚾𑚿𑛀𑛁𑛂𑛃𑛄𑛅𑛆𑛇𑛈𑛉𑛊𑛋𑛌𑛍𑛎𑛏𑛐𑛑𑛒𑛓𑛔𑛕𑛖𑛗𑛘𑛙𑛚𑛛𑛜𑛝𑛞𑛟𑛠𑛡𑛢𑛣𑛤𑛥𑛦𑛧𑛨𑛩𑛪𑛫𑛬𑛭𑛮𑛯𑛰𑛱𑛲𑛳𑛴𑛵𑛶𑛷𑛸𑛹𑛺𑛻𑛼𑛽𑛾𑛿𑜀𑜁𑜂𑜃𑜄𑜅𑜆𑜇𑜈𑜉𑜊𑜋𑜌𑜍𑜎𑜏𑜐𑜑𑜒𑜓𑜔𑜕𑜖𑜗𑜘𑜙𑜚𑜛𑜜𑜝𑜞𑜟𑜠𑜡𑜢𑜣𑜤𑜥𑜦𑜧𑜨𑜩𑜪𑜫𑜬𑜭𑜮𑜯𑜰𑜱𑜲𑜳𑜴𑜵𑜶𑜷𑜸𑜹𑜺𑜻𑜼𑜽𑜾𑜿𑝀𑝁𑝂𑝃𑝄𑝅𑝆𑝇𑝈𑝉𑝊𑝋𑝌𑝍𑝎𑝏𑝐𑝑𑝒𑝓𑝔𑝕𑝖𑝗𑝘𑝙𑝚𑝛𑝜𑝝𑝞𑝟𑝠𑝡𑝢𑝣𑝤𑝥𑝦𑝧𑝨𑝩𑝪𑝫𑝬𑝭𑝮𑝯𑝰𑝱𑝲𑝳𑝴𑝵𑝶𑝷𑝸𑝹𑝺𑝻𑝼𑝽𑝾𑝿𑞀𑞁𑞂𑞃𑞄𑞅𑞆𑞇𑞈𑞉𑞊𑞋𑞌𑞍𑞎𑞏𑞐𑞑𑞒𑞓𑞔𑞕𑞖𑞗𑞘𑞙𑞚𑞛𑞜𑞝𑞞𑞟𑞠𑞡𑞢𑞣𑞤𑞥𑞦𑞧𑞨𑞩𑞪𑞫𑞬𑞭𑞮𑞯𑞰𑞱𑞲𑞳𑞴𑞵𑞶𑞷𑞸𑞹𑞺𑞻𑞼𑞽𑞾𑞿𑟀𑟁𑟂𑟃𑟄𑟅𑟆𑟇𑟈𑟉𑟊𑟋𑟌𑟍𑟎𑟏𑟐𑟑𑟒𑟓𑟔𑟕𑟖𑟗𑟘𑟙𑟚𑟛𑟜𑟝𑟞𑟟𑟠𑟡𑟢𑟣𑟤𑟥𑟦𑟧𑟨𑟩𑟪𑟫𑟬𑟭𑟮𑟯𑟰𑟱𑟲𑟳𑟴𑟵𑟶𑟷𑟸𑟹𑟺𑟻𑟼𑟽𑟾𑟿𑠀𑠁𑠂𑠃𑠄𑠅𑠆𑠇𑠈𑠉𑠊𑠋𑠌𑠍𑠎𑠏𑠐𑠑𑠒𑠓𑠔𑠕𑠖𑠗𑠘𑠙𑠚𑠛𑠜𑠝𑠞𑠟𑠠𑠡𑠢𑠣𑠤𑠥𑠦𑠧𑠨𑠩𑠪𑠫𑠬𑠭𑠮𑠯𑠰𑠱𑠲𑠳𑠴𑠵𑠶𑠷𑠸𑠺𑠹𑠻𑠼𑠽𑠾𑠿𑡀𑡁𑡂𑡃𑡄𑡅𑡆𑡇𑡈𑡉𑡊𑡋𑡌𑡍𑡎𑡏𑡐𑡑𑡒𑡓𑡔𑡕𑡖𑡗𑡘𑡙𑡚𑡛𑡜𑡝𑡞𑡟𑡠𑡡𑡢𑡣𑡤𑡥𑡦𑡧𑡨𑡩𑡪𑡫𑡬𑡭𑡮𑡯𑡰𑡱𑡲𑡳𑡴𑡵𑡶𑡷𑡸𑡹𑡺𑡻𑡼𑡽𑡾𑡿𑢀𑢁𑢂𑢃𑢄𑢅𑢆𑢇𑢈𑢉𑢊𑢋𑢌𑢍𑢎𑢏𑢐𑢑𑢒𑢓𑢔𑢕𑢖𑢗𑢘𑢙𑢚𑢛𑢜𑢝𑢞𑢟𑢠𑢡𑢢𑢣𑢤𑢥𑢦𑢧𑢨𑢩𑢪𑢫𑢬𑢭𑢮𑢯𑢰𑢱𑢲𑢳𑢴𑢵𑢶𑢷𑢸𑢹𑢺𑢻𑢼𑢽𑢾𑢿𑣀𑣁𑣂𑣃𑣄𑣅𑣆𑣇𑣈𑣉𑣊𑣋𑣌𑣍𑣎𑣏𑣐𑣑𑣒𑣓𑣔𑣕𑣖𑣗𑣘𑣙𑣚𑣛𑣜𑣝𑣞𑣟𑣠𑣡𑣢𑣣𑣤𑣥𑣦𑣧𑣨𑣩𑣪𑣫𑣬𑣭𑣮𑣯𑣰𑣱𑣲𑣳𑣴𑣵𑣶𑣷𑣸𑣹𑣺𑣻𑣼𑣽𑣾𑣿𑤀𑤁𑤂𑤃𑤄𑤅𑤆𑤇𑤈𑤉𑤊𑤋𑤌𑤍𑤎𑤏𑤐𑤑𑤒𑤓𑤔𑤕𑤖𑤗𑤘𑤙𑤚𑤛𑤜𑤝𑤞𑤟𑤠𑤡𑤢𑤣𑤤𑤥𑤦𑤧𑤨𑤩𑤪𑤫𑤬𑤭𑤮𑤯𑤰𑤱𑤲𑤳𑤴𑤵𑤶𑤷𑤸𑤹𑤺𑤻𑤼𑤽𑤾𑤿𑥀𑥁𑥂𑥃𑥄𑥅𑥆𑥇𑥈𑥉𑥊𑥋𑥌𑥍𑥎𑥏𑥐𑥑𑥒𑥓𑥔𑥕𑥖𑥗𑥘𑥙𑥚𑥛𑥜𑥝𑥞𑥟𑥠𑥡𑥢𑥣𑥤𑥥𑥦𑥧𑥨𑥩𑥪𑥫𑥬𑥭𑥮𑥯𑥰𑥱𑥲𑥳𑥴𑥵𑥶𑥷𑥸𑥹𑥺𑥻𑥼𑥽𑥾𑥿𑦀𑦁𑦂𑦃𑦄𑦅𑦆𑦇𑦈𑦉𑦊𑦋𑦌𑦍𑦎𑦏𑦐𑦑𑦒𑦓𑦔𑦕𑦖𑦗𑦘𑦙𑦚𑦛𑦜𑦝𑦞𑦟𑦠𑦡𑦢𑦣𑦤𑦥𑦦𑦧𑦨𑦩𑦪𑦫𑦬𑦭𑦮𑦯𑦰𑦱𑦲𑦳𑦴𑦵𑦶𑦷𑦸𑦹𑦺𑦻𑦼𑦽𑦾𑦿𑧀𑧁𑧂𑧃𑧄𑧅𑧆𑧇𑧈𑧉𑧊𑧋𑧌𑧍𑧎𑧏𑧐𑧑𑧒𑧓𑧔𑧕𑧖𑧗𑧘𑧙𑧚𑧛𑧜𑧝𑧞𑧟𑧠𑧡𑧢𑧣𑧤𑧥𑧦𑧧𑧨𑧩𑧪𑧫𑧬𑧭𑧮𑧯𑧰𑧱𑧲𑧳𑧴𑧵𑧶𑧷𑧸𑧹𑧺𑧻𑧼𑧽𑧾𑧿𑨀𑨁𑨂𑨃𑨄𑨅𑨆𑨇𑨈𑨉𑨊𑨋𑨌𑨍𑨎𑨏𑨐𑨑𑨒𑨓𑨔𑨕𑨖𑨗𑨘𑨙𑨚𑨛𑨜𑨝𑨞𑨟𑨠𑨡𑨢𑨣𑨤𑨥𑨦𑨧𑨨𑨩𑨪𑨫𑨬𑨭𑨮𑨯𑨰𑨱𑨲𑨳𑨴𑨵𑨶𑨷𑨸𑨹𑨺𑨻𑨼𑨽𑨾𑨿𑩀𑩁𑩂𑩃𑩄𑩅𑩆𑩇𑩈𑩉𑩊𑩋𑩌𑩍𑩎𑩏𑩐𑩑𑩒𑩓𑩔𑩕𑩖𑩗𑩘𑩙𑩚𑩛𑩜𑩝𑩞𑩟𑩠𑩡𑩢𑩣𑩤𑩥𑩦𑩧𑩨𑩩𑩪𑩫𑩬𑩭𑩮𑩯𑩰𑩱𑩲𑩳𑩴𑩵𑩶𑩷𑩸𑩹𑩺𑩻𑩼𑩽𑩾𑩿𑪀𑪁𑪂𑪃𑪄𑪅𑪆𑪇𑪈𑪉𑪊𑪋𑪌𑪍𑪎𑪏𑪐𑪑𑪒𑪓𑪔𑪕𑪖𑪗𑪘𑪙𑪚𑪛𑪜𑪝𑪞𑪟𑪠𑪡𑪢𑪣𑪤𑪥𑪦𑪧𑪨𑪩𑪪𑪫𑪬𑪭𑪮𑪯𑪰𑪱𑪲𑪳𑪴𑪵𑪶𑪷𑪸𑪹𑪺𑪻𑪼𑪽𑪾𑪿𑫀𑫁𑫂𑫃𑫄𑫅𑫆𑫇𑫈𑫉𑫊𑫋𑫌𑫍𑫎𑫏𑫐𑫑𑫒𑫓𑫔𑫕𑫖𑫗𑫘𑫙𑫚𑫛𑫜𑫝𑫞𑫟𑫠𑫡𑫢𑫣𑫤𑫥𑫦𑫧𑫨𑫩𑫪𑫫𑫬𑫭𑫮𑫯𑫰𑫱𑫲𑫳𑫴𑫵𑫶𑫷𑫸𑫹𑫺𑫻𑫼𑫽𑫾𑫿𑬀𑬁𑬂𑬃𑬄𑬅𑬆𑬇𑬈𑬉𑬊𑬋𑬌𑬍𑬎𑬏𑬐𑬑𑬒𑬓𑬔𑬕𑬖𑬗𑬘𑬙𑬚𑬛𑬜𑬝𑬞𑬟𑬠𑬡𑬢𑬣𑬤𑬥𑬦𑬧𑬨𑬩𑬪𑬫𑬬𑬭𑬮𑬯𑬰𑬱𑬲𑬳𑬴𑬵𑬶𑬷𑬸𑬹𑬺𑬻𑬼𑬽𑬾𑬿𑭀𑭁𑭂𑭃𑭄𑭅𑭆𑭇𑭈𑭉𑭊𑭋𑭌𑭍𑭎𑭏𑭐𑭑𑭒𑭓𑭔𑭕𑭖𑭗𑭘𑭙𑭚𑭛𑭜𑭝𑭞𑭟𑭠𑭡𑭢𑭣𑭤𑭥𑭦𑭧𑭨𑭩𑭪𑭫𑭬𑭭𑭮𑭯𑭰𑭱𑭲𑭳𑭴𑭵𑭶𑭷𑭸𑭹𑭺𑭻𑭼𑭽𑭾𑭿𑮀𑮁𑮂𑮃𑮄𑮅𑮆𑮇𑮈𑮉𑮊𑮋𑮌𑮍𑮎𑮏𑮐𑮑𑮒𑮓𑮔𑮕𑮖𑮗𑮘𑮙𑮚𑮛𑮜𑮝𑮞𑮟𑮠𑮡𑮢𑮣𑮤𑮥𑮦𑮧𑮨𑮩𑮪𑮫𑮬𑮭𑮮𑮯𑮰𑮱𑮲𑮳𑮴𑮵𑮶𑮷𑮸𑮹𑮺𑮻𑮼𑮽𑮾𑮿𑯀𑯁𑯂𑯃𑯄𑯅𑯆𑯇𑯈𑯉𑯊𑯋𑯌𑯍𑯎𑯏𑯐𑯑𑯒𑯓𑯔𑯕𑯖𑯗𑯘𑯙𑯚𑯛𑯜𑯝𑯞𑯟𑯠𑯡𑯢𑯣𑯤𑯥𑯦𑯧𑯨𑯩𑯪𑯫𑯬𑯭𑯮𑯯𑯰𑯱𑯲𑯳𑯴𑯵𑯶𑯷𑯸𑯹𑯺𑯻𑯼𑯽𑯾𑯿𑰀𑰁𑰂𑰃𑰄𑰅𑰆𑰇𑰈𑰉𑰊𑰋𑰌𑰍𑰎𑰏𑰐𑰑𑰒𑰓𑰔𑰕𑰖𑰗𑰘𑰙𑰚𑰛𑰜𑰝𑰞𑰟𑰠𑰡𑰢𑰣𑰤𑰥𑰦𑰧𑰨𑰩𑰪𑰫𑰬𑰭𑰮𑰯𑰰𑰱𑰲𑰳𑰴𑰵𑰶𑰷𑰸𑰹𑰺𑰻𑰼𑰽𑰾𑰿𑱀𑱁𑱂𑱃𑱄𑱅𑱆𑱇𑱈𑱉𑱊𑱋𑱌𑱍𑱎𑱏𑱐𑱑𑱒𑱓𑱔𑱕𑱖𑱗𑱘𑱙𑱚𑱛𑱜𑱝𑱞𑱟𑱠𑱡𑱢𑱣𑱤𑱥𑱦𑱧𑱨𑱩𑱪𑱫𑱬𑱭𑱮𑱯𑱰𑱱𑱲𑱳𑱴𑱵𑱶𑱷𑱸𑱹𑱺𑱻𑱼𑱽𑱾𑱿𑲀𑲁𑲂𑲃𑲄𑲅𑲆𑲇𑲈𑲉𑲊𑲋𑲌𑲍𑲎𑲏𑲐𑲑𑲒𑲓𑲔𑲕𑲖𑲗𑲘𑲙𑲚𑲛𑲜𑲝𑲞𑲟𑲠𑲡𑲢𑲣𑲤𑲥𑲦𑲧𑲨𑲩𑲪𑲫𑲬𑲭𑲮𑲯𑲰𑲱𑲲𑲳𑲴𑲵𑲶𑲷𑲸𑲹𑲺𑲻𑲼𑲽𑲾𑲿𑳀𑳁𑳂𑳃𑳄𑳅𑳆𑳇𑳈𑳉𑳊𑳋𑳌𑳍𑳎𑳏𑳐𑳑𑳒𑳓𑳔𑳕𑳖𑳗𑳘𑳙𑳚𑳛𑳜𑳝𑳞𑳟𑳠𑳡𑳢𑳣𑳤𑳥𑳦𑳧𑳨𑳩𑳪𑳫𑳬𑳭𑳮𑳯𑳰𑳱𑳲𑳳𑳴𑳵𑳶𑳷𑳸𑳹𑳺𑳻𑳼𑳽𑳾𑳿𑴀𑴁𑴂𑴃𑴄𑴅𑴆𑴇𑴈𑴉𑴊𑴋𑴌𑴍𑴎𑴏𑴐𑴑𑴒𑴓𑴔𑴕𑴖𑴗𑴘𑴙𑴚𑴛𑴜𑴝𑴞𑴟𑴠𑴡𑴢𑴣𑴤𑴥𑴦𑴧𑴨𑴩𑴪𑴫𑴬𑴭𑴮𑴯𑴰𑴱𑴲𑴳𑴴𑴵𑴶𑴷𑴸𑴹𑴺𑴻𑴼𑴽𑴾𑴿𑵀𑵁𑵂𑵃𑵄𑵅𑵆𑵇𑵈𑵉𑵊𑵋𑵌𑵍𑵎𑵏𑵐𑵑𑵒𑵓𑵔𑵕𑵖𑵗𑵘𑵙𑵚𑵛𑵜𑵝𑵞𑵟𑵠𑵡𑵢𑵣𑵤𑵥𑵦𑵧𑵨𑵩𑵪𑵫𑵬𑵭𑵮𑵯𑵰𑵱𑵲𑵳𑵴𑵵𑵶𑵷𑵸𑵹𑵺𑵻𑵼𑵽𑵾𑵿𑶀𑶁𑶂𑶃𑶄𑶅𑶆𑶇𑶈𑶉𑶊𑶋𑶌𑶍𑶎𑶏𑶐𑶑𑶒𑶓𑶔𑶕𑶖𑶗𑶘𑶙𑶚𑶛𑶜𑶝𑶞𑶟𑶠𑶡𑶢𑶣𑶤𑶥𑶦𑶧𑶨𑶩𑶪𑶫𑶬𑶭𑶮𑶯𑶰𑶱𑶲𑶳𑶴𑶵𑶶𑶷𑶸𑶹𑶺𑶻𑶼𑶽𑶾𑶿𑷀𑷁𑷂𑷃𑷄𑷅𑷆𑷇𑷈𑷉𑷊𑷋𑷌𑷍𑷎𑷏𑷐𑷑𑷒𑷓𑷔𑷕𑷖𑷗𑷘𑷙𑷚𑷛𑷜𑷝𑷞𑷟𑷠𑷡𑷢𑷣𑷤𑷥𑷦𑷧𑷨𑷩𑷪𑷫𑷬𑷭𑷮𑷯𑷰𑷱𑷲𑷳𑷴𑷵𑷶𑷷𑷸𑷹𑷺𑷻𑷼𑷽𑷾𑷿𑸀𑸁𑸂𑸃𑸄𑸅𑸆𑸇𑸈𑸉𑸊𑸋𑸌𑸍𑸎𑸏𑸐𑸑𑸒𑸓𑸔𑸕𑸖𑸗𑸘𑸙𑸚𑸛𑸜𑸝𑸞𑸟𑸠𑸡𑸢𑸣𑸤𑸥𑸦𑸧𑸨𑸩𑸪𑸫𑸬𑸭𑸮𑸯𑸰𑸱𑸲𑸳𑸴𑸵𑸶𑸷𑸸𑸹𑸺𑸻𑸼𑸽𑸾𑸿𑹀𑹁𑹂𑹃𑹄𑹅𑹆𑹇𑹈𑹉𑹊𑹋𑹌𑹍𑹎𑹏𑹐𑹑𑹒𑹓𑹔𑹕𑹖𑹗𑹘𑹙𑹚𑹛𑹜𑹝𑹞𑹟𑹠𑹡𑹢𑹣𑹤𑹥𑹦𑹧𑹨𑹩𑹪𑹫𑹬𑹭𑹮𑹯𑹰𑹱𑹲𑹳𑹴𑹵𑹶𑹷𑹸𑹹𑹺𑹻𑹼𑹽𑹾𑹿𑺀𑺁𑺂𑺃𑺄𑺅𑺆𑺇𑺈𑺉𑺊𑺋𑺌𑺍𑺎𑺏𑺐𑺑𑺒𑺓𑺔𑺕𑺖𑺗𑺘𑺙𑺚𑺛𑺜𑺝𑺞𑺟𑺠𑺡𑺢𑺣𑺤𑺥𑺦𑺧𑺨𑺩𑺪𑺫𑺬𑺭𑺮𑺯𑺰𑺱𑺲𑺳𑺴𑺵𑺶𑺷𑺸𑺹𑺺𑺻𑺼𑺽𑺾𑺿𑻀𑻁𑻂𑻃𑻄𑻅𑻆𑻇𑻈𑻉𑻊𑻋𑻌𑻍𑻎𑻏𑻐𑻑𑻒𑻓𑻔𑻕𑻖𑻗𑻘𑻙𑻚𑻛𑻜𑻝𑻞𑻟𑻠𑻡𑻢𑻣𑻤𑻥𑻦𑻧𑻨𑻩𑻪𑻫𑻬𑻭𑻮𑻯𑻰𑻱𑻲𑻳𑻴𑻵𑻶𑻷𑻸𑻹𑻺𑻻𑻼𑻽𑻾𑻿𑼀𑼁𑼂𑼃𑼄𑼅𑼆𑼇𑼈𑼉𑼊𑼋𑼌𑼍𑼎𑼏𑼐𑼑𑼒𑼓𑼔𑼕𑼖𑼗𑼘𑼙𑼚𑼛𑼜𑼝𑼞𑼟𑼠𑼡𑼢𑼣𑼤𑼥𑼦𑼧𑼨𑼩𑼪𑼫𑼬𑼭𑼮𑼯𑼰𑼱𑼲𑼳𑼴𑼵𑼶𑼷𑼸𑼹𑼺𑼻𑼼𑼽𑼾𑼿𑽀𑽁𑽂𑽃𑽄𑽅𑽆𑽇𑽈𑽉𑽊𑽋𑽌𑽍𑽎𑽏𑽐

- (36) a. *མཉམས་པ་མཉམས་པ་མཉམས་པ་།
 *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. བོད་ཆེན་མོ་ལ་ལོ་གཉིས་པོ་ལ་ལོ་གཉིས་པོ་།
 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 *-jy-*, as shown in (37). A few auxiliaries ban the infix *-jy-*, as in (38).

- (37) a. མི་ལོ་མཉམས་པ་མཉམས་པ་མཉམས་པ་།
 cy co ap- syp su jox bbur jyt **but -jy- but**.
 3P.SG person NEG- know NOM to talk MOD.dare very dare
 ‘He very much dares to talk with unfamiliar people.’
- b. འཇོ་མོ་ལོ་གཉིས་པོ་ལ་ལོ་གཉིས་པོ་།
 at zop njie ggup syr **hna -jy- hna**.
 female name courtyard sweep MOD.willing very willing
 ‘Adzo is very much willing to sweep the courtyard.’
- c. མཉམས་པ་མཉམས་པ་མཉམས་པ་།
 cop wox rre mop sot **ddie ddur -jy- ddie ddur**.
 3P.PL money count MOD.need very need
 ‘They definitely need to count their money.’
- (38) a. *མཉམས་པ་མཉམས་པ་མཉམས་པ་།
 *mu rryr op rro la **jox dop -jy- jox dop**.
 male name Xichang come MOD.prepare very prepare
 Intended meaning: ‘Mudge is very prepared to come to Xichang.’
- b. *མཉམས་པ་མཉམས་པ་མཉམས་པ་།
 *nga zzax zze **ssoX -jy- ssoX**.
 1P.SG food eat MOD.should very should
 Intended meaning: ‘I should absolutely eat something.’

Manner adverbs can be intensified by the infix *-jy-* as well, but adverb intensification is available only if the adverb is derived from an adjective.

- b. * ne zzax zze **sy-ap-jjo!**
 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 imperative clauses, and cannot be negated.

- (43) a. nop wox ddop ma hxip **si ap ssop.**
 2P.PL word say IMP.need not
 ‘No need to say anything.’
- b. * 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’. Morphosyntactically, *kop* takes NP-complements, whereas *ddie ddur* only subcategorizes VPs, as illustrated in (44).

- (44) a. nga na-mgux-co **kox.**
 1P.SG ill-heal-person need
 ‘I need a doctor.’
- b. lat sse tep yy zzit su bi te go jjie x 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.

- (45) a. མུ་ཇེ་མུ་མ་སྲི་དཀྱིལ་འཇུག་པོ་ལྟོ་བྱེད་པའི་དུས་ལ་།
 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).’
- b. ལྷ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁྱེད་ལ་མཉམ་པའི་མཉམ་པའི་དུས་ལ་།
 cy syt xip lot buop **ddie ddur.**
 3P.SG matter DEM.DD help MOD.need
 ‘He needs help in this regard.’
- c. ལྷ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁྱེད་ལ་མཉམ་པའི་མཉམ་པའི་དུས་ལ་།
 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.’
- d. མུ་ཇེ་མུ་མ་སྲི་དཀྱིལ་འཇུག་པོ་ལྟོ་བྱེད་པའི་དུས་ལ་།
 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 xi* ‘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’.

- (46) a. མུ་ཇེ་མུ་མ་སྲི་དཀྱིལ་འཇུག་པོ་ལྟོ་བྱེད་པའི་དུས་ལ་།
 nop wox bbu dde cyx ma hna **tat xi.**
 2P.PL story DEM.PROX CL listen MOD.should
 ‘You should listen to this story.’
- b. ལཱི་ཏི་ལྷ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁྱེད་ལ་མཉམ་པའི་མཉམ་པའི་དུས་ལ་།
 lat ti ngop wox wa mgot la **tat xi.**
 male name 1P.PL after follow come MOD.should
 ‘Lati should follow us.’
- c. ལྷ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁྱེད་ལ་མཉམ་པའི་མཉམ་པའི་དུས་ལ་།
 cyx li ap nryr mu hnat gox sha **tat xi.**
 3P.SG TOP definitely admonish SEND MOD.should
 ‘He must be given a warning.’
- d. མུ་ཇེ་མུ་མ་སྲི་དཀྱིལ་འཇུག་པོ་ལྟོ་བྱེད་པའི་དུས་ལ་།
 nop wox nga yyx **tat-ap-xi.**
 2P.PL 1P.SG laugh MOD.should<NEG>
 ‘You shouldn’t laugh at me.’

As other modal auxiliaries, *tat xi* cannot be nominalized in the focus construction with ...*su nge*.

- (47) * $\text{we-mu-su zze ddu ndo yy wep su li tat xi su nge.}$
 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 auxiliary verb. The obligation of doing something is metaphorically viewed as similar to the state of being affected by it.

While the auxiliary *tat xi* ‘should’ (section 8.2.2.B) expresses a meaning of general obligation, *ssox* has a sense of involuntary obligation.

- (48) a. $\text{nex li jjip yur ssox!}$
 2P.SG TOP perfect MOD.should
 ‘You should be perfect!’
- b. $\text{co zzi ap- syp su nop wox gox jie ssox.}$
 person meet NEG- know NOM 2P.PL PAT fear MOD.should
 ‘You should fear people you are not familiar with.’
- c. $\text{cy hnax nyi hna, jjiex nyi jjiex mguo ssox.}$
 3P.SG hear also hear understand also understand MOD.should
 ‘He should listen and understand.’
- d. $\text{ne it jji nyuo tuo mu da ssox.}$
 2P.SG guard, keep alert ADVL put MOD.should
 ‘You should keep alert.’
- e. $\text{cyx li: “ne ssox! bbur-tat-jjyt!” ddix.}$
 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.

- (49) a. 𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊

- b. 𐄌𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜.
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.'
- c. 𐄌𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜.
cy ip nyip syr kie **qi** -jy- **qi**.
3P.SG today tree fell MOD.want very MOD.want
'He wants to fell the tree today.'
- d. 𐄌𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜.
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. 𐄌𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜.
ax yi max su ggep ddu **ka**.
child ART=CL+NOM toys want
'The child wants toys.'
- b. *𐄌𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜.
*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) a. 𐄌𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜.
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.'
- b. 𐄌𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜.
bbox zze max su rre mop sur **hna** -jy- **hna**.
guy ART money return MOD.willing very MOD.willing
'The guy is very willing to return the money.'
- c. 𐄌𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜.
mu nyox nyop bbop **hna** ddap ap-**hna**?
male name work MOD.willing or NEG-MOD.willing
'Is Munyo willing to work or not?'

- (60) a. ເອກຮາ, ເອເຊຮາ.
 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. ຈັບເອກຮາ.
 nop ngat qop bop ddie **hxit**.
 2P.PL 1P.SG friend make, prepare MOD.can
 ‘You can be my friends.’
- c. ຈັບເອກຮາ ຈັບເອກຮາ.
 nop wox lu po hxep da sso **hxit** -jyy- **hxit**.
 2P.PL male name COV.watch learn MOD.can very MOD.can
 ‘You can learn very much from Lupo.’
- d. ຈັບເອກຮາ ຈັບເອກຮາ.
 ne xyx hnie ddie cy box **hxit**.
 2P.SG shoe COV.prepare 3P.SG show MOD.can
 ‘You can show him your shoes.’
- e. ຈັບເອກຮາ ຈັບເອກຮາ.
 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.’
- f. ຈັບເອກຮາ ຈັບເອກຮາ.
 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.

- (61) a. ຈັບເອກຮາ ຈັບເອກຮາ.
 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.’
- b. ຈັບເອກຮາ ຈັບເອກຮາ.
 va qip qot va zyr sse jjip **dox**.
 egg change chicken become MOD.can
 ‘The egg become a chicken.’

- c. ㄨㄣˇ ㄎㄨㄣˇ ㄘㄩㄥ ㄇㄚ ㄍㄠ ㄗㄗㄨㄣ ㄉㄠ。
- lur kur cyx ma gox zzur **dox.**
city DEM.PROX CL LOC stand MOD.can
'This city can stand firm.'
- d. ㄆㄢ ㄩㄝ ㄇㄚˊ ㄙㄨ ㄋㄥ ㄘㄧ ㄐㄧ ㄅㄩ ㄉㄠ。
- 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. ㄘㄩ ㄗㄗㄩㄝ ㄅㄛ ㄇㄨ ㄩㄩㄥ ㄐㄩ ㄉㄠ。
- cy zzyt bbo mu yyx jy **dox.**
3P.SG alone swim MOD.can
'He can swim alone.'
- f. ㄋㄜ ㄎㄚ ㄇㄛ ㄙㄨ ㄋㄚ ㄇㄛ ㄑㄧ, ㄊㄧ ㄍㄠ ㄇㄛ ㄆㄞ ㄉㄠ。
- 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.

- (62) a. ㄘㄩ ㄨㄣˇ ㄋㄅㄧ ㄋㄅㄧ ㄩㄩㄥ ㄙㄩ ㄉㄠ。
- cy lur nbie nbie **yix syp.**
3P.SG slingshot sling MOD.can
'He can sling a slingshot.'
- b. ㄆㄢ ㄩㄝ ㄇㄚˊ ㄙㄨ ㄋㄥ ㄘㄧ ㄐㄧ ㄅㄩ ㄉㄠ。
- a yit uo fa mguo **yix syp.**
female name headscarf embroider MOD.can
'Ayi can embroider headscarves.'
- c. ㄋㄍㄚ ㄇㄩ ㄇㄧ ㄋㄜ ㄗㄩ ㄉㄧ ㄩㄩㄥ ㄆㄞ ㄉㄠ。
- ngat mup mit ne zyt die **yix-ap-syp.**
1P.SG situation 2P.SG analyze MOD.can<NEG>
'You cannot analyze my situation.'
- d. ㄕㄩㄥ ㄥㄩㄞ ㄋㄚ ㄌㄚ ㄍㄠ ㄋㄜ, ㄎㄨ ㄆㄞ ㄉㄧ ㄎㄨ, ㄅㄧ ㄆㄞ ㄉㄠ ㄅㄧ ㄍㄜ ㄉㄠ。
- 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.'

- b. 尙下尙非又尙丁尙非非非非也。
 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).

- (66) a. 尙非又尙尙尙尙尙非非非也。
 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.’
- b. *尙非又尙非非非也。
 *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).

- (67) a. 尙非又尙非非非非也。
 ngax li ke dit sip li **mo mgu**.
 1P.SG TOP dog lead go MOD.intend
 ‘I intend to lead the dog away.’
- b. 尙非又尙非非非非也。
 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.’
- c. 尙非又尙非非非非也。
 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.’
- d. 尙非又尙非非非非也。
 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.’

- b. $\text{li mu ga jox dop da hxip su nge.}$
 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 morpho-syntactic properties of modal auxiliary verbs. Semantically, its meaning shifted from *pointing to an object* to *preparing a state of affairs*.

- (70) a. $\text{ip mi cy ip ko qup jox dop.}$
 today evening 3P.SG door guard MOD.prepared
 ‘This evening he is prepared to guard the door.’
- b. $\text{nga sut tep yy chyr hxex jox-ap-dop.}$
 1P.SG other people letter open see MOD.prepared<NEG>
 ‘I am not prepared to open and read other people’s letters.’
- c. $\text{su hlit max su cy zy cox gu bbo shux jox dop.}$
 young person ART 3P.SG prompt people inform go CAUS MOD.prepared
 ‘He was prepared to encourage the young man to inform everyone.’
- d. * $\text{cop wox mux dde nra jox dop -jy- jox dop.}$
 3P.PL ground measure MOD.prepared very MOD.prepared
 Intended meaning: ‘They are very much prepared to survey the land.’
- e. $\text{cy ie qyt six bbut vie sha jox dop.}$
 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.

- (78) a. མི་འདི་ལ་མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་།
 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.’
- b. “མི་འདི་ལ་མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་།” ཟེང་མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་།
 “cyx li hxie mgat ma nge” **ddix** gox su ddop vu-ap-ji.
 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:*
 NP+[embedded clause]+*ddix*+V_{SPEECH}.

The complementizer *ddix* is illustrated below for several verbs of speech.

- (80) a. མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་། མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་།
 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.’
- b. མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་། མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་།
 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.’
- c. མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་། མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་།
 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. འདི་ལ་ “མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་།” ཟེང་།
 at nyop “ne ip nyip la hxit hxit” **ddix** hna.
 female name 2P.SG today come can~ALT COMP ask
 ‘Anyo asked: “Can you come today?”’

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.

- (84) a. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧

In many cases, the sentence-level adverbial which corresponds semantically to the predicate-level adverbial must be constructed differently.

- (2) a. རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལྟར་ལྟོགས་པའོ།
 ax ga **rrop jji mu** ddop hxip.
 female name naturally word say
 ‘Aga spoke naturally.’
- b. ལྟོགས་པའོ།, རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལྟོགས་པའོ།
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 predicates 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).

- (4) a. མཚན་ལྟར་ལྟོགས་པའོ། རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལྟོགས་པའོ།
 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.’
- b. *མཚན་ལྟར་ལྟོགས་པའོ། རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལྟོགས་པའོ། (ལྟོགས་པའོ།)
 *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).

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).

- (9) a. 𐎗𐎛𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤, 𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫。
 nyix dde ma tot hxit yix ne, mu gox 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.'
- b. 𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲, 𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫。
 lot a sho-jjy-a sho da, mu gox lot rrep 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.

- b. མཉམས་མཐོང་ལྟར་ཅེ་ཅི་།
 cy **o njit mu** hxip jjip ox.
 3P.SG roughly say become DP
 ‘He said it roughly.’

- (21) a. རྒྱུ་མཚན་མེད་ལྟར་ཅེ་ཅི་།
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.’

- b. མཉམས་མཐོང་ལྟར་ཅེ་ཅི་།
 cy **bip ap jjo mu** sut co jox zyt.
 3P.SG for no reason other people toward abuse, scold
 ‘He abuses others for no obvious reason.’

- (22) a. མྱོད་མཚན་མེད་ལྟར་ཅེ་ཅི་། (adversity context)
nyuo ba ba mu cy mgie ngax ge
 obviously 3P.SG cheat 1P.SG tell
 ‘Obviously, he cheated me.’

- b. མྱོད་མཚན་མེད་ལྟར་ཅེ་ཅི་། (adversity context)
 cy **nyuo ba ba mu** mgie ngax ge.
 3P.SG obviously cheat 1P.SG tell
 ‘Obviously, he cheated me.’

The adverb *ap dda yix nyi* ‘at least’ is a quantificational adverb that requires a quantificational expression in the sentence.

- (23) a. ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
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.’
- b. ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
 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. ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
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.’

- (26) a. འཇམ་ལུ་འགྲོ་ལོ་།
 cyp ngop lu **ap ggop**.
 3P.SG.POSS thought aimless, in vain
 ‘His thought is futile.’
- b. འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་མཉམ་ལུ་འགྲོ་ལོ་།
 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.

- (27) ཡུལ་མཉམ་ལུ་འགྲོ་ལོ་།
 syt cy jjit nga **xy xy zzyt zzyt 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.’
- (28) འཇམ་ལུ་འགྲོ་ལོ་།
 nga lat hxo jox **ryr ggur ggur mu** gox hxix.
 1P.SG male name toward earnestly admonish
 ‘I warned Laho earnestly.’
- (29) འཇམ་ལུ་འགྲོ་ལོ་།
 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. འཇམ་ལུ་འགྲོ་ལོ་།
 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. འཇམ་ལུ་འགྲོ་ལོ་།
 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).’

- (37) 日米ヲ泉泉日密呼命召来也。
 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.’
- (38) 例乎 承恩受享日王至耶。
 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: *ap ne mu* ‘not-cess = 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’
jiox dde jiox ‘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...’.

- c. 日叻叻拿共, 日叻叻。
 re mop cop wox **nge get** sot ox.
 money 3P.PL all count DP
 ‘They counted all the money.’

The quantificational adverb *jy ge* ‘together, all’ quantifies over the clause-initial NP which refers to a set of two or more.

- (47) a. 叻 叻 叻 叻 叻 叻 叻 叻 叻 叻。
 co cyx nyip bbup nyop vi **jy ge** bbop.
 person DEM.PROX NUM.2 CL labour together do
 ‘These two families are working together.’
- b. 叻 叻 叻 叻 叻 叻 叻 叻。
 cop wox **jy ge** 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) 日叻 叻 叻 叻 叻 叻。
 mu ga **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. 日叻 叻 叻 叻 叻 叻。
 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.’)
- b. 日叻 叻 叻 叻 叻 叻。
 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) 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃

- (55) 佢哋𠵼手𠵼脚𠵼咁𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。
 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 *ryx mu* ‘early’ is derived from the adjective *ryx* ‘early’ and contrasts with the postverbal adverb *nyiet* ‘late’ (see section 9.1.3).

- (56) a. 佢哋𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。
 cop wox li **ryx** -jyy- **ryx**.
 3P.PL TOP early very early
 ‘They were very early.’
- b. 佢哋𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。
 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.

- (57) a. 佢𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。
 co cyx ma **ap nryr** su nge.
 person DEM.PROX CL honest NOM COP
 ‘This person is honest.’
- b. 𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。
 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.

- (58) a. 佢哋𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。
 cop wox **ap ne mu** ip ko ndup.
 3P.PL not-cease=constantly door knock
 ‘They knocked constantly at the door.’
- b. 𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。
 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 frequency adverb *bur* ‘again’ is derived from the verb *bur* ‘return’ (section 6.4.1), as illustrated in (66).

- (66) རྩེད་ལྷན་པོ།
 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’.

- (67) རྩེད་ལྷན་པོ་ལ་མཛུགས་པོ།
 hmat mop xyx ne ox **ddep lox**.
 teacher rest DP originally
 ‘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.

- (68) a. རྩེད་ལྷན་པོ་ལ་མཛུགས་པོ་ལ་མཛུགས་པོ།
 ne vat -jy- vat mu ssox **sy** ox.
 2P.SG well very well ADVL study still DP
 ‘You studied very well.’
- b. རྩེད་ལྷན་པོ་ལ་མཛུགས་པོ་ལ་མཛུགས་པོ།
 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.’
- c. རྩེད་ལྷན་པོ་ལ་མཛུགས་པོ་ལ་མཛུགས་པོ་ལ་མཛུགས་པོ།
 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?’
- d. རྩེད་ལྷན་པོ་ལ་མཛུགས་པོ་ལ་མཛུགས་པོ།
 cop jiet zzax zze **lut** ox.
 3P.PL.POSS family food eat enough DP
 ‘Their family has already enough to eat.’

c. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅

- (92) a. \times 劫岁燕圣己H组尔。
 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.’
- b. \times 劫尔尔尔尔尔。
 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. H 尔尔尔尔?
 mu jy **ap-nge** ddap?
 male name NEG-COP INT
 ‘Wasn’t this Mudje?’
- b. H 尔尔尔尔尔尔?
 lat hxa sse suo yuo **ap-jjo** ddap?
 male name son NUM.3 CL NEG-have INT
 ‘Hasn’t Laha three sons?’
- c. \times 尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔?
 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 infixes before the last syllable. In (94), *tat* is prefixed to a monosyllabic verb; in (95), it is infixes.

- (94) a. 尔尔尔尔尔尔尔!
 ne ge yip yip mu **tat-jjip** ox!
 2P.SG stupid ADVL NEG.IMP-become DP
 ‘Don’t behave stupidly!’
- b. 尔尔尔尔尔尔尔!
 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!’
- c. 尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔!
 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!’

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 co-referential NP which must be in *initial* position of the second clause. The (partial) grammatical relations can be defined as follows:

	<i>Intransitive clauses</i>	<i>Imperfective clauses</i>	<i>Resultative clauses</i>
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 O) 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

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, S, A and O are universal. They are best understood as an *extensional* grouping of semantic roles.

constraints in terms of S, 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 O) 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:

- S-S = {S₁=S₂};
- S-A = {S₁=A₂, A₁=S₂};
- S-O = {S₁=O₂, O₁=S₂};
- A-A = {A₁=A₂};
- A-O = {A₁=O₂, O₁=A₂};
- O-O = {O₁=O₂}.

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) 𑄠𑄡𑄢𑄣𑄤𑄥𑄦𑄧𑄨𑄩𑄪𑄫𑄬𑄭𑄮𑄯𑄰𑄱𑄲𑄳𑄴𑄵𑄶𑄷𑄸𑄹𑄺𑄻𑄼𑄽𑄾𑄿𑅀𑅁𑅂𑅃𑅄𑅅𑅆𑅇𑅈𑅉𑅊𑅋𑅌𑅍𑅎𑅏𑅐𑅑𑅒𑅓𑅔𑅕𑅖𑅗𑅘𑅙𑅚𑅛𑅜𑅝𑅞𑅟𑅠𑅡𑅢𑅣𑅤𑅥𑅦𑅧𑅨𑅩𑅪𑅫𑅬𑅭𑅮𑅯𑅰𑅱𑅲𑅳𑅴𑅵𑅶𑅷𑅸𑅹𑅺𑅻𑅼𑅽𑅾𑅿𑆀𑆁𑆂𑆃𑆄𑆅𑆆𑆇𑆈𑆉𑆊𑆋𑆌𑆍𑆎𑆏𑆐𑆑𑆒𑆓𑆔𑆕𑆖𑆗𑆘𑆙𑆚𑆛𑆜𑆝𑆞𑆟𑆠𑆡𑆢𑆣𑆤𑆥𑆦𑆧𑆨𑆩𑆪𑆫𑆬𑆭𑆮𑆯𑆰𑆱𑆲𑆳𑆴𑆵𑆶𑆷𑆸𑆹𑆺𑆻𑆼𑆽𑆾𑆿𑇀𑇁𑇂𑇃𑇄𑇅𑇆𑇇𑇈𑇉𑇊𑇋𑇌𑇍𑇎𑇏𑇐𑇑𑇒𑇓𑇔𑇕𑇖𑇗𑇘𑇙𑇚𑇛𑇜𑇝𑇞𑇟𑇠𑇡𑇢𑇣𑇤𑇥𑇦𑇧𑇨𑇩𑇪𑇫𑇬𑇭𑇮𑇯𑇰𑇱𑇲𑇳𑇴𑇵𑇶𑇷𑇸𑇹𑇺𑇻𑇼𑇽𑇾𑇿𑈀𑈁𑈂𑈃𑈄𑈅𑈆𑈇𑈈𑈉𑈊𑈋𑈌𑈍𑈎𑈏𑈐𑈑𑈒𑈓𑈔𑈕𑈖𑈗𑈘𑈙𑈚𑈛𑈜𑈝𑈞𑈟𑈠𑈡𑈢𑈣𑈤𑈥𑈦𑈧𑈨𑈩𑈪𑈫𑈬𑈭𑈮𑈯𑈰𑈱𑈲𑈳𑈴𑈶𑈵𑈷𑈸𑈹𑈺𑈻𑈼𑈽𑈾𑈿𑉀𑉁𑉂𑉃𑉄𑉅𑉆𑉇𑉈𑉉𑉊𑉋𑉌𑉍𑉎𑉏𑉐𑉑𑉒𑉓𑉔𑉕𑉖𑉗𑉘𑉙𑉚𑉛𑉜𑉝𑉞𑉟𑉠𑉡𑉢𑉣𑉤𑉥𑉦𑉧𑉨𑉩𑉪𑉫𑉬𑉭𑉮𑉯𑉰𑉱𑉲𑉳𑉴𑉵𑉶𑉷𑉸𑉹𑉺𑉻𑉼𑉽𑉾𑉿𑊀𑊁𑊂𑊃𑊄𑊅𑊆𑊇𑊈𑊉𑊊𑊋𑊌𑊍𑊎𑊏𑊐𑊑𑊒𑊓𑊔𑊕𑊖𑊗𑊘𑊙𑊚𑊛𑊜𑊝𑊞𑊟𑊠𑊡𑊢𑊣𑊤𑊥𑊦𑊧𑊨𑊩𑊪𑊫𑊬𑊭𑊮𑊯𑊰𑊱𑊲𑊳𑊴𑊵𑊶𑊷𑊸𑊹𑊺𑊻𑊼𑊽𑊾𑊿𑋀𑋁𑋂𑋃𑋄𑋅𑋆𑋇𑋈𑋉𑋊𑋋𑋌𑋍𑋎𑋏𑋐𑋑𑋒𑋓𑋔𑋕𑋖𑋗𑋘𑋙𑋚𑋛𑋜𑋝𑋞𑋟𑋠𑋡𑋢𑋣𑋤𑋥𑋦𑋧𑋨𑋩𑋪𑋫𑋬𑋭𑋮𑋯𑋰𑋱𑋲𑋳𑋴𑋵𑋶𑋷𑋸𑋹𑋺𑋻𑋼𑋽𑋾𑋿𑌀𑌁𑌂𑌃𑌄𑌅𑌆𑌇𑌈𑌉𑌊𑌋𑌌𑌍𑌎𑌏𑌐𑌑𑌒𑌓𑌔𑌕𑌖𑌗𑌘𑌙𑌚𑌛𑌜𑌝𑌞𑌟𑌠𑌡𑌢𑌣𑌤𑌥𑌦𑌧𑌨𑌩𑌪𑌫𑌬𑌭𑌮𑌯𑌰𑌱𑌲𑌳𑌴𑌵𑌶𑌷𑌸𑌹𑌺𑌻𑌼𑌽𑌾𑌿𑍀𑍁𑍂𑍃𑍄𑍅𑍆𑍇𑍈𑍉𑍊𑍋𑍌𑍍𑍎𑍏𑍐𑍑𑍒𑍓𑍔𑍕𑍖𑍗𑍘𑍙𑍚𑍛𑍜𑍝𑍞𑍟𑍠𑍡𑍢𑍣𑍤𑍥𑍦𑍧𑍨𑍩𑍪𑍫𑍬𑍭𑍮𑍯𑍰𑍱𑍲𑍳𑍴𑍵𑍶𑍷𑍸𑍹𑍺𑍻𑍼𑍽𑍾𑍿𑎀𑎁𑎂𑎃𑎄𑎅𑎆𑎇𑎈𑎉𑎊𑎋𑎌𑎍𑎎𑎏𑎐𑎑𑎒𑎓𑎔𑎕𑎖𑎗𑎘𑎙𑎚𑎛𑎜𑎝𑎞𑎟𑎠𑎡𑎢𑎣𑎤𑎥𑎦𑎧𑎨𑎩𑎪𑎫𑎬𑎭𑎮𑎯𑎰𑎱𑎲𑎳𑎴𑎵𑎶𑎷𑎸𑎹𑎺𑎻𑎼𑎽𑎾𑎿𑏀𑏁𑏂𑏃𑏄𑏅𑏆𑏇𑏈𑏉𑏊𑏋𑏌𑏍𑏎𑏏𑏐𑏑𑏒𑏓𑏔𑏕𑏖𑏗𑏘𑏙𑏚𑏛𑏜𑏝𑏞𑏟𑏠𑏡𑏢𑏣𑏤𑏥𑏦𑏧𑏨𑏩𑏪𑏫𑏬𑏭𑏮𑏯𑏰𑏱𑏲𑏳𑏴𑏵𑏶𑏷𑏸𑏹𑏺𑏻𑏼𑏽𑏾𑏿𑐀𑐁𑐂𑐃𑐄𑐅𑐆𑐇𑐈𑐉𑐊𑐋𑐌𑐍𑐎𑐏𑐐𑐑𑐒𑐓𑐔𑐕𑐖𑐗𑐘𑐙𑐚𑐛𑐜𑐝𑐞𑐟𑐠𑐡𑐢𑐣𑐤𑐥𑐦𑐧𑐨𑐩𑐪𑐫𑐬𑐭𑐮𑐯𑐰𑐱𑐲𑐳𑐴𑐵𑐶𑐷𑐸𑐹𑐺𑐻𑐼𑐽𑐾𑐿𑑀𑑁𑑂𑑃𑑄𑑅𑑆𑑇𑑈𑑉𑑊𑑋𑑌𑑍𑑎𑑏𑑐𑑑𑑒𑑓𑑔𑑕𑑖𑑗𑑘𑑙𑑚𑑛𑑜𑑝𑑞𑑟𑑠𑑡𑑢𑑣𑑤𑑥𑑦𑑧𑑨𑑩𑑪𑑫𑑬𑑭𑑮𑑯𑑰𑑱𑑲𑑳𑑴𑑵𑑶𑑷𑑸𑑹𑑺𑑻𑑼𑑽𑑾𑑿𑒀𑒁𑒂𑒃𑒄𑒅𑒆𑒇𑒈𑒉𑒊𑒋𑒌𑒍𑒎𑒏𑒐𑒑𑒒𑒓𑒔𑒕𑒖𑒗𑒘𑒙𑒚𑒛𑒜𑒝𑒞𑒟𑒠𑒡𑒢𑒣𑒤𑒥𑒦𑒧𑒨𑒩𑒪𑒫𑒬𑒭𑒮𑒯𑒰𑒱𑒲𑒳𑒴𑒵𑒶𑒷𑒸𑒻𑒻𑒼𑒽𑒾𑒿𑓀𑓁𑓃𑓂𑓄𑓅𑓆𑓇𑓈𑓉𑓊𑓋𑓌𑓍𑓎𑓏𑓐𑓑𑓒𑓓𑓔𑓕𑓖𑓗𑓘𑓙𑓚𑓛𑓜𑓝𑓞𑓟𑓠𑓡𑓢𑓣𑓤𑓥𑓦𑓧𑓨𑓩𑓪𑓫𑓬𑓭𑓮𑓯𑓰𑓱𑓲𑓳𑓴𑓵𑓶𑓷𑓸𑓹𑓺𑓻𑓼𑓽𑓾𑓿𑔀𑔁𑔂𑔃𑔄𑔅𑔆𑔇𑔈𑔉𑔊𑔋𑔌𑔍𑔎𑔏𑔐𑔑𑔒𑔓𑔔𑔕𑔖𑔗𑔘𑔙𑔚𑔛𑔜𑔝𑔞𑔟𑔠𑔡𑔢𑔣𑔤𑔥𑔦𑔧𑔨𑔩𑔪𑔫𑔬𑔭𑔮𑔯𑔰𑔱𑔲𑔳𑔴𑔵𑔶𑔷𑔸𑔹𑔺𑔻𑔼𑔽𑔾𑔿𑕀𑕁𑕂𑕃𑕄𑕅𑕆𑕇𑕈𑕉𑕊𑕋𑕌𑕍𑕎𑕏𑕐𑕑𑕒𑕓𑕔𑕕𑕖𑕗𑕘𑕙𑕚𑕛𑕜𑕝𑕞𑕟𑕠𑕡𑕢𑕣𑕤𑕥𑕦𑕧𑕨𑕩𑕪𑕫𑕬𑕭𑕮𑕯𑕰𑕱𑕲𑕳𑕴𑕵𑕶𑕷𑕸𑕹𑕺𑕻𑕼𑕽𑕾𑕿𑖀𑖁𑖂𑖃𑖄𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐𑖑𑖒𑖓𑖔𑖕𑖖𑖗𑖘𑖙𑖚𑖛𑖜𑖝𑖞𑖟𑖠𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑗀𑖿𑗁𑗂𑗃𑗄𑗅𑗆𑗇𑗈𑗉𑗊𑗋𑗌𑗍𑗎𑗏𑗐𑗑𑗒𑗓𑗔𑗕𑗖𑗗𑗘𑗙𑗚𑗛𑗜𑗝𑗞𑗟𑗠𑗡𑗢𑗣𑗤𑗥𑗦𑗧𑗨𑗩𑗪𑗫𑗬𑗭𑗮𑗯𑗰𑗱𑗲𑗳𑗴𑗵𑗶𑗷𑗸𑗹𑗺𑗻𑗼𑗽𑗾𑗿𑘀𑘁𑘂𑘃𑘄𑘅𑘆𑘇𑘈𑘉𑘊𑘋𑘌𑘍𑘎𑘏𑘐𑘑𑘒𑘓𑘔𑘕𑘖𑘗𑘘𑘙𑘚𑘛𑘜𑘝𑘞𑘟𑘠𑘡𑘢𑘣𑘤𑘥𑘦𑘧𑘨𑘩𑘪𑘫𑘬𑘭𑘮𑘯𑘰𑘱𑘲𑘳𑘴𑘵𑘶𑘷𑘸𑘹𑘺𑘻𑘼𑘽𑘾𑘿𑙀𑙁𑙂𑙃𑙄𑙅𑙆𑙇𑙈𑙉𑙊𑙋𑙌𑙍𑙎𑙏𑙐𑙑𑙒𑙓𑙔𑙕𑙖𑙗𑙘𑙙𑙚𑙛𑙜𑙝𑙞𑙟𑙠𑙡𑙢𑙣𑙤𑙥𑙦𑙧𑙨𑙩𑙪𑙫𑙬𑙭𑙮𑙯𑙰𑙱𑙲𑙳𑙴𑙵𑙶𑙷𑙸𑙹𑙺𑙻𑙼𑙽𑙾𑙿𑚀𑚁𑚂𑚃𑚄𑚅𑚆𑚇𑚈𑚉𑚊𑚋𑚌𑚍𑚎𑚏𑚐𑚑𑚒𑚓𑚔𑚕𑚖𑚗𑚘𑚙𑚚𑚛𑚜𑚝𑚞𑚟𑚠𑚡𑚢𑚣𑚤𑚥𑚦𑚧𑚨𑚩𑚪𑚫𑚬𑚭𑚮𑚯𑚰𑚱𑚲𑚳𑚴𑚵𑚷𑚶𑚸𑚹𑚺𑚻𑚼𑚽𑚾𑚿𑛀𑛁𑛂𑛃𑛄𑛅𑛆𑛇𑛈𑛉𑛊𑛋𑛌𑛍𑛎𑛏𑛐𑛑𑛒𑛓𑛔𑛕𑛖𑛗𑛘𑛙𑛚𑛛𑛜𑛝𑛞𑛟𑛠𑛡𑛢𑛣𑛤𑛥𑛦𑛧𑛨𑛩𑛪𑛫𑛬𑛭𑛮𑛯𑛰𑛱𑛲𑛳𑛴𑛵𑛶𑛷𑛸𑛹𑛺𑛻𑛼𑛽𑛾𑛿𑜀𑜁𑜂𑜃𑜄𑜅𑜆𑜇𑜈𑜉𑜊𑜋𑜌𑜍𑜎𑜏𑜐𑜑𑜒𑜓𑜔𑜕𑜖𑜗𑜘𑜙𑜚𑜛𑜜𑜝𑜞𑜟𑜠𑜡𑜢𑜣𑜤𑜥𑜦𑜧𑜨𑜩𑜪𑜫𑜬𑜭𑜮𑜯𑜰𑜱𑜲𑜳𑜴𑜵𑜶𑜷𑜸𑜹𑜺𑜻𑜼𑜽𑜾𑜿𑝀𑝁𑝂𑝃𑝄𑝅𑝆𑝇𑝈𑝉𑝊𑝋𑝌𑝍𑝎𑝏𑝐𑝑𑝒𑝓𑝔𑝕𑝖𑝗𑝘𑝙𑝚𑝛𑝜𑝝𑝞𑝟𑝠𑝡𑝢𑝣𑝤𑝥𑝦𑝧𑝨𑝩𑝪𑝫𑝬𑝭𑝮𑝯𑝰𑝱𑝲𑝳𑝴𑝵𑝶𑝷𑝸𑝹𑝺𑝻𑝼𑝽𑝾𑝿𑞀𑞁𑞂𑞃𑞄𑞅𑞆𑞇𑞈𑞉𑞊𑞋𑞌𑞍𑞎𑞏𑞐𑞑𑞒𑞓𑞔𑞕𑞖𑞗𑞘𑞙𑞚𑞛𑞜𑞝𑞞𑞟𑞠𑞡𑞢𑞣𑞤𑞥𑞦𑞧𑞨𑞩𑞪𑞫𑞬𑞭𑞮𑞯𑞰𑞱𑞲𑞳𑞴𑞵𑞶𑞷𑞸𑞹𑞺𑞻𑞼𑞽𑞾𑞿𑟀𑟁𑟂𑟃𑟄𑟅𑟆𑟇𑟈𑟉𑟊𑟋𑟌𑟍𑟎𑟏𑟐𑟑𑟒𑟓𑟔𑟕𑟖𑟗𑟘𑟙𑟚𑟛𑟜𑟝𑟞𑟟𑟠𑟡𑟢𑟣𑟤𑟥𑟦𑟧𑟨𑟩𑟪𑟫𑟬𑟭𑟮𑟯𑟰𑟱𑟲𑟳𑟴𑟵𑟶𑟷𑟸𑟹𑟺𑟻𑟼𑟽𑟾𑟿𑠀𑠁𑠂𑠃𑠄𑠅𑠆𑠇𑠈𑠉𑠊𑠋𑠌𑠍𑠎𑠏𑠐𑠑𑠒𑠓𑠔𑠕𑠖𑠗𑠘𑠙𑠚𑠛𑠜𑠝𑠞𑠟𑠠𑠡𑠢𑠣𑠤𑠥𑠦𑠧𑠨𑠩𑠪𑠫𑠬𑠭𑠮𑠯𑠰𑠱𑠲𑠳𑠴𑠵𑠶𑠷𑠸𑠺𑠹𑠻𑠼𑠽𑠾𑠿𑡀𑡁𑡂𑡃𑡄𑡅𑡆𑡇𑡈𑡉𑡊𑡋𑡌𑡍𑡎𑡏𑡐𑡑𑡒𑡓𑡔𑡕𑡖𑡗𑡘𑡙𑡚𑡛𑡜𑡝𑡞𑡟𑡠𑡡𑡢𑡣𑡤𑡥𑡦𑡧𑡨𑡩𑡪𑡫𑡬𑡭𑡮𑡯𑡰𑡱𑡲𑡳𑡴𑡵𑡶𑡷𑡸𑡹𑡺𑡻𑡼𑡽𑡾𑡿𑢀𑢁𑢂𑢃𑢄𑢅𑢆𑢇𑢈𑢉𑢊𑢋𑢌𑢍𑢎𑢏𑢐𑢑𑢒𑢓𑢔𑢕𑢖𑢗𑢘𑢙𑢚𑢛𑢜𑢝𑢞𑢟𑢠𑢡𑢢𑢣𑢤𑢥𑢦𑢧𑢨𑢩𑢪𑢫𑢬𑢭𑢮𑢯𑢰𑢱𑢲𑢳𑢴𑢵𑢶𑢷𑢸𑢹𑢺𑢻𑢼𑢽𑢾𑢿𑣀𑣁𑣂𑣃𑣄𑣅𑣆𑣇𑣈𑣉𑣊𑣋𑣌𑣍𑣎𑣏𑣐𑣑𑣒𑣓𑣔𑣕𑣖𑣗𑣘𑣙𑣚𑣛𑣜𑣝𑣞𑣟𑣠𑣡𑣢𑣣𑣤𑣥𑣦𑣧𑣨𑣩𑣪𑣫𑣬𑣭𑣮𑣯𑣰𑣱𑣲𑣳𑣴𑣵𑣶𑣷𑣸𑣹𑣺𑣻𑣼𑣽𑣾𑣿𑤀𑤁𑤂𑤃𑤄𑤅𑤆𑤇𑤈𑤉𑤊𑤋𑤌𑤍𑤎𑤏𑤐𑤑𑤒𑤓𑤔𑤕𑤖𑤗𑤘𑤙𑤚𑤛𑤜𑤝𑤞𑤟𑤠𑤡𑤢𑤣𑤤𑤥𑤦𑤧𑤨𑤩𑤪𑤫𑤬𑤭𑤮𑤯𑤰𑤱𑤲𑤳𑤴𑤵𑤶𑤷𑤸𑤹𑤺𑤻𑤼𑤽𑤾𑤿𑥀𑥁𑥂𑥃𑥄𑥅𑥆𑥇𑥈𑥉𑥊𑥋𑥌𑥍𑥎𑥏𑥐𑥑𑥒𑥓𑥔𑥕𑥖𑥗𑥘𑥙𑥚𑥛𑥜𑥝𑥞𑥟𑥠𑥡𑥢𑥣𑥤𑥥𑥦𑥧𑥨𑥩𑥪𑥫𑥬𑥭𑥮𑥯𑥰𑥱𑥲𑥳𑥴𑥵𑥶𑥷𑥸𑥹𑥺𑥻𑥼𑥽𑥾𑥿𑦀𑦁𑦂𑦃𑦄𑦅𑦆𑦇𑦈𑦉𑦊𑦋𑦌𑦍𑦎𑦏𑦐𑦑𑦒𑦓𑦔𑦕𑦖𑦗𑦘𑦙𑦚𑦛𑦜𑦝𑦞𑦟𑦠𑦡𑦢𑦣𑦤𑦥𑦦𑦧𑦨𑦩𑦪𑦫𑦬𑦭𑦮𑦯𑦰𑦱𑦲𑦳𑦴𑦵𑦶𑦷𑦸𑦹𑦺𑦻𑦼𑦽𑦾𑦿𑧀𑧁𑧂𑧃𑧄𑧅𑧆𑧇𑧈𑧉𑧊𑧋𑧌𑧍𑧎𑧏𑧐𑧑𑧒𑧓𑧔𑧕𑧖𑧗𑧘𑧙𑧚𑧛𑧜𑧝𑧞𑧟𑧠𑧡𑧢𑧣𑧤𑧥𑧦𑧧𑧨𑧩𑧪𑧫𑧬𑧭𑧮𑧯𑧰𑧱𑧲𑧳𑧴𑧵𑧶𑧷𑧸𑧹𑧺𑧻𑧼𑧽𑧾𑧿𑨀𑨁𑨂𑨃𑨄𑨅𑨆𑨇𑨈𑨉𑨊𑨋𑨌𑨍𑨎𑨏𑨐𑨑𑨒𑨓𑨔𑨕𑨖𑨗𑨘𑨙𑨚𑨛𑨜𑨝𑨞𑨟𑨠𑨡𑨢𑨣𑨤𑨥𑨦𑨧𑨨𑨩𑨪𑨫𑨬𑨭𑨮𑨯𑨰𑨱𑨲𑨳𑨴𑨵𑨶𑨷𑨸𑨹𑨺𑨻𑨼𑨽𑨾𑨿𑩀𑩁𑩂𑩃𑩄𑩅𑩆𑩇𑩈𑩉𑩊𑩋𑩌𑩍𑩎𑩏𑩐𑩑𑩒𑩓𑩔𑩕𑩖𑩗𑩘𑩙𑩚𑩛𑩜𑩝𑩞𑩟𑩠𑩡𑩢𑩣𑩤𑩥𑩦𑩧𑩨𑩩𑩪𑩫𑩬𑩭𑩮𑩯𑩰𑩱𑩲𑩳𑩴𑩵𑩶𑩷𑩸𑩹𑩺𑩻𑩼𑩽𑩾𑩿𑪀𑪁𑪂𑪃𑪄𑪅𑪆𑪇𑪈𑪉𑪊𑪋𑪌𑪍𑪎𑪏𑪐𑪑𑪒𑪓𑪔𑪕𑪖𑪗𑪘𑪙𑪚𑪛𑪜𑪝𑪞𑪟𑪠𑪡𑪢𑪣𑪤𑪥𑪦𑪧𑪨𑪩𑪪𑪫𑪬𑪭𑪮𑪯𑪰𑪱𑪲𑪳𑪴𑪵𑪶𑪷𑪸𑪹𑪺𑪻𑪼𑪽𑪾𑪿𑫀𑫁𑫂𑫃𑫄𑫅𑫆𑫇𑫈𑫉𑫊𑫋𑫌𑫍𑫎𑫏𑫐𑫑𑫒𑫓𑫔𑫕𑫖𑫗𑫘𑫙𑫚𑫛𑫜𑫝𑫞𑫟𑫠𑫡𑫢𑫣𑫤𑫥𑫦𑫧𑫨𑫩𑫪𑫫𑫬𑫭𑫮𑫯𑫰𑫱𑫲𑫳𑫴𑫵𑫶𑫷𑫸𑫹𑫺𑫻𑫼𑫽𑫾𑫿𑬀𑬁𑬂𑬃𑬄𑬅𑬆𑬇𑬈𑬉𑬊𑬋𑬌𑬍𑬎𑬏𑬐𑬑𑬒𑬓𑬔𑬕𑬖𑬗𑬘𑬙𑬚𑬛𑬜𑬝𑬞𑬟𑬠𑬡𑬢𑬣𑬤𑬥𑬦𑬧𑬨𑬩𑬪𑬫𑬬𑬭𑬮𑬯𑬰𑬱𑬲𑬳𑬴𑬵𑬶𑬷𑬸𑬹𑬺𑬻𑬼𑬽𑬾𑬿𑭀𑭁𑭂𑭃𑭄𑭅𑭆𑭇𑭈𑭉𑭊𑭋𑭌𑭍𑭎𑭏𑭐𑭑𑭒𑭓𑭔𑭕𑭖𑭗𑭘𑭙𑭚𑭛𑭜𑭝𑭞𑭟𑭠𑭡𑭢𑭣𑭤𑭥𑭦𑭧𑭨𑭩𑭪𑭫𑭬𑭭𑭮𑭯𑭰𑭱𑭲𑭳𑭴𑭵𑭶𑭷𑭸𑭹𑭺𑭻𑭼𑭽𑭾𑭿𑮀𑮁𑮂𑮃𑮄𑮅𑮆𑮇𑮈𑮉𑮊𑮋𑮌𑮍𑮎𑮏𑮐𑮑𑮒𑮓𑮔𑮕𑮖𑮗𑮘𑮙𑮚𑮛𑮜𑮝𑮞𑮟𑮠𑮡𑮢𑮣𑮤𑮥𑮦𑮧𑮨𑮩𑮪𑮫𑮬𑮭𑮮𑮯𑮰𑮱𑮲𑮳𑮴𑮵𑮶𑮷𑮸𑮹𑮺𑮻𑮼𑮽𑮾𑮿𑯀𑯁𑯂𑯃𑯄𑯅𑯆𑯇𑯈𑯉𑯊𑯋𑯌𑯍𑯎𑯏𑯐𑯑𑯒𑯓𑯔𑯕𑯖𑯗𑯘𑯙𑯚𑯛𑯜𑯝𑯞𑯟𑯠𑯡𑯢𑯣𑯤𑯥𑯦𑯧𑯨𑯩𑯪𑯫𑯬𑯭𑯮𑯯𑯰𑯱𑯲𑯳𑯴𑯵𑯶𑯷𑯸𑯹𑯺𑯻𑯼𑯽𑯾𑯿𑰀𑰁𑰂𑰃𑰄𑰅𑰆𑰇𑰈𑰉𑰊𑰋𑰌𑰍𑰎𑰏𑰐𑰑𑰒𑰓𑰔𑰕𑰖𑰗𑰘𑰙𑰚𑰛𑰜𑰝𑰞𑰟𑰠𑰡𑰢𑰣𑰤𑰥𑰦𑰧𑰨𑰩𑰪𑰫𑰬𑰭𑰮𑰯𑰰𑰱𑰲𑰳𑰴𑰵𑰶𑰷𑰸𑰹𑰺𑰻𑰼𑰽𑰾𑰿𑱀𑱁𑱂𑱃𑱄𑱅𑱆𑱇𑱈𑱉𑱊𑱋𑱌𑱍𑱎𑱏𑱐𑱑𑱒𑱓𑱔𑱕𑱖𑱗𑱘𑱙𑱚𑱛𑱜𑱝𑱞𑱟𑱠𑱡𑱢𑱣𑱤𑱥𑱦𑱧𑱨𑱩𑱪𑱫

- (4) 非 巫 生 言 曰 “ 我 日 常 忙 忙 读 经 书 ， 没 空 来 抬 你 。”

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 O+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

- (5) 她 忙 忙 的 抬 树 过 河 去 送 经 书 给 弟 弟 抬 走 了 。

co qot a mat ma **rax dde mu** syr bbo bbo byp gox
 sorceress CL talkative ADVL tree CL carry SENT.TOP
 A O V

mga yy ox.
 pass go down DP

‘‘A sorceress, talking and carrying a tree, passed by.’’

C. V = V₁V₂ (V₁ activity, V₂ directional)

An activity verb (V₁) before a directional verb (V₂) implies a purposive meaning as in *He came to collect vegetables*. The obligatory order is AOV₁V₂.⁴

- (6) 丁 丁 来 夏 天 的 时 候 弟 弟 来 借 牛 。

cyp nyip ne vyt vu ix yi ddx lap bbu
 NUM.1 day TOP elder brother younger brother LOC ox
 A O

hxe la lox...
borrow come and
 V₁ V₂

‘One day, the elder brother came to borrow an ox from his brother...’

³ Example (6) is quoted from the folk story “Redisofu overcomes the sorceress with wisdom” (Chén & Wū 1998: 246).

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
- $V = V_1\text{-}s\text{-}V_2$ (V_1 is an activity verb and 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

- (7) “ 𑖇𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐𑖑𑖒𑖓𑖔𑖕𑖖𑖗𑖘𑖙𑖚𑖛𑖜𑖝𑖞𑖟𑖠𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑗀𑖿𑗁𑗂𑗃𑗄𑗅𑗆𑗇𑗈𑗉𑗊𑗋𑗌𑗍𑗎𑗏𑗐𑗑𑗒𑗓𑗔𑗕𑗖𑗗𑗘𑗙𑗚𑗛𑗜𑗝𑗞𑗟𑗠𑗡𑗢𑗣𑗤𑗥𑗦𑗧𑗨𑗩𑗪𑗫𑗬𑗭𑗮𑗯𑗰𑗱𑗲𑗳𑗴𑗵𑗶𑗷𑗸𑗹𑗺𑗻𑗼𑗽𑗾𑗿𑘀𑘁𑘂𑘃𑘄𑘅𑘆𑘇𑘈𑘉𑘊𑘋𑘌𑘍𑘎𑘏𑘐𑘑𑘒𑘓𑘔𑘕𑘖𑘗𑘘𑘙𑘚𑘛𑘜𑘝𑘞𑘟𑘠𑘡𑘢𑘣𑘤𑘥𑘦𑘧𑘨𑘩𑘪𑘫𑘬𑘭𑘮𑘯𑘰𑘱𑘲𑘳𑘴𑘵𑘶𑘷𑘸𑘹𑘺𑘻𑘼𑘽𑘾𑘿𑙀𑙁𑙂𑙃𑙄𑙅𑙆𑙇𑙈𑙉𑙊𑙋𑙌𑙍𑙎𑙏𑙐𑙑𑙒𑙓𑙔𑙕𑙖𑙗𑙘𑙙𑙚𑙛𑙜𑙝𑙞𑙟𑙠𑙡𑙢𑙣𑙤𑙥𑙦𑙧𑙨𑙩𑙪𑙫𑙬𑙭𑙮𑙯𑙰𑙱𑙲𑙳𑙴𑙵𑙶𑙷𑙸𑙹𑙺𑙻𑙼𑙽𑙾𑙿𑚀𑚁𑚂𑚃𑚄𑚅𑚆𑚇𑚈𑚉𑚊𑚋𑚌𑚍𑚎𑚏𑚐𑚑𑚒𑚓𑚔𑚕𑚖𑚗𑚘𑚙𑚚𑚛𑚜𑚝𑚞𑚟𑚠𑚡𑚢𑚣𑚤𑚥𑚦𑚧𑚨𑚩𑚪𑚫𑚬𑚭𑚮𑚯𑚰𑚱𑚲𑚳𑚴𑚵𑚷𑚶𑚸𑚹𑚺𑚻𑚼𑚽𑚾𑚿𑛀𑛁𑛂𑛃𑛄𑛅𑛆𑛇𑛈𑛉𑛊𑛋𑛌𑛍𑛎𑛏𑛐𑛑𑛒𑛓𑛔𑛕𑛖𑛗𑛘𑛙𑛚𑛛𑛜𑛝𑛞𑛟𑛠𑛡𑛢𑛣𑛤𑛥𑛦𑛧𑛨𑛩𑛪𑛫𑛬𑛭𑛮𑛯𑛰𑛱𑛲𑛳𑛴𑛵𑛶𑛷𑛸𑛹𑛺𑛻𑛼𑛽𑛾𑛿𑜀𑜁𑜂𑜃𑜄𑜅𑜆𑜇𑜈𑜉𑜊𑜋𑜌𑜍𑜎𑜏𑜐𑜑𑜒𑜓𑜔𑜕𑜖𑜗𑜘𑜙𑜚𑜛𑜜𑜝𑜞𑜟𑜠𑜡𑜢𑜣𑜤𑜥𑜦𑜧𑜨𑜩𑜪𑜫𑜬𑜭𑜮𑜯𑜰𑜱𑜲𑜳𑜴𑜵𑜶𑜷𑜸𑜹𑜺𑜻𑜼𑜽𑜾𑜿𑝀𑝁𑝂𑝃𑝄𑝅𑝆𑝇𑝈𑝉𑝊𑝋𑝌𑝍𑝎𑝏𑝐𑝑𑝒𑝓𑝔𑝕𑝖𑝗𑝘𑝙𑝚𑝛𑝜𑝝𑝞𑝟𑝠𑝡𑝢𑝣𑝤𑝥𑝦𑝧𑝨𑝩𑝪𑝫𑝬𑝭𑝮𑝯𑝰𑝱𑝲𑝳𑝴𑝵𑝶𑝷𑝸𑝹𑝺𑝻𑝼𑝽𑝾𑝿𑞀𑞁𑞂𑞃𑞄𑞅𑞆𑞇𑞈𑞉𑞊𑞋𑞌𑞍𑞎𑞏𑞐𑞑𑞒𑞓𑞔𑞕𑞖𑞗𑞘𑞙𑞚𑞛𑞜𑞝𑞞𑞟𑞠𑞡𑞢𑞣𑞤𑞥𑞦𑞧𑞨𑞩𑞪𑞫𑞬𑞭𑞮𑞯𑞰𑞱𑞲𑞳𑞴𑞵𑞶𑞷𑞸𑞹𑞺𑞻𑞼𑞽𑞾𑞿𑟀𑟁𑟂𑟃𑟄𑟅𑟆𑟇𑟈𑟉𑟊𑟋𑟌𑟍𑟎𑟏𑟐𑟑𑟒𑟓𑟔𑟕𑟖𑟗𑟘𑟙𑟚𑟛𑟜𑟝𑟞𑟟𑟠𑟡𑟢𑟣𑟤𑟥𑟦𑟧𑟨𑟩𑟪𑟫𑟬𑟭𑟮𑟯𑟰𑟱𑟲𑟳𑟴𑟵𑟶𑟷𑟸𑟹𑟺𑟻𑟼𑟽𑟾𑟿𑠀𑠁𑠂𑠃𑠄𑠅𑠆𑠇𑠈𑠉𑠊𑠋𑠌𑠍𑠎𑠏𑠐𑠑𑠒𑠓𑠔𑠕𑠖𑠗𑠘𑠙𑠚𑠛𑠜𑠝𑠞𑠟𑠠𑠡𑠢𑠣𑠤𑠥𑠦𑠧𑠨𑠩𑠪𑠫𑠬𑠭𑠮𑠯𑠰𑠱𑠲𑠳𑠴𑠵𑠶𑠷𑠸𑠺𑠹𑠻𑠼𑠽𑠾𑠿𑡀𑡁𑡂𑡃𑡄𑡅𑡆𑡇𑡈𑡉𑡊𑡋𑡌𑡍𑡎𑡏𑡐𑡑𑡒𑡓𑡔𑡕𑡖𑡗𑡘𑡙𑡚𑡛𑡜𑡝𑡞𑡟𑡠𑡡𑡢𑡣𑡤𑡥𑡦𑡧𑡨𑡩𑡪𑡫𑡬𑡭𑡮𑡯𑡰𑡱𑡲𑡳𑡴𑡵𑡶𑡷𑡸𑡹𑡺𑡻𑡼𑡽𑡾𑡿𑢀𑢁𑢂𑢃𑢄𑢅𑢆𑢇𑢈𑢉𑢊𑢋𑢌𑢍𑢎𑢏𑢐𑢑𑢒𑢓𑢔𑢕𑢖𑢗𑢘𑢙𑢚𑢛𑢜𑢝𑢞𑢟𑢠𑢡𑢢𑢣𑢤𑢥𑢦𑢧𑢨𑢩𑢪𑢫𑢬𑢭𑢮𑢯𑢰𑢱𑢲𑢳𑢴𑢵𑢶𑢷𑢸𑢹𑢺𑢻𑢼𑢽𑢾𑢿𑣀𑣁𑣂𑣃𑣄𑣅𑣆𑣇𑣈𑣉𑣊𑣋𑣌𑣍𑣎𑣏𑣐𑣑𑣒𑣓𑣔𑣕𑣖𑣗𑣘𑣙𑣚𑣛𑣜𑣝𑣞𑣟𑣠𑣡𑣢𑣣𑣤𑣥𑣦𑣧𑣨𑣩𑣪𑣫𑣬𑣭𑣮𑣯𑣰𑣱𑣲𑣳𑣴𑣵𑣶𑣷𑣸𑣹𑣺𑣻𑣼𑣽𑣾𑣿𑤀𑤁𑤂𑤃𑤄𑤅𑤆𑤇𑤈𑤉𑤊𑤋𑤌𑤍𑤎𑤏𑤐𑤑𑤒𑤓𑤔𑤕𑤖𑤗𑤘𑤙𑤚𑤛𑤜𑤝𑤞𑤟𑤠𑤡𑤢𑤣𑤤𑤥𑤦𑤧𑤨𑤩𑤪𑤫𑤬𑤭𑤮𑤯𑤰𑤱𑤲𑤳𑤴𑤵𑤶𑤷𑤸𑤹𑤺𑤻𑤼𑤽𑤾𑤿𑥀𑥁𑥂𑥃𑥄𑥅𑥆𑥇𑥈𑥉𑥊𑥋𑥌𑥍𑥎𑥏𑥐𑥑𑥒𑥓𑥔𑥕𑥖𑥗𑥘𑥙𑥚𑥛𑥜𑥝𑥞𑥟𑥠𑥡𑥢𑥣𑥤𑥥𑥦𑥧𑥨𑥩𑥪𑥫𑥬𑥭𑥮𑥯𑥰𑥱𑥲𑥳𑥴𑥵𑥶𑥷𑥸𑥹𑥺𑥻𑥼𑥽𑥾𑥿𑦀𑦁𑦂𑦃𑦄𑦅𑦆𑦇𑦈𑦉𑦊𑦋𑦌𑦍𑦎𑦏𑦐𑦑𑦒𑦓𑦔𑦕𑦖𑦗𑦘𑦙𑦚𑦛𑦜𑦝𑦞𑦟𑦠𑦡𑦢𑦣𑦤𑦥𑦦𑦧𑦨𑦩𑦪𑦫𑦬𑦭𑦮𑦯𑦰𑦱𑦲𑦳𑦴𑦵𑦶𑦷𑦸𑦹𑦺𑦻𑦼𑦽𑦾𑦿𑧀𑧁𑧂𑧃𑧄𑧅𑧆𑧇𑧈𑧉𑧊𑧋𑧌𑧍𑧎𑧏𑧐𑧑𑧒𑧓𑧔𑧕𑧖𑧗𑧘𑧙𑧚𑧛𑧜𑧝𑧞𑧟𑧠𑧡𑧢𑧣𑧤𑧥𑧦𑧧𑧨𑧩𑧪𑧫𑧬𑧭𑧮𑧯𑧰𑧱𑧲𑧳𑧴𑧵𑧶𑧷𑧸𑧹𑧺𑧻𑧼𑧽𑧾𑧿𑨀𑨁𑨂𑨃𑨄𑨅𑨆𑨇𑨈𑨉𑨊𑨋𑨌𑨍𑨎𑨏𑨐𑨑𑨒𑨓𑨔𑨕𑨖𑨗𑨘𑨙𑨚𑨛𑨜𑨝𑨞𑨟𑨠𑨡𑨢𑨣𑨤𑨥𑨦𑨧𑨨𑨩𑨪𑨫𑨬𑨭𑨮𑨯𑨰𑨱𑨲𑨳𑨴𑨵𑨶𑨷𑨸𑨹𑨺𑨻𑨼𑨽𑨾𑨿𑩀𑩁𑩂𑩃𑩄𑩅𑩆𑩇𑩈𑩉𑩊𑩋𑩌𑩍𑩎𑩏𑩐𑩑𑩒𑩓𑩔𑩕𑩖𑩗𑩘𑩙𑩚𑩛𑩜𑩝𑩞𑩟𑩠𑩡𑩢𑩣𑩤𑩥𑩦𑩧𑩨𑩩𑩪𑩫𑩬𑩭𑩮𑩯𑩰𑩱𑩲𑩳𑩴𑩵𑩶𑩷𑩸𑩹𑩺𑩻𑩼𑩽𑩾𑩿𑪀𑪁𑪂𑪃𑪄𑪅𑪆𑪇𑪈𑪉𑪊𑪋𑪌𑪍𑪎𑪏𑪐𑪑𑪒𑪓𑪔𑪕𑪖𑪗𑪘𑪙𑪚𑪛𑪜𑪝𑪞𑪟𑪠𑪡𑪢𑪣𑪤𑪥𑪦𑪧𑪨𑪩𑪪𑪫𑪬𑪭𑪮𑪯𑪰𑪱𑪲𑪳𑪴𑪵𑪶𑪷𑪸𑪹𑪺𑪻𑪼𑪽𑪾𑪿𑫀𑫁𑫂𑫃𑫄𑫅𑫆𑫇𑫈𑫉𑫊𑫋𑫌𑫍𑫎𑫏𑫐𑫑𑫒𑫓𑫔𑫕𑫖𑫗𑫘𑫙𑫚𑫛𑫜𑫝𑫞𑫟𑫠𑫡𑫢𑫣𑫤𑫥𑫦𑫧𑫨𑫩𑫪𑫫𑫬𑫭𑫮𑫯𑫰𑫱𑫲𑫳𑫴𑫵𑫶𑫷𑫸𑫹𑫺𑫻𑫼𑫽𑫾𑫿𑬀𑬁𑬂𑬃𑬄𑬅𑬆𑬇𑬈𑬉𑬊𑬋𑬌𑬍𑬎𑬏𑬐𑬑𑬒𑬓𑬔𑬕𑬖𑬗𑬘𑬙𑬚𑬛𑬜𑬝𑬞𑬟𑬠𑬡𑬢𑬣𑬤𑬥𑬦𑬧𑬨𑬩𑬪𑬫𑬬𑬭𑬮𑬯𑬰𑬱𑬲𑬳𑬴𑬵𑬶𑬷𑬸𑬹𑬺𑬻𑬼𑬽𑬾𑬿𑭀𑭁𑭂𑭃𑭄𑭅𑭆𑭇𑭈𑭉𑭊𑭋𑭌𑭍𑭎𑭏𑭐𑭑𑭒𑭓𑭔𑭕𑭖𑭗𑭘𑭙𑭚𑭛𑭜𑭝𑭞𑭟𑭠𑭡𑭢𑭣𑭤𑭥𑭦𑭧𑭨𑭩𑭪𑭫𑭬𑭭𑭮𑭯𑭰𑭱𑭲𑭳𑭴𑭵𑭶𑭷𑭸𑭹𑭺𑭻𑭼𑭽𑭾𑭿𑮀𑮁𑮂𑮃𑮄𑮅𑮆𑮇𑮈𑮉𑮊𑮋𑮌𑮍𑮎𑮏𑮐𑮑𑮒𑮓𑮔𑮕𑮖𑮗𑮘𑮙𑮚𑮛𑮜𑮝𑮞𑮟𑮠𑮡𑮢𑮣𑮤𑮥𑮦𑮧𑮨𑮩𑮪𑮫𑮬𑮭𑮮𑮯𑮰𑮱𑮲𑮳𑮴𑮵𑮶𑮷𑮸𑮹𑮺𑮻𑮼𑮽𑮾𑮿𑯀𑯁𑯂𑯃𑯄𑯅𑯆𑯇𑯈𑯉𑯊𑯋𑯌𑯍𑯎𑯏𑯐𑯑𑯒𑯓𑯔𑯕𑯖𑯗𑯘𑯙𑯚𑯛𑯜𑯝𑯞𑯟𑯠𑯡𑯢𑯣𑯤𑯥𑯦𑯧𑯨𑯩𑯪𑯫𑯬𑯭𑯮𑯯𑯰𑯱𑯲𑯳𑯴𑯵𑯶𑯷𑯸𑯹𑯺𑯻𑯼𑯽𑯾𑯿𑰀𑰁𑰂𑰃𑰄𑰅𑰆𑰇𑰈𑰉𑰊𑰋𑰌𑰍𑰎𑰏𑰐𑰑𑰒𑰓𑰔𑰕𑰖𑰗𑰘𑰙𑰚𑰛𑰜𑰝𑰞𑰟𑰠𑰡𑰢𑰣𑰤𑰥𑰦𑰧𑰨𑰩𑰪𑰫𑰬𑰭𑰮𑰯𑰰𑰱𑰲𑰳𑰴𑰵𑰶𑰷𑰸𑰹𑰺𑰻𑰼𑰽𑰾𑰿𑱀𑱁𑱂𑱃𑱄𑱅𑱆𑱇𑱈𑱉𑱊𑱋𑱌𑱍𑱎𑱏𑱐𑱑𑱒𑱓𑱔𑱕𑱖𑱗𑱘𑱙𑱚𑱛𑱜𑱝𑱞𑱟𑱠𑱡𑱢𑱣𑱤𑱥𑱦𑱧𑱨𑱩𑱪𑱫𑱬𑱭𑱮𑱯𑱰𑱱𑱲𑱳𑱴𑱵𑱶𑱷𑱸𑱹𑱺𑱻𑱼𑱽𑱾𑱿𑲀𑲁𑲂𑲃𑲄𑲅𑲆𑲇𑲈𑲉𑲊𑲋𑲌𑲍𑲎𑲏𑲐𑲑𑲒𑲓𑲔𑲕𑲖𑲗𑲘𑲙𑲚𑲛𑲜𑲝𑲞𑲟𑲠𑲡𑲢𑲣𑲤𑲥𑲦𑲧𑲨𑲩𑲪𑲫𑲬𑲭𑲮𑲯𑲰𑲱𑲲𑲳𑲴𑲵𑲶𑲷𑲸𑲹𑲺𑲻𑲼𑲽𑲾𑲿𑳀𑳁𑳂𑳃𑳄𑳅𑳆𑳇𑳈𑳉𑳊𑳋𑳌𑳍𑳎𑳏𑳐𑳑𑳒𑳓𑳔𑳕𑳖𑳗𑳘𑳙𑳚𑳛𑳜𑳝𑳞𑳟𑳠𑳡𑳢𑳣𑳤𑳥𑳦𑳧𑳨𑳩𑳪𑳫𑳬𑳭𑳮𑳯𑳰𑳱𑳲𑳳𑳴𑳵𑳶𑳷𑳸𑳹𑳺𑳻𑳼𑳽𑳾𑳿𑴀𑴁𑴂𑴃𑴄𑴅𑴆𑴇𑴈𑴉𑴊𑴋𑴌𑴍𑴎𑴏𑴐𑴑𑴒𑴓𑴔𑴕𑴖𑴗𑴘𑴙𑴚𑴛𑴜𑴝𑴞𑴟𑴠𑴡𑴢𑴣𑴤𑴥𑴦𑴧𑴨𑴩𑴪𑴫𑴬𑴭𑴮𑴯𑴰𑴱𑴲𑴳𑴴𑴵𑴶𑴷𑴸𑴹𑴺𑴻𑴼𑴽𑴾𑴿𑵀𑵁𑵂𑵃𑵄𑵅𑵆𑵇𑵈𑵉𑵊𑵋𑵌𑵍𑵎𑵏𑵐𑵑𑵒𑵓𑵔𑵕𑵖𑵗𑵘𑵙𑵚𑵛𑵜𑵝𑵞𑵟𑵠𑵡𑵢𑵣𑵤𑵥𑵦𑵧𑵨𑵩𑵪𑵫𑵬𑵭𑵮𑵯𑵰𑵱𑵲𑵳𑵴𑵵𑵶𑵷𑵸𑵹𑵺𑵻𑵼𑵽𑵾𑵿𑶀𑶁𑶂𑶃𑶄𑶅𑶆𑶇𑶈𑶉𑶊𑶋𑶌𑶍𑶎𑶏𑶐𑶑𑶒𑶓𑶔𑶕𑶖𑶗𑶘𑶙𑶚𑶛𑶜𑶝𑶞𑶟𑶠𑶡𑶢𑶣𑶤𑶥𑶦𑶧𑶨𑶩𑶪𑶫𑶬𑶭𑶮𑶯𑶰𑶱𑶲𑶳𑶴𑶵𑶶𑶷𑶸𑶹𑶺𑶻𑶼𑶽𑶾𑶿𑷀𑷁𑷂𑷃𑷄𑷅𑷆𑷇𑷈𑷉𑷊𑷋𑷌𑷍𑷎𑷏𑷐𑷑𑷒𑷓𑷔𑷕𑷖𑷗𑷘𑷙𑷚𑷛𑷜𑷝𑷞𑷟𑷠𑷡𑷢𑷣𑷤𑷥𑷦𑷧𑷨𑷩𑷪𑷫𑷬𑷭𑷮𑷯𑷰𑷱𑷲𑷳𑷴𑷵𑷶𑷷𑷸𑷹𑷺𑷻𑷼𑷽𑷾𑷿𑸀𑸁𑸂𑸃𑸄𑸅𑸆𑸇𑸈𑸉𑸊𑸋𑸌𑸍𑸎𑸏𑸐𑸑𑸒𑸓𑸔𑸕𑸖𑸗𑸘𑸙𑸚𑸛𑸜𑸝𑸞𑸟𑸠𑸡𑸢𑸣𑸤𑸥𑸦𑸧𑸨𑸩𑸪𑸫𑸬𑸭𑸮𑸯𑸰𑸱𑸲𑸳𑸴𑸵𑸶𑸷𑸸𑸹𑸺𑸻𑸼𑸽𑸾𑸿𑹀𑹁𑹂𑹃𑹄𑹅𑹆𑹇𑹈𑹉𑹊𑹋𑹌𑹍𑹎𑹏𑹐𑹑𑹒𑹓𑹔𑹕𑹖𑹗𑹘𑹙𑹚𑹛𑹜𑹝𑹞𑹟𑹠𑹡𑹢𑹣𑹤𑹥𑹦𑹧𑹨𑹩𑹪𑹫𑹬𑹭𑹮𑹯𑹰𑹱𑹲𑹳𑹴𑹵𑹶𑹷𑹸𑹹𑹺𑹻𑹼𑹽𑹾𑹿𑺀𑺁𑺂𑺃𑺄𑺅𑺆𑺇𑺈𑺉𑺊𑺋𑺌𑺍𑺎𑺏𑺐𑺑𑺒𑺓𑺔𑺕𑺖𑺗𑺘𑺙𑺚𑺛𑺜𑺝𑺞𑺟𑺠𑺡𑺢𑺣𑺤𑺥𑺦𑺧𑺨𑺩𑺪𑺫𑺬𑺭𑺮𑺯𑺰𑺱𑺲𑺳𑺴𑺵𑺶𑺷𑺸𑺹𑺺𑺻𑺼𑺽𑺾𑺿𑻀𑻁𑻂𑻃𑻄𑻅𑻆𑻇𑻈𑻉𑻊𑻋𑻌𑻍𑻎𑻏𑻐𑻑𑻒𑻓𑻔𑻕𑻖𑻗𑻘𑻙𑻚𑻛𑻜𑻝𑻞𑻟𑻠𑻡𑻢𑻣𑻤𑻥𑻦𑻧𑻨𑻩𑻪𑻫𑻬𑻭𑻮𑻯𑻰𑻱𑻲𑻳𑻴𑻵𑻶𑻷𑻸𑻹𑻺𑻻𑻼𑻽𑻾𑻿𑼀𑼁𑼂𑼃𑼄𑼅𑼆𑼇𑼈𑼉𑼊𑼋𑼌𑼍𑼎𑼏𑼐𑼑𑼒𑼓𑼔𑼕𑼖𑼗𑼘𑼙𑼚𑼛𑼜𑼝𑼞𑼟𑼠𑼡𑼢𑼣𑼤𑼥𑼦𑼧𑼨𑼩𑼪𑼫𑼬𑼭𑼮𑼯𑼰𑼱𑼲𑼳𑼴𑼵𑼶𑼷𑼸𑼹𑼺𑼻𑼼𑼽𑼾𑼿𑽀𑽁𑽂𑽃𑽄𑽅𑽆𑽇𑽈𑽉𑽊𑽋𑽌𑽍𑽎𑽏𑽐𑽑𑽒𑽓𑽔𑽕𑽖𑽗𑽘𑽙𑽚𑽛𑽜𑽝𑽞𑽟𑽠𑽡𑽢𑽣𑽤𑽥𑽦𑽧𑽨𑽩𑽪𑽫𑽬𑽭𑽮𑽯𑽰𑽱𑽲𑽳𑽴𑽵𑽶𑽷𑽸𑽹𑽺𑽻𑽼𑽽𑽾𑽿𑾀𑾁𑾂𑾃𑾄𑾅𑾆𑾇𑾈𑾉𑾊𑾋𑾌𑾍𑾎𑾏𑾐𑾑𑾒𑾓𑾔𑾕𑾖𑾗𑾘𑾙𑾚𑾛𑾜𑾝𑾞𑾟𑾠𑾡𑾢𑾣𑾤𑾥𑾦𑾧𑾨𑾩𑾪𑾫𑾬𑾭𑾮𑾯𑾰𑾱𑾲𑾳𑾴𑾵𑾶𑾷𑾸𑾹𑾺𑾻𑾼𑾽𑾾𑾿𑿀𑿁𑿂𑿃𑿄𑿅𑿆𑿇𑿈𑿉𑿊𑿋𑿌𑿍𑿎𑿏𑿐𑿑𑿒𑿓𑿔𑿕𑿖𑿗𑿘𑿙𑿚𑿛𑿜𑿝𑿞𑿟𑿠𑿡𑿢𑿣𑿤𑿥𑿦𑿧𑿨𑿩𑿪𑿫𑿬𑿭𑿮𑿯𑿰𑿱𑿲𑿳𑿴𑿵𑿶𑿷𑿸𑿹𑿺𑿻𑿼𑿽𑿾𑿿𑀀𑀁𑀂𑀃𑀄𑀅𑀆𑀇𑀈𑀉𑀊𑀋𑀌𑀍𑀎𑀏𑀐𑀑𑀒𑀓𑀔𑀕𑀖𑀗𑀘𑀙𑀚𑀛𑀜𑀝𑀞𑀟𑀠𑀡𑀢𑀣𑀤𑀥𑀦𑀧𑀨𑀩𑀪𑀫𑀬𑀭𑀮𑀯𑀰𑀱𑀲𑀳𑀴𑀵𑀶𑀷𑀸𑀹𑀺𑀻𑀼𑀽𑀾𑀿𑁀𑁁𑁂𑁃𑁄𑁅𑁆𑁇𑁈𑁉𑁊𑁋𑁌𑁍𑁎𑁏𑁐𑁑𑁒𑁓𑁔𑁕𑁖𑁗𑁘𑁙𑁚𑁛𑁜𑁝𑁞𑁟𑁠𑁡𑁢𑁣𑁤𑁥𑁦𑁧𑁨𑁩𑁪𑁫𑁬𑁭𑁮𑁯𑁰𑁱𑁲𑁳𑁴𑁵𑁶𑁷𑁸𑁹𑁺𑁻𑁼𑁽𑁾𑁿𑂀𑂁𑂂𑂃𑂄𑂅𑂆𑂇𑂈𑂉𑂊𑂋𑂌𑂍𑂎𑂏𑂐𑂑𑂒𑂓𑂔𑂕𑂖𑂗𑂘𑂙𑂚𑂛𑂜𑂝𑂞𑂟𑂠𑂡𑂢𑂣𑂤𑂥𑂦𑂧𑂨𑂩𑂪𑂫𑂬𑂭𑂮𑂯𑂰𑂱𑂲𑂳𑂴𑂵𑂶𑂷𑂸𑂺𑂹𑂻𑂼𑂽𑂾𑂿𑃀𑃁𑃂𑃃𑃄𑃅𑃆𑃇𑃈

- (17) a. མཁུ་མེ་ལོ་ལྟོག་པ་།
 mu ga lat mop dit lyp.
 male name male name oppress
 —————
 A/O O/A V
 ‘Muga oppresses Lamo.’/ ‘Lamo oppresses Muga.’
- b. མཁུ་མེ་ལོ་ལྟོག་པ་འཇིགས་པ་།
 mu ga₁ lat mop **go**₁ dit lyp.
 male name male name PRO.PAT oppress
 —————
 O A O V
 ‘Muga₁, Lamo oppresses him₁.’

Unambiguous frames cannot use the resumptive pronoun in the same way. Example (18) is thus ungrammatical.

- (18) *མཁུ་ལྟོག་པ་ལྟོག་པ་།
 *mu ga zza **go** zze.
 male name food PRO.PAT eat
 —————
 O A O 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.

- (19) a. མཁུ་ལྟོག་པ་ལྟོག་པ་།
 mu ga at nyop mgu.
 male name female name miss, love
 —————
 A O V
 ‘Muga loves Anyuo.’
- b. *མཁུ་ལྟོག་པ་ལྟོག་པ་འཇིགས་པ་།
 *mu ga₁ at nyop **go**₁ mgu.
 male name female name PRO.PAT miss, love
 —————
 O A O V
 Intended meaning: ‘Muga₁, Anyuo loves him₁.’

Native speakers do not agree which predicate with two human arguments represents an ambiguous frame. The following table indicates tendencies.

c. 他们喝完酒了。

cop	wox	nry	a	zzyx	gge	ndop	sat.	
3P.PL	wine	DEM.DIST	CL	drink	EXH			
A		O			V			

Initial NP is A

(i) 'They all finished the wine.' (ii) 'They completely finished the wine.'

(24) a. 他们喝完酒了。

nry	a	zzyx	gge	cop	wox	ndop	sat.	
wine	DEM.DIST	CL	3P.PL	drink	EXH			
	O		A		V			

Initial NP is O

'They finished all the wine.'

b. 他打鸟了。

hxie	zyr	ggex	su	cy	ndup	shu	la	sat	ox.
bird	ART	3P.SG	hit	CAUS	come	EXH	DP		
	O		A		V				

Initial NP is O

'He has shot down all the birds.'

c. 我受尽苦了。

we	zze	ddu	nga	nzip	da	sat.
hardship	1P.SG	tolerate	EXH			
	O	A	V			

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 agreement 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 & Szendrői 2007). Sometimes languages reveal additional constraints on the argument that is omitted.

In Nuosu which is radical pro-drop, zero-anaphora is unconstrained for S, A and O. Restrictions only exist for peripheral roles, as shown in Table 10.5 below.

(27) A: “𐑦𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴。” “nga op rro yy.” (...) <u>1P.SG Xichang go down</u> S V	B: “𐑦𐑱 (𐑱𐑲) 𐑳。” “nga nyi (op rro) yy.” <u>1P.SG also Xichang go down</u> 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	✓
A	✓
O (with or without the coverb <i>sip</i>)	✓
Benefactive (with the coverb <i>bbyp</i>)	✗
Benefactive (without the coverb <i>bbyp</i>)	✗
Instrument (with the coverb <i>sip</i>)	✗
Location	✗
Direction	✓

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).

(28) 丁巳年日午时酒醉出门去。

cyp	nyip	ne	jjix	mu	vut	hop	nry	yit	sip	
NUM.1	day	TOP	male	name	wine	drunk	CONJ			
			S			V				

∅ 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

(29) a. 先生家的大门被石头堵住，然后睡着了。

pup	su	vut	vu	ix	go	ne	lur	juo	six	da		∅	ip	ko
male	name	home	TOP	stone	brick	take	STP					[empty]	gate	
A ₁						O ₁		V ₁				A ₂	O ₂	

ddie	da		∅	it
block	STP		[empty]	sleep
V ₂		S ₃		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.

b. *先生家的大门被石头堵住，然后睡着了。

*pup	su	vut	vu	ix	go	ne	lur	juo	six	da		ip	ko	∅
male	name	home	TOP	stone	brick	take	STP					gate	[empty]	
A ₁						O ₁		V ₁				O ₂	A ₂	

ddie	gox sha	da		∅	it
block	SEND	STP		[empty]	sleep
V ₂		S ₃		V ₃	

Intended meaning: ‘Mister Pu’s family blocked *up* the entrance gate with stone bricks and then fell asleep.’

Example (30) is an S-A-S-S sequence with four verb phrases.¹³

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) 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙 (…)

cyx	ly	yuo	nbot		∅	yi	wa	nry
<u>DEM.PROX</u>	<u>NUM.4</u>	<u>CL</u>	<u>hide</u>		<u>[empty]</u>	<u>house</u>	<u>behind</u>	<u>wine</u>
	<u>S₁</u>		<u>V₁</u>		<u>A₂</u>			<u>O₂</u>

ndo		∅	gox	nyi	da		∅	jyx-	ly (...)
<u>drink</u>		<u>[empty]</u>	<u>PRO.LOC</u>	<u>sit</u>	<u>STP</u>		<u>[empty]</u>	<u>RECL-</u>	<u>discuss</u>
<u>V₂</u>		<u>S₃</u>		<u>V₃</u>		<u>S₄</u>		<u>V₄</u>	

‘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. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙。

tit	da	vo	mu	max	su	ket	mop	ne	qu	shy	ngo	da	
thus	<u>king</u>	<u>ART=CL-DET</u>	<u>evening</u>	<u>TOP</u>	<u>silver</u>	<u>gold</u>	<u>touch</u>	<u>STP</u>					
	<u>A₁</u>				<u>O₁</u>	<u>V₁</u>							

∅	it	nyi	gu	ap-	hna	ox.
<u>[empty]</u>	<u>sleep</u>	<u>NEG-</u>	<u>willing</u>	<u>DP</u>		
<u>S₂</u>			<u>V₂</u>			

‘In the evening the emperor caressed his silver and gold so that he did not want to sleep.’

b. *𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙。

*tit	da	qu	shy	ket	mop	ne	vo	mu	max	su	ngo	da	
thus	<u>silver</u>	<u>gold</u>	<u>evening</u>	<u>TOP</u>	<u>king</u>	<u>ART</u>	<u>touch</u>	<u>STP</u>					
	<u>O₁</u>				<u>A₁</u>	<u>V₁</u>							

∅	it	nyi	gu	ap-	hna	ox.
<u>[empty]</u>	<u>sleep</u>	<u>NEG-</u>	<u>willing</u>	<u>DP</u>		
<u>S₂</u>			<u>V₂</u>			

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).

(34) 中男非其女以足蹴其衣其衣震。

ji	jie	va	nyi	zzur	max	su	cy	gur		
male	name		ART	3P.SG	frighten					
	O ₁			A ₁	V ₁					

∅	jie	bbyp	bbyp	mu	gox	nyi.
[empty]	afraid	IDE	IDE	ADVL	PRO.LOC	<u>sit</u>
	S ₂					V ₂

‘Djidjevanidzu, frightened by her, was sitting there trembling.’

C. A-O sequenceThe following example exhibits an A-O sequence.¹⁸

(35) 中男以羽扇扇之目目无效而反吹之。

ji	jie	va	nyie	zzur	pup	pup	pu	mu	ga	ap-	ddur	mu	pup	ddix		
male	name		ONO	ADVL	wave	NEG-	exit	ADVL	ONO	QUOT						
	A ₁								O ₁	V						

∅	co	qot	a	mat	gep	hmo	yi	vut	dit
[empty]	sorceress				PASS	<u>blow</u>	house	roof	<u>put on</u>
	O			A		V			V

‘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.

(36) 中男以羽扇扇之目目无效而反吹之。

co	qot	a	mat	cy	zi	six		∅	go	shex	bbo	ox.
sorceress				3P.SG	cheat	RES		[empty]	PRO.PAT	search	go	DP
	O ₁			A ₁	V ₁			A ₂	O ₂	V ₂		

‘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 it is coreferential to a noninitial NP, it is tracked by a resumptive pronoun.

¹⁸ Quoted from the story “Redisofu overcomes the demon with wisdom” (Chén & Wū 1998: 239).

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	[_{RC} ∅ _A ...] +su+N
OAV	A	[_{RC} ... PRO _A V] +su+N
AOV	O	[_{RC} ∅ _O ...] +su+N
OAV	O	[_{RC} ... PRO _O V] +su+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

- (37) 喇丁峇燕丁非非相闻。
 co || ∅ cyp nyit ddop njyp su || ap- jjo da.
 person || [empty] 3P.DL speech believe NOM || NEG- have STP
 S₁ || A₂ O₂ V₂ || V₁
 ‘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.

- (38) 喇丁峇燕丁非非相闻。
 co || ∅ syt cy jjit cop we mo su || ap- jjo da.
 person || [empty] event DEM CL 3P.PL GET see NOM || NEG- have STP
 S₁ || A₂ O₂ A₂ V₂ || V₁
 ‘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.

¹⁹ Quoted from the folk story “The drum and the ox” (Chén & Wū 1998: 224).

(39) མཚན་མཉམ་པོ་ལྟོགས་པའི་མཚན་མིའི་མཚན་མིའུ་ལོ་

tep yy	∅	mu ga	gup	gox sha	su	a shyt -jy-	a shyt
book	[empty]	male name	throw	SEND	NOM	new	very new
S ₁		O ₂	A ₂	V ₂			V ₁

‘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 left-dislocated by leaving a resumptive pronoun in the original slot.

(40) ལྟོགས་པའི་མཚན་མིའི་མཚན་མིའུ་ལོ་

vit gga	∅	ax mo	go	cy	njuo	su	ax nyi-jy-	ax nyi.
clothes	[empty]	mother	PRO	wash	PROG	NOM	many-very-many	
S ₁		O ₂	A ₂	O ₂	V ₂			V ₁

‘The clothes that Mum is washing are many.’

10.3.3 Causative clauses

Causative clauses seem to align S with A versus O. The causee must be either S or A but not O. 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 = 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).

(41) མཚན་མིའི་མཚན་མིའུ་ལོ་

vup lut	nga	bbyx	∅	hxie kat	shux.
neighbour	1P.SG	COV.give	[empty]	happy	CAUS
CAUSER	CAUSEE	V ₁	S ₂	V ₂	

‘The neighbour makes me happy.’

(42) མཚན་མིའི་མཚན་མིའུ་ལོ་

cop wox	yy sse	jix su	bbyx	∅	ap jox	mga	bbo	shux.
3P.PL	river	ART	COV	[empty]	around	pass	go	CAUS
CAUSER	CAUSEE	V ₁		S ₂		V ₂		

‘They cause the river to flow around [the village].’

B. Causee = 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).

(43) 让·苏·福·让·他·看·家·。

suo fut	cy	bbyx		yi	jux	da		shux.
<u>male name</u>	<u>3P.SG</u>	<u>COV</u>		[empty]	<u>house</u>	<u>guard</u>		CAUS
CAUSER	CAUSEE	V ₁		A ₂	O ₂	V ₂		

‘Redisofu let him guard the house.’

(44) 胡·戈·让·穆·吃·上·饭·。

mu ga	mu gox	bbyx		zza	cyx	zhep	Ø	ndo	gox sha		shux.
<u>male name</u>	<u>male name</u>	<u>COV</u>		<u>food</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>CL</u>	[empty]	<u>drink</u>	<u>SEND</u>		CAUS
CAUSER	CAUSEE	V ₁			O ₂	A ₂		V ₂			

‘Muga made Mugo eat up the food.’

C. Causee ≠ O

The causee cannot be coreferential to the O-argument of a causative clause.

(45) *胡·戈·让·猪·吃·上·饭·。

*mu ga	zza	bbyx		vot zha	gox sha	shux.
<u>male name</u>	<u>food</u>	<u>COV</u>		[empty]	<u>pig</u>	<u>feed</u>
CAUSER	CAUSEE	V ₁		O ₂	A ₂	V ₂

‘Muga caused the food to be eaten up by the pig.’

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.

²⁰ Example (43) is quoted from the folk story “Redisofu overcomes the sorceress with wisdom” (Chén & Wū 1998: 238).

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).

- (2) ① 煮辣椒(菜)。
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.

- (3) a. 丁字手切血。

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.'
- b. 大奖品被他赢。

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.

- (4) 客人由他很好地娱乐。

ddip vip ggex su cy **gep** zzyx jie six he -jy- he.

guest ART 3P.SG COV entertain RES good very good

O 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** Ø 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

¹ (6) is quoted from the folk story "Redisofu overcomes the sorceress with wisdom" (Chén & Wū 1998: 241).

- d. ທຳຮ້າງກັນທຳຮ້າງກັນ.
 ngop wox **jjy-** ap-ly-ap-tie.
 1P.PL RECL- NEG-discuss<NEG>
 ‘We did consult each other.’
- e. ຕົວໜຶ່ງກັບຕົວໜຶ່ງຮ້າງກັນ.
 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. ທຳຮ້າງກັນສົບກັນ.
 cop wox ka bba ddie **jjy-**bbyx.
 3P.PL present COV RECL-give
 ‘They gave each other presents.’
- b. ທຳຮ້າງກັນຮັບກັນ.
 ngop nyip bbup **jjyx-**nre sur.
 1P.DL family RECL-debt return
 ‘Our families are paying off debts to each others.’
- c. ທຳຮ້າງກັນເປັນກັນ.
 ngop wox **jjy-**rrox mu da ddop hxip.
 1P.SG RECL-COV STP word speak
 ‘We are speaking on behalf of each other.’
- d. ມ້າຍກັບເດັກຮ້າງກັນເປັນກັນ.
 ax mo ax yi **jjy-**mgex da ngo.
 mother child RECL-COV.mix STP cry
 ‘Mother and child are weeping together.’

The reciprocal prefix *jjy-* has a derived function in comparative constructions (section 11.4.1.C). It indicates that two referents share a property to the same extent.

- (11) a. ກົວນີ້ຍາວເທົ່າກັບນີ້.
 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. ຝັງນີ້ໃຫຍ່ເທົ່າກັບນີ້.
 syp ga cyx nyip ma **jjy-** yyx.
 pear DEM.PROX NUM.2 CL RECL- big
 ‘Both pears are equally big.’

- c. 禾田比甲泉比田比甲泉比田。
 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
bbyy/bbyx ‘give’	causee	...bbyy/bbyx...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.

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'	jjy- (equality)
ax yy 'big'	yyx ap cy 'bigger than'	jjy-yyx 'as big as'
ax fu 'rough'	*fu ap cy 'rougher than'	jjy-fu 'as rough as'
ax hmu 'high'	hmu ap cy 'higher than'	jjy-hmux 'as high as'
ax sho 'long'	sho ap cy 'longer than'	jjy-shox 'as long as'
ax fi 'wide'	fi ap cy 'wider than'	jjy-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. $\text{H}\bar{\text{X}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{d}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{X}}\text{ṽ}$.
 mu ga nga yyx **ap cy**. Short
 name 1P.SG big more
 'Muga is bigger than me.'
- b. $\text{H}\bar{\text{X}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{P}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{X}}\text{ṽ}\text{H}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{d}}$. Extended
 mu ga ngat jox **ap cy mu** ax yy.
 name 1P.SG to more ADVL big
 'Muga is bigger than me.'
- (21) a. $\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{x}}\text{ṽ}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{x}}\text{ṽ}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{m}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{x}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{m}}\bar{\text{u}}\text{ṽ}$. Short
 vot ba cyx ma a zzyx ma lyx **ap cy**.
 pig DEM.PROX CL DEM.DIST CL heavy more
 'This pig is heavier than that one.'
- b. $\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{x}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{ṽ}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{x}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{j}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{x}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{m}}\bar{\text{u}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{x}}\text{ṽ}$. Extended
 vot ba cyx ma a zzyx ma jox **ap cy mu** ax ly.
 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 illustrated in (22).

- (22) a. $\text{H}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{P}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{X}}\text{ṽ}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{ṽ}}$.
 mu chur mu nyi **jox ap cy mu** mgo.
 autumn summer toward more ADVL cold
 'The autumn season is colder than the summer season.'

- (26) a. * $\text{nga nex cy jox ap cy mu hxie vur su nge.}$
 1P.SG 2P.SG 3P.SG toward more ADVL love NOM COP
 ‘Intended meaning: ‘I love you more than I love him.’
- b. $\text{nga nex hxie vur ddux nga cyx hxie vur -ddux jox}$
 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*.

- (27) $\text{op rro bbo su op rro ap- bbo su jox ap cy mu}$
 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. $\text{NP}_{\text{object}} + \text{NP}_{\text{standard}} - \text{ngex ngep} + \text{ap-Predicate} / \text{ap-jyip}$ | NPs
 b. $\text{VP}_{\text{object}} - \text{ddux} + \text{VP}_{\text{standard}} - \text{ddux} (\text{ngex ngep}) + \text{ap-jyip}$ | VPs

The following examples illustrate inferiority constructions. The negation particle is infixes before the last syllable of the predicate (section 9.2).

- (29) a. $\text{mu ga ngat ngex ngep ap-qyt-ap-wat.}$
 male name 1P.SG similarly NEG-anxious<NEG>
 ‘Muga is less anxious than me.’

- | | | |
|------|---|----------|
| (31) | a. ObjectComp+StandardComp- <i>si nip+jjy</i> -Predicate | Short |
| | b. ObjectComp+StandardComp- <i>si nip+jjy-sux-mu</i> +Predicate | Extended |
| (32) | a. ObjectComp and StandardComp are both NPs | NPs |
| | b. ObjectComp and StandardComp are both VP- <i>ddux</i> | VPs |

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 *jy-* (section 11.2) is prefixed in (33b) to the main verb *sup/sux* ‘resemble’.

- (33) a. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋

The prefix *jjy-* is derived from the reciprocal prefix *jjy-* (section 11.2). The sense of *equality* is a secondary meaning derived from the sense of *reciprocity*.

- (36) ལྷམ་གྱི་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ཡི་།
 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.

- (37) ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་།
 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.

- (38) a. ལྷམ་གྱི་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་།
 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.’
- b. ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་།
 kut shyр 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.’
- c. ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་།
 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.

e. ຫ່ອຍໄຫຼ່ເຫຼ່ອຍໄຫຼ່.

hxa bit ke **-lop-** ke su.
 vegetable bitter SUP bitter NOM
 'the most bitter vegetable'

f. ນ້ອຍປຸກຊຸກຊຸກຊຸກນ້ອຍປຸກຊຸກຊຸກ.

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.'

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.E	animate, inanimate entities included in larger groups
rryp 'stick to'	12.1.2.F	attachment for inanimate entities
it 'lie'	12.1.2.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.I	posture only for animate entities
zzur 'stick up'	12.1.2.J	posture for mainly inanimate entities
ke 'nest'	12.1.2.K	existence for nests of birds and bees
bbu 'exist'	12.1.2.L	existence for several unrelated inanimate entities

- (7) a. 狗在外面。
 hxi jox kex ma go **jjo**.
 outside dog CL LOC have
 'There is a dog outside.'
- b. 狗在外面。
 hxi jox kex ma go **it**.
 outside dog CL LOC live, lie
 'There is a dog lying outside.'
- c. 狗在外面。
 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, *jjo* 'have' covers the broadest range of meanings. Example (8a) expresses possession, (8b) existence in space, (8c) existence in time, and (8d) abstract containment.

- (8) a. 他们有好多东西。
 cop wox rre zza ax nyi mu **jjo**.
 3P.PL possessions many ADVL have
 'They have a lot of possessions.'

c. གྲུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟོང་བའི་ལྗང་།

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).

(18) a. ཁྲི་ལྗང་ལྟོང་བའི་ལྗང་ལྟོང་བའི་ལྗང་།

hex jyy 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.

(19) a. གྲོ་ལུ་ལྟོང་བའི་ལྗང་།

hxo pu tot cop wox go **it**.
 mountain on top of 3P.PL LOC live
 ‘They live on the mountain.’

b. ལྗང་ལྟོང་།

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. (20a+b) are quoted from Walters & Ndaxit (2006: 131, 136).

(20) a. ལྗང་ལྟོང་བའི་ལྗང་ལྟོང་བའི་ལྗང་།

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.’

b. ལྗང་ལྟོང་བའི་ལྗང་ལྟོང་བའི་ལྗང་།

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.’

- c. མཚོ་བོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 cy ddop hxip ngax jox **zzur**.
 3P.SG word say 1P.SG toward stand up, oppose
 ‘He speaks out against me.’

The verb *zzur* 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 *ke* ‘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.

- (25) a. འོ་བོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 o bbop jox bbut vup ke go **ke**.
 ahead ant CL LOC nest
 ‘There is an antnest ahead.’
- b. ཅེ་བོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 vat bu go jjix ke go **ke**.
 mountain rock LOC bee CL LOC nest
 ‘There is a bee hive on the mountain rock.’
- c. ཡལ་བོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 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.

- (26) a. མི་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 tit go ip ko jjur **bbu**.
 here LOC door CL exist
 ‘The door turns on its hinges.’

- b. འཕྲི་མཚོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་
 cyp ax pu nyiet gga **bbu** ox.
 3P.SG.POSS grandfather wrinkle have DP
 ‘His grandfather has wrinkles on his face.’
- c. མཚོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་
 tit go ggap mop ji **bbu**.
 here LOC road CL have
 ‘There is a road here.’
- d. མཚོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་
 vo go xyx ddux gox **bbu**.
 snow LOC footprint LOC have
 ‘There is a footprint in the snow.’
- e. མཚོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་
 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 yī ge kèrén. Presentative construction
 exit come DP NUM.1 CL guest
 ‘There is a guest coming out.’
- b. yī ge kèrén 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.

- (28) a. མཚོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་
 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. མཚོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་མཚོ་
 yo nyip ma **jjie bbo** ox.
 sheep NUM.2 CL leave go DP
 ‘Two sheep ran away.’

- (34) a. $\text{vut rryr yyx yy si nip nyuo bby ddur ox.}$
 female name laugh laugh and tears-come out DP
 ‘Vudge laughed herself to tears.’
- b. $\text{cy ddiex bur bur si nip a hnata mu mu vat ox.}$
 3P.SG change change and especially ADVL good DP
 ‘He became so good.’
- c. $\text{cy ngox ngo si nip nyuo bby hat ga ox.}$
 3P.SG cry and tear consume DP
 ‘He cried to the point of desperation.’
- d. $\text{*hxa bit mgex mge si nip ax hxo jjip ox.}$
 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.

- (35) a. $\text{cyp ax da na sy ox.}$
 3P.SG.POSS father ill dead DP
 ‘His father died of illness.’
- b. $\text{cyp ax da nax na si nip sy ox.}$
 3P.SG.POSS father ill ill and dead DP
 ‘His father died of illness.’
- (36) a. $\text{cy rre mop sot yot ox.}$
 3P.SG money count wrong DP
 ‘He made a mistake in counting the money.’
- b. $\text{cy rre mop sot sot si nip yot ox.}$
 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.

- (38) a. 湖凍得硬邦邦的。
 shur njot **sip** ga jie jie ox.
 lake freeze RES hard, solid DPD
 ‘The lake froze solid.’
- b. 他的臉特別大。
 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.’
- (39) a. 路波喝得酒不醒。
 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.’
- b. 母親把蛋糕切成小塊。
 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.’
- c. 桌子被穆加掃得乾乾淨淨。
 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.’
- d. 穆諾把房子刷成紅色。
 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.’

- e. འདྲེན་པའི་ལོ་ལྔ་ལ་མཚོན་པའོ།།
 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).’
- f. ལྷོ་མཚོ་མཉམ་པའི་མུ་མོ་ལྔ་ལ་མཚོན་པའོ།།
 syr ddir mup bat gep mgo **six** bax juo juo ox.
 log horse COV pull RES smooth DP
 ‘The horses dragged the logs smoothly.’
- g. ལྷོ་མཚོ་མཉམ་པའི་མུ་མོ་ལྔ་ལ་མཚོན་པའོ།།
 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.’
- h. མཚོ་མཉམ་པའི་ལོ་ལྔ་ལ་མཚོན་པའོ།།
 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*.

- (40) a. མཚོ་མཉམ་པའི་ལོ་ལྔ་ལ་མཚོན་པའོ།།
 vup du jix su lix qy **six** rret mop ddir ox.
 bone ART break RES piece exit DP
 ‘The bone broke into pieces.’
- b. ལྷོ་མཚོ་མཉམ་པའི་མུ་མོ་ལྔ་ལ་མཚོན་པའོ།།
 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*.

- (41) a. འདྲེན་པའི་ལོ་ལྔ་ལ་མཚོན་པའོ།།
 ip kop cy bie (#**six**) pop la ox.
 door 3P.SG kick RES open come DP
 ‘He kicked the door open.’

- b. 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰 (𐌸𐌹𐌺) 𐌶𐌺𐌰。
 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.’
- c. 𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰 (𐌸𐌹𐌺) 𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰。
 at gop cyp bboz zze cy zyt (*six) ke she zha ap- jzip.
 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*.

- (42) a. 𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰 𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰。
 ngop wox shyrx shy **si nip** zyt jie fup bbip mix fup sot ox.
 1P.PL shout shout and REFL throat even hoarse DP
 ‘We yelled ourselves hoarse.’
- b. 𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰。
 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. 𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰。
 cy hxit hxit **si nip** xy li ggot.
 3P.SG stand stand and leg ache
 ‘His legs ached from standing so long.’
- d. 𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰。
 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.’
- e. 𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰。
 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.’
- f. 𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌺𐌰。
 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.

- (43) a. 佢改咗本书，佢咁高兴。
 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.’
- b. 我哋被佢带咗入灾。
 ngop wox cy gga shyx **six** syt dduur 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 availability of a resultative interpretation. If resultative meaning is only a marginal interpretation, then *si nip* and *six* should be omitted.

- (44) a. 你食(食自己)食到死。
 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.’
- b. 佢哋连(连)一瓶酒都饮咗。
 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.’

Table 13.1: Immovable forward-linking conjunctions

Forward-linking conjunction	Required 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’	
nyi ‘both...and’	nyi ‘both...and’	section 9.1.3.B

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.

(11) a. ຈັດເຮັດວຽກຊັດເຮັດນັກຮຽນ。

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.’

b. ຜູ້ຊາວໜີ້ເຮັດເພງເຮັດສູນຮຽນ, ນັກຮຽນ。

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 Backward-linking conjunction	Adverb
yix ne ‘provided that’		
ax di...yix ne ‘except that’		
yix nyi ‘even if’		
yip go ‘although’		
dda mo ‘no matter what’		
ax di...ap nge mu ‘not only’	ddix ap bbo ‘but also, furthermore’	
lox ‘and then’		
hnox ‘until’	te go xi ‘up to when’	
yix nip ‘only then’		section 9.1.2.B
te go ‘when’		
ggup jjux ne ‘after’		
ddix sy ne ‘as soon as’		
sy zzy mu ‘as long as’		
gex nep ‘at the origin of’		section 9.1.2.B

Table 13.3: Clause-initial backward-linking conjunctions

Compatible 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.

- (21) $\text{nga ggap mop go da cop wox ke hxox ji la hxex,}$
 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’.

- (22) $\text{ne rre hxep bbo, ap nge ox go cop qo mu zyt bbo.}$
 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 Forward-linking conjunction	Backward-linking conjunction	Adverb
	xip hnex ‘therefore’	
	jjip hnex ‘therefore’	
	ddix ap bbo ‘moreover, actually’	
	cyp ggup jjux ‘afterwards’	

The implicative conjunction *xip hnex* ‘therefore’ does not require a linker in the first clause.

- (23) 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈, 𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕。
 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.

- (24) a. 𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝, 𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭。
 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.’
- b. 𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴, 𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺

- b. ㄨㄚ̄ ㄩㄛ ㄩㄚ̄ ㄩㄚ̄ ㄩㄚ̄ ㄩㄚ̄ ㄩㄚ̄。
 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.

- (34) a. ㄨㄚ̄ ㄩㄛ ㄩㄚ̄ ㄩㄚ̄ ㄩㄚ̄ ㄩㄚ̄ ㄩㄚ̄ ㄩㄚ̄。
 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.’
- b. ㄩㄚ̄ ㄩㄚ̄ ㄩㄚ̄ ㄩㄚ̄ ㄩㄚ̄ ㄩㄚ̄ ㄩㄚ̄ ㄩㄚ̄。
 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 *su* 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 *su* and *go*.

Table 13.7: Matrix predicates using *go* and *su*

lie ba ‘dangerous’	hxi zy ‘trust’	nuo chex ‘spy on’
ggap jiyx ‘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 *vu jji* ‘true’ sub-categorizes noun phrases not clauses. *Vu 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).

The matrix verb *nge hna* ‘willing, agree’ in (51) cannot take noun phrases but only verb phrases and clauses as arguments.

- (51) a. \times $\text{cy} \text{ ssox dde bbo} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{su} \\ \text{go} \end{array} \right\} \text{ nge hna.}$
 3P.SG school go COMP willing
 ‘He is willing to attend school.’
- b. $\text{mu gox ax di bbo} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{su} \\ \text{go} \end{array} \right\} \text{ nga nge hna.}$
 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.

- (52) $\text{ma hxa a hnat mu jjip} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{su} \\ \text{go} \end{array} \right\} \text{ nga jjur hla ox.}$
 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 *su*. The verbs in Table 13.8 require *su* but reject *go*. 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. $\text{nga ax mo ax da hxo lo.}$
 1P.SG parents depend
 ‘I depend on my parents (for a living).’
- b. $\text{nga ax mo sse ddi hxo lo } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{su} \\ \text{*go} \end{array} \right\} \text{ hxo lo.}$
 parents only son capable COMP hope
 ‘Mom hopes in her only son’s strength.’
- (54) $\text{nga mop su te go kat it } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{su} \\ \text{*go} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ngop jix ox.}$
 1P.SG old NOM time where live COMP think about DP
 ‘I am thinking about where I will live when I am old.’
- (55) a. $\text{gup na bba na turx jo.}$
 plague prevent
 ‘prevent a pandemic’
- b. $\text{ngop wox ke cyx ma co xit } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{su} \\ \text{*go} \end{array} \right\} \text{ turx jo.}$
 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.

- (56) $\text{nga bbur ma bbur } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{su} \\ \text{*go} \end{array} \right\} \text{ sso njuo.}$
 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.

- (57) a. \times $\text{cy syt ap- vat jjit shy gox njuo.}$
 3P.SG matter NEG- good CL conveye PROG
 'He is conceiving something bad.'
- b. \times $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ix go} \\ \text{da cy} \end{array} \right\} \text{kep mu sur ggat la } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{su} \\ \text{*go} \end{array} \right\} \text{shy gox.}$
 3P.SG home COV 3P.SG how rich come COMP conceive
 'At home he conceived a strategy to become rich.'
- (58) a. \times $\text{cy co zzi-ap-syp su njyp nzox.}$
 3P.SG person familiar<NEG> NOM believe EXP
 'He once trusted someone unfamiliar.'
- b. \times $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ip nyip} \\ \text{yiep yot} \end{array} \right\} \text{zze } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{su} \\ \text{*go} \end{array} \right\} \text{nga (go) njyp.}$
 3P.SG today potato eat COMP 1P.SG PRO.PAT believe
 'I believe that he is going to eat potatoes today.'
- (59) a. \times $\text{nga cyx ngop-ap-die.}$
 1P.SG 3P.SG doubt<NEG>
 'I do not doubt him.'
- b. \times $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{bbur ma} \\ \text{sso ddix} \end{array} \right\} \text{nga go ngox die.}$
 3P.SG lesson study QUOT COMP 1P.SG PRO.PAT doubt
 'I doubt the rumor that he attended the lessons.'

- (60) a. 𐀄𐀆𐀇𐀈𐀉𐀊𐀋𐀌𐀍𐀎𐀏𐀐。
 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.’
- b. 𐀑𐀒𐀓𐀔𐀕𐀖𐀗𐀘𐀙𐀚𐀛𐀜𐀝𐀞𐀟𐀠𐀡𐀢𐀣𐀤𐀥𐀦𐀧𐀨𐀩𐀪𐀫𐀬𐀭𐀮𐀯𐀰𐀱𐀲𐀳𐀴𐀵𐀶𐀷𐀸𐀹𐀺𐀻𐀼𐀽𐀾𐀿𐁀𐁁𐁂𐁃𐁄𐁅𐁆𐁇𐁈𐁉𐁊𐁋𐁌𐁍𐁎𐁏𐁐𐁑𐁒𐁓𐁔𐁕𐁖𐁗𐁘𐁙𐁚𐁛𐁜𐁝𐁞𐁟𐁠𐁡𐁢𐁣𐁤𐁥𐁦𐁧𐁨𐁩𐁪𐁫𐁬𐁭𐁮𐁯𐁰𐁱𐁲𐁳𐁴𐁵𐁶𐁷𐁸𐁹𐁺𐁻𐁼𐁽𐁾𐁿𐂀𐂁𐂂𐂃𐂄𐂅𐂆𐂇𐂈𐂉𐂊𐂋𐂌𐂍𐂎𐂏𐂐𐂑𐂒𐂓𐂔𐂕𐂖𐂗𐂘𐂙𐂚𐂛𐂜𐂝𐂞𐂟𐂠𐂡𐂢𐂣𐂤𐂥𐂦𐂧𐂨𐂩𐂪𐂫𐂬𐂭𐂮𐂯𐂰𐂱𐂲𐂳𐂴𐂵𐂶𐂷𐂸𐂹𐂺𐂻𐂼𐂽𐂾𐂿𐃀𐃁𐃂𐃃𐃄𐃅𐃆𐃇𐃈𐃉𐃊𐃋𐃌𐃍𐃎𐃏𐃐𐃑𐃒𐃓𐃔𐃕𐃖𐃗𐃘𐃙𐃚𐃛𐃜𐃝𐃞𐃟𐃠𐃡𐃢𐃣𐃤𐃥𐃦𐃧𐃨𐃩𐃪𐃫𐃬𐃭𐃮𐃯𐃰𐃱𐃲𐃳𐃴𐃵𐃶𐃷𐃸𐃹𐃺𐃻𐃼𐃽𐃾𐃿𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺

- b. 尙吋卅卍丕卍卍 { 卍 } 卍卍。
 lu ti mu jie hnap chot ndup { **su** } 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.

- (64) 卍卍卍卍卍 { 卍 } 卍卍。
 nga co ip ko pop { **su** } xi mgu.
 1P.SG person door open COMP hope
 ‘I hope that someone opens the door.’

- (65) 卍卍卍卍卍卍卍卍卍卍 { 卍 } 卍。
 nga zzyt mu cyx ma ssut lup ba la { **su** } 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. N+V_{SPEECH}+go+[reported speech clause]+*ddix*. | quotative *ddix*
 b. N+[embedded clause]+*ddix*+V_{SPEECH}. | 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’	

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 *li*

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.

- (1) a. མཁའ་མེད་ཀྱི་མེ་ལོང་གི་མེ་ལོང་།
 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)
- b. འུ་ཤུ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་།
 vut sa **ne** nyop mu cox ma nge. proper noun
 name TOP peasant CL COP
 ‘Vusa is a peasant.’ (Context: Vusa was mentioned before)
- c. ཡེ་ཤེ་མེ་ལོང་གི་མེ་ལོང་།
 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)
- d. འདི་དེ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་།
 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)
- e. ཡེ་ཤེ་མེ་ལོང་གི་མེ་ལོང་།
 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. མུཔ་ཤེ་དམ་ཀྱི་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་།
 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.

- (2) མུཔ་ཤེ་དམ་ཀྱི་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་, འུ་ཤུ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་།
 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 -jy- vat.
 entertain RES good very good
 ‘After we came to their home, the houselord entertained us very well.’

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

- b. ㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛ, ㄆㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛ。ㄉㄞㄣㄟ, ㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛ, ...
- 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 ddp 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 *li* is used in the middle of a folk story to shift attention to a discourse referent different from the one mentioned before.³

- (7) “ㄆㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛ, ㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛ” ㄉㄞ
- “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 pumpkin and live in it.’
- (8) ㄆㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛ, ㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛㄉㄞㄣㄟㄇㄛ。
- tit da cyx suo yuo nyiet jie da
however STP DEM.PROX NUM.3 CL embarrassed 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.’

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).

The contrastive topic marker *li* is used in parallel predications in which two referents are contrasted for some properties.

- (9) a. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅, 𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉。
 nga **li** nuo su, cyx **li** hxie mgat.
 1P.SG TOP Nuosu 3P.SG TOP Han
 ‘I am Nuosu, he is Han.’
- b. 𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎, 𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕。
 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 conjunction *yix ne* ‘provided that’ merged the exclamation particle *yip* and *ne*.

- (10) a. 𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛, 𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟。
 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.’
- b. 𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣 (𐄤) 𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫。
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.’
- c. 𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰, 𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵!
 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.

- (11) 𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅。
 syt cy jjit go ddur **su** **ne** ngop wox
 event DEM.PROX CL happen SENT.TOP TOP 1P.PL
 hxiet kat -jy- 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 *li* as it introduces unexpected information.⁴

- (12) 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱

(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).

- (22) a. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫

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. $\text{nit le jix su bbur jjip ddap bbur-ap-jjip?}$
2P.SG.POSS ox ART submissive INT submissive<NEG>
'Your ox is submissive, isn't it?'
- b. $\text{ne ip nyip zza bbo hxep mga ddap ap-mga?}$
2P.SG today crops inspect INT NEG-inspect
'You inspect the crops today, don't you?'
- c. $\text{nit lot sip ngop ddap sip-ap-ngop?}$
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).

- (2) a. $\text{cop wox li xip mu o bbu hne nji ddap?}$
3P.PL TOP DEM.DD clever INT
'Are they so clever?'
- b. $\text{ne op zzup hxop syp ddap?}$
2P.SG Tibetan language know INT
'Do you speak Tibetan?'

- (3) a. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄

c. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉, 𐄊𐄋𐄌?

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?’

d. 𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕, 𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝?

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).

(6) a. 𐄞𐄟! 𐄠𐄡𐄢 (𐄣) 𐄤!

dep la! ngop wox bbo (ssox) **mo**!
 stand up come 1P.PL go should IMP
 ‘Get up! Let’s go!’

b. 𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳!

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. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅

- (11) a. 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎!
 sit la cyp nyip kuo **mo!**
 warfare NUM.1 day hero IMP
 ‘Want to be a hero in a day of war!’
- b. 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎!
 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. 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎!
 ne cy go ap- shut **map!**
 2P.SG 3P.SG PRO.PAT NEG- remember IMP
 ‘Don’t remember him!’
- b. 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎!
 cy zze **map!**
 3P.SG eat IMP
 ‘Let him eat!’
- c. 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎, 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎!
 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!’
- d. 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎, 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎!
 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) a. *𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎!
 *nga le hlut **map!**
 1P.SG ox pasture IMP
 Intended meaning: ‘I may pasture the oxen!’

- (31) a. 𐑦𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶?
 ne xix mu ap- zze **luop**?
 2P.SG why NEG- eat REGR
 ‘Oh why don’t you eat?’
- b. 𐑦𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶, 𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽。
 hxo bbu ddur la te go, cax -jy- ca **luop**.
 sun exit come when hot very hot REGR
 ‘The sun has risen, it is so hot!’
- c. 𐑦𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸!
 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 Xidé County 喜德县.

叶喇 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里

vo co xix mu rre ddie yix go zip da
 vo³³ts^ho³³ xi⁴⁴ŋ³³ dzu³³ de³³ zi⁴⁴ ko³³ tsi²¹ ta³³
 mankind INT.why livestock COV.prepare house LOC insert, put STP

Why do men have their livestock stay close to home?

叶喇 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里

ip sip shex a hlex vo co si nip rre mop ssyr nyuo nyix bbu hxit bbu
 i²¹si³³ ʂ⁴⁴a³³tu⁴⁴ vo³³ts^ho³³ si³³ni²¹ dzu³³mo²¹zi³³ŋ³³o³³ ni⁴⁴b^vu³³hi⁵⁵ b^vu³³
 long ago old generation mankind and livestock wild animal

In ancient times, the people and all the animals

叶喇 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里

xix xix nyi nyop mu vi yot yix-ap-syp yip sy te go,
 ʂi⁴⁴ʂi⁴⁴ ni³³ ŋ³³o²¹ŋ³³ vi³³ʒo⁵⁵ zi⁴⁴-a²¹-si²¹ zi²¹si³³ t^hu³³ko³³,
 INT.what~all also work carry load MOD.can<NEG> still, yet time
 were not yet capable of ploughing and carrying loads.

叶喇 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里

zhyt ge ax ly ne i rre mop ssyr nyuo si nip nyix bbu hxit bbu
 tʂ⁵⁵ku³³a⁴⁴i³³ nu³³ i³³ dzu³³mo²¹zi³³ŋ³³o³³ si³³ni²¹ ni⁴⁴b^vu³³hi⁵⁵b^vu³³
 name of god TOP LOG.SG livestock and wild animal

Zhege'alu committed himself to training the animals

叶喇 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里

cyx gge hxop hmat six nyop mu vi yot zze mo ddix da,
 ts^hi⁴⁴ gu³³ ho²¹ŋ³³a⁵⁵ si⁴⁴ ŋ³³o²¹ŋ³³ vi³³ʒo⁵⁵ dzu³³ mo³³ di⁴⁴ ta³³,
 DEM.PROX CL teach, train RES work carry load eat IMP QUOT STP
 to plough the earth and to carry loads.

叶喇 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里 尼日里

nyix bbu hxit bbu lyr lyr go kax jjo mu cy gu
 ni⁴⁴b^vu³³hi⁵⁵b^vu³³ li³³li³³ ko³³ k^ha⁴⁴ dʒo³³ ŋ³³ ts^hi³³ ku³³
 wild animal moving entity LOC CLF have ADVL 3P.SG call

All the wild animals and everything that moves

ㄅㄛ ㄘㄛ ㄇㄨˋ ㄉㄉㄛ ㄨㄚˋ ㄉㄉㄛ ㄇㄨˋ ㄩㄛ ㄗㄗㄞ ㄗㄩˋ ㄩㄩˋ ㄑㄧˊ ㄙㄨˋ

vo³³co³³ mux⁴⁴dde³³wax⁴⁴dde³³ mu³³yot⁵⁵ zzax⁴⁴zy³³yy³³qix⁴⁴ su³³
mankind earth and field do (farming) plant seedlings NOM

When he (= Zhege'alu) saw that men cultivated the earth and

ㄘㄩˋ ㄇㄛˊ ㄊㄛ ㄍㄛˊ ㄋㄟ, ㄘㄩˋ ㄏㄒㄧㄝ ㄎㄚˊ ㄎㄚˊ ㄋㄩㄛ ㄎㄚˊ ㄉㄚ ㄍㄛ ㄐㄛˊ:

cy³³ mox⁴⁴ te³³gox⁴⁴ ne³³, cy³³ hxie³³ kat³³nyuo³³ kat³³ da³³ go³³ jox⁴⁴:
ts³³h³³i³³ mo⁴⁴ tu³³ko⁴⁴ nu³³, ts³³h³³i³³ he³³k³³h³³a⁵⁵ n³³o³³k³³h³³a⁵⁵ ta³³ ko³³ t³³o⁴⁴:
3P.SG see when TOP 3P.SG very happy STP 3P.PL toward
planted seedlings, he was very glad and told them,

“ㄗㄞ ㄙㄩˋ ㄇㄛˊ ㄋㄟ ㄉㄉㄛ ㄇㄨˋ ㄏㄚ ㄇㄨˋ, ㄏㄒㄛ ㄉㄉㄛ ㄏㄇㄚ ㄉㄉㄛ ㄏㄚ

“nop²¹wox⁴⁴ ngat⁵⁵ ddop²¹ mu³³ hla³³ mu³³, hxop²¹ ddop²¹ hmat⁵⁵ ddop²¹ hna³³
do²¹ m̃³³ la³³ m̃³³, ho²¹ do²¹ ma⁵⁵ do²¹ na³³
2P.PL 1P.SG.POSS word do soul do admonish word teach word listen

“You obeyed my words and listened to my teaching

ㄇㄛ ㄋㄩㄛ ㄋㄩㄛ ㄍㄍㄩˋ ㄐㄐㄩˋ ㄋㄟ, ㄋㄛ ㄨㄛ ㄕㄨˋ ㄋㄩㄛ ㄅㄅㄛ ㄉㄚ ㄗㄗㄛ ㄉㄉㄨ ㄍㄍㄚ ㄉㄉㄨ

i²¹ni²¹ gu²¹dzu⁴⁴ nu³³, no²¹yo⁴⁴ su³³ no²¹bo²¹ ta³³ dzu³³ -du³³ ga⁵⁵ -du³³
today afterwards SENT.TOP 2P.PL make labour STP eat NOM wear NOM
so from today on, you will get enough food and clothing.

ㄋㄟ, ㄗㄞ ㄙㄩˋ ㄇㄛˊ ㄋㄟ ㄉㄉㄛ ㄇㄨˋ ㄏㄚ ㄇㄨˋ” ㄕㄩˋ。

wep²¹, nop²¹wox⁴⁴ shu³³ jjox⁴⁴ dde³³ o³³bbu³³ dde³³ xi³³ shux⁴⁴ ddix⁴⁴.
yu²¹, no²¹yo⁴⁴ su³³ dzo⁴⁴ du³³ o³³bu³³ du³³ ci³³ su⁴⁴ di⁴⁴.
get 2P.PL make live, have the more intelligent the more arrive CAUS QUOT
You will become more and more intelligent.”

ㄘㄩˋ ㄋㄩˋ ㄋㄩˋ ㄋㄩˋ ㄅㄛ ㄕㄩˋ: “ㄗㄞ ㄙㄩˋ

cy³³ nyix⁴⁴bbu³³ hxit⁵⁵bbu³³ ggex⁴⁴su³³ jox⁴⁴ ne: “nop²¹wox⁴⁴ ngat⁵⁵
ts³³h³³i³³ ni⁴⁴b³³u³³hi⁵⁵ b³³u³³ gu⁴⁴su³³ t³³o⁴⁴ nu³³: “no²¹yo⁴⁴ na⁵⁵
3P.SG wild animal ART toward TOP 2P.PL 1P.SG.POSS
He said to the wild animals, “You were

ㄉㄉㄛ ㄇㄨˋ ㄏㄚ ㄇㄨˋ ㄆㄛˊ ㄏㄚ, ㄋㄟ ㄏㄒㄛ ㄉㄉㄛ ㄏㄇㄚ ㄉㄉㄛ

do²¹ m̃³³ la³³ m̃³³ a²¹ na³³, na⁵⁵ ho²¹ do²¹ ma⁵⁵ do²¹
word do soul do NEG- willing 1P.SG.POSS admonish word teach word
not willing to obey my words and listen to my teaching,

日尔尔尔; 尔尔尔尔, 尔尔尔

mu ap- hna su ngox; ip nyip ggup jjux ne, nop wox shu
 ɲ³³ a²¹- ɲa³³ su³³ ɲo⁴⁴; i²¹ɲi²¹ gu²¹dzu⁴⁴ nu³³, no²¹yo⁴⁴ ʂu³³
 do NEG- willing COMP think today afterwards TOP 2P.PL make
 so from today on, you must

尔尔尔尔尔尔” 尔。尔尔尔尔

bbut zze da jjo ddep lox ddix. ap mu cyx te go
 bu⁵⁵ dzu⁴⁴ ta³³ dzo³³ du²¹lo⁴⁴ di⁴⁴. a²¹ɲ³³ ts^{hi}⁴⁴ tu³³ko³³
 grass eat STP live WISH QUOT now DEM.PROX time
 live by eating grass.” This is the reason why from that very moment

尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔。

rre mop ssyr nyuo tat lyp bbut zze yip sy su li xip yy ddi ddix.
 dzu³³mo²¹zi³³no³³ t^ha⁵⁵ɲ²¹ bu⁵⁵ dzu³³ zi²¹si³³ su³³ li³³ ɕi²¹ zo³³di³³ di⁴⁴.
 livestock but grass eat still, yet TOP TOP DEM.DD because QUOT
 livestock were eating grass.

尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔

nyix bbu hxit bbu ggex su gat zyr ssyt nuop si nip lat ne nyop mux
 ɲi⁴⁴b^vu³³hi⁵⁵ b^vu³³ gu⁴⁴su³³ ka⁵⁵tsi³³ zi⁵⁵no²¹ si³³ni²¹ la⁵⁵ nu³³ no²¹ɲ⁴⁴
 wild animal ART=CL-DET middle tiger and wolf TOP work
 Among the wild animals, the tiger and the wolf

尔尔尔尔尔, 尔尔尔尔尔尔。尔尔

vi yot nyi ap- hna, bbux hlou nyi zze ap- hna. tit da
 vi³³zo⁵⁵ ɲi³³ a²¹- ɲa³³, b^vu⁴⁴ɔ³³ ɲi³³ dzu³³ a²¹- ɲa³³. t^hi⁵⁵ta³³
 carry load also NEG- willing grass also eat NEG- willing thus
 didn't like to work and didn't like to eat grass.

尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔、尔尔、尔、尔

nyix bbu hxit bbu ax pa ggex su mup bat、 lap bbu、 qyt、 yo
 ɲi⁴⁴b^vu³³hi⁵⁵ b^vu³³ a⁴⁴p^ha³³ gu⁴⁴su³³ ɲ²¹pa⁵⁵ la²¹b^vu³³ t^he^hi⁵⁵ zo³³
 wild animal other ART=CL-DET horse ox goat sheep
 The other wild animals such as the horse, ox, goat, and sheep

尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔。

cyx gge ne zhyt ge ax ly ddix da nyo lyx gge hmot la.
 ts^{hi}⁴⁴ gu³³ nu³³ t^ʂo⁵⁵ku³³a⁴⁴i³³ di⁴⁴ ta³³ no³³i⁴⁴gu³³mo⁵⁵ la³³.
 DEM.PROX CL TOP name of god COV.at STP complain come
 came to Zhege'alu to complain.

𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅

མཁའ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་མོ་། ཟླ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་། “ཟླ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་། ལྷ་

mu cy shyr dep la ox. tap hly jox hxp: “tap hly ap! nga
 ṁ³³ tsh³³ ṣ³³ tu²¹ la³³ o⁴⁴. t^ha²¹ṭ³³ t^ço⁴⁴ hi²¹ “t^ha²¹ṭ³³ a²¹ ŋa³³
 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

ཡུལ་འདྲེན་ཅི་ཅི་མཁའ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་མོ་། ཅི་ཅི་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

ddu ndit dur lap vat mu shyr dep la ox. ne it nyi ax di
 dbu³³ndi⁵⁵ tu³³la²¹va⁵⁵ ṁ³³ ṣ³³ tu²¹ la³³ o⁴⁴. nu³³ i⁵⁵ṁi³³ a⁴⁴ti³³
 bird 1000 & 10000 ADVL call,shout rise come DP 2P.SG sleep only
 urged thousands and thousands of birds to sing. What you were doing

མཁའ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་མོ་། ཅི་། ཟླ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་། “ཅི་། ཅི་། ཅི་།” མ

gu hxi jit ap- get ox?” ddix. tap hly ne: “Gu! Gu! Gu!” mu
 ku³³ hi³³t^çi⁵⁵ a²¹ ku⁵⁵ o⁴⁴?” di⁴⁴. t^ha²¹ṭ³³ nu³³: “ku³³! ku³³! ku³³!” ṁ³³
 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!”,

ལྷ་མོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་། ལྷ་མོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

yi ngox la ox. got pu ne tit da ddu ndit sux yy ddie ox.
 zⁱṅo⁴⁴ la³³ o⁴⁴. ko⁵⁵p^hu³³ nu³³ t^hi⁵⁵ta³³ dbu³³ndi⁵⁵ su⁴⁴z³³ de³³ o⁴⁴.
 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.

ཟླ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

zhyt ge ax ly mu zyr bbur

t^ço⁵⁵ku³³a⁴⁴li³³ ṁ³³t^çi³³ bu³³

name of god thunder tame

Zhege'alu tames the thunder

ཟླ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་། མཁའ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་། ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།

ip si ax hlex mop, mu vut go mu zyr lix guo -jyy- lix guo, cy
 i²¹si³³a⁴⁴tu⁴⁴mo²¹, ṁ³³vu⁵⁵ ko³³ ṁ³³t^çi³³ li⁴⁴ ko³³ -d^çi³³- li⁴⁴ ko³³, tsh³³
 long time ago sky on thunder powerful very powerful 3P.SG

A long time ago, the thunder in the sky was very powerful.

非也” 曰。 唯其非也： “非其非也”

su nge” ddir. co bbup sux ne: “ngop wox zzax mu yy yot
su³³ ɲu?” di⁴⁴. ts^ho³³ bu²¹su⁴⁴ nu³³: “o²¹yo⁴⁴ dza⁴⁴ ɲ³³ ʒə³³ ʒo⁵⁵
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

吃食非其非也， 唯其非也

zde ap- qi su ap- nge mu, mu zyr ngop bbyp zzax mu
dzwu³³ a²¹ tɕ^hi³³ su³³ a²¹ ɲu³³ ɲ³³, ɲ³³tsi³³ ɲo²¹ bɕ⁴⁴ dza⁴⁴ ɲ³³
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

吃食是。 凡是非其非也， 唯其非也

zde ap- shup su. kax ddi yie ddu mu gu ddu lix ne, cy
dzwu³³ a²¹ ʂu²¹ su³³. k^ha⁴⁴di³³ ʒe³³dbu³³ ɲ³³ku³³ dɥ³³ li⁴⁴ nu³³, ts^hi³³
eat NEG- CAUS NOM INT.who house smoke rise go up TOP 3P.SG
and to eat. Whichever household has smoke going up, is

吃食是。 唯其非也， 唯其非也

kax ddi yie ddu go nzie la su. zhyt ge ax ly ne co jox:
k^ha⁴⁴di³³ ʒe³³dbu³³ ko³³ ndze³³ la³³ su³³. tɕə⁵⁵ku³³a⁴⁴li³³ nu³³ ts^ho³³ tɕo⁴⁴:
INT.who household LOC strike come NOM name of god TOP person toward
struck by thunder.” Zhege’alu told them,

“煮食非其非也， 唯其非也

“zyt dop da mup dut jiex da zzax mu zde li, ap ddi ddix mu zyr
“tsi⁵⁵to²¹ ta³³ ɲ³³tbu⁵⁵ tɕe⁴⁴ ta³³ dza⁴⁴ ɲ³³ dzwu³³ li³³, a²¹di³³di⁴⁴ ɲ³³tsi³³
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,

吃食非其非也” 曰。 唯其非也

la yix ne nga gox yu la mo” ddir. zhyt ge ax ly li sy sse
la³³ ʒi⁴⁴nu³³ ɲa³³ ko⁴⁴ ʒu³³ la³³ mo³³” di⁴⁴ tɕə⁵⁵ku³³a⁴⁴li³³ li³³ si³³zu³³
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,

吃食非其非也， 唯其非也

six sse ma ngex da, kax ddi nyi cyp ddop mux da,
si⁴⁴zu³³ ma³³ ɲu⁴⁴ ta³³, k^ha⁴⁴di³³ ɲi³³ ts^hi²¹ do²¹ ɲ⁴⁴ ta³³,
angelic being CL COP STP INT.who also 3P.SG.POSS word do, listen STP
everyone obeyed him,

𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇

ཕྱི་མཁའ་ལྷོ་མེད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མེད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མེད་

ne ap- jjix sho mu: “hxax yip, mu zyr vyt vu, ne jyy jyt she
nuu³³ a²¹ dzi⁴⁴ so³³ ṁ³³: “ha⁴⁴zi²¹, ṁ³³tsi³³ vi⁵⁵vu³³, nuu³³ dz³³ tci⁵⁵ su³³
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

ཕྱི་མཁའ་ལྷོ་མེད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མེད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མེད་

jyt six xix mu mix?” ddix hna. mu zyr jix su ne zhyt ge ax ly
tci⁵⁵ si⁴⁴ ci⁴⁴ ṁ³³ mi⁴⁴?” di⁴⁴ ṅa³³. ṁ³³tsi³³ tci⁴⁴su³³ nuu³³ tso⁵⁵ku³³a⁴⁴li³³
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

ཕྱི་མཁའ་ལྷོ་མེད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མེད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མེད་

cy cyx ap- syp da: “nga ddie six shyp mux nge jyyx zhyt ge ax ly
tsh³³ tsh⁴⁴ a²¹ si²¹ ta³³: “a³³ de³³ si⁴⁴ so²¹ṁ⁴⁴ ṅu³³dz⁴⁴ tso⁵⁵ku³³a⁴⁴li³³
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

ཕྱི་མཁའ་ལྷོ་མེད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མེད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མེད་

go nzie yy mo ddix su” ddix. zhyt ge ax ly ne: “ne
ko³³ ndze³³ zo³³ mo³³di⁴⁴ su³³” di⁴⁴. tso⁵⁵ku³³a⁴⁴li³³ nuu³³: “nuu³³
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

ཕྱི་མཁའ་ལྷོ་མེད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མེད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མེད་

mu nyip xix nyip yy mo ddix?” ddix. “shy nyip yy mo” ddix.
ṁ³³ni²¹ ci⁴⁴ ni²¹ zo³³ mo³³di⁴⁴” di⁴⁴. “so³³ni³³ zo³³ mo³³” di⁴⁴.
days INT.what day go MOD.committed QUOT snake day go IMP QUOT
committed to do this?” “On the day of the snake.”

ཕྱི་མཁའ་ལྷོ་མེད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མེད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་མེད་

ax ly ne: “ne kep mu gox nzie yy mix?” ddix.
a⁴⁴li³³ nuu³³: “nuu³³ k^hu²¹ṁ³³ ko⁴⁴ ndze³³ zo³³ mi⁴⁴?” di⁴⁴.
name of god (abbreviated) TOP 2P.SG INT.how PRO.PAT strike go SOL QUOT
Zhege'alu asked, “How are you going to strike?”

ᠬᠡ, ᠮᠤᠵᠢᠷ ᠴᠢ ᠨᠳᠤᠫᠤ ᠴᠢᠳᠤ, ᠴᠢᠬᠤ ᠭᠭᠤᠫᠤ ᠨᠡ ᠮᠤᠵᠢᠷ

lox, mu zyr cy ndup ke cix da, cyx ggup jjux ne mu zyr
 lo⁴⁴, ᠓³³ᠲᠰᠢ³³ ᠲᠰᠢ³³ ᠨᠳᠤᠪᠤ²¹ ᠬᠡᠭᠤ³³ᠲᠰᠢ⁴⁴ ᠲᠠ³³, ᠲᠰᠢ⁴⁴ ᠭᠤ²¹ᠳᠵᠤ⁴⁴ ᠨᠤ³³ ᠓³³ᠲᠰᠢ³³
 and thunder 3P.SG beat surrender STP DEM.PROX after TOP thunder
 and beat it into surrender. Thereafter, the thunder did not

ᠴᠢᠨᠵᠢᠡ ᠠᠫᠤ, ᠳᠡᠳᠢ ᠠᠫᠤ ᠪᠪᠣ ᠵᠢᠵᠢ ᠬᠡ ᠬᠢ ᠬᠢᠰᠢ ᠨᠢᠵᠢ ᠵᠡ ᠣᠬᠡ.

cox nzie ap- but, ddi ap bbo jjy xi he xix nyi jie ox.
 ts^{ho44} ndze³³ a²¹ bu⁵⁵, di³³a²¹bo³³ dzi³³ ci³³ xu³³ ci⁴⁴ ni³³ tce³³ o⁴⁴.
 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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